

Chloe Gregor

Criminology Undergraduate
Edinburgh Napier University
40484505@live.napier.ac.uk

Policing:

The Policewomen's Perspective

DISCLAIMER: The views given in the Briefing Paper are those of the Author(s) and are not necessarily those of the SIPR Governing Body, Advisory, or Executive Committees.*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This small-scale study investigates the impact of gender on policing, exploring the workplace experiences of seven Scottish Policewomen. Three key themes are explored that arose from semistructured qualitative interviews: public encounters, workplace interactions, and career progression difficulties. The study demonstrates that cultural and institutional change has occurred in Police Scotland since women were permitted to work in the organisation in 1915. Women encounter less barriers when joining the police, enabling them to create strong and positive relationships with men counterparts and are less likely to be assaulted in public. However, the paper argues that despite considerable progress, gender remains an important factor in women's policing experiences. Women struggle to be taken seriously, feel the need to prove their professional worth, encounter career development barriers as well as multiple difficulties navigating the masculinised profession.

Key points:

1. Society continues to categorise policing as a masculine occupation resulting in diverse biological and societal implications for those pursuing a policing career.
2. Police Scotland should review their promotion procedures, particularly emphasising flexibility throughout the process, as it will enable greater opportunities for a diverse range of individuals to progress in the organisation.
3. Police Scotland have experienced cultural change in their uniform; however, the one size fits all approach to body armour fails to account for the biological and physiological gender differences.
4. Police Scotland should encourage the breaking down of traditional masculine style of policing and encourage a balance including the feminine approach

INTRODUCTION

Social media has recently focused on the negative side of policing, publishing high profile misconduct cases including, Sarah Everard's murder, and Scotland's internal discrimination case resulting in Rhona Malone receiving £948,000 in compensation (Carrell, 2022). The Baroness Casey Review (BCR) (2023) labelled the metropolitan police as institutionally racist, sexist and discriminative. Months later, Scotland's former Chief Constable voiced the same concerns (BBC News, 2023a). The Scottish Police Authority (SPA) (2023) reiterated these concerns as 48% of Scotland's public perceive discrimination in Police Scotland (PS) is problematic. PS's Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Strategy 2022-2026 attempted to address the issue. Outlining key outcomes and commitments, for example, a demographically representative force and the use of the "Positive Action Team" that promotes policing opportunities to underrepresented groups (PS, n.d, p.19). However, women remain underrepresented within policing.

1.2 Background

Policewomen aim to bring victims justice, however commonly become victims of workplace and gender discrimination, harassment, prejudices and face a concoction of unequal treatment and internal barriers compared to policemen (BCR, 2023). Women are seen as 'others,' feel different, targeted, and encounter sexism (Zempi, 2020), which significantly impacts their workplace experience and retention rates, for example, a significantly higher number of women leave PS before retirement (HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland (HMICS), (2021). Researching how gender impacts policewomen's experiences is crucial due to the organisational, structural and community benefits women can bring (Diaz & Nuno, 2021). Researcher's application of representative bureaucracy theory highlights this, highlighting communities respond better to diverse workforces that reflect their demographics (Schuck, 2014) as the public's preferences are acknowledged and attended to better (Hong, 2015, Linos et al, 2017). For example, it was determined that intra-organisational diversity aids the creation of a better police-community relationship, increases public trust (Silvestri et al, 2013) and reduces crime (Hong, 2015) as the force is perceived as having heightened fairness and credibility (Linus et al, 2017). The United States, Canada and the United Kingdom are common subjects for this issue, however, there is a lack of concern for Scottish policewomen's individual experience. Given the differences between Scotland & the rest of the UK's justice system, suggesting current literature is transferable would be inaccurate.

Using semi-structured qualitative interviews seven Scottish policewomen's experiences are explored, focusing on, public interactions, workplace experiences, and career development barriers. As policing is historically masculinised (Du Plessis et al, 2020), Gender is considered extensively to investigate how gender bias and stereotypes influenced their workplace experiences'. By answering this, the research aims to:

- 1. Explore the development of women's acceptance within policing.**
- 2. Develop empirical evidence that can be used to modernise policing standards and encourage full integration.**

Given genders importance and to promote inclusivity, this paper will use gendered descriptions (man officer) instead of sex (male officer).

