



Women in the CIB

OPPORTUNITIES FOR AND BARRIERS TO
THE RECRUITMENT, PROGRESS, AND
RETENTION OF WOMEN
IN THE CRIMINAL
INVESTIGATION
BRANCH
(CIB)

JULY 2000

Foreword

This report has been produced at the request of the New Zealand Police in response to concerns initially expressed by the Women's Consultative Committee. The National Crime Manager sought an independent assessment of the opportunities for and barriers to the recruitment, progress, and retention of women in the Criminal Investigation Branch.

Women in the CIB is a snapshot of our organisation. It reflects the variations experienced by individual staff members around the country, from having women being very happy with their work environment, to those experiencing a range of behaviours that are acknowledged to be inappropriate and in immediate need of change.

The report has identified and confirmed the value of women working in the CIB, noting that both female and male officers are enthusiastic about the nature of their jobs. However there is also a degree of disillusionment on a number of fronts.

Consistent with the firm commitment to providing a positive and equitable work environment, the Police Executive Committee has accepted this report as a working document to assist staff and managers in implementing necessary and relevant changes.

The Police Human Resources Strategic Plan 2000 - 2003 is to address the individual recommendations made in Women in the CIB. I am confident that with the support of staff and managers the necessary changes and improvements will be achieved.

I commend this report to all staff as a reflection of the work environment and Police culture as identified by staff at this time. The report will act as a springboard for change and I thank all those who have participated in its compilation. Particular thanks go to Associate Professor Prue Hyman for her work in bringing the report in a way which will provide for positive change to occur.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Rob Robinson', with a large, stylized 'R' and a horizontal line extending to the right.

Rob Robinson
Commissioner of Police



Prue Hyman is Associate Professor of Economics and Women's Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research and writing has been mainly on issues relating to women and the economy, both theoretical and applied, including labour force participation, earnings, industrial relations, income maintenance, housing, and the position of older women.

Her 1994 book **WOMEN AND ECONOMICS: A NEW ZEALAND FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE** brought together all these areas, as well as explaining the basic elements of feminist economics.

She has been an economic consultant to the Ministry of Women's Affairs, working there full time 1989/90 on labour market and social policy issues, and to various other public and private sector organisations.

She has also been a government appointee to the National Housing Commission, the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women, and the Social Science Research Fund Committee.

**OPPORTUNITIES FOR AND
BARRIERS TO THE RECRUITMENT,
PROGRESS, AND RETENTION OF
WOMEN IN THE CRIMINAL
INVESTIGATION BRANCH (CIB)**

**PRUE HYMAN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF
ECONOMICS AND WOMEN'S STUDIES,
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**

**REPORT COMMISSIONED BY NATIONAL CRIME
MANAGER, NEW ZEALAND POLICE AND STRATEGIC
ADVISOR, HUMAN RESOURCES: EEO**

JULY 2000

CONTENTS

RECOMMENDATIONS.....	1
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	9
INTRODUCTION.....	14
STATISTICS ON WOMEN IN THE CIB (AND THE POLICE IN GENERAL)	16
FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUPS AND INTERVIEWS	20
Introduction	20
Contributions made by women’s representation in CIB, as individuals and by their presence as a group	23
Women as supervisors	29
Barriers, actual and perceived, to recruitment, retention, and promotion of women	31
The possibility that there are no barriers - or only those produced by women themselves	31
Recruitment - and Reasons for Leaving	34
Work environment - CIB in particular and NZ Police in general far from family friendly	43
Child care	50
Issues over call outs	53
Issues over periods away from home	56
The Flexible Employment Option.....	58
Other issues and options with respect to family friendly policies.....	66
Work environment - police culture.....	70

Work environment - selection on merit.....	83
Work environment - gender and sexual harassment.....	84
Work environment - unequal treatment in assignment of roles	89
Work environment - a lack of understanding of and training in EEO and human resource management	95
Reverse barriers?	101
Promotion	103
Final reflections on barriers to women	114
Barriers to Maori, Pacific Island and other ethnic minority groups in the police/CIB	115
General issues.....	121
IMPLEMENTATION OF EEO AND GENDER INTEGRATION	123
FINAL COMMENTS ON THE STUDY	123
Appendix One: Background, Terms of Reference, Methodology and Acknowledgments	125
Appendix Two: Barriers to Gender Equity and EEO: Principles and Resources	133
Appendix Three: Legislative Framework, NZ Police/CIB Policies and Practices, and Case Law on Discrimination, EEO, Sexual Harassment etc.	143
Appendix Four: Previous Research on Issues for Women in the NZ Police/CIB and Selected Relevant Overseas Research	152
Appendix Five: Statistical Material	158
Appendix Six: Supplementary Material/Discussion on (A) Recruitment Issues (B) The Flexible Employment Option.....	164
Appendix Seven: Acronyms used in the Report.....	177

RECOMMENDATIONS

As is made clear in the findings of this report, barriers to women in CIB cannot be fully addressed by changes in the CIB alone. Many of the issues apply to the police overall. Hence some of these recommendations apply to the NZ Police in totality, while some are specific to CIB. In some cases, subsequent discussions on the recommendations will be needed to address whether they should go wider than CIB.

RECRUITMENT

Recommendation 1 That all recruitment to CIB be based on the Christchurch Pilot Model, whether using local or national advertising - subject to the following qualifications:

- (a) All vacancies shall be open to both women and men, except that gender specific advertisements will be permitted in tightly prescribed situations within the Human Rights Commission (HRC) and case guidelines. This is more likely to allow women than men only advertisements, for example, when a squad has no women and needs one, or only one woman and needs two for operational reasons.
- (b) Encouragement of officers thought suitable to apply for entry, promotion etc is acceptable and welcome, particularly in the case of groups currently under-represented. In order to ensure fairness, both perceived and actual, standard selection procedures must then be applied.
- (c) There shall continue to be at least one woman on all panels, with best efforts made to ensure that all panel members are suitably qualified and appropriate for the particular vacancy.
- (d) Use of earlier application forms with unacceptable questions to be discontinued immediately, with management reconsidering, in consultation with relevant expertise, including the EEO Office, the degree to which it is acceptable to ask questions related to family circumstances of all applicants.

FAMILY FRIENDLY WORKING PARTY

Recommendation 2 That a working party be established on matters relating to family friendly policies. This working party to involve a range of people with relevant experience from inside and outside the police.

