Female Participation in the Police Promotion Process:

Are women competing for promotion in numbers proportionate to their statistical representation in policing?

MPA Research Report

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Abstract

Since its origin policing has existed as a male dominated para-military profession. It is only in the past two decades that women have navigated into police organizations with increasing mass. This research is focused on the positioning of women in the police management hierarchy subsequent to acquiring experience and tenure. Using primary research acquired from Ontario Police Services, viewed within the theoretical context of organizational culture, systemic discrimination, pipeline and glass ceiling theories, this paper examines the participation rate of female officers in the police promotion process.

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Chapter 1

1.1   Introduction

The composition of Canadian Police Services has experienced significant transformation since the 1970's. Historically, public policing existed within the Canadian environment as a male dominated profession that protected its independence from external scrutiny pertaining to staffing, deployment strategies and funding requirements. This paradigm was deeply rooted in a para-military structure producing an organizational culture that favored male candidates with almost full exclusion of female members. By 1970, female officers accounted for one half of one percent of all Canadian Police Officers.[1]

During the 1980's police leaders encountered increased demands related to gender and diversity representation within their ranks. Public and political influences demanded that public sector agencies adjust human resource practices to proportionally reflect the communities they serve; policing was no exception. Although faced with this challenge, most police administrators were slow to respond and by 1985 female composition had risen to only 3.6% of all officers; this number would progressively grow during the subsequent twenty years reaching a national level of 17.3% by 2005.[2]

Although success towards greater gender balance was slowly being achieved, challenges emerged for both police leaders and female officers regarding female positioning within the police corporate framework. Given the male focused organizational culture within police agencies, workplace acceptance and female advancement was not a natural occurrence. Transfer and promotion processes varied amongst police services with movement historically linked to a combination of objective (exam scores, seniority) and subjective criteria (favoritism, arbitrary selection). Selection decisions were ultimately made at the senior administration level and were frequently influenced by informal networks; groups that were traditionally exclusive to

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[1] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Police Resources in Canada, 2001*, Catalogue no. 85-225 XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2001), 12.

[2] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Police Resources in Canada, 2006,* Catalogue no. 85-225-XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2006), 27.

male employees. During the 1970's and early 1980's limited weight was afforded attributes such as education and community representation resulting in promotion lists containing only sporadic female members.

It is significant to note that the police leader of this era was a tenured member with twenty-five to thirty-five years service. An executive level police officer in the1975 - 1980 period likely commenced their police employment between 1945 and 1950, often emerging from a military background or at minimum the influence from that generation, and entered the sector at a time when the basic formal education requirement was grade ten. Generally the background and traditionalist generational influence of these leaders resulted in the profession being directed as a single gender entity with limited desire for female members in the mainstream police role.

This perspective is visually apparent when reviewing police buildings constructed during the 1970's in major municipalities such as London, Ontario. These structures were designed with large male locker rooms capable of accommodating increased numbers of male officers, while the corresponding female locker facilities were small with limited capability for broadened capacity. The London building design included entrance doors from a main hallway and an operational office area opening directly into the male locker room without any visual restrictions; a configuration that did not account for the presence or concern of female members.

The fact that these buildings were designed for an approximate twenty year life cycle was indicative of management's perspective as to the growth and advancement of female members well into the 1990's. Women who entered the profession during this period would encounter biased attitudes from both managers and peers and with their limited numbers, were unable to establish necessary influential support networks. When I commenced employment with the London Police Service in 1980 there were no serving female police officers in the organization. The few who existed during the 1970's had left the profession with the next female hiring occurring in 1984.

By the mid 1980's, attitudes concerning female members began to shift and female numbers slowly increased. Although women were achieving successes in other segments of both the public and private sector, the shift in policing was more protracted. LeBeuf and McLean comment that "changes aimed at women in the police field are much more gradual than those occurring in society in general, because this is a male preserve that advocates traditional values."[3] There is reality to the proposition that the gender shift within policing during the 1980's was not so much due to a change in police leader attitude, but rather their acknowledgement that it was politically expedient to ensure female members existed within their agencies. For many police services during this period there were limited alterations to the recruiting process to entice female applicants. The extent of effort afforded female recruitment was to simply identify suitable female candidates within existing application pools. Police leaders were adjusting their hiring composition to include more women, but were they receptive to include females in decision-making positions?

1.2   Research Question

During the final decade of the twentieth century, women were making inroads into the police profession regarding their overall representation. As we moved into the new millennium, progressive police leaders were implementing strategies that actively sought qualified female recruits. In the year 2000, police hiring of female officers at the national level increased by 7% over 1999 compared to 0.4% for male officers.[4] Although these increases fluctuate somewhat during the period 2000-2007, the annual growth rate of women hired consistently outpaces that of men. Efforts were consciously being made to improve gender representation within the policing domain.

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[3] Lebeuf, Marcel-Eugene and Julia Mclean, "Women in Policing in Canada" in *Contemporary Issues in Canadian Policing,* edited by Stephen E. Nancoo (Mississauga, Ontario: Canadian Educators' Press, 2004), 329.
[4] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Police Resources in Canada, 2000,* Catalogue no. 85-225-XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2000), 12.

The main interest of this paper pertains to the positioning of the female officer subsequent to hiring; their vertical movement within police agencies with specific focus on the female participation rate and success within the promotion process related to the first three levels of management. The research seeks to determine whether female members are participating in the promotion system proportionate to their statistical representation in policing. In 2007, women accounted for 17.2% of police officers in the province of Ontario. Was their participation in the promotion process also in the 17.2% range?

This research is concentrating on the years 2000 through 2007 with specific focus on the Ontario police sector. With the exception of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), policing operates within the domain of each province, resulting in police employment legislation that is applicable only to Police Services existing in the respective province. Within Ontario, the *Ontario Police Services Act* is silent regarding promotions, leaving the promotion system design and process to the desire of the individual police service.[5] This is interesting given that policing operates within defined public sector parameters yet there is no legislative or government direction impacting advancement through police management levels.

The period 2000 through 2007 was selected as it encompasses a time frame during which female members would have attained sufficient experience and tenure to satisfy potential seniority requirements within promotion systems. Historically, police promotion systems have included a component of service time and experience that was honoured by incumbent police leaders, many of whom commenced careers in the 1950's and 1960's and achieved advancement within this context. This seniority "requirement" was embossed within organizational culture and accepted to be synonymous with experience and competency.[6] Recognizing that female numbers in policing began to rise from the late 1980's onward, the

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[5] Richard Beazley, *Is there support or resistance by Ontario's municipal police leaders for an Adequacy Standard governing police promotion practices?* (UWO: MPA Research Report, 2007), 6.
[6] HayGroup, *A National Diagnostic on Human Resources in Policing* (Ottawa; October, 2007), 193.

selected eight year span of study should account for the seniority requirement related to the ranks of sergeant, staff sergeant and inspector.

There are many potential variables associated with this analysis. Elaine Allison suggests that women and men approach promotions differently; specifically that "men are typically more likely to go after promotions while women may wait to be noticed."[7] This paper will examine female advancement within the conceptual context of promotion theories, specifically the "glass ceiling" and "pipeline" theories, as well as systemic barriers inclusive of organizational culture and the associated influence of these factors on systemic discrimination. In addition, recognizing that the increased number of female officers is relatively recent with the majority belonging to "Generation X" and "Generation Y" or "Millennial" demographics, the impact of generational influences will also receive comment.

Research related to female promotions within the police environment is limited and no quantitative research specific to participation by gender in the police promotion system could be found. Secondary data does exist through Statistics Canada related to the number of female officers, as well as the percentage in either "Senior Officer" or "Non-Commissioned Officer" (NCO) ranks. Within Ontario, a "Senior Officer" is defined as a member holding the rank of Inspector or higher, while an NCO applies to the rank of sergeant and staff sergeant. As indicated previously, this research is focused on competition for the sergeant, staff sergeant and Inspector ranks.

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[7] Elaine Allison, "Why aren't there more women leaders?" in *Canadian HR Reporter* (19(10), 31. Accessed online through ProQuest February 4, 2008 from ABI/INFORM Global database (Document ID: 1061022211).

Chapter 2

2.0   Literature Review

There is considerable literature discussing the various and multiple barriers that women

encounter within the workplace associated with their quest for advancement. The concentration

of this review focuses on theories pertaining to the "glass ceiling" and "pipeline", as well as

organizational culture and related systemic barriers.

The review will commence with organizational culture and systemic barriers, followed by

the "pipeline" and then "glass ceiling" theories. This order was selected since many variables

associated with systemic barriers and organizational culture transcends into and impacts the

other two theories.

2.1   Organizational Culture and Systemic Barriers

> Systemic discrimination may be defined as patterns of
> behavior that are part of the social and administrative
> structures of the workplace, and that create or perpetuate
> a position of relative disadvantage for some groups, and
> privilege for other groups, or for the individuals on account
> of the group identity.[8] *Carol Agocs*

In 2000, Human Resources Development Canada funded a report researched and

published by PricewaterhouseCoopers entitled *Strategic Human Resources Analysis of Public*

Policing in Canada. It is an extensive document addressing a wide range of changes and trends

that require attention if policing is to remain effective in the future. Identified as a sector change

within the "Workforce Organization and Qualifications" segment are the increased number of

women and minority members and the corresponding implication for human resource

developments namely, that "any and all systemic barriers in HR policies and practices need to

be identified and removed".[9] Stewart, Belcourt, Bohlander and Snell comment that in many

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[8] Carol Agocs, "Systemic Discrimination in Employment: Mapping the Issue and the Policy Responses", in *Workplace Equality: International Perspectives on Legislation, Policy and Practice* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2002), 2.

[9] PricewaterhouseCoopers, *Strategic Human Resources Analysis of Public Policing in Canada* (Ottawa: HRDC, 2000), 22.

organizations, employment barriers are often unintentional rules and procedures that are subtle or hidden and result in systemic discrimination impacting certain groups.[10]

Since its inception policing has existed as a male only, to male dominated profession. Even by 2007 women accounted for only 17.2% of all Ontario police officers, continuing the trend of male workplace domination. When considering promotional processes and systems, like many existing police policies and procedures, due to the absence of women in decision-making positions they were drafted by men from a male perspective. Carol Stephenson states that "while being a male does not preclude a CEO from understanding the unique issues women face in the workplace, being female tends to make one more aware of these concerns, having gone through them oneself."[11] Carol Agocs' research reveals that organizational policies and practices often have discriminatory impacts within the workplace related to a wide range of employment matters including promotion.[12] In Joanne Thomas Yaccato's discussion related to the private sector and particularly marketing in the consumer segment, she claims women are frustrated by the "lack of gender intelligence" in the corporate world. Yaccato argues that when this exists, it is generally related with a failure to include a "gender lens" or female perspective. Further, that it is imperative for successful organizations "to conduct gender-based audits throughout all company practices and processes.[13] Depending upon the recency of revision, police promotion policies are likely void of female perspective, particularly regarding maternity leave absences and child-rearing responsibilities; the impact of which can be significant.

In most police agencies, when management is notified that a woman is pregnant, for her physical well-being the officer is assigned to duties that will not place her in jeopardy of injury. This usually occurs around the third month of pregnancy and results in placement with some

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[10] Eileen B. Stewart, Monica Belcourt, George Bohlander and Scott Snell, *Essentials of Managing Human Resources, Third Canadian Edition* (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2007), 60.

[11] Carol Stephenson, "Women CEOs Talk" in *Canadian HR Reporter* (Toronto: Dec 17, 2001 Vol. 14, Issue 22). Accessed Online through ProQuest. February 5, 2008.

[12] Agocs, 2.

[13] Joanne Thomas Yaccato, "Through the gender lens", *Marketing Magazine* (Toronto: June 30 – July 7, 2003. Vol. 108, Iss. 25), p. 14. Accessed Online through ProQuest February 4, 2008.

form of modified duties until commencing the allowable twelve month maternity leave; a total of eighteen months removed from "active" duty. Given the current female member demographic, in many instances a second pregnancy occurs within a few years and the re-assignment and absence cycle reoccurs. When viewed in comparison to a male officer who commenced employment on the same date, over an eight to ten year span and depending upon the number of children involved, the female member will have been removed for 18 to 54 months from potential lateral career development opportunities due to child-bearing related absences. This difference in career development is significant toward a realistic opportunity for success when entering a promotion competition premised upon sufficient and varied experience. Matthew McClearn comments that in general women and men may commence careers on relatively equal grounds however women "fall behind" due to career interruptions associated with children. He cites 2002 Canadian statistics indicating that on average men have 17.5 years work experience compared to women with 14.4 years.[14]

The argument in support of the status quo promotion system related to this gender specific issue, posits that the requirements for vertical advancement should be "equal" for both genders. This position suggests that current promotion systems are appropriate and excludes the necessity for reconsideration to include a female perspective in the process design. Such exclusion only guarantees that the system remains "equal" for both genders from a male perspective. Carol Agocs describes such positioning as "adverse impact discrimination"; the utilization of a procedure that appears neutral however, when applied across all employee segments, inequitable outcomes occur. Specifically, that disadvantage occurs for those who differ from the group for which the policy was designed.[15]

In addition to child-bearing related impacts, promotion in Services such as the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) may require geographic relocation, and across many Police Services

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[14] Matthew McClearn, "Mind the Gap" in *Canadian Business* (Toronto: Nov. 5, 2007.) Vol. 80, Iss. 22, p. 21-22.
[15] Agocs, 4.

reassignment impacting working hours is not unusual. From a traditional male perspective, these outcomes are acceptable and if necessary, the family will relocate or adjust to accommodate the promotion. A U.S. study revealed that women are twice as likely as men to exit their employment and relocate for the benefit of their spouse or partner's job.[16] A *Worklife Report* indicates that for dual earning couples with children, moves pertaining to employment benefit husbands and not wives. Worklife cites Thomas Cooke who termed this reality as the "trailing mother" effect, stating that "moving usually meant a promotion for the husband and a career sacrifice by the wife."[17] A relocation option is not equally available to women as they continue to maintain responsibility for the majority of child care and domestic responsibilities, providing 2.1 hours for every hour contributed by married men,[18] often making such adjustments prohibitive.