CURRENT ISSUES

Scottish Women in Policing

Women first joined Police Scotland as volunteers, however in 1915, Emily Miller became the first woman employed by Glasgow City Police as a "plainclothes investigation officer" (Jackson et al, 2020, p.175). Although this was the beginning of women being included, their representation was slow paced and to this day, they remain underrepresented with only 33% of Police Scotland identifying as a woman (Police Scotland, 2023), which is far from proportionate to the 51.1% of Scottish women (HMICS, 2021).

Public Encounters

As a society we have painted policing as a men's organisation which has and continues to be dominated by men providing them with great power and control in western societies (Leger, 1997). Some of us have begun to gravitate towards greater acceptance (Koenig, 1978), however, as we often reject unsocialised ideas, socially accepting men and rejecting women as officers. This occurs due to concerns regarding women's physical, emotional and psychological capabilities, suggesting they are incompatible with policing (Davenport-Klunder & Hine, 2023). Thus, in turn, women experience discrimination and prejudgement from communities they police in (Leger, 1997). It's suggested that women experience such behaviours due to misconceptions that effective police officers must possess high physical strength instead of technique and forward thinking (Davenport-Klunder & Hine, 2023), a quality that men biologically possess more of.

Workplace Experiences

Despite increased representation and the known benefits of integration (Diaz & Nuno, 2021, Clinkinbeard & Rief, 2022), policewomen encounter gender discrimination (Merethe, 2023), harassment and prejudices (Somvadee & Morash, 2013). Gender discrimination is a major barrier to PS's retention rates in women, with 56.3% and 49% of women stating they wouldn't recommend a policing career or PS as an employer respectively.

Sexual Harassment

Defined as the performance of nonconsensual sexual actions intended to offend, degrade, humiliate or intimidate the individual (Davis et al, 2023), sexual harassment is an increasing concern internationally in policing, with women encountering more problematic harassment from colleagues than violent public situations (Somvadee & Morash, 2008). For example, Brown et al (2000) found that 77% of policewomen experienced sexual harassment from a man colleague (Cited in Davis et al, 2023). Sexual harassment in policing is justified as 'police culture,' women are told to "play the game, stay quiet or leave" (IOPC, 2022, p. 120), resulting in the regular experience of sexist and demeaning jokes or remarks labelled as 'acceptable banter' in Scotland (Brown, 2000). In England, it goes beyond 'acceptable banter.' The Hotton Report exposed Charring Cross Police's sexist, misogynistic and bullying behaviours (IOPC, 2022). For example, one policewoman received a text from a man colleague saying, "I would happily r*pe you", which is encouraged through poisonous machoism, conservatism and multiple structural problems including unauthenticated promotions, isolation and shift patterns (IOPC, 2022, p.12). Davis et al (2023) found that as women are outnumbered on night shifts, sexual harassment increases, with 43% of their participants reporting sexual harassment when alone with a man. Conservatism increases the difficulties of challenging inappropriate behaviours, bearing the risk of alienation for victims and those challenging (Rabe-Hemp, 2008), "because no one likes a grass" (Davis et al, 2023, par. 27).

Bullying

Compared to policemen, women face more blatant and subtle gender discrimination from colleagues (Angehrn et al, 2021). They were often embarrassed in group settings, spoken down to and excluded (BCR, 2023). Like sexual harassment, it is the women's responsibility to accept it as opposed to the men's not to preserve it (Angehrn et al, 2021). In Police Scotland, women who raise bullying concerns are viewed as problematic and their extensive years' worth of experience is commonly overlooked for probationary policemen (HMICS, 2021). Women continue to be undervalued in PS, their mental health is underappreciated compared to men's, sexist comments become part of their work routines and "sexism is well and truly alive" (HMICS, 2021, p. 59).