This recommendation recognises that the numbers and proportion of people working FEO/part time in Police/CIB is very low by general workforce standards

and that the difficulty of working part-time is leading to a loss of trained staff who would stay in the police if it was easier to do so. The setting up of the working party would involve:

- (a) Detailed terms of reference, membership, and procedures (which include a submissions process), to be established by a steering group that includes senior management and WCC representation.
- (b) Emphasis on improving flexibility and finding ways that it can be managed
- (c) Scope to cover the Police overall in some areas, but with a particular emphasis on CIB
- (d) Matters for consideration that include:
 - (i) Call out arrangements in CIB that include the possibility of rostering weeks on and off call in all districts
 - (ii) The possibility of changing the approach to staffing major enquiries to recognise family responsibilities
 - (iii) Ways of encouraging and managing FEO within the various functions of CIB, including supervisory positions
 - (iv) Possible extensions of maximum lengths of some or all of: unpaid maternity/parental leave; leave without pay; and FEO. This would permit officers with family responsibilities maximum flexibility to remain in the Police while having, where necessary, an extended period away (if necessary with retraining on return) and/or in part time work
 - (v) Ways of encouraging return to Police/CIB of those wishing to resume a police career after leaving the service for family responsibilities
 - (vi) Options for subsidising child care for unsocial hours/call outs/periods away in CIB beyond the new dependent care rules.
 - (vii) Other issues raised in this report with respect to making the police workplace more family friendly, such as: greater use of work at home; proper treatment of pregnant officers; careful management when resources are tight so that FEO is not made less accessible by having fewer supernumerary positions; and fewer squads not on regular call out.
 - (viii) Training needs with respect to family friendly policies, to include encouragement of a positive attitude among management and all staff, recognising the efficiency and equity arguments and the positive contributions of those on FEO, and the management responsibility to facilitate combining work and family life.

CHANGING THE CLIMATE TOWARDS GENDER INTEGRATION

Recommendation 3 That management objectives and practices to improve this climate be developed, extended, or carried out where they are already within current policy.

This recommendation recognises that the climate for women officers in the male dominated workplace and culture of the NZ Police/CIB is at times unwelcoming and one where mild gender harassment and workplace bullying is often tolerated. The management objectives and practices that need to be attended to cover the following areas

(a) Objectives

- (i) Increase the female numbers and proportions of the total in Police/CIB each year through improved recruitment and retention
- (ii) Increase the female numbers and proportions of the total in Police/CIB at NCO and officer rank - in both cases strictly on merit but with the broad understanding of merit outlined in this paper
- (iii) Ensure that all officers in NZ Police, including CIB, receive annual training in EEO, sexual and gender harassment and workplace bullying, covering not only legislation and policy, but also the NZ Police workplace context. Such training to aim to reach a situation in the short term where behaviours contrary to policy are unacceptable and lead to adverse consequences, and in the medium term where attitudinal change is achieved so that such behaviours become extremely rare.
- (iv) Encourage wide discussion of the range of issues discussed in this report, making it and other useful resources generally available.

(b) Practices in line with these objectives and current EEO policies

- (i) Equal access irrespective of gender to all roles within CIB in training and when qualified, with role specialisation only by choice.
- (ii) Discussing problems, making complaints or taking personal grievance cases based on possible gender issues (or otherwise) to be seen as legitimate and dealt with professionally. Taking such a complaint/ case should have no adverse effect on the complainant's career unless it is found to be totally without foundation.
- (iii) Formal and/or informal mentoring systems to be investigated and encouraged.

- (iv) Networking and support mechanisms to be encouraged and possibly developed or extended on an official basis; participation in such networks, including WCC (and reviews like this one) in work time to be seen as legitimate, with resistance to these involvements clearly identified as inappropriate behaviour

OTHER HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ISSUES

Recommendation 4 That improvements to HRM practices be investigated to ensure a real commitment to EEO is demonstrated and carried through, including leadership from top and middle management that emphasises the importance of the matters covered in this report and attempts to remove barriers to gender (and ethnic) integration. These improvements to include:

- (a) Promotions/appointments, with consideration given to the following.
 - (i) Amending criteria to allow the possibility in promotions and appointments of the recognition of excellent work in specialist roles, with subsequent access to more generalist positions with suitable training, if required.
 - (ii) Developing appointment procedures that are less rigidly based on curriculum vitae. Procedures to include:
 - criteria based on personal and job specifications, with all applicants evaluated against these; (as at present)
 - routinely interviewing short listed applicants, in relation to the criteria and with the same set of questions for each;
 - abilities such as communication skills and ability to work in a team to be included in the criteria unless completely irrelevant;
 - wording of criteria that allows potential as well as direct experience to be taken into account.
- (b) Management training and accountability, with consideration given to the following:
 - (i) A comprehensive training programme in HRM for managers at all levels, covering officers promoted to Sergeant and all higher positions, and ongoing throughout their careers
 - (ii) Inclusion of performance on EEO/gender integration in the KRAs of managers, as appropriate.
 - (iii) Introduction and/or better implementation of procedures to deal more effectively than at present with the handling of inadequate performance by staff, for example in the area of demonstrated gender bias, so that it is not ignored or dealt with ineffectively by shifting the individual to another district or area of work

- (iv) Introduction and/or better implementation of procedures to deal more effectively than at present with the handling of clashes between individuals to try to prevent the loss of good staff and to ensure fair treatment of both superiors and subordinates, whatever their gender
- (v) More systematic use of exit interviews to gain information on any problems leading to resignation, with lessons taken for the future. This will require procedures to assemble and make use of this information, while respecting individual privacy.
- (vi) Introduction and/or better implementation of procedures to deal more effectively than at present with career planning for staff, including the issues that arise for police with partners also in police.

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN CIB DECISION MAKING

Recommendation 5 That consideration be given by CIB management to the adequate representation of women in decision making positions and forums, including the annual conference.

Until this is achieved automatically by position by having more women in senior positions, other means will need to be used. These means could involve having two of the most senior women as representatives, or elected representatives, or delegates from regional women staff conferences to be held before the annual conference.

SUBMISSIONS/CONSULTATIONS ON THIS REPORT

Recommendation 6 That a process be established whereby submissions on this report and recommendations can be made by any CIB officer (and perhaps any police officer) anonymously or otherwise, for consideration by management. This process be handled as follows:

- (a) Submissions on family friendly issues to go to that working party.
- (b) Submissions on other issues to go to the group I suggest be established for this purpose.

This would encourage awareness of the issues raised in this report, recognise it is based on the input of a sample of officers only, and create a vehicle to make the best use of constructive ideas from all interested staff.

MAORI/PACIFIC ISLAND/OTHER MINORITY ETHNICITIES

Recommendation 7(a) That individuals and/or groups of officers who identify as Maori, Pacific Island, Asian etc be encouraged to make submissions on this report via the process suggested in recommendation

6, and be given the opportunity to develop parallel or different recommendations for removal of any barriers to their progress.

Recommendation 7 (b) That networking and support mechanisms be encouraged and possibly developed or extended on an official basis for Maori, Pacific Island and if required, other minority ethnic groups – to be of mixed or single gender as the participants choose. Participation in such networks in work time to be seen as legitimate, and resistance to this as inappropriate behaviour

These recommendations recognise that this research dealt only peripherally with issues for ethnic minorities, and spoke to only one group of Maori/Pacific Island woman officers, and no corresponding group of men. Therefore, it is not appropriate to make many firm recommendations in this area. One based on suggestions from this focus group is included (7b).

A climate of non-discrimination, EEO awareness, and encouragement of under-represented groups in the police which the recommendations in this report are intended to bring about, should also help improve the position of Maori, Pacific Island and other minority ethnic groups in the police. Many of the recommendations, in addition to the statistical ones where ethnicity has been included, could be extended to cover ethnicity, but this was beyond the brief of the research.