In their review of female promotional barriers, Joseph Polisar and Donna Milgram recommend that Chiefs determine whether women are entering the process in numbers proportionate to their representation on the Service and if not, Chiefs should consider if it is "possible that the promotional process disproportionately screens out female officers." Further, they suggest that subjective systems are less favorable to female candidates than structured, objective oriented processes.[19] Linda Wirth comments that these barriers exist as "real obstacles" and are associated with how "work and life" are organized.[20] She adds that, "a major source of discrimination stems from strongly held attitudes towards women's and men's social

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[16] Gale Cengage Learning, "Gen X women still searching for flexibility" in *Marketing to Women* (15(4): 12(2), April 2002, ISSN: 1089-2958), Accessed Online through Gale Management [RDS.Database@gale.com] February 4, 2008.

[17] "Gender and organizational performance", *The Worklife Report*, (Ottawa: 2000), Vol. 12, Iss.4, p. 10-11.

[18] Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli, *Through the Labyrinth: The truth about how women become leader* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2007), p.50.

[19] Joseph Polisar and Donna Milgram, "Recruiting, Integrating and Retaining Women Police Officers: Strategies that Work", in *The Police Chief: The Professional Voice of Law Enforcement* (October, 1998), On-line. http://www.iwitts.com/html/the_police_chief_magazine_str.html Accessed on January 8, 2008.

[20] Linda Wirth, *Breaking through the Glass Ceiling: women in management* (Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Organization, 2001), v.

roles and behavior."[21] Tharenou discusses the impact of gender role stereotypes on promotion,

particularly the perceived conflict between stereotyped notions of women being sympathetic,

helpful, sensitive, and nurturing and the impact this has on their ability to perform as senior

managers. Tharenou furthers that this stereotyping may produce gender bias, commenting that

> Women who prove to be competent and have succeeded
> at 'male' work violate the normative prescriptions for
> women. Therefore, women arouse disapproval and are
> penalized through negative social sanctions including both
> personal derogation and dislike, which give rise to
> judgments and decisions that reduce competent women's
> advancement in management.[22]

LeBeuf and Mclean emphasize how women must consistently prove themselves during new

assignments, including promotions and work group alterations. Female reality is that "the police

culture remains an environment in which belittling women is too often the norm."[23]

Perceptions regarding organizational culture are real for individuals regardless of

whether such perceptions actually reflect reality. This "perception challenge" exists for

progressive police leaders who embrace equal opportunity and greater gender balance

throughout management and who strive to encourage female members to seek career

advancement. The HayGroup reports that male and female police employees still believe it is

"who you know" that precipitates promotion rather than competency. Further, that the lack of

clarity from management on this issue negatively influences officers from competing for

promotion, thereby excluding potentially qualified members from advancement.[24]

Women officers in the ten to twenty year tenure range have been exposed to various

forms of career discrimination, particularly in their earlier years when a significant number of

police managers still subscribed to the male only paradigm. Although in most large police

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[21] Ibid. p. 1.

[22] Phyllis Tharenou, "Women's Advancement in management: what is known and future areas to address", in, Ronald J. Burke and Mary C. Mattis (eds), *Supporting Women's Career Advancement: Challenges and opportunities*, (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2005), p.46.

[23] LeBeuf and Mclean, 328.

[24] HayGroup, 178.

services (small services have limited opportunity for advancement) contemporary leaders are progressive thinking and embrace the value of gender diversity, as a result of previous experiences female members accept this encouragement with cautious optimism. Further, within the contemporary police culture often the bias women experience percolates from their peer level and not management, resulting in a determination their advancement must result from blatant and obvious competency to avoid criticism that it was achieved due to gender. PricewaterhouseCoopers comment that "though overt forms of discrimination or bias is less frequent than in the past, where residual discrimination is still identified, it tends to be covert and systemic.[25]

When considering this systemic bias, it is not necessary to venture too distant in the past to see stark examples. It was just 1972 when regulations were changed in Toronto eliminating the requirement that women who were having children must resign and 1974 when Toronto policewomen were armed for the first time and the OPP hired their first female officers for active duty.[26] As mentioned previously, the London Police Service operated for approximately three years in the early 1980's without a single female officer and the few hired in the mid 1980's initially experienced limited and cautious support from both managerial and peer levels.

This is not an Ontario or Canadian phenomenon, but rather common throughout many western nations. In 1998 the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) created a committee to advance the progress of women in policing. In November 1998 the committee published *The Future of Women in Policing: Mandates for Action* detailing the following:

- There are few women in policing, compared to their male counterparts.
- Female officers still face bias from male officers.
- Many departments lack strategies for recruiting women.
- Female officers may face gender discrimination and a so-called "brass-ceiling" that inhibits promotion.
- Sexual harassment still occurs in many departments.

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[25] PricewaterhouseCoopers, 47.
[26] Blue Line Magazine, *A brief history of women in policing* (February, 2007), 59.

- There are few mentoring programs for female officers.[27]

As recently as 2003, a review of law enforcement agencies reporting to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) indicated that most did not employ any female officers in 2003 and in those that did, only 9.6% held supervisory positions and 7.3% senior command roles.[28] In the same year Canadian police agencies had attained a female composition level of 15.7% with 7.7% in NCO ranks and only 4.6% filling Senior Officer positions.[29] In their 2001 national survey report, the National Center for Women & Policing in the U.S. concluded:

> Overall, the number of women in law enforcement has increased at an alarmingly slow rate over the past 30 years and women remain severely under-represented in large, small and rural law enforcement agencies. Worse, this glacial pace of progress has either stalled or reversed in the past few years. Until law enforcement agencies enact policies and practices designed to recruit, retain, and promote women, gender balance in policing will remain a distant reality.[30]

In England, the Home Office responsible for police management established the Gender Equality Duty (GED) 2007. It was recognized that previous workplace improvements associated to gender inequality had been achieved through actions of individuals challenging incumbent practices. This entity was created to provide a structured approach toward addressing inequalities within the police profession and demonstrate "that the service is committed to addressing any inequalities that exist, and that the service truly embraces equality and diversity."[31] Although the identification of workplace gender inequality in itself is important, Phyllis Tharenou cautions that organizations employing a "gender diversity management"

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[27] Peter Horne, "Policewomen: Their First Century and the New Era", *The Police Chief: The Professional Voice of Law Enforcement* (vol. 73, no. 9, September 2006), 3. http://policechiefmagazine.org/magazine/index.cfm?fuseaction=display&article_id=1000&issue_id=92006 (accessed on January 6, 2008).

[28] Ibid. p. 2.

[29] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. *Police Resources in Canada, 2003,* Catalogue no. 85-225-XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2003), 15.

[30] National Center for Women & Policing, *Equality Denied: The Status of Women in Policing: 2001*, On-line. http://www.womenandpolicing.org/workplace.asp   Accessed on January 9, 2008.

[31] Home Office, *Gender Equality in the Police Service*, (April 2007), http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/equality-diversity/gender-equality-police-service (accessed on September 19, 2008).

approach complete with "family-friendly" practices that is not targeted did not increase female representation in management. Only affirmative action or equal opportunity programs that specifically targeted disadvantaged groups were successful in this regard.[32] Within the Canadian policing environment, the HayGroup research determined there were limited examples of specifically designed leadership programs for diverse employees including women, this being in contrast to best practices in other sectors where diverse groups were targeted for leadership development.[33]

A significant challenge identified for female advancement was the lack of appropriate mentorship opportunities and support networks. The police organizational culture evolved encompassing male officers in both formal and informal mentorship and network relationships that served as a catalyst for movement throughout the organization. With limited to no female representation at the senior level of most police agencies in the 1980's and early 1990's, if this support was to exist for female members, it had to be found through male sponsors. Mentorship and sponsorship included development opportunities through selection for frontline decision-making positions; competitive placements given that a significantly greater proportion of males during this period were seeking the same considerations.

2.2   Pipeline Theory

> Some argue that women … are not in senior level positions
> because they are still making their way through the
> pipeline, that they are being groomed for top management
> jobs. I know women in the pipeline whose mothers spent
> their entire careers in the pipeline. The problem with the
> pipeline is women leave, the pipeline leaks and women are
> in the wrong place in the pipeline.[34]

A 1998 article in the magazine *The Police Chief* related to policing in the U.S., comments that since women began entering the profession in greater numbers approximately

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[32] Tharenou, 39-40.

[33] HayGroup, 178.

[34] Asha Tomlinson, "Concrete Ceiling harder to break than glass for women of colour", *Canadian HR Reporter* (Dec. 17, 2001), 14(22) 7, 13.

twenty years ago, there should be sufficient qualified females in the system eligible for promotion,[35] a position that suggests tenure will result in opportunity. The longer you stay in the "pipeline", the greater the likelihood you will advance. Deborah Gillis of Catalyst Canada counters such a proposition stating "one of the reasons there's been little improvement [in female advancement] is that for many years organizations have taken the view that women will naturally rise to the top over time, without any extra support. Clearly that give-it-time strategy is not working."[36]

There remain corporate leaders who contend the pipeline perspective is relevant in various sectors however, when considering a male dominated profession like policing, such a perspective is flawed. To suggest that time alone will allow women to break through systemic barriers and embedded organizational culture that have evolved over decades and even through centuries, is unrealistic.

Within the Canadian policing environment, administrators prior to 1995 rationalized that too few women had worked in operational capacities and therefore it was natural that female representation at supervisory and upper management levels was limited. Such positioning allowed police leaders to deflect responsibility for the small number of female managers prior to the mid 1990's, relying on the lower overall percentage of Canadian female officers to either justify or explain the minimal or absent representation above the constable level.

A review of the *Police Resources in Canada 1999* Statistics Canada report issued one year after *The Police Chief* article, suggests that tenure alone does not equate to proportionate representation within non-constable positions. At a time when women comprised 12.9% of all Canadian police officers, females served in only 2.8% of Senior Officer ranks and 4.7% of non-commissioned officer positions, however accounted for 16.2% of constables. It is interesting to note that when reviewing females within ranks, the *Police Resources in Canada* documents only

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[35] Polisar and Milgram.

[36] Shannon Klie, "Women's progress too slow: report", *Canadian HR Reporter,* (May, 2007) 20(9), 1, 10. Accessed online through ProQuest. (accessed on Feb. 4, 2008).

include data from 1986 forward, suggesting that prior to this period the variable was not tracked.

In contrast, data associated to the general participation of women within the police sector

appears to have been tracked since 1965.[37]

The data in Table 1 relates to the overall percentage of Canadian police officers by

gender. This data illustrates how under represented women were in the sector, particularly prior

to the 1990's, a reality that in the context of the "pipeline" theory would severely disadvantage

females in moving through the "pipeline" with sufficient mass to penetrate the upper ranks of

management.

Table 1
Police Officers by Sex, Canada, Selected Years

Year	Male		Female		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
1965	29,956	99.4	190	0.6	30,146
1970	37,763	99.5	186	0.5	37,949
1975	47,151	98.8	562	1.2	47,713
1980	48,749	97.8	1,092	2.2	49,841
1985	48,518	96.4	1,833	3.6	50,351
1990	52,461	93.6	3,573	6.4	56,034
1995	49,630	90.2	5,378	9.8	55,008
1998	48,076	87.8	6,687	12.2	54,763
1999	48,151	87.1	7,149	12.9	55,300
2000	48,362	86.3	7,658	13.7	56,020
2001	48,816	85.5	8,291	14.5	57,107
2002	49,503	84.7	8,911	15.3	58,414
2003	50,060	84.3	9,352	15.7	59,412
2004	50,009	83.5	9,897	16.5	59,906
2005	50,471	82.7	10,579	17.3	61,050
2006	51,200	82.0	11,200	18.0	62,400
2007	52,281	81.5	11,853	18.5	64,134

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Police Administration Survey

This general data in conjunction with the metrics associated to women within ranks detailed in

Table 2 supports the position of Tharenou who comments that women experience a greater

challenge in achieving success at upper levels of management since the majority of the "feeder

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[37] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Police Resources in Canada, 1999* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1999), Catalogue no. 85-225-XIE, 12-13.

group" of middle managers is male.[38] Prior to 1995, women represented less than 2.5 percent

of all supervisor and middle manager positions (NCOs), thereby creating an extremely limited

pool of women for the Inspector rank.

Table 2
Percentage of male and female police officers within the ranks, Canada, 1986 to 2007

	Senior Officers		NCO's		Constables	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1986	99.8	0.2	99.5	0.5	94.6	5.4
1987	99.8	0.2	99.4	0.6	93.9	6.1
1988	99.8	0.2	99.2	0.8	93.0	7.0
1989	99.7	0.3	98.9	1.1	92.1	7.9
1990	99.6	0.4	98.7	1.3	91.4	8.6
1991	99.6	0.4	98.6	1.4	90.5	9.5
1992	99.3	0.7	98.4	1.6	89.8	10.2
1993	98.8	1.2	98.2	1.8	89.2	10.8
1994	98.7	1.3	97.8	2.2	88.0	12.0
1995	98.4	1.6	97.3	2.7	87.2	12.8
1996	98.3	1.7	97.0	3.0	86.5	13.5
1997	97.9	2.1	96.6	3.4	85.7	14.3
1998	97.8	2.2	96.1	3.9	84.5	15.5
1999	97.2	2.8	95.3	4.7	83.8	16.2
2000	96.9	3.1	94.5	5.5	83.0	17.0
2001	96.5	3.5	93.7	6.3	82.2	17.8
2002	96.0	4.0	92.9	7.1	81.4	18.6
2003	95.3	4.7	92.3	7.7	80.9	19.1
2004	94.8	5.2	91.1	8.9	80.2	19.8
2005	94.5	5.5	90.3	9.7	79.3	20.7
2006	93.9	6.1	89.2	10.8	78.9	21.1
2007	92.8	7.2	88.0	12.0	78.6	21.4

Source: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Police Resources in Canada, 2007*.