Development barriers

Policing suffers from the metaphorical 'glass ceiling' (Todak, 2023), the phenomena explaining women's underrepresentation in management positions (Singh et al, 2023), confines women's potential and exposes them to discrimination and inequality (a & Khalid, 2023). The glass ceiling is noticeable in Scotland, women only hold 14% of Assistant, Deputy and Chief Constable positions (PS, 2021) and Scottish women are most likely to report promotional discrimination compared to the rest of the UK (Brown, 2000). For example, in PS, 27% of women achieved promotions above and including Sergeant, compared to 73% of men (PS, 2021). For those promoting in Scotland, they receive limited support, encounter criticism and are undervalued by colleagues below and above which remains unchallenged (HMICS, 2021). Police careers are perceived as incompatible with motherhood due to the strict rules and inflexibility towards shifts or training. Pregnancy and childcare create significant barriers to women's retention and progression rates, while this impact's men too, it's less likely (Ellis, 2017). PS's promotions process is extensive, requiring applicants to study and gain a diploma, making promotions extremely difficult for mothers (HMICS, 2021). Accepting mothering identities also impacts career development, women found it interfered with promotions, overtime shifts and was perceived as lack of commitment (Holdaway and Parker, 1998, Flavin & Bennet, 2001, Silvestri et al, 2013). Women returning from maternity leave were also disadvantaged, respondents to HMICS (2021) disclosed incidents of being given tasks below their level of performance and exclusion from promotion opportunities on their return.

Research aims and objectives

This study answers the research question: 'How do gender bias and perceptions influence Scottish policewomen's experiences?' It incorporates three sub-research questions:

- What is the nature of policewomen's experience with the public?
- What is the nature of policewomen's workplace experience with men colleagues?
- What development barriers do policewomen encounter?

Data Collection

Emphasising individual experiences, semi-structured qualitative interviews were used to collect primary data. Pre-determined interview questions were used with flexibility to explore new areas participants proposed. The study sample composed of 7 self-identifying women who served within different divisions of PS. Three participants were currently serving, the longest length of current service was 26 years. Four policewomen were retired, the longest length of service was 32 years. Service length ranged from 5 years to 32 years, with ranks ranging from constable to a range of managerial positions, for anonymity reasons, ranks will remain undisclosed. All participants were of white ethnicity, two participants had a partner in the police and five had children. Six interviews were conducted online via Microsoft Teams, and one was in-person. 6 hours and 27 minutes' worth of data was gathered, interviews ranged from 25 minutes to 1 hour and 12 minutes, the average interview was 53 minutes. Interviews were recorded - with consent - using an iPhone and Microsoft Teams to assist with verbatim transcription. Recordings were permanently deleted following this. Data was thematically analysed using NVivo 14 and Microsoft Word to identify key themes, sub-themes and supporting evidence.

KEY FINDINGS

By using a feminist lens to thematically analyse data, this research confirms that gender perceptions and bias impacts Scottish policewomen's experiences and treatment. Results signify that cultural acceptance can influence experiences and job satisfaction; however, belonging is a personal journey related to individual morals, strengths or family legacies. Findings present various research and policy implications to encourage academics to continue to provide Scottish policewomen an individual voice instead of a UK collective, motivating police organisations to strive for full integration and gender equality.