GENERAL ISSUES IN CIB GIVING RISE TO SOME DISSATISFACTION

Recommendation 8 That consideration be given by CIB and police management to the general issues raised during this study with a view to policy changes where needed and better communication with staff. These issues include:

- (a) Suggested inadequacy of post qualification education and training in CIB.
- (b) Suggested inadequacy of feedback procedures and leadership, including appreciation of good work and general support.
- (c) Suggested inadequacy of remuneration and allowance structures to ensure that there is an incentive to join and remain in CIB.
- (d) Suggested inadequacy or lack of equity in time allowances for study for modules during training.
- (e) Suggested inadequacy of staffing and other resources available to CIB in most or all districts.

- (f) Suggested problems over inconsistency of conditions and policies between regions and districts, with the perceived need to review the working of devolution to examine the balance between national policies and local autonomy/flexibility, with a view to general adoption of best practices.

STATISTICS

Recommendation 9 That statistics in the area of gender and ethnicity be collected and publicised in more detail. These statistics to include:

- (a) Police Numbers disaggregated by gender, ethnicity etc.
These figures to be made available annually, or preferably quarterly, with data on numbers of Police officers, separated into sworn and non sworn, by district, branch, and rank, disaggregated by gender, ethnicity, and disability. It would be desirable to disaggregate further by functions within branches. Detailed guidelines be prepared by management with advice from the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO, to ensure that districts prepare these in the most appropriate form and on a consistent basis, allowing for the varied organisation of different districts.
- (b) CIB Numbers disaggregated by gender, ethnicity etc.
Consistency in statistics in the investigative area to be achieved by separate specification of CIB officers, CIU, CCU, GDB officers attached to CIB, and any other investigative group, since districts are differently organised with respect to this work. Functions within and outside CIB to be specified separately to include heavily male areas such as Armed Offenders Squad and Dog Handling as well as such areas as Sexual Abuse Teams, Fraud, Intel etc.
- (c) Applicants/successes for positions/promotion by gender, ethnicity
Statistics to be collected and published at least annually, and preferably quarterly, on numbers of applicants for positions and promotions by gender and, if possible, ethnicity, and to include the numbers successful in each category.
- (d) Applicants/successes for FEO and numbers on FEO by gender, ethnicity
Statistics to be collected and published at least annually, and preferably quarterly, on numbers of applicants for FEO and numbers granted FEO by gender and, if possible, ethnicity and, if privacy issues do not prevent this, reason for application. Also

numbers on FEO by branch, function, district, rank, and pattern of work.

(e) Monitoring and publicity for statistics

The statistics above to be monitored by the EEO Office and widely publicised.

(f) Benchmarking EEO progress

Use of the EEO Trust's EEO Index to benchmark progress on EEO to be investigated and implemented if feasible.

EEO IMPLEMENTATION AND RESOURCING

Recommendation 10 That the resources in EEO and HRM be substantially enhanced to allow for the extra work involved in implementing some or all of the recommendations of this report: these resource increments to include the following:

- (a) Enhancement of the central EEO capacity of the NZ Police through increased staffing in the EEO Office.
- (b) EEO resources and training materials within districts to be budgeted for by police management and to include attractive training packages with videos etc.
- (c) Ongoing participation in the Australasian Women in Policing Advisory Committee, with a view to embodying best practice from Australasia and beyond, and publicising of the good examples.
- (d) Extension of the functions of the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources, EEO and an enhanced EEO Unit in the Office of the Commissioner, to encompass both the current strategic role and additional operational roles in conjunction with districts and the Police College. These roles include leadership and monitoring of district activity, as relevant, in policy development, EEO training at all levels, monitoring, feedback, exit interviews, and accountability for EEO implementation.
- (e) Enhancement of the resources in HRM, as needed.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Statistics – women in police and CIB by rank

The report on this commissioned research first briefly examines the statistics on women in the CIB and in the police generally. It finds that the proportion in the police continues to rise, slowly but steadily, particularly if those on leave without pay are included. There are about the same number of women and men on leave without pay (about 100 of each), with the women probably largely taking that option for family reasons. Excluding that group, the proportion of all sworn officers who are female has risen from 2.37% in 1970, 4.23% in 1980, 6.89% in 1990, and 12.80% in 1995 to 15.28% in 2000, which increases to 16.1% if those on leave without pay are included.

Within CIB the proportion is lower, with women constituting about 11% of about one thousand officers in 1999, with a variation across districts from 4.4% to 19.0%. These figures need to be treated with some caution, as there are different ways of arranging investigative work, involving uniform staff attached to CIB and other arrangements.

Retention of women in the police is something of a problem, with the average age of women disengaging between 1990 and 1997 being 32.26, as against 39.06 for men, and their length of service correspondingly less, at 9.51 years as against 16.59. Nevertheless, the average age of female staff increased somewhat from 27.9 to 30.3 from 1990 to 1997, while the male average increased from 34.0 to 35.9 in this period.

Related to the relatively poor retention, few women reach high rank in the police. The most senior officer currently is at Superintendent level, with the top 27 officers all male, and only 3% of Inspectors, 2.4% of Senior Sergeants, and 5% of Sergeants are women. In CIB the woman with most senior rank recently was a Detective Senior Sergeant, who is just leaving the police. There are some ten women Detective Sergeants. It is clear that the most important factor in the issues of retention and lack of women at high rank is the extra problems in the police force, compared with most workplaces, of combining work and family responsibilities, due partly to the nature and time uncertainties of police work as currently organised, and the associated low level of part time work.

Low level of part time work

The Flexible Employment Option (FEO), which allows such part time work, is much appreciated by many with access to it, but is not widely used. Management in principle supports it strongly, being aware how part time staff in the labour market generally have high productivity. Nevertheless some women are reluctant to take it up, partly because they are made to feel, particularly in CIB, that they are not pulling their weight, for example if unavailable for callouts. Only 83 sworn

police officers (79 women, 4 men) or 1.2% of the total and 7.2% of the female staff, are currently on FEO, a small fraction of the proportion in the labour force overall. Waikato and Wellington have the highest rates of FEO take-up currently. Most supervisors and many staff see difficulties in extending FEO widely in the main operational parts of CIB, especially in supervisory grades. Yet the Auckland district is using it more widely within CIB. While it may be easier in larger centres, innovative organisation could see it extended. There are 6 women in CIB on FEO, and a few others in related positions.

Nature of the empirical research

The empirical part of this research involved twelve focus groups covering female and male officers, mainly in CIB, but also some in the police and some who had left CIB. More women than men were included, as barriers to women were the main area for study, and the groups covered both Detective Constables and Sergeants. There were also twelve interviews conducted with senior managers and other key informants, and extensive quotes are included in the report.

Have the barriers to women disappeared?

Focus group discussions showed that a few women officers consider that there are now no barriers to their recruitment or advancement within CIB, and most consider that the problem of a heavily male culture was slowly improving as women become more accepted in Police and CIB, and are treated more as individuals and on merit. A number of male officers believe that there are, indeed, reverse barriers, with the management commitment to advancement of women and ethnic minorities in police in general and CIB in particular starting to disadvantage white male staff.