As early as 1986, Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Schellhardt suggested women would

achieve advancement to senior positions in some sectors quicker than others due to existing

female longevity within certain industries. They identify financial services, insurance and retail

as professions where women have traditionally enjoyed greater representation and therefore

enhanced opportunity to navigate through the pipeline to supervisory and middle management

positions. This increased presence and mass permits a greater probability of advancement to

higher positions.[39] A 2003 Catalyst Canada review confirmed this 1986 observation, citing that

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[38] Tharenou, 52.
[39] Carol Hymowitz and Timothy D. Schellhardt, "The Glass Ceiling: Why Women Can't Seem to Break the Invisible Barrier that Blocks Them from the Top Jobs", *The Wall Street Journal* (New York, March 24, 1986).

women continue to enjoy greater representation in those industries.[40] This reality supports the premise that organizations with women executives and managers embrace policies that are inclusive of female perspectives and therefore emerge as attractive employment destinations for women. Females in policing have had to wait an additional fifteen years in the pipeline, crossing into the new millennium, before their proportions in ranking positions were of sufficient mass to allow selection for more senior roles.

In concert with Tharenou, Belcourt and McBey state that "managers have a tendency to select as their successors those who seem similar to themselves and who work in styles that are comfortable: the heirs apparent fit in; they look like the rest of the family members. Despite decades of employment equity, most key executives-in-waiting are white males."[41] This perspective illustrates the crossover of systemic discrimination with the pipeline theory. The reality that until women are represented in sufficient numbers at senior levels in order to break the incumbent "similar to me" process, many will continue to sit in the pipeline.

The value of seniority for promotion in the police environment appears to be a concept for which there is decreasing consensus. In his October 2007 research report *Police Management Job Analysis and Leadership Needs Assessment* completed for the Ontario Police College, Dr. Blake Jelley indicates there was apprehension amongst subject matter experts that too much emphasis was afforded seniority. Further, that some subject matter experts were concerned with the assumption that seniority was synonymous with knowledge, skills and abilities. Jelley also cautioned that the actual weight assigned to seniority in promotion processes may be higher than the "official breakdown of components would suggest".[42] Although there is certainly a necessity that officers acquire the required competencies

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[40] CBC News, "Few Cracks in glass ceiling: study", March 1, 2006. http://www.cbc.ca/money/story/2006/03/01/women-060301.html (accessed online October 14, 2008).

[41] Monica Belcourt and Kenneth J. McBey, *Strategic Human Resources Planning: Third Edition* (Toronto: Thomson Canada Limited, 2007), 248.

[42] R. Blake Jelley, *Police Management Job Analysis and Leadership Needs Assessment*, (Ontario Police College, October 2007), 84.

necessary for advancement prior to promotion, the perspective that such competencies are only achievable through tenure are flawed. Jelley's research indicates that some Ontario Police Services continue to over value seniority as an important component for promotion, an antiquated premise that supports the mandatory necessity that individuals must do time in the pipeline to gain eligibility for advancement.

Based upon results from police focus groups, the HayGroup report suggests promotions continue to have a significant correlation to seniority, with participants commenting that promotions are strongly influenced by years of service.[43] Table 3 lists the typical timelines the HayGroup found existed for career advancement (e.g. on average 11 years as a constable prior to promotion to sergeant).

Table 3
Typical Career Progression

Level	Average years of service before promotion to the next level
Constable	11
Senior Constable*	13
Sergeant	18
Staff Sergeant	21
Inspector	23
Senior Inspector**	25
Superintendent	20+

*In Ontario, prior to the implementation of experiential or retention pay, some Services included pay increments to recognize seniority.
**Only two Services in Ontario (Toronto Police Service and Peel Regional Police Service) have the rank of Staff Inspector between Inspector and Superintendent.[44]

These results support the notion that for many agencies, police culture continues to embrace the historic standard that seniority is a relevant and necessary component of the promotion system; a standard whose value is challenged by some subject matter experts utilized in Dr. Jelley's research. When considering the police service gender composition detailed in Table 1, the existence of the seniority requirements identified in Table 3 will require female officers to continue in the pipeline for several more years before their proportionate representation in ranks of staff sergeant and above increase.

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[43] HayGroup, p. 81
[44] Ibid.

In October 2002, the Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP) published the *State of Policing in Ontario*. Contained within the recruitment and training section are a reference to the value of seniority and its correlation to required experience in the context of leadership and promotion. In this segment, the report considers the human resource challenges facing contemporary police services and poses the following questions:

- At what point in an officer's career can we start to realistically move individuals into a management / leadership role?

- Will [we] be able to expect 10 years in the trenches before we promote?

- What are the labour relations repercussions for devaluing seniority in this time of transition (from life time careers to the career that may only span 6 to 10 years)?[45]

The report does not suggest answers however the existence of these questions indicates two precepts. First, that seniority has functioned as a substantial component of the promotion process and thereby indirectly acknowledges the existence of the pipeline theory operating within policing. Although this requirement applies to both genders, due to their lower proportional representation in the sector, the impact of seniority is greatest in limiting female advancement and therefore their representation at all levels. Secondly, that the need for discussion and potential reconsideration regarding the value of seniority has emerged. Although this concern is not being raised on the basis of gender representation, the fact it is being considered in the sector is positive in itself. The literature does not suggest that individuals should be advanced without the necessary experience and knowledge, skills and abilities (KSAs). In fact, these are precisely the attributes that should be considered for promotion and not a predetermined period of time that on its own, guarantees neither KSAs nor required experience.

Predisposition regarding gender differences or similarities is a further variable that continues to inhibit women in the pipeline, impacting the length of time they must spend in the

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[45] Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, *State of Policing in Ontario* (Toronto: Queens Park, October 29, 2002).

system. Through an internal study, Deloitte & Touche LLP 'found that when their managers

considered similarly qualified men and women, males who lacked experience in an area were

viewed as having untested potential, but females were viewed as not ready for promotion."[46]

This serves as a further example of how systemic barriers and organizational culture transcend

to theories such as the "pipeline".

2.3   Glass Ceiling Theory

> The 'glass ceiling' denotes a phenomenon in career
> development of females – 'a barrier so subtle that it is
> transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women and
> minorities from moving up in the management hierarchy'.[47]

It was 1986 when *Wall Street Journal* reporters Carol Hymowitz and Timothy Schellhardt

wrote their article describing the invisible barrier women face as they navigate through corporate

hierarchies on their journey towards the executive office; catapulting the term 'glass ceiling' to

the forefront in discussions related to gender inequality in the workplace.[48] Linda Wirth states

that "the term glass ceiling illustrates well the point that when there is no objective reason for

women not rising to the very top as men do, there exists inherent discrimination in the structures

and processes of both organizations and society in general."[49] In Carol Agocs' review of Human

Rights complaints related to systemic racial discrimination, she discusses the significance of

organization culture and systemic discrimination and the corresponding relationship with the

advancement of minorities, indicating how these institutionalized dynamics "may render minority

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[46] Stephen P. Robbins and Nancy Langton, *Fundamentals of Organizational Behaviour: Second Canadian Edition* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2005), 271.
[47] Yochanan Altman, Ruth Simpson, Yehuda Baruch and Ronald J. Burke, "Reframing the 'glass ceiling' debate" in Ronald J. Burke and Mary C. Mattis (eds), *Supporting Women's Career Advancement: Challenges and Opportunities*, (Cheltenham,UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2005), 59.
[48] Hymowitz and Schellhardt.
[49] Wirth, p. 25.

groups invisible" and "create a glass ceiling" inhibiting their representation across job categories.[50]

The 'glass ceiling' metaphor was originally coined to describe barriers for women seeking senior management positions. Gary Powell suggests that women achieve success at entry and middle management positions as a result of their objective skills and abilities supported by high levels of education; a situation that assists in leveling the field or even favors female applicants due to their academic achievements. Powell posits however that when considering higher level positions, societal stereotypes including those related to masculine managerial traits, disadvantage women "because women's presence at such levels most violates the norm of male superiority."[51] This concept is significant when considering the substantial male influence in policing and the recency of greater numbers of women into the profession, making the 'glass ceiling' application relevant to even lower levels of police management. The existence of a 'glass ceiling' in policing is further impacted by the reality that policing operates with a seniority based pension plan resulting in employees remaining for thirty to thirty-five year careers; a scenario where advancement is directly related to retirement somewhere in the hierarchal chain. Although this variable affects both genders, for the many reasons already discussed, the limited availability of openings has a greater impact upon women.

In *Looking up the Corporate* Ladder, Shirleen Weekes discusses the 'glass ceiling' in terms of three sub-categories: "Architecture of the business", "Knowledge" and "Mindset". Weekes captures the essence of the theory, stating:

> In terms of corporate Canada, the glass ceiling can be explained
> as not making full use of the nation's human capital. Simply put, it
> is when individuals are kept at a certain level of the corporation,

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[50] Carol Agocs, *Surfacing Racism in the Workplace: Qualitative and Quantitative Evidence of Systemic Discrimination*, http://www.ohrc.on.ca/en/issues/racism/racepolicydialogue/ca (accessed online Sept. 24, 2008).
[51] Gary N. Powell, "The Glass Ceiling: Explaining the Good and Bad News" in *Women in Management: Current Research Issues Volume II* edited by Marilyn J. Davidson and Ronald J. Burke (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 242-243.

> regardless of their training, knowledge and work experience. It is a perpetual struggle for equal access and equal opportunity. Architecture refers to barriers within the organization that prevent the employee from moving ahead. For example, problems of corporate structure, management biases, office politics, sexism and lack of programs to support visible minorities and women. Knowledge of the problem, or lack thereof is another barrier. Many businesses are not willing to admit the glass ceiling exists in their workplace, or don't know that it exists. The mindset of management is also important. It usually directs the business structure since values, norms and organizational culture are formed through the practices of its people.[52]

The multiple attributes related to the 'glass ceiling' include many that have been previously reviewed associated with systemic barriers and discrimination, organizational culture and the "pipeline" theory. These include:

- Traditional views related to male and female societal roles;

- child-bearing and child-rearing absences;

- Adverse impact discrimination

- organization policies void of female perspective;

- domestic responsibilities and the belief these will inhibit the necessary dedication to management responsibilities;

- belief that female managerial style is not conducive to senior management positions;

- organizational culture; specifically in the male dominated police environment with historic beliefs as to the appropriateness of female membership (more so in the pre-1995 era);

- Women not in the work force pipeline long enough;

- Lack of mentorship and sponsorship opportunities and;

- Exclusion or non-participation in informal and formal networks.

All of the above variables receive attention in the 'glass ceiling' literature however, the lack of formal and informal mentorship opportunities, exclusion from workplace networks and the area

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[52] Shirleen Weekes, "Looking up the corporate ladder" in *Canadian HR Reporter* (Dec. 2001), 14(22), 8, 9. Accessed online through ProQuest, (accessed Feb. 4, 2008).

of assignment for women at entry and middle management levels, receives considerable notice. Asha Tomlinson reports that a Catalyst U.S. study of 2,000 professional women resulted in the identification of four major barriers affecting female advancement specifically, lack of an influential mentor or sponsor, lack of informal networking with influential peers, lack of high-visibility assignments and lack of company role models of similar backgrounds.[53] These variables are vital towards the career development and preparation of women to compete with their male peers for advancement opportunities. Further, they are interrelated with each other as well as the other barriers previously discussed. In light of this emphasis, the remainder of the 'glass ceiling' review will focus on these variables.

In their 1998 review pertaining to development strategies for female members, Polisar and Milgram ask if female officers receive assignments and training that offer career enhancing opportunities and whether they have appropriate mentors to assist in navigating their careers.[54] The literature indicates that women who advance to first and middle management levels are frequently placed in lower profile positions with limited or no decision-making authority. These assignments inhibit them from acquiring requisite experience impacting their development related to enhanced knowledge, skills and abilities; opportunities experienced by their male counterparts. Tharenou's research revealed that women who secured line-positions achieved further advancement than those remaining in support roles.[55] Linda Wirth notes that national programmes and policies assist in providing greater gender balance in management positions however such policies rarely address the issue regarding the placement of women in decision-making capacities.[56] Wirth suggests that the movement of women through hierarchal positions is influenced by "vertical gender segregation"; a situation where female advancement continues

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[53] Tomlinson.
[54] Polisar and Milgram.
[55] Tharenou, 34.
[56] Wirth, 139.

to be inhibited by institutional barriers and social attitudes.[57] Organizational job assignment occurs at the discretion of decision-makers. For this reason, it is intimately tied to internal networks where relationships influence outcomes. Powell emphasizes the necessity that lower-level female managers must receive similar grooming afforded male managers in order to be competitively positioned for further advancement. He cites research indicating that males are generally assigned to positions that require increased decision-making and have a greater impact on the organization, whereas "women's jobs were lower in personal support due to their being excluded from key networks and receiving little encouragement from others."[58]

In the Ontario police environment, job assignment can be extrapolated to the general constable level and the officer's exposure to career development opportunities that position them as viable candidates for promotion to sergeant. With few exceptions, subsequent to hiring all constables will be assigned to uniformed patrol duties regardless of gender. Alterations to this 'equal' placement occur as constables gain seniority and experience and are assigned or selected for other lateral positions. In some organizations these transfers may occur through competitive job postings while others may be dependent upon management prerogative. Regardless of the process, success in obtaining placement in higher profile positions will be influenced by the informal and formal networks that officers have established during their careers. The PricewaterhouseCoopers research indicated that although women encounter obstacles related to promotion, some female interviewees claimed securing assignment to specialty units was an even greater challenge.[59]

Networks assist in placing a candidate at the forefront for consideration. Potential bias emerges regarding selection for positions such as Major Crime that allow an officer to participate in high profile investigations with career enhancing opportunities. These assignments involve possible challenges for women with young families since these positions often require

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[57] Wirth, 13.
[58] Powell, 244.
[59] PricewaterhouseCoopers, 72.

officers to be on-call and available to return to work with little or no notice. For female officers

with young children, unencumbered availability without some consideration may not be an

option. Knowledge of such a personal situation may result in a manager subtly and covertly

hesitating to considering the female officer. The influence of both formal and informal networks

assists in mitigating this concern, recognizing the candidate for their professional skills and

working towards managing the non-work related challenges. These networks will often include

both managers and influential peers.