Public Interactions

Patriarchal views and gender influence policewomen's public interactions. The historic pre-conception branding women as insufficient for physically forceful tasks (Berry-Waite, 2022) that emphasises traditional gender norms as a contextual process reinforced by the gendering of jobs and structures (Silvestri, 2017) is still evident today. Policewomen are overlooked, judged, unwanted and their abilities are questioned by the public, as gender bias influences perceptions on what a police officer is. Labelled the feminine approach to policing (Yalley & Olutayo, 2020), women tend to adopt a communicative police style, in which they assess the needs of the situation and use significantly less force. It is commonly proposed that this trait is a liability as women present themselves as more caring, while this does not stereotypically align, results reject the suggestion, displaying limited liability and equal competence despite women's different policing styles. Breaking down stereotypical norms and encouraging the feminine approach to policing presents positive implications such as increased legitimacy, impartiality and trustworthiness (Clinkenbeard & Rief, 2022). This specifically benefits sexual abuse cases which research demonstrates policewomen resulted in a 1.1 per 100,000 increases in reporting (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006), consequentially increasing public trust and victim satisfaction. Gendered analysis expands current understandings of the above relationship, demonstrating that outdated gender norms informally controlling specific groups (Stewart et al, 2021), make it more socially acceptable for policewomen to adopt this approach. Given this, encouraging a breakdown of PS's internal cultural norms would initiate a new era of policing that is separate from its masculinised history, providing grounds for a better-established community-police relationship. Policewomen are less likely to encounter violent situations with men as they perceive the need to protect them. Uncovering this relationship is important, to an extent, this challenges society's patriarchal structure that emphasises men's dominance and oppresses women (Farias et al, 2023). Demonstrating a cultural shift and acceptance for policewomen as men are respecting authority regardless of gender. However, while using gender to refrain from violence positively impacts policewomen, it also reinforces the patriarchal views and expectations.

Experience with man colleagues

Policemen are more welcoming today compared to the 1980-90s, proposing that negative treatment was indicative of the time, increased competition and scepticism (Cunningham & Ramshaw, 2017). An observation providing grounds for further research is that policewomen working with their spouse experienced limited inappropriate behaviour, which could be explained by policemen's 'brotherhood' bond that embeds gender dynamics (Sanders et al, 2022). Recent experiences with man colleagues reflect the positive implications of police culture's gradual shift, which sex-roll spill over theory suggests occurs as gender ratios become less skewed (Gutek & Cohen, 1987). Women are experiencing less resistance enabling them to forge strong relationships and feel supported. However, 'bad apples' persist, women have experienced or been warned of misogynistic and sexist individuals when joining, demonstrating clear organisational issues which provides women with the responsibility to avoid interacting with the individual (Angehrn et al, 2021). Despite evidenced cultural progress, findings mirror HMICS (2023), PS is hesitant to confront inappropriate behaviours, thus fail to complete the first crucial step to initiate positive change. Eliminating these attitudes is essential for equality, although PS has attempted to leave its discriminative era, results indicate that individuals have socially learned old-school attitudes and it's a 'luck of the draw'. Some divisions embed more misogyny and sexism than others. Credit is given to the positive implications associated with increased representation on reduced isolation and tokenism, however, increased numbers impact on wider cultural change is limited. Acknowledging the implications associated with gender and identifying which divisions this applies to is the first step for cultural change, prioritising the time to understand these implications is the aspect that has the power to spark said change. Furthermore, due to the masculine culture, policewomen perceive the need to prove their worth. Despite increased representation and the gradual cultural shift, skewed gender ratios reinforce male culture and masculinity. Sanders et al (2022) argues this is part of the fitting in process, whereby gender is a crucial factor, and women must display equal competence of masculine and feminine traits. Displaying equal competence was difficult when policing the public due to the 'one size fits all' body armour provided that fails to consider biological and physiological gender differences. Thus, some policewomen's body armour fails to meet the Home Office Body Armour Standards (2017) as it lacks coverage for vital organs and is too heavy and impractical, resulting in difficulties performing their role. Imposter syndrome contributes to feelings of self-doubt and incompetence despite display of abilities (Rivera et al, 2021) as they defy policing's stereotypical norms, resulting in decreased mental state, increased anxiety and stress (Crawford, 2021). Thus, policing's gendered characteristic can negatively interfere with their ability to adequately perform their job. Understanding these implications would benefit Police Scotland's efficiency and policewomen's health and wellbeing, presenting a key area for future research.