However, a majority of women officers consulted believe that their status as a small minority both in itself constitutes and also leads to a considerable degree of disadvantage, with the lack of role models and mentors, and the fact that women staff stand out and so receive more scrutiny than their male counterparts. Many women officers stressed the need to 'fit' and establish credibility within CIB, and felt that this was harder for women, with the need to perform better than one's male counterparts. Many believed that at times errors were both attributed to their gender and excused less than they would be for male officers. Individual relationships with male colleagues were generally good, but male group behaviour was often still a problem. Having two or more women in an office or on a squad was seen as making a major difference, avoiding isolation. The more even the gender balance, the less problems appear to exist.

EEO – commitment but deficiencies

There is an admirable degree of commitment expressed by senior management in the police/CIB to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and removal of gender/other barriers, together with a raft of policies and practices. However, a great deal of scepticism is expressed about the reality. Good policies and

statements alone achieve little without a significant range of human resource management (HRM) practices, training, monitoring, and positive and negative incentives to achieve results. Training in EEO and HRM is seen as deficient at all levels, particularly in supervisory positions. Hence, gender and to a lesser extent sexual harassment remains a problem in police, including CIB, despite adequate policy frameworks and complaints procedures. Taking a personal grievance is seen as likely to lead to an adverse effect on the complainant's career even if it is justified, and it was felt that a blind eye is often turned to the behaviour of some male officers known to be a problem - it is very rare for police officers to lose their jobs.

A lack of equal opportunity to perform all roles within CIB was another major issue, with a tendency still to assign women to interview female complainants, as against offenders, for example, and to protect them in a way that was not considered appropriate. All women officers wished simply to be treated equally, receive no special treatment, and to achieve any promotion on merit - and considered that they had indeed fully deserved all the success they had achieved.

Gender bias in recruitment to CIB has been a problem in the past, but with current staff shortages in the main cities, this is less the case today except in a few smaller centres. Nevertheless, there is a need to ensure that all centres use proper gender neutral procedures. There was wide appreciation of the qualities women brought to CIB, in terms of diversity and a greater variety of approaches, and some specifics: courses with nearly equal numbers of women participants, for example, were regarded by instructors as much more successful, with women's teamwork praised. Some officers who had had women supervisors judged their communication skills and concern for staff to be above average.

Combining work and family in the police

The issues of combining work and family, mentioned earlier, were extensively discussed. Some believed that it was simply a matter of choice that influences women's greater home responsibilities, and that police/CIB organisation could not bend any further than it had to accommodate the issues. More men emphasised individual choice whereas more women stressed structural issues and believed that organisational flexibility was necessary to allow combining home and family. Management expressed a desire to retain the skills of experienced women CIB officers and sought guidance as to how this can be done. This area is critical to the retention of female staff.

Issues for Maori and Pacific Island women officers

One focus group was held of Maori and Pacific Island women officers in police/CIB. Managers and staff saw ethnic minority male and female officers as an important and valuable resource, particularly in areas of the country where these groups are heavily concentrated in the population. The ability to speak

Maori and Pacific Island languages, to communicate and establish some empathy with leaders in the community, complainants, witnesses and suspects of similar ethnic backgrounds, was widely appreciated.

However, a lack of appreciation of cultural differences and reactions to tragedy was noted in the focus group, particularly in the case of Pakeha male fellow officers. It was felt that there were insufficient numbers for the demands and for mutual support. In addition, the experience of seeing and stereotyping Maori and Pacific Islanders in the role of suspects may influence some Pakeha staff to handle the issue of these ethnic groups within the police by constructing their fellow officers as quite different from those they meet in the streets. Some resentment of supposed special treatment in recruitment of Maori and Pacific Island officers was voiced by a few male staff. The focus group resisted strongly and with good reason any feeling that they had had special treatment. As with women in general, no one wants this. It is not special treatment to take measures to attempt to attract minority groups into police or to encourage them to go as far as they can, provided that to pass the relevant tests or achieve the promotions, they have to meet the same standard as anyone else.

CIB – good and bad aspects for staff

Overwhelmingly, both male and female officers were enthusiastic about the nature of their jobs, with few regretting their own decision to enter CIB. The challenge of the work, the ability to see through a case and file from beginning to end, the degree of autonomy and scope for initiative combined with teamwork, and the high standard of ability of fellow officers were frequently referred to. Nevertheless, despite this enthusiasm, there is a high degree of disillusionment on a number of fronts. These include levels and structures of remuneration, allowances, and other conditions, incentives to enter and remain in CIB and gain promotion, perceived lack of appreciation of a job well done, inadequate time to study for modules, performance review, provision of training, performance of management, adequacy of available resources, issues of valuation of CIB/GDB/traffic branch, and implications of the recent review.

Towards recommendations for gender equity and integration

Finally on gender barriers in CIB, some argue that they have almost disappeared. However, while some aspects, particularly the male culture, are less of a problem than in the past, that overall conclusion is over optimistic. Many incidents related are very recent, the family issues which are among the major inhibitors to women's progress are certainly all current, and the financial pressures, the lack of slack and flexibility, and the competitive individualistic environment of today may be leading to further barriers. These will not disappear without major changes in policies and practices, which are suggested in a lengthy set of recommendations.

These include improvements in statistical collection and analysis, training, monitoring, policy development, and accountability, which need adequate resourcing. The management commitment to this area requires an enhancement of both the central capacity of the NZ Police in this area, through more staffing in the EEO Office, and of the resources devoted to EEO within districts. The recommendations include a working party to consider how to make policies, practices, and organisation of work more 'family friendly', and an investigation of a large number of HRM policies with a view to improving gender equity and integration. The detailed working through of changes is the responsibility of management and requires an ongoing, not a one-off process. Police and other male dominated organisations throughout the world face similar problems and there are no magic wands. Instead there is patient and ongoing work throughout the organisation to develop policies, change behaviours, and change attitudes.

This is a brief summary of an extensive 182 page report. The full flavour and nuances can only be gained from reading it in entirety.

INTRODUCTION

This study was commissioned in September 1999 by Detective Superintendent Bill Bishop, National Crime Manager, New Zealand Police. It arose from the fact that the proportion of women in the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) in some parts of the country is well below that in the police as a whole, with significant regional variations. This was a matter of concern to Police District Commanders (then Managers), CIB managers and the National Women's Consultative Committee (WCC), all of whom suspected that there were actual and/or perceived barriers to women's entry, progression and retention. The research was to identify whether barriers do exist in terms of policies and/or practices which are not gender neutral in their effects. It was also to investigate the perceptions of women (and some men) CIB officers and of women police officers who are potential recruits to CIB, with respect to the existence and nature of any such barriers. If any were identified, recommendations were to be made with a view to their removal.