Hymowitz and Schellhardt comment on the value acquired through informal networks

including after work activities such as golf and socializing indicating "a lot of male bonding and

informal mentoring gets done on golf courses".[60] Wirth believes women would be willing to

participate in "mixed social functions", but generally are less interested in off work activities and

often have less available time. She furthers that women tend to seek career advice from family

and friends rather than senior workplace individuals, resulting in a "certain amount of

'invisibility'."[61]

Valerie Petroff of Sun Microsystems of Canada posits that the biggest barrier to female

advancement in executive ranks is the presence, or absence of an influential network. Petroff

states that,

> Even when there are formal processes in place for succession
> planning and promotion, at the end of the day, the people who
> make the decisions are going to look for the people they know. If
> a woman hasn't established and grown the right relationships, she
> can miss out on many opportunities.[62]

Weekes relates that many decisions are made away from the workplace in non-business

settings and emphasizes the importance of women networking and socializing to assist their

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[60] Hymowitz and Schellhardt.

[61] Wirth, 146.

[62] Anonymous, "Promoting Gender Diversity", *Canadian HR Reporter* (Toronto: Jan. 30, 2006), 19(2). Accessed online through ProQuest. (accessed on Feb. 4, 2008).

ascension up the corporate ladder.[63] Leaders tend to be attracted to candidates who are similar

to themselves, particularly when making promotion decisions with limited personal knowledge of

those being considered. Subsequently, male dominated administrations are more likely to

favour male candidates.[64] Nancy Lockwood argues that men are advantaged in promotional

situations as result of their links to mentoring and networks. She furthers that women are often

excluded from informal networks used by men to enhance work relationships as they frequently

involve activities that are perceived as "male" (e.g. golf) and this absence contributes to

workplace barriers.[65]

In the Catalyst survey cited by Tomlinson, lack of mentorship is identified as the primary

barrier facing women. Tharenou's research review suggests that "strong sponsors in strategic

positions help make up women's perceived lack of credibility as managers and help women to

gain legitimacy through their ties with strong sponsors, helping them to be promoted higher and

higher in the managerial hierarchy. Men have higher credibility for management than women so

need mentors less to sponsor them."[66] Susan Black, president of Catalyst Canada indicates that

most women who succeed had a mentor and in their survey sample almost all had a male white

mentor. Referencing the gender and race of the involved mentors, the Tomlinson article quotes

an African American woman who states, "All my mentors have been white guys. Who knows

better about life at the top than a white guy."[67]

Shirleen Weekes stresses the necessity that organizations engage in formal mentorship

programs given that mentorship is essential for any employee with aspirations for senior

management.[68] Powell posits that having a mentor is key for females achieving vertical

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[63] Weekes.

[64] Tharenou, 35.

[65] Nancy Lockwood, "The Glass Ceiling: domestic and international perspectives", *HR Magazine* (June, 2004), http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3495/is_6_49/ai_n6099202/print?tag=artBody;coll (accessed online on Oct.14, 2008).

[66] Tharenou, 36.

[67] Tomlinson.

[68] Weekes.

advancement, suggesting mentors are positioned to "buffer women from both overt and covert discrimination and help them overcome obstacles" in their ascension up the corporate ladder.[69] Jacqueline DeLaat discusses the U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission that emerged from the *Civil Rights Act of 1991* and their identification of mentoring as a critical component for career advancement. DeLaat furthers that depending on the organization, women often face challenges finding a mentor since most senior managers are male;[70] a situation that continues to be reflected in policing.

2.4   Generational Influences

Police human resource management in the new millennium is a more complex and demanding dynamic requiring greater attention and understanding from organization leaders. If police administrators desire to mould their Services through all levels to reflect the diversity of the community, they must recognize and accept the value of all within the organization as well as the potential from future hires. In conjunction with this requirement of leaders, for employees to achieve vertical success it is important they understand the generations with whom they work. In the context of this paper, not only is it necessary for administrators to acknowledge the quality and value of female officers, it is imperative that female members recognize the attributes and influences of managers, since it is through these individuals they must establish networks and seek mentorship opportunities.

Most contemporary police service staff are comprised of a minimum of three generations, with a few having remnants of a fourth. Strauss and Howe contend that four cohorts potentially coexist within the modern work place. The Silent Generation representing those born between 1925 and 1942; the Baby Boomers accounting for births between 1943 and 1960; Generation X (Xers) related to persons born between 1961 and 1981; and the Millennials

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[69] Powell, 244.

[70] Jacqueline DeLaat, *Gender in the Workplace; A Case Study Approach, Second Edition*, (Thousand Oaks, California; Sage Publications, 2007), xix.

or Generation Y, referencing the population segment born between 1982 and 2002.[71] Howe and Strauss emphasize the necessity to go beyond simple fertility statistics when describing generations, articulating the importance of boundaries related to generational persona: "a distinctly human and variable creation embodying attitudes about family life, gender roles, institutions, politics, religion, culture, lifestyle, and the future."[72] It is this context of persona that shape those identified within each generation.

Demographics are critical to most human resource discussions including promotion, and particularly applicable in the current environment where the movement of diverse and younger workers into the workplace is directly associated to the exit of aging employees rather than an expanding employment market. As previously indicated, women continue to be hired annually into Canadian policing at a growth rate exceeding men; a dynamic that has permitted a consistent increase in the proportion of females within policing since the 1980's. As a result of this hiring trend the majority of female officers eligible for promotion belong to the Generation X cohort and along with their male Xer counterparts, account for the largest segment of police employees. This majority are situated between the recent infusion of Millennial recruits and the mainly male white Boomers who include most managers and administrators. Organizational demographic diversity which is applicable to both genders, naturally results in conflicting generational perspectives and perceptions related to employee commitment, dedication and loyalty.

Police Boomer leaders gained employment at a time when jobs were plentiful and the opportunity for promotion was excellent and unlike their parents, many achieved post secondary education either prior to, or during their employment tenure. As the Silent Generation retired, Boomers progressed throughout the various layers of management however, during the past

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[71] Neil Howe and William Strauss, *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), 14.
[72] Ibid, 40.

decade of fiscal challenges, they have had to accept expanded responsibilities coupled with extended work weeks; a combination that directly influences their work-life balance.

Xers matured during a time in stark contrast to their predecessor generations. They were quickly labeled as slackers and non-committed by both the Silent Generation and Boomers; a moniker researchers now believe was affixed too early and may not be sustainable. Craig and Bennett argue "it is impossible to know for certain whether any differences that currently exist between the Xers and older cohorts will endure."[73] Tuglan suggests these labels were unfair statements directed towards a generation that sought greater information and participation related to decision-making. A generation criticized for having a short attention span when in reality, they sought answers to countless questions that arose due to their exposure and experience within an information revolution.[74]

Depending upon their birth date, Gen Xers were parented either by the Silent Generation or early Boomers and subject to societal influences these adults contributed towards. Boomers created the "me" decade of the 1970's and the quest for conspicuous consumption including the emergence of "DINKS" (double income no kids) who enjoyed a lifestyle of luxuries and comforts. But was a similar lifestyle available to the Xers as they moved into the workplace during the 1980's and was this cohort prepared to make the same employment commitments?

In contrast to their parent's upbringing, Xers were exposed to televised accounts of the Vietnam War, an unpopular and losing military endeavor, something not previously encountered in North American society. In addition, social and economic changes that included escalating divorce rates resulted in an increase of women entering the workplace. For many Xers, these factors placed them in two working parent households or increasingly, single parent families where they became "latchkey" children, preparing dinner for their parent(s) while at the same

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[73] Stephen C. Craig and Stephen Earl Bennett, *After the Boom: The Politics of Generation X,* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 1997), 8.

[74] Bruce Tulgan, *Managing Generation X: How to bring out the best in young talent*, (Oxford: Capstone Publishing, 1996), 3-8.

time receiving less parental attention and direction. This reality resulted in the development of enhanced independence and recognition that they could function without continual adult intervention.

Xers witnessed economic slowdowns and watched their parents downsized from companies to which loyalty and dedication had been firmly entrenched. Although negatively impacting Xer desire to espouse loyalty to a single employer which created the perception they were disloyal employees, this exposure did not necessarily result in a negative attitude towards work itself. This loyalty perception operates within the contemporary police environment. Although usually remaining within the police sector, officers will resign from one Service and be re-hired by another as they seek to satisfy desired lifestyle requirements. This may be achieved through preferable shift plans, geographic relocation (movement from the Greater Toronto Area [GTA] to a smaller center) and enhanced opportunity for lateral and vertical movement. Compensation is not an impacting variable as the top fourteen Ontario Police Services have similar salary and benefit packages.

As Xers entered the job market in the early 1980's, interest rates sky-rocketed to 22% and they quickly realized their economic future and immediate opportunities were emerging quite different than those of their parents. They had to compete with the mass of Boomers already in the employment market and learned desired jobs and upward mobility were far from plentiful at a time when living expenses soared. This was particularly relevant in the public sector where employee longevity was the norm. From the Xer perspective, very little remained reliable and not subject to change. Tulgan states as an Xer, "we have little reason to be idealistic – nothing in Xers' life experience has remained the same long enough to inspire our unquestioning belief. What we believe in most is change and uncertainty."[75] Although Xers are considered not to be cohesive in terms of overall generational values, what they do share is the desire for new experiences, workplace adaptability and concern for personal image among their

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[75] Tulgan, 26.

peers. In addition, Xers are interested in greater balance in their lives. They are not impressed by authority and have little interest in mirroring their workaholic parents.[76]

Of significant importance to police leaders is the expectation of the largest cohort presently in policing which includes the majority of female officers eligible for promotion. Belcourt and McBey suggest that Xers "have fewer expectations of organizations and perceive themselves as independent agents."[77] The contrast however is what the organization's expectations are of employees who desire vertical advancement. With the constant evolution of technology resulting in instantaneous contact and information transfer, employees are beginning to resent the managerial role demand that one must be available at all times. Similar to other sectors, police managers and administrators are connected 24 / 7 through wireless technology. The expectation follows that if the message has been forwarded and the sender knows the receiver has instant access through a Blackberry or other handheld device, an acknowledgement is anticipated. This pervasive intrusion beyond the workplace is now a reality for those seeking advancement. It is an intrusion that must not only be tolerated, but accepted as a condition and requirement of management positions.

Although generational implications impact both genders, the fact that women continue to retain greater responsibility for domestic obligations increases their desire for appropriate work life balance. This reality, in conjunction with the fact that the majority of female police officers eligible for promotion have been hired in the past 15 years and are therefore likely to have young families, potentially influences their decision to participate in a time consuming promotion process. It is interesting to note that over 75% of Employee Assistance Plan users are females and the single most common issue is work-life balance.[78]

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[76] Robbins and Langton, 75.
[77] Belcourt and McBey, 76.
[78] Stewart, Belcourt, Bohlander and Snell, 266.

Chapter 3

3.0   Research Design and Methodology

As the focus of this research paper is to identify possible trends associated to

participation in the promotion process by gender, a longitudinal research design utilizing a time

series approach was selected. The period from 2000 through 2007 was chosen to ensure that

female officers were not disadvantaged due to insufficient seniority in the workplace. The

secondary data in Table 1 detailing female participation within the Canadian police environment

suggests that by the year 2000, the percentage of female officers with ten and above years of

seniority during the study period would range from 6.4% to 12.2%, a tenure that would address

many promotion seniority requirements.

The preliminary research in preparation for this paper revealed there was no existing

quantitative information specific to participation rates related to promotion in policing. To

address this void, a closed-ended survey questionnaire pertaining to the study period was

constructed to acquire data particular to gender participation in competitions for promotion to the

ranks of sergeant, staff sergeant and inspector. A copy of this survey can be found in Appendix

2.

In determining the survey population, the following issues were considered.

1. The size of the police service. Small agencies have minimal opportunity for

     advancement and may not necessarily have positions at the three ranks considered in

     the study. Further, smaller agencies would be significantly less likely to have programs /

     processes specific to gender.

2. The probability that the police service will have the data requested.

3. Survey design. Recognizing that each police agency has an independent promotion

     process, questions had to be crafted to address these potential differences. In addition,

     the survey length must remain manageable for the participants.

4. The likelihood of response by the agency. Police services are less likely to provide response to inquiries requiring significant resource allocation. As a result the survey length was important. It was acknowledged that if the information existed, most police agencies would require a level of manual file searching to complete the survey.

5. The overall representation of police officers captured in the sample population.

The 2007 Statistics Canada data indicates there were 64,134 police officers across Canada representing all levels of policing including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Removing the RCMP from this number reduces this to approximately 44,000 nationally. With the RCMP excluded from the total, the province of Ontario has the largest proportion of officers at 23,109. There are fifty-eight municipal police services in Ontario (not including First Nations Police Services), plus the OPP; the fourteen largest agencies represent 87.34% or 20,183 of Ontario officers.[79] Considering this data in conjunction with the five considerations listed above, the survey was forwarded to the fourteen largest Ontario police services. Appendix 1 lists the fifty-eight Ontario municipal police services, plus the OPP and identifies the fourteen contacted for participation in the survey.

As the research question was also of interest to the author's employer, the London Police Service, the survey was forwarded to the selected agencies on behalf of the writer and the London Police Service. The Management of the London Police Service has permitted the use of the survey data for the purpose of this research paper.

The survey consisted of 10 questions. Questions 1 through 6 sought quantitative information by gender related to the following.

1. Actual Sworn complement for each study year;

2. Number of officers with ten years or less seniority and more than ten years seniority for the years 2000 and 2007;

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[79] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Police Resources in Canada, 2007,* Catalogue no. 85-225-XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2007).

3. Number of authorized positions for the ranks of sergeant, staff sergeant and inspector for each year;

4. Number of candidates competing for promotion in each of the ranks for each year;

5. Number of candidates who were successful in the competition for each rank in each year; and

6. The number of vacancies filled in each rank for each year.

The significance of the wording for each question is important given the differences existing within organizations associated with the promotion process. In question #1 the term 'actual' was requested to capture the number of persons actually employed by the agency during the year. Staffing in policing fluctuates constantly due to retirements and resignations and therefore the 'authorized' complement, the number approved by the governing Police Services Board, is rarely maintained. Services frequently operate below complement as they recruit to replace departures.