Development barriers

In 2023 Jo Farrell became the first women Chief Constable in PS (BBC News, 2023b). A historic moment that took over 100 years to occur. Results demonstrate why, providing an understanding of the barrier's policewomen encounter. As policing has a gendered past and men dominate the organisation, historically policing developed to compliment men's lifestyle (Ellis, 2017). Therefore, childcare disproportionately impacts policewomen as pregnancy and motherhood result in maternity leave, career breaks or limited working hours while mothers navigate motherhood and their career (Torres et al, 2024). For some, traditional societal expectations assigning childcare to women persist in their home. As promotion include challenging coursework, mothers aspiring to promote must attempt to manage childcare and studying (Todak, 2023). Attributable to gender norms, this results in men's increased opportunities and tendency to promote, stimulating policeman's power and dominance. Demonstrating the existence and reinforcement of the patriarchal outlooks in PS. While some women attempt the promotional ladder, some find it too challenging, preventing them from stepping into the arena. Finally, women create an internal 'ceiling height' limiting their development as they place boundaries on their potential compared to men. As self-confidence is developed based on individual experiences and colleague feedback (Axelrod, 2017), the ceiling height highlights that inappropriate workplace experiences and a struggle with acceptance conceals women's potential. Women perceive the need to assert twice the effort to prove themselves yet are told it's not enough without justification. Understanding policewomen's promotional experiences and the impact this has on lower ranking women can encourage a softer approach to rejection, emphasising effective balanced constructive feedback for development.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR PRACTICE

- 1. Police Scotland could consider creating a more accessible promotions process.** As policing adheres to traditional gender norms, the promotion process is geared towards individuals with limited pre-existing commitments and extensive time to study, namely men. This creates considerable unequal chances for women which are unjust and waste their potential talent. Allowing flexibility enables mothers to explore their potential and allows PS to benefit from the positive implications associated with policewomen.
- 2. Police Scotland could continue to encourage breakdown of the traditional masculine style of policing.** The feminine policing style involves increased communication and less use of force. Encouraging all officers to use this approach not only decreases the number of violent altercations, but also encourages the public to accept policewomen by eliminating the biological difference highlighted in strength.
- 3. Superior officers could challenge inappropriate behaviours.** Lack of challenging of inappropriate and demeaning behaviours creates a toxic cycle whereby new recruits socially learn the old school mantra; responsibility must be placed on the men to avoid the behaviour instead of the women who experience it.
- 4. Police Scotland could benefit from introducing gender specific uniform.** Police Scotland have opted for a 'one size fits all' style of body armour. While this is progress in terms of equality, the approach lacks consideration for the biological and physiological difference between genders and creates difficulties for women when policing. PS would benefit from creating a women's body armour that accounts for the difference in height and shapes.

CONCLUSION

Gender has diverse implications when women police the public as society categorises policing as a masculinised profession. Acknowledging biological differences, women often adopt a communicative policing style, resulting in fewer violent altercations and minimal use of force. While gender perceptions positively contribute to their experience of less physical assaults, bias remains evident through subordination assumptions, rejection and questioning of their abilities. Displaying that officer effectiveness is often associated with physical strength and a man instead of professionalism. Concluding that PS has observed cultural change is inaccurate, instead, certain divisions have. Some forces are more welcoming, appreciative and accommodating of women than others, suggesting that it's a 'luck of the draw.' Attributable to the masculinised culture reinforcing power imbalances, policewomen regularly exert double the effort to prove themselves and adapt their behaviours to suit policing's norms and gain acceptance. Discouraging adaptations could benefit PS, increasing the opportunity for a diverse workforce with differing workstyles. Targeted banter has decreased in modern policing, while all genders are challenging inappropriate behaviours, superiors must continue to challenge the 'old school mantra' to limit social learning implications. Lastly, women create an internal 'ceiling height' and internal barriers which is exacerbated by the masculinised culture, resulting in women having minimal promotional targets and increased self-doubt, whereas men tend to automatically envision themselves in managerial positions. Motherhood also contributed to this, as maternity leave and part-time restrictions brought them away from work and created confidence issues. Overall, there is progress in terms of women's acceptance within PS which participants acknowledged. The impact of gender differs depending on individual job and location, however, there is a certain salience in the fact that all participants, regardless of personal experiences, acknowledged its impact. Although negative implications were identified, including workplace banter, exclusion and promotional barriers, women can use gender to their advantage in some situations and as gender ratios become less skewed, slow cultural progress is occurring. While gender fails to impact women's overall experience, feminist analysis uncovers PS's gendered power imbalance. Women still encounter and are more likely to experience gender-based discrimination as they challenge policing's masculinised norms, resulting in the internal conflict of choosing which identity to emphasise. Given its diverse implications, gender remains a fundamental characteristic that shapes every aspect of policing for women due to gender norms, expectations and stereotypes. Continuing to understand these implications instead of simply acknowledging them is essential to initiate positive cultural change, increase integration and reduce inequality.