The idea was to investigate the issues through independent research with a strong academic focus. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

While the research relates primarily to the CIB, it could be expected that many of the issues raised would be relevant to the police as a whole, since despite some differences between the CIB and the rest of the police, there may be more similarities. Both are heavily male workforces with structured hierarchies/chains of command, some risks of physical danger and a dominant male culture, involving only slowly changing practices, and in the majority of positions requiring unsocial and sometimes unpredictable working hours. While the proportion of women in CIB is below that of the police as a whole, each is, not surprisingly in these circumstances, well below the proportion of women in paid work overall. This report will, therefore, at times refer to the CIB only and at times to the whole police, and it will not always make it clear which is referred to, for the sake of avoiding repetitions and a lack of readability. However, where it is crucial, it will be made clear, particularly in the recommendations.

The Police Values Statement, 1999, includes the phrases: "Consult with and be responsive to, the needs, welfare, and aspirations of all Police staff" and "Be culturally sensitive". This sits well with the commitment of police leadership to equal employment opportunity for all groups, including women, evidenced by the existence of quite strong policies in a range of relevant areas. During the time of preparation of this report, Police Commissioner Rob Robinson (then Acting Police Commissioner) expressed the desire "to see more women at the top of the force", saying that many women officers "have saved him from himself and his testosterone". Giving evidence to the Law and Order Parliamentary Select Committee, where it had been pointed out that there were no women in the top 27 police positions and he was being questioned about the lack of women

officers in senior positions, Mr Robinson said, perhaps ironically, that it was a problem the police had to be 'very aggressive' in dealing with.

Similarly the National Crime Manager is concerned that both for equity and efficiency reasons it is important to remove any barriers for women to enter and progress within the CIB. However, good policies and statements alone achieve little without a significant range of human resource management practices, training, monitoring, and positive and negative incentives to achieve results. Good practices need to permeate through the whole organisation, from top to bottom, and side to side, affecting behaviour and preferably attitudes. Sometimes attitude changes follow behaviour, rather than vice versa. If appropriate behaviour is insisted on, attitudes often change subsequently.

It should be said at this point that the activities and commitment to the removal of gender and other barriers of the Strategic Advisor, EEO, and the Women's Consultative Committee are impressive and reasonably well supported. However, more resources need to be put in to the range of policies, practices and training suggested in the recommendations if they are to achieve real change, particularly in a devolved climate where districts have considerable autonomy. Mainstreaming responsibility and the existence of a specialist capacity, both at national and district level, are not contradictory with respect to EEO, nor with a number of other functions. Both are needed to ensure progress is made.

This report starts with a short statistical section. It is short because the statistics available to the researchers are far from adequate, a matter taken up in the recommendations. Next comes the main section, reporting on the realities and perceptions of barriers to women revealed by the focus group discussions and interviews, and including a large number of direct quotes. Proposals for changes in practices and other improvements are discussed within each section, and the specific recommendations are brought together with an Executive Summary preceding this introduction. There are seven appendices, to avoid too much material in the text.

STATISTICS ON WOMEN IN THE CIB (AND THE POLICE IN GENERAL)

Representation of women in the police overall is well below that in the general labour force, although fast growing, with the proportion of women in sworn positions increasing from 6.9% in 1990 to 15.3% in 2000. While this is a small decline from a peak of 15.9% in 1998, it should be noted that a relatively large number of women are on leave without pay, probably mainly for family reasons. Nearly 200 sworn officers are in this situation, almost half being women: including them raises the female proportion to 16.1%. By contrast, women are nearly 70% of non-sworn staff, although only 26% of the top four salary bands.

Two factors cause both the average age and the average length of service of female staff to be well below that of males: these are the greater proportion of recent recruits, and more rapid attrition. While there are no figures on ages of all staff who leave, it is likely that women are leaving in their 20s and 30s to a much greater extent than men because of the difficulty of balancing police work with primary responsibility for childcare.

The average age of those leaving during 1990-97 through the disengagement scheme, which accounted for 70% of all exits by the end of the period (see Figure 3.5 in Appendix Five) was 32.26, as against 39.06 for men. Women's average length of service was correspondingly less, at 9.51 years as against 16.59, while the proportion of women and men leaving by disengagement was similar. This proportion rose during the 1990s, absolutely and as a proportion of total exits, reaching over 4.5% of the total force in 1996 and 1997. (Many of these longer term statistics are from "Attrition in the New Zealand Police, Proceedings of the Disengagement Study", 1998: later updates have been supplied by the police through the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO).

Disengagement is available only for physical/medical and/or psychological unfitness, and there is no mention in the Disengagement Summit report of gender differences in presenting issues. However, depression, anxiety, and stress (including inability to cope with general or specific situations, such as disruption to physical, mental and social life) are the most prevalent conditions among psychological factors which arise in 73% of disengagements.

It would certainly not be surprising, given the ages typical of these exits, if many of the cases of women officers were largely a matter of the difficulty of balancing 'public' and 'private' demands (the latter involving caring for others, rather than 'social' life). A study by former District Commander Alec Waugh, quoted in the Dale Candy research mentioned in Appendix Four, states that 56% of women exiting the police gave the conflict of family responsibilities and police work as their main reason for leaving. One of the few references to this issue in the Disengagement Summit report is the comment that "Life changes involving

transition from single status to family responsibilities result in heightened concerns for safety and increasing resort to more sheltered work positions. For example, it was noted that some female officers have difficulties in returning to duties after maternity leave, with lower coping skills to deal with traumatic situations” (p 95). This may be so for some women. However, many would argue that a number of relevant skills are actually substantially increased by motherhood.

It may be that a more major factor in problems over returning to work is the poorer accommodation by police management of the issues of combining work and family responsibilities compared to many other workplaces. Superintendent Bishop pointed out that women with children were permitted to disengage if they were unable to combine work and family.

A Detective in xx had a baby, came back to work, was back at work six or seven months, and applied to disengage on the basis that she couldn't cope with work and a child and home, on psychological grounds. Now we said no, because everybody's in that situation. The court said yes, all women that have to look after a child are stressed out of her brain so therefore she should be allowed to leave. Because it was taken to court and defended, women in our organisation who hold up their hand and say look I now have a family, I can't cope, can get a disengagement, it's a matter of right. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

While this may be a somewhat strange judgement given the prevalence of married women in the labour force in the 20th/21st centuries, it could be seen as reasonable in the context of the stresses of combining work and family in the police discussed later in this report. It may also account for some of the female disengagements, and indicate the importance of implementing changes in practices to make the police more family friendly.

The Flexible Employment Option permits a greater variation of working hours within a minimum of 32 and maximum of 64 hours per rostered fortnight. It is currently available only to sworn staff and is still a comparatively rare phenomenon, certainly in comparison with part time work elsewhere. At mid 2000, 83 sworn officers are using it, 1.2% of the total: all but four are women. This constitutes 7.2% of the female staff, which is still very low compared to part time staff in almost any other area of the workforce. Only six are in CIB, although there are a few others in CIU and other investigating work.

As more of the entry cohorts containing higher proportions of women are absorbed, the average age of women staff will rise, as is already occurring. This average increased from 27.9 to 30.3 from 1990 to 1997, while the male average increased from 34.0 to 35.9 in this period. Average length of service of sworn women decreased a little from 5.17 to 4.71 years in that period. For sworn men, the decrease was bigger, from 11.78 to 9.76 years. Appendix Five includes

some tables from the Disengagement Summit Report. Figure 2.6 and 2.7 show the very low proportion of women aged over 40, absolutely and compared with men, with a small increase during the 1990s.