In question #3, 'authorized' was selected to capture the rank positions approved by the Police Services Board for each level and year. Some agencies may utilize "acting" ranks for temporary projects / programs. As these are not permanent positions and would fluctuate between agencies, they were excluded from the survey.

Question #4 specifically requests data pertaining to persons 'competing' in the promotion process, whereas question 5 relates to "successful" candidates and question 6 to those who actually filled vacancies. It was necessary to include the wording in questions 5 and 6 to address promotion process variances across the agencies. Some police organizations will place "successful" candidates on a list of members qualified for promotion however the list may have an expiry date. As a result, although a member was 'successful' in the promotion process, they may never actually achieve promotion due to the expiration of the list before a vacancy occurred. As a result of this possibility, question 6 sought data related to those actually achieving promotion in each of the study years.

Questions 7 and 8 inquire as to whether the Service has a procedure or process in place to 'encourage' female participation or if such a procedure has ever been considered. Question 9 asks whether seniority is a component of the promotional process and if so the assigned weight, while question 10 simply addresses the participant's desire to receive a copy of the survey outcome. At the end of the survey an area entitled "Additional Comments" was included to allow for qualitative remarks.

In addition to the primary data sought through the survey, the Ontario Police College (OPC) was contacted regarding information associated with participation in the provincial promotion exam for each rank level. Although this exam is not legislated as a mandatory requirement for promotion, most agencies require their members to pass the exam to satisfy some component of their promotion process. Since the potential of this data was not known at the time of the survey distribution, a question related to the use of the exam in each Service's process was not included.

To augment the primary data collected during the research, longitudinal secondary data contained in Statistics Canada reports related to female proportions in policing both in general and associated to Senior Officer Ranks and NCO positions was also reviewed.

Chapter 4

4.0   Analysis

Prior to forwarding the survey to the selected Services, personal contact with a senior staff member from each agency occurred resulting in initial commitment and interest to participate and complete the survey. The survey was then forwarded to the attention of the senior member on March 12, 2008 with a response requested by April 8, 2008. By May, 2008 only three agencies had replied, resulting in follow-up communications with the non-responding organizations requesting and encouraging their continued participation. By July, 2008 response had been received from nine of the original fourteen Services resulting in representation of 15,478 or 67% of Ontario police officers.

Regarding the issue of survey population, the interpretation of the survey data has two possibilities. The first is the primary intent of the research, that being the identification of trends across gender of Ontario police officers and therefore related to the survey population (N=15,478) of Ontario police officers represented by contributing agencies. The second and less weighted value pertains to the number of participating police services (N=9). As indicated in the Research Design and Methodology chapter, survey participants were selected due to their overall representation of Ontario police officers, allowing for analysis related to police officers rather than police agencies.

The differences between large and small police agencies regarding frequency and opportunity associated to promotion and recruiting are significant. Therefore, considering that the forty-five agencies not included in the original survey selection account for only 13% of all Ontario officers, their impact on trends related to the general police population is limited. Further, despite the fact that five of the initial participants did not respond, the sample population continues to represent 67% of all Ontario police officers; a percentage sufficient to support external validity beyond the sample group.

Through communications with the fourteen Services, it was apparent that the information being sought was not readily available for some agencies and simply not available for others. Respondents identified information gaps either on the survey returns or through correspondence accompanying the survey. Only London, Greater Sudbury and Thunder Bay were able to provide all requested information. Considering their size and organizational complexity the two largest Ontario Services, Toronto and the OPP, were both capable of completing a large percentage of the survey. Toronto was comprehensive in their information provision, missing only sporadic data, while the OPP were able to provide complete data for the years 2003 through 2007 while experiencing information gaps for the period 2000 – 2002. For certain questions Durham Regional, Hamilton, Waterloo Regional and Halton Regional, were confined to data for recent years, with each experiencing information voids of some level in all questions.

When reviewing data from Q4 (competing for promotion), Q5 (successful candidates) and Q6 (achieving promotion) there are occasions where data was either not available (indicate by "Na") or occasions when there was no competition (indicated by "Nc") in a given year. In the policing environment promotion competitions are initiated to either fill existing vacancies or more often, to create a list of qualified candidates in anticipation of potential openings. As a result there are years when Services do not hold competitions for specific or all ranks. In years when no competitions are held the frequencies may be reduced however the percentages remain reflective of the promotion environment for that year. The complete data for all questions from all respondents is contained within Appendix 3.

4.1   Survey Data Analysis

As previously discussed, the main challenges with the survey design include the potential availability of data, the human resources necessary to facilitate completion of the questions and the promotion process differences between organizations. Considering these

challenges it was anticipated that response to certain questions would require greater effort than others.

Q1 – Actual Sworn Complement by Gender for each year

Q1 was an item anticipated to achieve a 100% completion rate since similar annual data is mandated by Statistics Canada, yet two agencies provided no data for 2000, 2001 and 2002 while a third provided overall totals with no gender break down for the years 2000 through 2004. Data for this question was requested as opposed to sourcing secondary information in order to address exclusions inherent within Statistics Canada parameters that require Services not to include officers unavailable for duty. This requirement excludes female members absent on maternity leave during the survey collection from being tracked in the reported number. As a result, despite the actuality that a Service may employ a certain number of female police officers, their temporary absence precludes them from being quantified in the Statistics Canada reports. With the research emphasis pertaining to gender it was preferable to have primary data that included all permanent male and female officers during each survey year and not excluding members due to temporary absences.

The data from Q1was tabulated by individual Service as well as year totals and reflected in both frequency and percentage. The percentage data listed in Table 4 provides a comparison

Table 4
Comparison between survey and national data of percentage of female police officers

	Survey Data	**Statistics Canada Data**
2000	14.2%	13.7%
2001	14.6%	14.5%
2002	15.3%	15.3%
2003	16.4%	15.7%
2004	16.9%	16.5%
2005	17.4%	17.3%
2006	17.6%	17.9%
2007	18.1%	18.5%

Source: Police Resources in Canada, 2001 – 2007.

to national statistics and illustrates that the survey sample is consistent with the national population.

Q2 – Sworn members having service of: a)Ten years or less
**   b) More than ten years**

Question 2 was designed to capture the length of service of both male and female officers for the years 2000 and 2007. It was acknowledged that if the data existed in Service records the compilation would require manual reviews of staffing lists and therefore be human resource intensive. As a result of this implication, data for each of the eight survey years was not requested. Further, there was concern that the time commitment required to collect this data may be prohibitive for some agencies and thereby negatively influence the level of completion by some of the contributing Services. The time and availability concern for Q2 was evidenced through responses, with all nine participants providing information for 2007 while only Toronto, Hamilton, London, Thunder Bay and Sudbury provided data for 2000. Q2 information however remains pertinent when considering the relationship between seniority and (Q4) competing for promotion, (Q5) success in the promotional process and (Q6) vacancies filled / achieving actual promotion, and used in conjunction with Statistics Canada data. The statistical void regarding the analysis occurs since the seniority of the individual officers included in the responses to questions 4 through 6 is not known.

When considering the information in Table 1, the following observations related to female officers and seniority can be made. In 1985 only 3.6% of all police officers were female, a percentage that transcends forward to 2000 reflecting female members with fifteen years seniority and 2007 where a maximum of 3.6% may possess twenty-two years service. From the same data Table, female officers employed in 1990 can be anticipated to account for no more than 6.4% of the total of potential promotion candidates with ten years service in 2000 and seventeen years in 2007, while female members working in 1998 represent a potential of 12.2% of candidates possessing nine years of service in 2007. These percentages have important

implications for female officers employed by Police Services that continue to weight seniority as

a significant component in promotion competitions. The seniority parameters detailed in Table 3

suggest that a female officer's promotion competitiveness, real or perceived, will be influenced

by years of service. It is important to note however that Table 3 data was acquired through the

HayGroup 2007 national survey and collected during focus groups with members from Services

of all sizes. What is not clear is the size of Services represented in the focus groups or the

gender composition of the participants. In addition, the reliability of such qualitative data must be

considered.

As previously discussed police service size can influence the frequency and quantity of

promotional opportunities. Smaller agencies have limited opportunity for promotion resulting in

an increased probability that members of both genders may be required to remain in the

pipeline longer while awaiting vacancies. A more in depth collection of data beyond this paper's

scope is necessary to analyze the impact of police service size on the years required for

promotion. It is reasonable to predict that larger Services will have increased opportunity due to

the authorized number of positions coupled with the impact of contemporary demographics on

retirement, thereby reducing seniority requirements associated with advancement. Responses

to Q9 that inquires whether seniority is a component of the promotional process and if so the

corresponding weight, suggest that within larger Services this variable is being de-emphasized

in the contemporary police environment. The data reflecting the totals from Q2 are detailed in

Table 5 and Figure 1 while Q9 responses are listed in Table 6.

Table 5 –Years of Service

	Female		Male	
	10yrs or less	**more than 10yrs**	**10yrs or less**	**more than 10ys**
2000	6.6%	6.0%	25.4%	61.6%
N = 6984	458	422	1776	4301
2007	8.7%	9.2%	36.5%	45.6%
N= 15478	1350	1421	5643	7064

Figure 1

Seniority by Gender: 2000 vs 2007
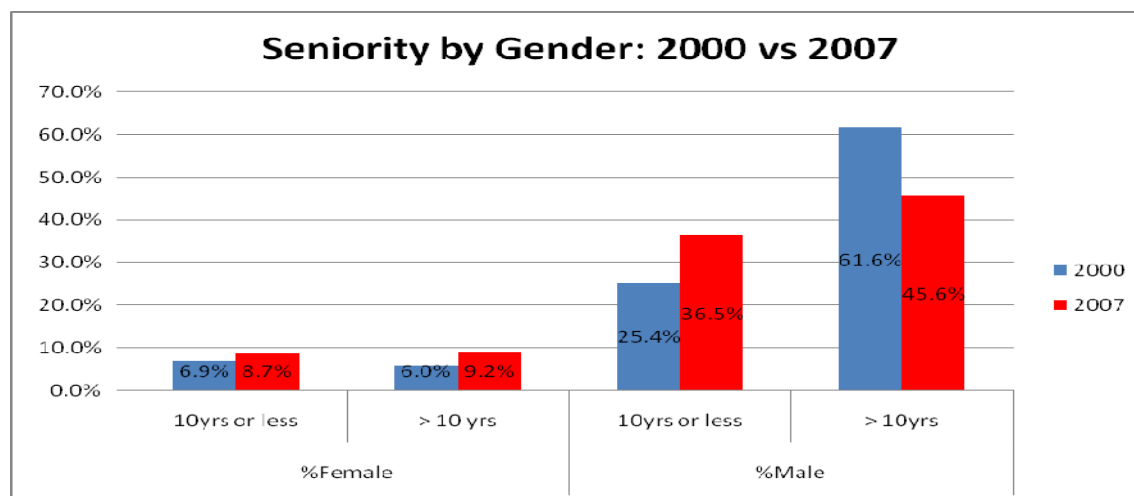
Table 6
Q9 survey responses regarding seniority

Toronto	OPP	Durham	Hamilton	Waterloo	Halton	London	Thunder Bay	Sudbury
Yes-minimum qualification for promotion	No	Not answered	Yes-used as a tie breaker	Yes-not scored but candidates must have 5 years at 1st class {constable} to participate.	No	Yes-value is restricted to 3% of total score.	Yes-value weighted at 10%	Yes – value weighted at 5%

      Q2 statistics indicate that by the year 2000 female officers with more than 10 years seniority represented 6.0% of all Ontario police officers. Prior to this period, promotion to the rank of sergeant with less than 10 years service was an infrequent occurrence while promotion to the ranks of staff sergeant and inspector without a minimum 15 years seniority was rare. By 2007 the number of female members possessing more than ten years service now exceeded 9.0% of all police officers and although this number is slightly lower than the approximate 11% reported by Statistics Canada for 1997[80], it is probable that any difference is partially accounted for by female members who left policing over the ten year period. Further comment related to seniority data will occur during the analysis of Q3, Q4, Q5 and Q6.

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[80] Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Police Resources in Canada, 1999*, Catalogue no. 85-225-XIE (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1999), 12.

Q3 – Total number of authorized positions for each rank

Q3 sought information related to the number of authorized positions in each rank for each survey year, with a break down by gender related to the rank incumbents. Authorized positions are those that exist on organizational charts and are required to be filled when vacancies occur. The survey data has been tabulated by individual Service, including the gender percentages specific to the total number of authorized positions in each rank for that Service. In addition, frequency totals and percentages reflective of the full sample population were also calculated for each rank. Charts containing complete data are located in Appendix 3 however the total percentages for each rank are detailed below in Table 7.

Table 7
Percentages for Authorized Positions for Sergeant, Staff Sergeant and Inspector

	Sergeant		Staff Sergeant		Inspector	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
2000	8.3%	91.7%	4.0%	96.0%	8.7%	91.3%
2001	9.5%	90.5%	5.1%	94.9%	8.0%	92.0%
2002	10.5%	89.5%	5.2%	94.8%	8.5%	91.5%
2003	10.6%	89.4%	6.5%	93.5%	8.4%	91.6%
2004	11.4%	88.6%	6.6%	93.4%	8.6%	91.4%
2005	12.1%	87.9%	6.5%	93.5%	9.5%	90.5%
2006	13.1%	86.9%	6.6%	93.4%	9.9%	90.1%
2007	14.4%	85.6%	6.6%	93.4%	10.9%	89.1%

Table 7 data suggests that the influence of seniority as a barrier for women in promotion post 2000 is dissipating. Recall that by the year 2000, female officers with 15 years or more service represented 3.6% or less of all police officers and that by the year 2007, 12.2% or less of all officers with nine or more years of seniority were female. During the survey period the percentage of women achieving promotion to the rank of sergeant, a position traditionally requiring approximately 10 plus years experience, exceeded the percentage of female officers possessing this tenure. In addition, the percentage of women achieving promotion to sergeant consistently increased throughout the study period rising from 8.3% in 2000 to 14.4% by 2007; a difference of +6.1%.