REFERENCES

- Aftab, S. & Khalid, K. (2023). Women's Glass-ceiling Beliefs and their Perceived Career Progression: A Tale of Two Countries. *Economic Research - Ekonomska Istrazivanja*, 36(3).
- Angehrn, A., Fletcher, A. & Carelton, R.N. (2021). "Suck It Up, Buttercup": Understanding and Overcoming Gender Disparities in Policing. *Int J Environ Res Public Health*, 18(14). [10.3390/ijerph18147627](https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18147627)
- Axelrod, R. (2017). Leadership and Self-Confidence. In: *Leadership Today: Practices for Personal and Professional Performance*. Springer.
- Baroness Casey Review. (2023). An Independent Review into the Standards of Behaviour and Internal Culture of the Metropolitan Police Service. 258-284. Retrieved from [BARONESS CASEY REVIEW Final Report \(met.police.uk\)](https://www.met.police.uk/baroness-casey-review-final-report). [Accessed on 07/01/24].
- BBC News. (2023a). Police Scotland Chief Says Force is Institutionally Racist. Retrieved from [Police Scotland chief says force is institutionally racist - BBC News](https://www.bbc.com/news/scotland-67484848). [Accessed on 28/01/24].
- BBC News. (2023b). Police Scotland's New Chief Constable Jo Farrell Takes Up Post. Retrieved from [Police Scotland's new chief constable Jo Farrell takes up post - BBC News](https://www.bbc.com/news/scotland-67484848). [Accessed on 23/04/24].
- Berry-Waite, L. (2022). 'Experimental in Every Sense': The Metropolitan Police Women Patrols. *The National Archives*. Retrieved from ['Experimental in every sense': The Metropolitan Police Women Patrols - The National Archives blog](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/experimental-in-every-sense-the-metropolitan-police-women-patrols/). [Accessed on 11/03/24]. F
- Brown, J. (2000). Discriminatory Experiences of Women Police. A Comparison of Officers Serving in England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 28. 91-111.
- Carrell, S. (2022). Police Scotland Pays out Nearly £1m to Ex-Officer Over Sexism Case. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from [Police Scotland pays out nearly £1m to ex-officer over sexism case | Scotland | The Guardian](https://www.theguardian.com/scotland/2022/sep/28/police-scotland-pays-out-nearly-1m-to-ex-officer-over-sexism-case). [Accessed on 28/01/24].
- Clinkinbeard, S. & Rief, R. (2022). Police Reform Needs Women: Gender Equity as Cultural Change. *Rethinking and Reforming American Policing*. 143-174.
- Crawford, J. (2021). Imposter Syndrome for Women in Male Dominated Careers. *Hastings Women's Law Journal*, 32(2). Article 2.
- Cunningham, E. & Ramshaw, P. (2019). Twenty-three Women Officers' Experiences of Policing in England: The Same Old Story or a Different Story? *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 22(1). 26-37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461355719868490>
- Davenport-Klunder, K. & Hine, K. (2023). 'Setting Benchmarks and Breaking Chains': Public Opinions of Female Police Officers. *Policing & Society*, 33(6). 643-665. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2023.2175823>
- Davis, H., Lawrence, S., Wilson, E., Sweeting, F. & Poate-Joyner, A. (2023). 'No One Likes a Grass' Female Police Officers' Experience of Workplace Sexual Harassment: A Qualitative Study. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 25(2).
- Diaz, V., & Nuno, L. (2021). Women and Policing: An Assessment of Factors Related to the Likelihood of Pursuing a Career as a Police Officer. *Police Quarterly* 24(4) 465-485. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10986111211009048>