With the age and service differences mentioned above, it is hardly surprising that few women reach high rank in the police. The most senior officer currently is at Superintendent level (1 of 33), with the top 27 officers all male, as mentioned before. At 31 May 2000, women constituted a promising 26.7% of 215 recruits, 17.8% of 5,414 Constables, 4.96% of 988 Sergeants, 2.34% (or 7) of 299 Senior Sergeants, and 3.01% (or 5) of 166 Inspectors.

Turning specifically to CIB, there is much less information on age and service by gender etc. Figures assembled by Sergeant Catherine McEvedy from District information (see Appendix Five) show that at 30th June 1999 women were 11% of the almost 1000 CIB members, as against 14.7% of the police overall, with a variation across districts (excluding Police College) from 4.4% in Waikato to 19.0% in North Shore/Waitakere. However, some of these figures have been challenged, illustrating the need (see recommendations) for accurate detailed statistics to be collected. There is some difficulty over consistency, with variable practice over organisation between CIB, CIU, CCU and attachments from GDB. Thus which groups are counted in the CIB statistics varies between districts, and this needs some attention.

One would expect the CIB proportion of women to be somewhat below that of the police overall, since the latter has a rising trend and there is an inevitable time lag for this to be reflected in CIB since entry to CIB involves some police service. However, there is room for much improvement at all levels, with women very rare above Detective Constable level. Until recently there was one Detective Senior Sergeant, who has just left the police. Hence, the highest rank for women is now only Detective Sergeant, and the number here is about 10. The Disengagement Summit data indicates a similar disengagement rate between the CIB and the remainder of the police, with CIB constituting on average 21.3% of staff and 22% of disengagements.

On the inadequacy of current personnel statistics, I was informed that this is linked to the general statistical/computing database problems within the police, but that some improvements are currently being made. Data on numbers by branch and rank, disaggregated by gender, ethnicity, and disability, is needed for proper monitoring of EEO progress. I understand from the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO that the reporting mechanism on EEO progress in the police has recently been transferred to the procedures used for other government departments under the State Sector Act (even though this Act only covers non-sworn police). This involves reporting to the State Services Commission, which in itself requires the identification of the target groups and

disaggregation mentioned above. I understand that these statistics will be delivered about the time this report is finalised.

Prima facie, the statistics above indicate barriers to women in the police in general and the CIB in particular, with numbers still so low even at base levels, let alone more senior positions. The nature of police work and the issue of long, varied, and unpredictable hours, callouts, and long periods away from home for major investigations may mean that the proportion of women in the police may never match the proportion in the labour force, at least while women continue to have the major role in bringing up children. However, it will be suggested later that organisational changes could reduce the need for and impact of these patterns. There has, of course, been a fairly rapid and welcome increase in women recruits recently, and this would inevitably take a while to track through to substantial numbers at Sergeant and above. However, the much greater attrition of women at younger ages than men makes the hope that the proportions of women in senior positions will naturally or automatically catch up to match their proportion in the police as a whole far too optimistic.

FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUPS AND INTERVIEWS

Introduction

In assessing whether barriers to women's progress into and within CIB still exist, the sources available to me are previous literature, the statistics on women's position, and information distilled from many years of experience and commented on in 90 to 120 minutes of discussion in twelve focus groups, supplemented by twelve individual interviews, mainly with managers and policy makers. There is no completely objective reality. Individuals are discussing their own interpretations, and while I use quotes and attempt to cover all views, inevitably I interpose another layer of interpretation. In particular, I am attempting to encapsulate here the perceptions expressed in focus groups of about 35 female and 15 male Constables/Detectives in CIB (most of them a group completing their induction course), 10 female Detective Sergeants in CIB and 8 male Detective Sergeants and Detective Senior Sergeants. In addition the focus groups included about 15 female Constables outside CIB, some from one Region/District, of whom a few were considering joining CIB, the others Maori and Pacific Island Auckland area Constables, plus a few women who have left the CIB.

One would expect considerable differences in experience and perceptions of barriers to women in CIB between these groups. In addition, within the same group, there will inevitably be individual differences in experience and varied interpretations of quite similar experiences, depending on differences in features such as personality traits, expectations, and positions on gender politics. Further, women officers will have encountered quite different actual situations due to regional and local variation and different dates of entry, with individuals also having varied experiences during their career.

There is also a tendency, discussed further below, to want to fit into the work setting, part of which may involve dismissing the possibility of gender issues arising. In reflecting on the major messages from some of the female focus groups, it appeared at times as if early and late in a session, the group overall gave the impression of there being few problems in the late 1990s, even though there had been some earlier. In the body of the discussion, however, when dealing with specific questions and areas, quite serious concerns were raised and recent incidents related, which appeared contradictory to that overall impression.

I attempt here to bring out the full range of views, which are often internally inconsistent and contradictory, but also to show which views predominated on particular issues. The use of very many quotes is because of the richness and authenticity they produce, and also to counter, in advance, any suspicion that

my own interpretations, as a well known feminist economist concerned about the position of women in the labour force, have dominated the voices of those in the study. An additional reason for quoting generously is to ensure that those who gave time and effort to respond honestly to some challenging questions can see that their responses have been adequately represented. This both contributes to people's willingness to take part in any subsequent exercises of this nature, and increases the credibility of any actions based on the recommendations of this report.

Clearly, women are the first hand interpreters of their experiences and it is barriers to women that are being considered here, even though some men may consider that the attempts to implement EEO for women start to amount to male disadvantage. Male officers' views are certainly also important. If they considered that no barriers exist or that they are trivial and of much less weight than was indicated by the women, it would be necessary to consider which view is closer to the truth and whether the male views in themselves constitute a further barrier.

The findings from focus groups and interviews are presented in terms of the discussion of the issues which arose, most but not all of which were anticipated in the terms of reference and topic areas. In addition, many general issues, for example with respect to conditions of work, morale, training, impacts of reviews and restructuring, and management, both in the CIB in particular and the police in general, were brought up by members of focus groups. This was discussed with the research sponsors as soon as the trend of participants to raise such issues was evident. Trying to confine the groups to specific gender issues would have been counterproductive to open discussion and cooperation: further, what counts as a gender issue, as discussed in Appendices 2 and 4, is partly a subjective matter, or at least one on which different opinions are held. National Crime Manager Superintendent Bishop therefore agreed that while the terms of reference and gender issues were to remain the main focus of the discussions and the report, it would be a waste of the resources put into the study for the report not to include a short section on the more general concerns raised. Some issues were raised in most groups and are clearly of major concern. While CIB and Police management are doubtless already aware of such issues and some widespread areas of discontent, it is important to take the opportunity to confirm the expression of these views.

Discussion of actual and perceived barriers to women in CIB will be dealt with under various headings, followed by the general issues just mentioned. This section will start, though, with the positive aspects participants saw as arising from the increased participation of women in CIB.