The HayGroup focus group data suggests the average seniority related to promotion for staff sergeant remains in the 21 year range. Accounting for the fact that agencies participating in this paper's research are considered large and therefore subject to greater employee movement, it is reasonable to reduce this seniority prerequisite to the 15 plus year range. Allowing for this consideration, the promotion percentage for women to this rank during the survey period is approximately equal to their representation by seniority in the police workforce. Further, there is positive movement over the research period as female staff sergeant representation increases from 4.0% in 2000 to 8.8% in 2007. This includes a consistent achievement in the 6.5% range for the years 2003 through 2006. Should the HayGroup seniority data from Table 3 be used, women achieved staff sergeant promotions in percentages exceeding their representation by years of service.

The Inspector rank is the first level of senior management and is traditionally staffed with members possessing twenty plus years experience, a seniority range that would be consistent in both large and smaller agencies. In reviewing data for this rank, Table 1 figures indicate that by the year 2000 a maximum of 2.2% of female members would possess twenty years service, with this number rising to approximately 5% by 2007. The survey data reveals that for the years 2000 through 2004 women comprised 8.0% to 8.7% of all Inspectors, rising to 10.9% by 2007; consistently exceeding the overall proportion or women possessing a minimum of twenty years seniority.

Similar to most organizations, policing operates within a triangular management framework with fewer positions existing at each hierarchal level as one progresses to the top point. As a result, opportunity for promotion to upper level ranks is limited due to the actual number of positions that exist. Further, within the Ontario police environment most police agencies do not permit skipping of ranks, resulting in subsequent vertical levels of management being reliant on the pool of candidates existing in ranks directly below those being competed for. Although a gender breakdown by rank for each management position is not available through

Statistics Canada, gender is reported related to general NCO or Senior Officer positions and this information is detailed in Table 2. The data indicates that nationally in 1999 women accounted for only 4.7% of NCO positions, resulting in a relatively small mass of female NCO candidates for movement to upper levels during the survey period. Unfortunately this data does not allow greater analysis as it is unknown how many of the NCO's pertain to each NCO rank (e.g. sergeant, staff sergeant) therefore restricting the ability to determine the impact these candidate pools have on subsequent vertical positions (e.g. sergeant to staff sergeant; staff sergeant to inspector). However when grouping sergeant and staff sergeant data from Q3, in 2000 females occupied 7.4% of Ontario "NCO" positions compared to the national proportion of 5.5% as detailed in Table 2.

Consideration was given regarding the possibility of using Q3 data in determining the influence of candidate mass in one rank on the quantitative success in the next rank in the following year however the data collected through this survey is insufficient. The information collected in Q5 (successful candidates) and Q6 (actual promotions) are not tracked to specific individuals who competed, thereby creating unknowns regarding how long a competing officer that was successful remained on a promotion list prior to achieving promotion. The Q5 data is complicated in this regard by the fact that certain agencies have expiring lists and therefore some officers listed as successful may never achieve promotion due to the expiration of the list. This question remains a matter requiring further research that would necessitate data with a greater focus on tracking individual officers through the process as well as accounting for the differences in promotional systems.

Q4 – Number of candidates <u>competing</u> for promotion in each rank

Of specific interest to this research is the quantity of officers by gender who "competed" for promotion at each level and Q4 was included to specifically request information related to the number of candidates actually competing for each rank. It was anticipated that depending on the record keeping of the participating Services, data for this question may be difficult to

acquire; a reality that was verified through the completeness of responses to this question as it varied across respondents. One Service advised they did not record or maintain this data and therefore were not able to provide a response for any of the years. A second agency was able to only provide data for the two most recent years, while two other Services had information from 2004 through 2007. Five of the nine Services were able to supply the data for the full study period.

In addition to record keeping, it was recognized that the differences in promotion process design would also impact the information obtained from each agency. For example, if the Ontario Police College (OPC) examination is a component of the Service's process, an agency may consider those who have successfully completed this stage to be competing, regardless of whether they proceeded through additional process requirements; not continuing may deem them as unsuccessful. In contrast, a Service may not consider a member competing unless they participated through the entire process emerging as either successful or unsuccessful. This determination was left for the Service to decide.

A further variable related to this question pertains to the timing of promotion competitions for each rank. Although information was sought for each year of the longitudinal study, depending upon the promotional process and staffing projections of the organization, Services may not initiate competitions each year. This is more prevalent for the Inspector rank as there are significantly less positions at this level resulting in some Services not hosting competitions for two or three consecutive years. Although a reduction in competitions decreases the frequency related to the total number of "competing" officers for that year, since the sample population represents the number of positions available at the provincial level, the percentages continue to generally reflect the "competition" environment for that year. However, as a result of the gaps in competitions there are instances where within certain years for a specific rank, the limited number of Services engaging in a competition result in low total frequencies. The impact on frequency is further compounded by the absence of information from some survey
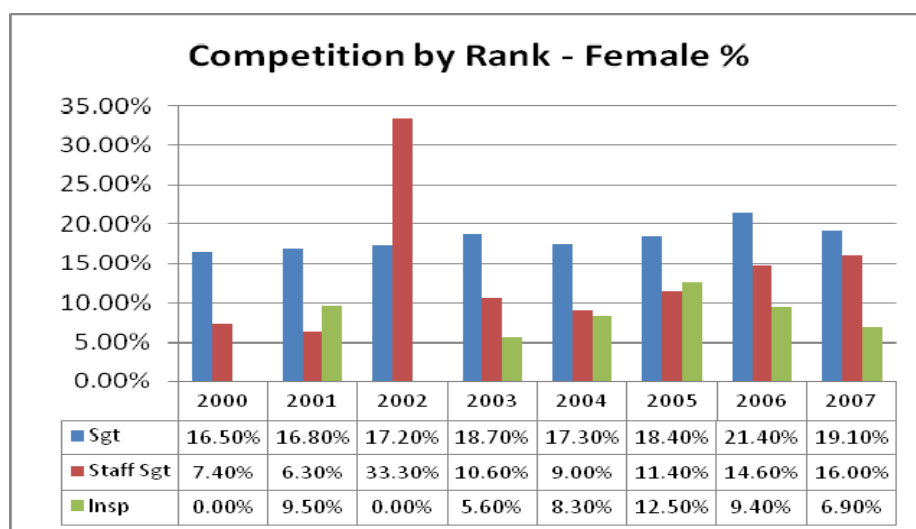
respondents for corresponding years and rank. The non-availability of this data reflects the

reality of the information available and obtained; an outcome in itself indicating the lack of

consideration afforded to track this level of data and its corresponding importance to reviewing

the human resource dynamics within police organizations. While the complete data including

breakdown by Service can be found in Appendix 3, Table 8 details the percentage by gender

and year for each rank.

Table 8
Gender Percentages: Number of officers competing for Sergeant, Staff Sergeant and Inspector

	Sergeant		Staff Sergeant		Inspector	
	F	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**
2000	16.5%	83.5%	7.4%	92.6%	0%	100%
2001	16.8%	83.2%	6.3%	93.7%	9.5%	90.5%
2002	17.2%	82.8%	33.3%	66.7%	0%	100%
2003	18.7%	81.3%	10.6%	89.4%	5.6%	94.4%
2004	17.3%	82.7%	9.0%	91.0%	8.3%	91.7%
2005	18.4%	81.6%	11.4%	88.6%	12.5%	87.5%
2006	21.4%	78.6%	14.6%	85.4%	9.4%	90.6%
2007	19.1%	80.9%	16.0%	84.0%	6.9%	93.1%

Overall, the percentage of female officers competing for promotion at each rank exceeds the

percentage that may have been expected when considering years of service. Figure 2 depicts

female competition by rank and visualizes anomalies existing in the data related to Staff

Figure 2

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
■ Sgt	16.50%	16.80%	17.20%	18.70%	17.30%	18.40%	21.40%	19.10%
■ Staff Sgt	7.40%	6.30%	33.30%	10.60%	9.00%	11.40%	14.60%	16.00%
■ Insp	0.00%	9.50%	0.00%	5.60%	8.30%	12.50%	9.40%	6.90%

Sergeant and Inspector. In 2002 only Sudbury reported holding a competition for Staff Sergeant consisting of a total of 6 candidates; 4 male and 2 female. Although representative of what occurred in the sample population, this extremely low frequency produces a somewhat skewed percentage outcome. Similarly for the Inspector rank in 2000 and 2002 several Services did not host competitions, again resulting in female frequencies of zero; it remains accurate however, that no female candidates participated in those years for that rank.

Q5 – Number of candidates <u>successful</u> in competition for promotion in each rank.

Q6 – Vacancies filled in each rank by gender

The intent of Q5 and Q6 was to track the "success" of the competing members. As previously mentioned, it was necessary to include a question related to "successful" candidates as well as one pertaining to "vacancies filled" as a result of actual promotions, in order to address the variances between promotion processes. For some respondents the information for Q5 and Q6 is the same. The complexity of analysis related to data from Q4, Q5 and Q6 is apparent when reviewing the following two police service examples. Within the OPP promotion system a "promotion credit" is assigned to a successful candidate, with the credit having a four year expiration period. This process design and the fact the OPP only hosted competitions in 2001, 2003 and 2006, coupled with their ability to provide complete responses for Q6 only for years 2005, 2006 and 2007, creates difficulty when analyzing results pertaining to Q4, Q5 and Q6. In 2003, 154 female officers competed for promotion to the rank of sergeant (Q4). According to Q5, 45 were successful in acquiring their "credit". There is no gender specific data for 2003 or 2004 related to vacancies filled; this data becomes available for 2005 – 2007. Since those who competed in 2001 had a credit valid for 4 years, some of the 2001 "successful" members as well as 2003 "successful" candidates may be accounted for in the 2005 "vacancies filled" response.

A similar complexity exists for Services where there is no list expiry. In the London scenario, members who are successful and placed on a promotion list will be promoted as

vacancies occur. The statistical challenge emerges when more than one list for the same rank exists concurrently; a situation that occurs as the initial list reduces to one or two candidates and through promotion planning determinations, a requirement is identified exceeding those on the incumbent list. As a result a new competition is held and a second list of successful candidates emerges and co-exists with the first; the promotion procedure dictates that the existing list must be exhausted prior to selecting from the new list. The existence of two lists results in the possibility that vacancies filled in one year occurred with members from lists associated with two different competition years. In both examples, without information specific to individual members, it is not possible to complete statistically significant quantitative analysis however, qualitative observations remain possible. Graphs depicting the data by frequency and percentage for female and male members related to each rank associated with Q4, Q5 and Q6, are located in Appendix 4.

When graphing results for Q4, Q5 and Q6 collectively, it was important to include both frequencies and percentages to avoid potential misinterpretations associated to percentage only data regarding competing (Q4) and successful candidates (Q5) in a year when there were no female participants. For example, in the year 2002 four Services did not have available data and four Services including the OPP and Toronto did not hold Inspector competitions. This resulted with only 9 persons across the survey population participating in the competition (Q4); all of whom were male. In 2002, 7 males and no females were reported as successful (Q5) and 2 males and no females filled permanent vacancies (Q6). In this instance percentages would indicate that 100% of persons competing were male; 100% of successes were male; and 100% of vacancies filled were male. Without the benefit of frequencies, the reader may interpret this as all 2002 male candidates were successful and filled positions. Since we cannot ascertain from what competition year a vacancy filled occurred and for how long a successful candidate remained on a list (could be years depending upon vacancy openings), data reported in this instance by percentages only may result in an inaccurate interpretation. Since some years

indicate limited opportunity to compete (Q4) in certain ranks, the frequencies provide perspective to the actual numbers involved.

When reviewing the graphs it is necessary to consider the complete data for each question as detailed in Appendix 3 since the peaks and valleys related to persons competing (Q4) are associated to whether competitions were held or not held in a given year; a variable influenced by the two major contributing Services. Further, when "no competitions" are coupled with years where data has not been provided by some Services, the probability of low reported frequencies increases. Although the "no competition" impact accurately reflects the reality of available opportunity to compete, the data gaps in the early years of the survey period influence the reliability of statistical interpretation for those years.

While acknowledging the impacts and limitations discussed, the "competing" data (Q4) indicates that female participation for promotion in all three ranks improved throughout the survey period. Further, in terms of achieving success as expressed through both Q5 and Q6, the data also indicates improvements were achieved in this regard, with females again achieving percentage successes above what would be anticipated when considering historical seniority requirements.

In addition to the survey data, the Ontario Police College (OPC) provided provincial examination participation rates for the years 2003 through 2007. The OPC acknowledged that prior to this request for information, officer participation by gender had not been tracked and therefore required a manual search of records using the masculinity or femininity of the candidate's name to identify gender. As a result of uncertainty associated with gender neutral names (e.g. Chris, Pat) the reported data includes results for male, female and unknown categories. When gender of the participant could not absolutely be determined by the listed name, the individual was placed in the unknown category.

The presence of the "unknown" category affects conclusions related to participation rates however, with the exception of year 2003 the impact of the "unknown" component is

limited. In addition, although consideration is afforded the fact that OPC exams are not a

mandated provincial requirement, Richard Beazley's 2007 research determined that 89% of

police services use the OPC examination as a component of their promotional process[81]; an

outcome that enhances the usefulness of the exam statistics when reviewing female

participation. The OPC information is detailed in Table 9.

Table 9[82]
Ontario Police College Promotional Exams: Participation by Gender for each rank

	Constable to Sergeant					Sergeant to Staff Sergeant					Staff Sergeant to Inspector				
	M	F	u/k	T	%F	M	F	u/k	T	%F	M	F	u/k	T	%F
2003*	325	70	149	544	12.9%	105	12	63	180	6.7%	39	0	20	59	0%
2004	534	126	18	678	18.6%	133	26	3	162	16.1%	72	4	2	78	5.1%
2005	539	121	23	683	17.7%	162	19	5	186	10.2%	52	5	1	58	8.6%
2006**	1001	251	44	1296	19.4%	370	70	7	447	15.7%	48	8	2	58	13.8%
2007	681	121	18	820	14.8%	157	33	7	197	16.8%	88	7	2	97	7.2%

*2003 – disproportionate number of "gender u/k" due to limited data
**2006 included OPP participation only at the Cst to Sgt and Sgt to S/Sgt levels. The OPP did not utilize the OPC exam in 2003 – 2005.