- Du Plessis, C., Winterbotham, S., Fein, E., Brownlow, C., Du Preez, J., McKenna, B, ... Du Plessis, G. (2020). I'm Still in the Blue Family: Gender and Professional Identity Construction in Police Officers. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 36(3), 386–396. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11896-020-09397-9>
- Ellis, L. (2017). Policemoms: Perceived Challenges Impacting Gender Equity in Policing. *Journal of Ethical and Legal Issues*, 11.
- Farias, M.G., Biermann, M.C., de Melo Maia, L.F., de Oliveira Meneses, G. (2023). Structural Patriarchy and Male Dominance Hierarchies. *Encyclopaedia of Domestic Violence*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-85493-5_2152-1
- Flavin, J. & Bennett, R. (2001). Police Work in the Caribbean: The Influence of Gender and Nation. *Policing*, 24(1). 56-87.
- Gutek, B. & Cohen, A (1987). Sex Ratios, Sex Role Spillover, and Sex at Work: A Comparison of Men's and Women's Experiences. *Human Relations*, 40(2). 75-123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001872678704000202>
- Harr, R. N., & Morash, M. (2013). The Effect of Rank on Police Women Coping With Discrimination and Harassment. *Police Quarterly*, 16(4), 395–419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611113489888>
- HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland. (2021). Thematic Inspection of Police Scotland Training and Development - Phase 2. Retrieved from [HMICS20211020PUB.pdf](#). [Accessed on 17/12/23].
- HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland. (2023). Press Release, Police Culture in Scotland Needs to Improve. [Accessed on 22/03/24].
- Holdaway, S. & Parker, S. (1998). Policing Women Police, Uniform Patrol, Promotion and Representation in the CID. *British Journal of Criminology*, 38(1). 40-60.
- Hollis, M. (2014). Accessing the Experiences of Female and Minority Police Officers: Observations from an Ethnographic Researcher. *Reflexivity in Criminological Research*. 150-161.
- Hong, S. (2015) Representative Bureaucracy, Organizational Integrity, and Citizen Coproduction: Does an Increase in Police Ethnic Representativeness Reduce Crime? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 35(1). 11-33. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.21876>
- Independent Office for Police Conduct. (2022). Operation Hotton, Learning Report. [Accessed on 12/01/24].
- Jackson, L., Davidson, N., Fleming, L., Smale, D.M. & Sparks R. (2020). Women in Scottish Policing. *Police and Community in Twentieth-Century Scotland*. 175-208. <https://doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9781474446631.001.0001>
- Kotecha, S. (2023). Nearly 50 Police Officers Leave the Force During Complaints Case. *BBC News Scotland*. Retrieved from [Nearly 50 police officers leave the force during complaints cases - BBC News](#). [Accessed on 04/02/24].
- Leger, K. (1997). Public Perceptions of Female Police Officers on Patrol. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 21. 231-249.
- Linos, E., Reinhard, J. & Ruda, S. (2017). Levelling the Playing Field in Police Recruitment: Evidence from a Field Experiment on Test Performance. *Public Administration*, 95(4). 943-956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12344>
- Meier, K. & Nicholson-Crotty, J. (2006). Gender, Representative Bureaucracy, and Law Enforcement: The Case of Sexual Assault. *Public Administration Review*, 66(6). 850-860. <https://doi.org.napier.idm.oclc.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00653.x>

Merethe, S. (2023). Keeping the Peace. *Women Police*. 26-28.

Police Now. (2022). Breaking Down Barriers: Tackling Imposter Syndrome in the Police Service. Retrieved from [Breaking down barriers: tackling imposter syndrome in the police service | POLICE NOW](#). [Accessed on 14/03/24].