The quotes in this report from focus group members are always anonymous, though the gender and rank covered by the group are given, since these are

often relevant to the perspective or experience illustrated. For some aspects the region is also relevant and is then indicated for larger areas, but not small ones where individual people would be too identifiable - in that case places are given as xx. Any names referred to are similarly disguised.

There were twelve focus groups, of which seven covered largely women Constables, Detective Constables, and Detectives. Four of these were CIB groups, including some attachments, one was from GDB, one was a Maori/Pacific Island group spanning CIB and GDB, and the final one was of women who had left CIB either for GDB or to leave the police altogether. These seven groups have been grouped for their comments under Female Detective/Constables, which should be interpreted in the context of the above description. There were insufficient differences to make any further subdivisions necessary, and this grouping helps with anonymity except where specific regional issues are highlighted. However, there is a special section on Maori/Pacific Island issues and barriers where many comments from the Maori/Pacific Island woman Constable focus group area are identified, with their contributions in other areas amalgamated as explained above. In the case of the GDB group, there is a small section commenting on their attitude to CIB, and in the case of those who have left CIB, there is a small section on their reasons.

The other five focus groups are two of female Sergeants, grouped together when quoted, and three of male CIB officers. The female Sergeants were almost all currently Detective Sergeants in CIB, and all had been in CIB, but since they were not all currently in CIB, the comments are labelled Female Sergeants. Two of the male groups were at Detective Constable/Detective level and one at supervisor level (Detective Sergeants/Detective Senior Sergeants). In actuality, one of the two DC groups had two female officers along with the males, contrary to the intentions of the researchers, due to arrangements made in the area. This clearly affected the dynamics, and actually provided a useful contrast. Quotes from the males and females have been separated and included with their respective genders, except for one dialogue included in appendix six on FEO. The material from the male Detective Constable/Detectives (labelled Male Detective/Constables) is separate from that from the male supervisors (labelled Male Detective Sergeants), as their attitudes in some areas were markedly different.

Interviewees are sometimes anonymous and sometimes named. The Detective Inspectors (and one District Commander) have been amalgamated into one group, analogous to a focus group. Policy makers/senior management and two women officers left or leaving the police were willing to have their comments attributed. However, all were given the opportunity to see the quotes planned for use and decide whether they wanted any removed. Focus group members were also given the opportunity to see the relevant portions and quotes, in case they considered they would be inadvertently identified. This feedback opportunity on

the draft also enabled participants to comment on anything relevant to their group or interview which they considered to be distorted or anything important which was omitted. In practice, only two focus group members wanted quotes deleted or changed to preserve anonymity of themselves or others. A few interviewee quotes were changed at their request, either for clarification or to preserve the anonymity of others.

Because this report is inevitably somewhat gloomy in seeing barriers to women and general problems in the operation of CIB, perhaps it should first be said that overwhelmingly, both male and female officers were enthusiastic about the nature of their work. Some general issues which make them cast doubt on whether it is worthwhile seeking entry to CIB from the police will be discussed later, but few regret their own decision to join. I do not report in detail on the responses to the first focus group topic for discussion, the good and bad things about working in CIB, because this was largely a 'warm-up' area, but this main finding should be a welcome message to managers. The challenge of the work, the ability to see through a case and file from beginning to end, the degree of autonomy and scope for initiative combined with teamwork, and the high standard of ability of fellow officers were frequently mentioned as being important aspects in themselves, and compared with GDB, while some other desirable aspects of conditions of work were also mentioned, along with the less desirable ones mentioned later.

Contributions made by women's representation in CIB, as individuals and by their presence as a group

Women officers

Some participants felt that this was an inappropriate issue to consider, with the actual and/or potential contributions of each current or prospective member to be assessed without consideration of any personal aspect such as gender. This was particularly true of male Detective/Constables in the focus groups, who almost all believed that gender was irrelevant - individual skills were the key.

There's no advantage having a woman on CIB. There's no advantage having a man. As long as they've got the skills.

I don't think it should be on gender, it should be how good that person is. Their standard, their ability to talk to people, their ability to do the job.

It's all well and good to think it's great to have a balance, but when it comes down to the real facts, is it really that important that we do have females in the CIB today? My answer is no. I don't think it's a male/female thing. I think it's about the qualities of the individual to do the job that is required. It's like the Indian or the Chinaman or the Honky. It doesn't matter, if the Indian is sharper than the Caucasian, great, put him in there.

If he has all the requirements that you should have to be a detective - no problem.

I think it is more of an individual which is important rather than sex, the same as Maori or Caucasian. I would like to think they were there because of their capabilities, not because they wear a skirt.

It is not going to be major to me personally, what is important is the player, the individual who is going to be doing that job as required, and I don't see it is so important that we haven't got a female on the team if there wasn't one.

No big issue that I have with that and it wouldn't worry me if we had half a dozen females if they could be relied upon to do the job.

On an earlier, all male Detective Qualifying course, one participant was celebrating this fact. The Sergeant in charge spoke to him and judged it as just a macho attitude in a group setting - but this type of mass behaviour, mentioned again later, is a real problem.

On an all male detective qualifying course not so long ago, one of the males was overheard to say to another in my presence 'this is a great course - there are no females on it'. I didn't react initially, but spoke to that person later and it was just a macho attitude that was displayed among his colleagues. When I got him into the office and talked it through, he was as much of a SNAG as anyone else, but in front of his peers he was tough. (Male Sergeant)

However, most contributors to this study believed that having women in the CIB was highly advantageous to the organisation. Reflecting within the police and its component parts the diversity of the community is, of course, among the EEO objectives adopted by the NZ police. Even more important, it shows to the public with whom it deals a human and diverse face.

We have got to represent society in the police and they bring a different perspective. It has been well recognised that in certain things like domestics they deal with it differently. I think it is diversity. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

I think women bring diversity, they bring different approaches. Women bring good dynamics to a team, make people look at things in different ways. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

With respect to particular qualities and skills brought to the CIB by women, a great range was suggested. The issue of whether women and men show differences in attributes, skills, and ways of doing things is, of course, a highly controversial one. There is a large literature, for example, on women in

management, which debates this, with considerable evidence on both sides of this issue. Further, whether any differences which are observed are a matter of 'nature' or 'nurture' again is the subject of much academic and less formal debate. It is unnecessary and beyond the scope of this report to add to this debate. Suffice it to say it is widely believed by almost all women contributors to this study and by most men, especially managers and policy makers, that women do bring some different attributes to the CIB from men or at least a different balance, so that a greater number of angles on an issue might be observed.

We do look at things a bit differently. We may come in at a different angle than what the guys do. (Female Detective/Constable)

The view was expressed quite frequently that having a mix of women and men led to a better climate or atmosphere.