Acknowledging the limitations of the OPC exam as a singular indicator of participation by

gender, a comparison of OPC data with Q4 (competing) was completed to illustrate the

corresponding percentage participation rates; this data comparison is found in Table 10.

When reviewing Table 10, there are two impacts that affect the direct comparison of the two

data sources. First, the exam is not a mandatory requirement and was not applicable to the

OPP during the entire survey period and secondly, many agencies allow members to hold exam

marks extended periods; within Beazley's sample population the exam expiration period varied

between 1 and 10 years.[83] The holding of the exam mark makes it impossible to conclusively

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[81] Beazley, 29.
[82] Ontario Police College, July 30, 2008.
[83] Ibid, 27.

Table 10
Comparison of Q4 (competing) female results with OPC exam female participation rates.

	Sergeant		Staff Sergeant		Inspector	
	Q4	OPC	Q4	OPC	Q4	OPC
2003	18.7%	12.9%	10.6%	6.7%	5.6%	0.0%
2004	17.3%	18.6%	9.0%	16.1%	8.3%	5.1%
2005	18.4%	17.7%	11.4%	10.2%	12.5%	8.6%
2006	21.4%	19.4%	14.6%	15.7%	9.4%	13.8%
2007	19.1%	14.8%	16.0%	16.8%	6.9%	7.2%

compare participation in the provincial exam with corresponding data for competing (Q4) in by

rank for a given year. Despite the above data influences, the OPC results do however support

earlier observations that generally, females are participating in the promotion process in

proportions higher than their achieved seniority level associated with the ranks competed for.

Chapter 5

5.0   Conclusion

> Women confront a labyrinth that poses many challenges
> to their leadership. Clearly, women can't tear down the
> labyrinth on their own. Employment discrimination, organizational
> policies that favor men, and inequities in domestic responsibilities
> all contribute to women's lesser advancement. So organizations,
> men, and society in general must do their part to enable women
> and men to attain true equality and gain the same paths to leadership.[84]

There is no debate in the literature reviewed regarding the disadvantaged status of women who entered Canadian policing pre-1980. They were confined to feminine societal roles within the workplace and alienated from frontline police duties. Women who persevered through this period and began to achieve success in the latter part of the 1980's were true pioneers in the Canadian police environment. They endured a time where organizational culture not only favored men but disadvantaged women; a culture that was often visually reinforced by the design of the very buildings in which they worked.

A number of influences began to occur in the 1980's and 90's that would encourage women either overtly or covertly to seek employment and later, advancement in policing.

- Greater number of women entering the workforce in general.

- Enhanced educational level of women candidates.

- Changing demographics within policing; increasing number of Xers replacing the Silent Generation and Boomers. Gen X males possessed enhanced education and more liberal perspectives related to gender societal roles.

- Community desire for greater diversity representation within policing.

- Employment equity / human rights legislation.

- Political influence towards greater gender balance and in some sectors affirmative action programs. (e.g. the Ontario NDP government in the 1990's).

- Increasing percentages of female officers through the 1980's and 90's resulted in building a greater mass to move through the organizational pipeline.

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[84] Alice H. Eagly and Linda L. Carli, *Through the Labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders*, (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2007),180.

- The establishment of female specific support networks (e.g. 1996/97 creation of Ontario Women in Law Enforcement).

- Promotion processes with greater emphasis on competencies rather than seniority.

- The new millennium witnessed the retirement of a bulge of male officers hired in the late 1960's; including many in management positions.

Singularly, each of these variables had limited impact however collectively they created the potential for women to achieve successes both laterally and vertically within policing. The emergence of these variables did not instantly eliminate the various barriers that impeded women, rather they served as an opportunity to strengthen the resolve of female members to challenge these obstacles.

Changing attitudes regarding the value of women in policing began to permeate through senior management levels by the late 1990's. Both the Ontario and Canadian Associations of Chiefs of Police identified the necessity to encourage female involvement in the policing profession and instituted committees to examine the dynamics of this paradigm shift. Of course this did not result in immediate elimination or removal of over a century of engrained barriers, but it was a conscious beginning; the recognition that there was an issue requiring attention. An outcome associated with this changing leadership perspective is visible in the increased number of female recruits over the past 15 years. Strategies focused on female recruitment were a positive indicator of the desire for organizational change regarding gender balance however, attention and acknowledgement regarding internal systemic barriers proceeded at a slower pace. As we entered the new millennium policing was only beginning to consider workplace initiatives such as job sharing and enhanced maternity benefits in response to the increasing number of female officers, many of whom were beginning to have families.

It was recognized during the development of this research paper that acquisition of survey data would be the greatest challenge. Communication with the HR leaders of the fourteen police agencies resulted in interest related to the research, yet concern the data would

either be difficult to extract or simply not available. Although it cannot be concluded with certainty that the Services not responding were unable to retrieve the data required of the survey, comment received from the nine respondents included admissions that certain information did not exist. Whether the difficulty of extraction or lack of data availability was due to information retention procedures, inadequate tracking, or limited collection, the inference remained constant; the issue of female promotion had not received sufficient priority and therefore mechanisms to track and analyze data were not implemented. This is further acknowledged from the Ontario Police College where they too had not tracked promotion exam participation by gender until this request.

When considering the topic of female advancement, it is interesting to note that the 1986 release of Hymowitz and Schellhardt's glass ceiling article corresponds to the same year the *Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics* began to list data associated to female percentages in police management. At that time there were no female police chiefs in Ontario. Fast forward to 2008 when The Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police *2008/2009 Contact Guide* lists 58 municipal police services as well as the OPP (note: First Nations Police Services are also listed but have not been included in this research). Although the Chief position is not the focus of this paper, the OACP document indicates women account for 3.4% or two municipal Chief positions; Chief Wendy Southall of Niagara Regional Police Service and Chief Tracy Joyce David of Hanover Police Service.[85] In addition four female Deputy Chiefs are listed. In an environment of 58 municipal Chief's and slightly fewer Deputy Chiefs, gender representation at the top level remains minimal however, the presence of these executive level female officers is positive as they serve as a catalyst for other women to navigate through the promotion labyrinth and break through what Dorothy Schulz terms the "Brass Ceiling".[86]

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[85] Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, *Ontario Police Leaders: 2008/2009 Contact Guide,* (Toronto, 2008).
[86] Dorothy Moses Schulz, *Breaking the Brass Ceiling: Women Police Chiefs and Their Paths to the Top*, (Connecticut: Praeger, 2004).

The literature review identified the cross-over of several variables between the theories considered in this paper and discussed the application of these theories within the police context. In light of these barriers, the cautious optimism amongst female members that attitudinal change is occurring reflects positive movement toward achieving greater equality for women in Canadian policing. It is important for police leaders to acknowledge the historic realities of police organizations while openly expressing the desire and intent to direct and manage change regarding the equal role of women in policing. In their 2008 on-line recruiting message directed towards female applicants, the Calgary Police Service (CPS) acknowledges concerns related to the "glass ceiling", organizational culture and gender specific issues, stating,

> "When joining the Calgary Police Service, women can be assured of two important
>
> points: 1) Women receive equal pay for equal work
>
> 2) There is no "glass ceiling" at the Calgary Police Service."

The message also details Calgary's commitment in recognizing the importance of managing family commitments and the organization's ability and desire to accommodate women in this regard within their workplace.[87]   This is an overt admission by the Calgary Police Service reflecting a perception of women in contemporary policing. In Calgary's case, where they once were but more importantly, where they intend to be.

This paper sought to examine the participation rate for promotion of women while considering the barriers faced during this journey. The challenges and obstacles have not disappeared however the survey statistics do indicate encouraging progress. For both the sergeant and staff sergeant ranks, women are seeking promotion in proportions that exceed the historic and weighted seniority requirements associated with police promotions that previously required pre-determined time in the pipeline. In fact, the participation percentages for sergeant during the study period surpass the actual proportions of women in policing for the

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[87] Calgary Police Service, "Recruiting: You already have what it takes", http://www.calgarypolice.ca/recruiting/html/women_in_policing.htm (accessed online Jan. 7, 2008).

corresponding study years. The existence of the pipeline requirement is more evident for the

staff sergeant and inspector positions however, the female growth rate remains positive for both

these ranks. This is consistent with Linda Wirth's research that acknowledges women in entry

and middle management positions still require time in the "pipeline" before advancing into

executive positions.[88] In addition to Q4 results, the responses to Q9 regarding seniority as a

contemporary requirement also indicate that emphasis on tenure alone is in decline.

The dynamics within the police environment present future opportunities for women to

achieve further vertical success. Women have broken through the once impermeable glass

ceiling and achieved success at the Chief position. Their numbers continue to increase at other

senior levels and as revealed in this study, at entry and middle level management positions.

This increased critical mass of women in management, coupled with the success of networks

such as Ontario Women in Law Enforcement, will continue to positively influence the police

culture. Further, in conjunction with the efforts of female members, the evolution of progressive

contemporary male police leaders who acknowledge and value the necessity for gender equality

will assist in addressing and mitigating existing barriers. Concurrent with these influences are

the pending opportunities for senior level positions. The HayGroup reports that approximately

50% of Senior Officers are destined to retire in the next 5 years;[89] departures that will provide

opportunity for women to increase their presence in senior decision-making positions.

Women have achieved successes in policing during the past two decades.

Achievements that required persistence, dedication, ambition, courage and tolerance of the

unequal barriers they encountered compared to their male peers. The glass ceiling has been

penetrated however women's path to success is not necessarily as direct and unencumbered as

their male counterparts. Many of the barriers are systemic and premised on societal perceptions

of the female role in the heavily male dominated policing profession. It would be naive to

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[88] Wirth, 38.
[89] HayGroup, 173.

suggest that all obstacles have been removed. Despite general movement towards greater gender balance the level of actual gender equality will continue to be influenced by existing organizational cultures and therefore vary to certain degrees across Police Services. What has been determined during the past decades and supported by the survey results is that women have proven their right to belong and their ability to equally contribute at all levels of policing.

5.1   Future Research

As a result of this study, several other variables requiring further research emerged. The variables of interest include:

1. The variances within individual police service promotion processes and the necessity to address these differences when analyzing survey data.

2. Tracking a sample population of female officers with various seniority. This would quantify seniority whereas data from the current survey did not confirm whether those promoted actually possessed a particular number of years service.

3. Whether involved in relationships. This would be significant for both genders since the literature suggests support from a partner is significant in achieving advancement.

4. The greater number of women in policing has resulted in an increased number of "at work" relationships. In workplace male / female relationships, do traditional societal roles surface resulting in the male seeking promotion first while women deal with domestic responsibilities?

5. Whether a female candidate had children, including the number and age of children at the time of competition / promotion. It would be relevant to determine if members delayed having children in order to compete, or conversely delayed competing in order to have children. Further, a comparison of successful female candidates and whether at the time of promotion they had children or not.

6. Years of service at the time of promotion for both genders. This would permit statistical comparisons to analyze whether female members were required to remain in the pipeline for periods different than males. This collection could be associated with item 2.

7. The impact of police service size on female advancement.

The interest to examine these variables is great. The main challenge with such research will be the acquisition of the data. Not so much because agencies will not want to contribute, rather the difficulty in providing it. It is hoped that a lasting outcome of this research paper will be the awareness and importance that police agencies track and maintain promotion data associated with gender to allow for critical reviews of human resource management practices in an effort to reduce barriers and increase equality.

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Appendix 1

Ontario Municipal Police Services*

Police Services Sent the Survey	Response Received
Ontario Provincial Police (OPP)	Yes
Toronto Police Service	Yes
Peel Regional Police Service	No
Ottawa Police Service	No
York Regional Police Service	No
Durham Regional Police Service	Yes
Hamilton Police Service	Yes
Niagara Regional Police Service	No
Halton Regional Police Service	Yes
Waterloo Regional Police Service	Yes
London Police Service	Yes
Windsor Police Service	No
Thunder Bay Police Service	Yes
Greater Sudbury Police Service	Yes
	N = 14

Non-participating Police Services

Amherstburg Police Service	Aylmer Police Service
Barrie Police Service	Belleville Police Service
Brantford Police Service	Brockville Police Service
Chatham-Kent Police Service	Cobourg Police Service
Cornwall Police Service	Deep River Police Service
Dryden Police Service	Hanover Police Service
Espanola Police Service	Essex Police Service
Gananoque Police Service	Guelph Police Service
City of Kawartha Lakes Police Service	Kenora Police Service
Kingston Police Service	LaSalle Police Service
Leamington Police Service	North Bay Police Service
Michipicoten Police Service	Midland Police Service
Orangeville Police Service	Pembroke Police Service
Owen Sound Police Service	Oxford Community Police Service
Perth Police Service	Peterborough-Lakefield Police Service
Port Hope Police Service	Sarnia Police Service
Saugeen Shores Police Service	Sault Ste. Marie Police Service
Shelburne Police Service	Smiths Falls Police Service
South Simcoe Police Service	St.Thomas Police Service
Stirling-Rawdon Police Service	Stratford Police Service
Strathroy-Caradoc Police Service	West Nipissing Police Service
Timmins Police Service	West Grey Police Service
Wingham Police Service	

*not including First Nations Police Services or municipalities policed under contract by the Ontario Provincial Police
Source: Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police, *Ontario Police Leaders 2008/2009 Contact Guide*.

APPENDIX 2

**<u>Longitudinal Study Pertaining to Female and Male Candidates for
Promotion: 2000 – 2007</u>**.

The London Police Service is examining the participation of female and male sworn members in the promotional process. The review is attempting to identify trends and variables that may influence, either positively or negatively, the participation of female members in the promotional process.

Your Service's assistance in providing information related to the ten (10) questions listed below is requested. The data provided by your Service will be utilized to examine general trends and as such your organization will not be specifically identified within the final report.

Should you have any questions regarding this survey request, please contact Superintendent Brent Shea, Corporate Services Division at 519-661-4906 or bshea@police.london.ca (Fax: 519-661-5013).