Police Scotland. (2017). Uniform and Appearance Standards (Police Officer). Standard Operating Procedures. Retrieved from [Standard Operating Procedure \(SOP\) Review Template \(scotland.police.uk\)](#). [Accessed on 12/02/24].

Police Scotland. (2023). Equality and Diversity Employment Monitoring Report 2021/2022. Retrieved from [Police Scotland Equality and Diversity Employment Monitoring Report 2021-2022](#). [Accessed on 17/12/23].

Rabe-Hemp, C. (2008). POLICEwomen or PoliceWOMEN?: Doing Gender and Police Work. *Feminist Criminology*, 4(2). 111-188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085108327659>

Rivera, N., Feldman, E., Augustin, D., Caceres, W., Gans, H. & Blankenburg, R. (2021). Do I Belong Here? Confronting Imposter Syndrome at an Individual, Peer, and Institutional Level in Health Professionals. *MedEdPORTAL: The Journal of Teaching and Learning Resources*, 17. doi: [10.15766/mep_2374-8265.11166](https://doi.org/10.15766/mep_2374-8265.11166)

Rumjuan, A. & Narod, F. (2020). Social Learning Theory – Albert Bandura. *Science Education in Theory and Practice*. Springer Texts in Education. 85-99.

Sanders, C., Gouweloos, J., Langan, D. (2022). Gender, Police Culture, and Structured Ambivalence: Navigating 'Fit' with the Brotherhood, Boys' Club, and Sisterhood. *Feminist Criminology*, 17(5). 641-660. <https://doi.org/10.1177/15570851221098040>

Schuck, A. (2014). Female Representation in Law Enforcement: The Influence of Screening, Unions, Incentives, Community Policing, CALEA, and Size. *Police Quarterly* 17(1). 54-78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098611114522467>

Scottish Police Authority. (2023). Public Perceptions of Policing in Scotland. Key Findings. Retrieved from [SPA - Research Report - August 2023](#). [Accessed on 22/03/24].

Silvestri, M. (2017). Police Culture and Gender: Revisiting the 'Cult of Masculinity.' *Policing: A Journal of Police and Practice*, 11(3). 289-300. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paw052>

Silvestri, M., Tong, S. & Brown, J. (2013). Gender and Police Leadership: Time for a Paradigm Shift? *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 15(1). 61-73. <https://doi.org/10.1350/ijps.2013.15.1.303>

Singh, S., Sharma, C., Bali, P., Sharma, S. & Shah, M. (2023). Making Sense of Glass Ceiling: A Bibliometric Analysis of Conceptual Framework, Intellectual Structure and Research Publications. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2181508>

Somvadee, C. & Morash, M. (2008). Dynamics of Sexual Harassment for Policewomen Working Alongside Men. *Policing An International Journal*, 31(3). 485-498.

Stewart, R., Wright, B., Smith, L., Roberts, S. & Russell, N. (2021). Gendered Stereotypes and Norms: A Systematic Review of Interventions Designed to Shift Attitudes and Behaviour. *Heliyon*. doi: [10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06660](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06660).

Todak, N. (2023). "A Panel of Good ol' Boys": Women Navigating the Police Promotions Process. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 48(4). 967-983.

Torres, A., Barbosa-Silva, L., Oliveira-Silva, L., Miziara, O., Guahy, U., Fisher, A. & Ryan, M. (2024). The Impact of Motherhood on Women's Career Progression: A Scoping Review of Evidence Based Interventions. *Behavioural Sciences*, 14(4). <https://doi.org/10.3390/bs14040275>

Yalley, A. & Olutayo, M. (2020). Gender, Masculinity and Policing: An Analysis of the Implications of Police Masculinised Culture on Policing Domestic Violence in Southern Ghana and Lagos, Nigeria. *Social Sciences & Humanities*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2020.100077>

Zempi, I. (2020). "Looking back, i wouldn't join up again': the lived experiences of police officers as victims of bias and prejudice perpetrated by fellow staff within an English police force. *Police Practice & Research*, 21(1), 33–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2018.152538>