Please provide the following information related to data for the years 2000 – 2007.

1. Actual Sworn Complement by Gender for Each Year.

	Male	Female	Total
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			
2004			
2005			
2006			
2007			

2. Sworn members having service of:
    a) Ten years or less
    b) More than ten years

	# of sworn **female** officers with 10 years or less service	# of sworn **female** officers with more than ten years service	# of sworn **male** officers with 10 years or less service	# of sworn **male** officers with more than ten years service	Total
2000					
2007					

3. Total number of authorized positions for the following ranks:

	Sergeant		
	Male	Female	Total
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			
2004			
2005			
2006			
2007			
	Staff Sergeant		
	Male	Female	Total
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			
2004			
2005			
2006			
2007			
	Inspector		
	Male	Female	Total
2000			
2001			
2002			
2003			
2004			
2005			
2006			
2007			

4. Number of candidates **competing** for promotion in each of the following ranks:

	Constable to Sergeant:		Sergeant to Staff Sergeant:		Staff Sergeant to Inspector:		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
2000							
2001							
2002							
2003							
2004							
2005							
2006							
2007							

5. Number of candidates **successful** in competition for promotion in each of the following ranks:

	Constable to Sergeant:		Sergeant to Staff Sergeant:		Staff Sergeant to Inspector:		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
2000							
2001							
2002							
2003							
2004							
2005							
2006							
2007							

6. Vacancies filled in each of the following ranks:

	Constable to Sergeant:		Sergeant to Staff Sergeant:		Staff Sergeant to Inspector:		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
2000							
2001							
2002							
2003							
2004							
2005							
2006							
2007							

7. Does your service have a procedure, process or practice specifically designed to encourage female members to participate in the promotional process?

☐ No
☐ Yes. What year did this come into effect? _____
Please provide a copy of this document.

8. If no, has your Service considered such a policy or procedure?

☐ Yes,
☐ No

9. Is seniority a component of your promotional process?

☐ Yes,
☐ No

If yes, what is the percentage weight that seniority has in your promotional   process _____.

10. Would you like a copy of this report?

☐ Yes,
☐ No

Additional comments:

Thank you for participating in this survey.

APPENDIX 3

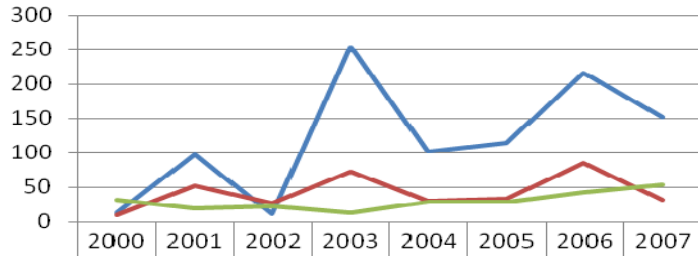SURVEY RESPONSE DATA - CHARTS

***THIS INFORMATION IS CONFIDENTIAL AND PROTECTED.

PLEASE CONTACT THE AUTHOR SHOULD YOU HAVE

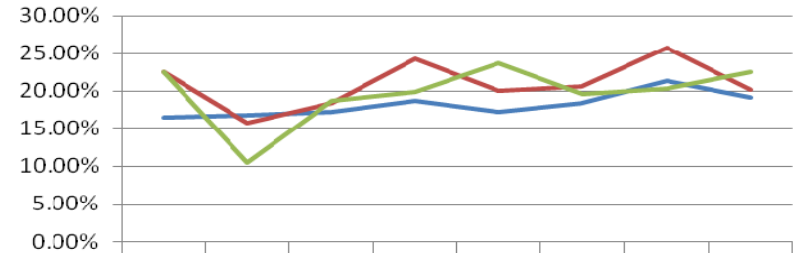**SPECIFIC INQUIRIES RELATED TO THIS APPENDIX*****

APPENDIX 4
Frequency and Percentage Graphs for Q4, Q5 and Q6

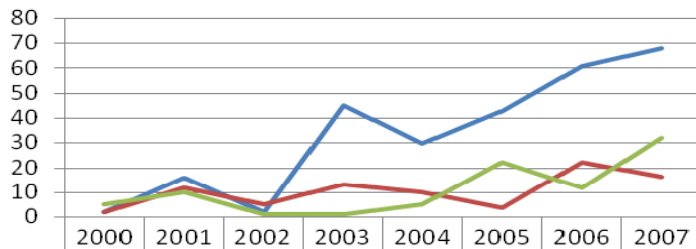### Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Female Frequencies

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	13	97	11	254	102	115	217	152
Successful	9	51	27	72	29	33	85	31
Vacancy Filled	32	19	22	13	29	28	43	54

Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Female %

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	16.50%	16.80%	17.20%	18.70%	17.30%	18.40%	21.40%	19.10%
Successful	22.5%	15.8%	18.5%	24.2%	20.0%	20.6%	25.8%	20.3%
Vacancy Filled	22.5%	10.5%	18.8%	20.0%	23.8%	19.6%	20.4%	22.6%

Staff Sgt Promotion Comparisons Female Frequencies

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	2	16	2	45	30	43	61	68
Successful	2	12	5	13	10	4	22	16
Vacancy Filled	5	10	1	1	5	22	12	32

Staff Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Female %
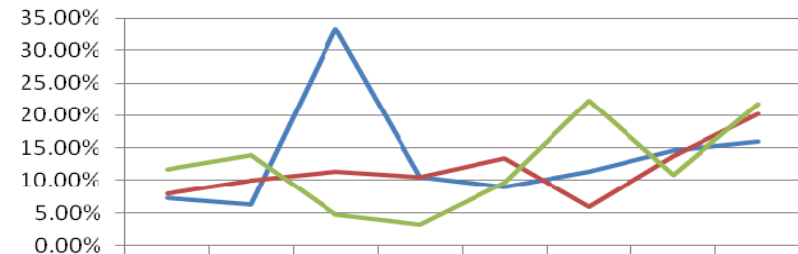
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	7.40%	6.30%	33.30%	10.60%	9.00%	11.40%	14.60%	16.00%
Successful	8.0%	10.1%	11.4%	10.6%	13.5%	6.0%	13.8%	20.3%
Vacancy Filled	11.6%	13.9%	4.8%	3.2%	9.6%	22.2%	10.8%	21.8%

Inspector Promotion Comparisons Female Frequencies
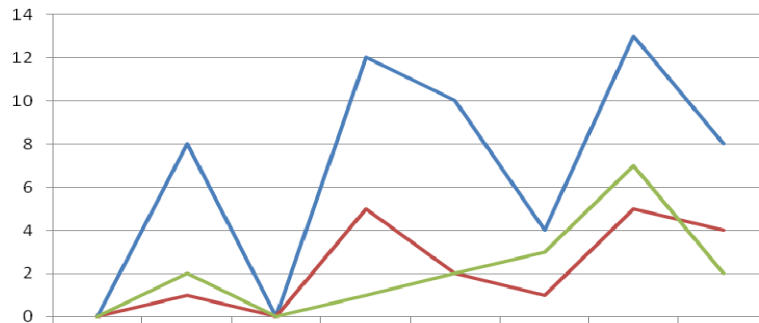
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	0	8	0	12	10	4	13	8
Successful	0	1	0	5	2	1	5	4
Vacancy Filled	0	2	0	1	2	3	7	2

Inspector Promotion Comparisons Female %
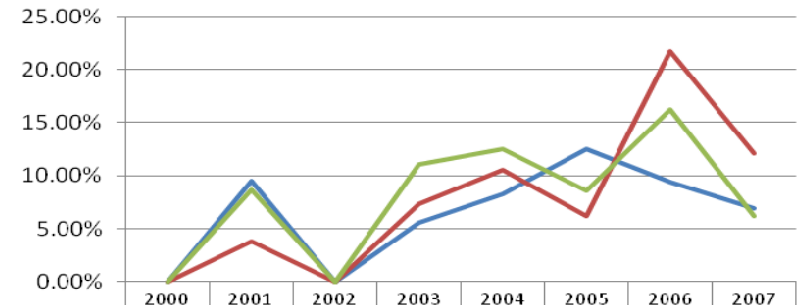
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	0.00%	9.50%	0.00%	5.60%	8.30%	12.50%	9.40%	6.90%
Successful	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	7.4%	10.5%	6.3%	21.7%	12.1%
Vacancy Filled	0.0%	8.7%	0.0%	11.1%	12.5%	8.6%	16.3%	6.3%

Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Male %
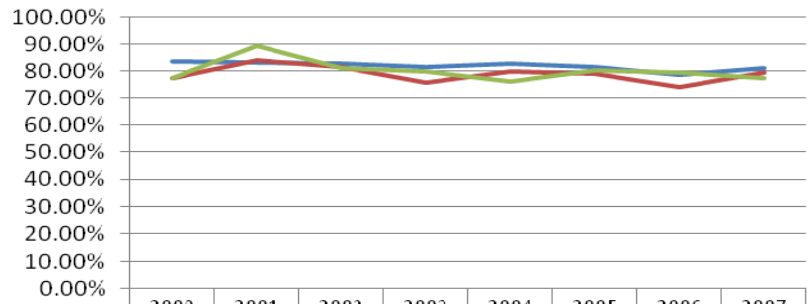
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	83.50%	83.20%	82.80%	81.30%	82.70%	81.60%	78.60%	80.90%
Successful	77.5%	84.2%	81.5%	75.8%	80.0%	79.4%	74.2%	79.7%
Vacancy Filled	77.5%	89.5%	81.2%	80.0%	76.2%	80.4%	79.6%	77.4%

Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Male Frequencies
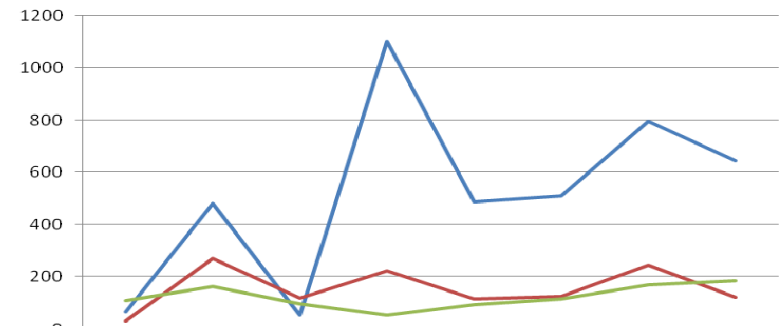
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	66	482	53	1102	487	509	798	644
Successful	31	271	119	225	116	127	245	122
Vacancy Filled	110	162	95	52	93	115	168	185

Staff Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Male %

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	92.60%	93.70%	66.70%	89.40%	91.00%	88.60%	85.40%	84.00%
Successful	92.0%	89.9%	88.6%	89.4%	86.5%	94.0%	86.3%	79.7%
Vacancy Filled	88.4%	86.1%	95.2%	96.8%	90.4%	77.8%	89.2%	78.2%

Staff Sgt. Promotion Comparisons Male Frequencies
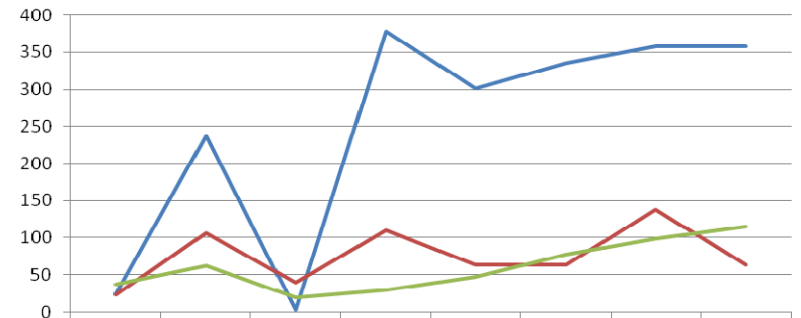
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	25	237	4	378	302	335	358	358
Successful	23	107	39	110	64	63	138	63
Vacancy Filled	38	62	20	30	47	77	99	115

Insp. Promotion Comparisons Male Frequencies
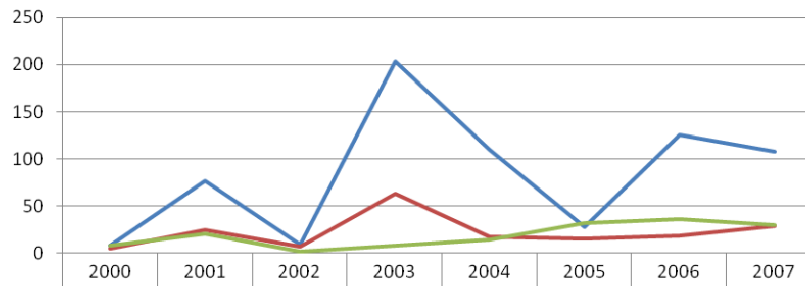
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	8	76	9	203	110	28	125	108
Successful	5	25	7	63	17	15	18	29
Vacancy Filled	8	21	2	8	14	32	36	30

Inspector Promotion Comparisons Male %
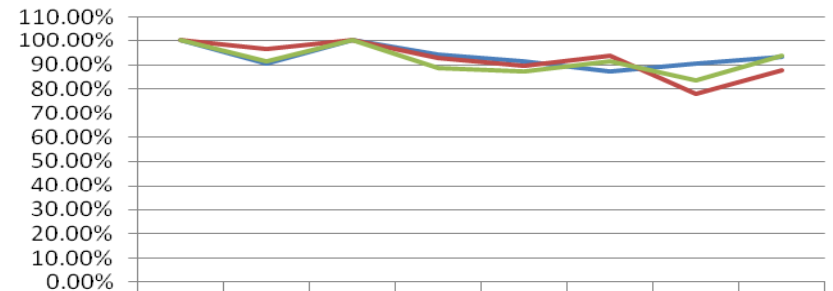
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Competing	100.00%	90.50%	100.00%	94.40%	91.70%	87.50%	90.60%	93.10%
Successful	100.0%	96.2%	100.0%	92.6%	89.5%	93.8%	78.3%	87.9%
Vacancy Filled	100.0%	91.3%	100.0%	88.9%	87.5%	91.4%	83.7%	93.8%