The obvious one is the life and the diversity, balance within an office. If you're talking about teams, a team of all of one sort doesn't make for a good mix. To have a team you need to have balance and so I see that as being a major advantage. It's a personal thing and I find women tend to get on with the job a bit better than men. Men will sit back and want to argue the point. I find that often there's a lot less fuss with women. (Detective Inspector)

Just because we are women doesn't mean we all work the same or have the same attributes but we do bring a different aspect to it. Whether, for lack of a better word, it is softer or even more approachable, but we can bring a different angle to it. (Female Detective/Constable)

This implies that from an efficiency angle, in addition to the obvious equity rationale, both women and men should be recruited and their skills used. There is of course the need for female officers for situations where women staff are essential, such as searching women offenders. However, there is also a very general view, discussed in detail later under barriers, that there should not be any role specialisation by gender imposed or expected, apart from those minor but essential tasks. Thus, all officers, male and female, should have the opportunity to take on every position and role throughout the service. Even if there are some tendencies for gender differences on average in skills or approaches, individual differences are thought, rightly, to be dominant over these gender differences. Hence some men, for example, may be excellent in interviewing woman rape or violence survivors, while some women may be excellent candidates for the Armed Offenders or Dog Handling squads, being as strong and skilled in self defence as most men. These squads notoriously have the smallest proportion of women and are the most resistant to them, according to a group of Female Detective/Constables. There is anecdotal evidence of gender bias in the area of dog handling and it has been there for a long time,

AOS won't take anyone. They might score well, but if the boys don't want that person in their group, they won't have them. Dog handlers are the same.

None of this is to imply that there are no gender differences. An example of building something useful on difference comes from the lesser average height, weight, physical presence, and hence likelihood of being able physically to intimidate a suspect of women compared with men. This difference used to be thought of as a reason not to have women in the police force, or at least not in positions where they will have to deal with aggressive male offenders or suspects. Instead, it is now realised by most people that women police officers will tend to deal with difficult situations in another way, for example avoiding physical confrontation and substituting verbal reason and quiet attempts to defuse any aggressive behaviour. And such methods may be instructive across the board, often being more successful and avoiding violence and injuries.

There are a lot of incidents that you can go to like violent areas where a woman can calm it down whereas a bloke walking in would exaggerate it. Your offender wants to take a poke at the bloke but because it's a woman, he's maybe a little bit reserved. I think women have an ability to focus more on detail than a guy does - not all guys, but a lot of guys - you give them a thing to examine, you can guarantee that everything will be looked at thoroughly, where as if you give it to some bloke, it's a quick look around. (Detective Inspector)

And on occasions when women are dealing well with an incident, their male colleagues will intervene unnecessarily and sometimes counterproductively, as these women Detective/Constables illustrate.

We are not in people's faces. I am thinking I'm going to this job. I'm obviously not going to think about how I can punch this guy or how I can take him out. Nine times out of ten you're chatting away quite happily with them and then some guy comes up and winds them up.

Some guy was starting to get a bit lippy but I had it totally under control and the next minute I have got my partner who is in between us and suddenly I have got a back in my face and the person I was talking to is just about on the ground. Did I miss something here? I was just having a conversation and afterwards he was like 'sorry, I thought he was getting a bit rough with you'. We were in control here, there was no way he was getting a bit rough. Thank you but no thanks.

The useful attributes most frequently mentioned as being more common among women in the CIB were those of better organisation, logical thinking, eye for detail, open-mindedness, approachability, attention to planning, communication

skills, interest in teamwork, adaptability to change, ability to deal with several activities or files simultaneously, and intuitive understanding. Some of these attributes were in the range alluded to by various women Detective/Constables.

You see things from a different angle in both personal and from an investigative point of view. I find that there are personal issues as well and guys will come and talk to you because you are a woman.

We're very organised and men aren't particularly. Organising files and putting things in order - able to communicate.

You take the part of the offender, the victims, the supporters, the whole lot. It makes it easier to understand the way that people's actions are explained or why they did particular things, and I don't see the men necessarily invest that same emotional response in the work that they get.

I think females tend to use more interview styles than the male does. Females can go in softly and can build up, whereas males tend to not be too flash at the softly, softly stuff.

Generally we are more particular than males and we are meticulous and we do a better job.

Similarly, from current women Detective Sergeants and one past one:

A woman's workload is so much higher. They'll deal with twice the files of the majority of the men. It's that multi-tasking thing: they can work on numerous things at once.

Diversity of thought and different approaches. Women are better communicators. We're not better at doing team fostering, but I think we're better at empowering people to do things.

We've got different thought patterns, we do things slightly differently - a different way of looking at something.

They are more logical thinkers, they are not quick to close their eyes to other things and they keep an open mind about what's going on. Men tend to get tunnel vision and say this is the way we're going. Women tend to give more attention to detail when extracting information from victims, offenders, those sorts of things and often in major investigations it's the small pieces of the jigsaw puzzle that fit in together to make it a success. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

The male Detective Sergeants group, interestingly, had the most varied and thoughtful positive points on women's contributions in CIB, including a Police

College instructor outlining how much better the courses were with a high proportion of females.

I have been lucky enough in just about all my time in CIB to be working with females on the same squads. I think it brings about a balance and perhaps curbs some of the excesses. Let's face it, there are times where there is a bit of banter that perhaps shouldn't be there, and having a female there probably curbs some of that. But it is not just that. I think it just generally creates some balance in the handling of situations and the dynamics inside the groups.

Generally they are more academic than the guys so they keep them on their toes, pushing the guys along. Of course the guys don't want to be caught out so it is competitive type banter, which is very healthy. They work hard and bring a really good balance to the team. They bring different ideas when you are having a briefing for a crime. Sometimes they deal a lot better with children than the guys do and then there are obviously the times where you just can't do without a women for searching and sometimes when you get a victim screaming that they want to talk to a woman.

The induction course we have got on at the moment has 9 females, the same as the one we had 18 months ago. Now, they are completely different courses from the rest that have the majority of males with maybe two or three women. The ones that have more females are better courses and I don't know why it is. There is something that you women have got that seems to calm things down, or balance things out. Those courses are tremendous socially and in class. We cannot shut this lot up at the moment. They go for it, wanting to know the finer detail, happy to talk, whereas courses with less females are not like that.

I think women bring the best out of men for whatever reasons, whether the guy wants to impress them or be it an academic thing or a challenge.

And when you have a woman there it tones down the group, just by being there. When I first started in CIB it was almost all guys and a real macho culture which you enjoy sometimes, but it can be damaging to what you are trying to achieve and also to your personal life and everything else

In general women are better at handwriting, better at notebook entries, better at detail. I have seen it quite often in syndicates where they are given exercises and you just watch the dynamics of the group. We are very task orientated but I think the females are able to take a step back and say 'hold on a minute - what about so and so?' It could be that they work better as a team.

I think there is a lot more acceptance of women in the CIB for things like detail and being well organised and that sort of thing. It suits them a lot more than GDB rushing round like the fire brigade with sirens on.

Finally from a male Detective/Constable, to show there was at least some appreciation of individual women in this group.

I was in the child abuse team where I was partnered up with a terrific cop, a great investigator. Sometimes I would have trouble interviewing a suspect about a child abuse matter, and she'd come in and turn them around within about five minutes. Women are very good at interviewing rapists and sex offenders.

Women as supervisors

The view has often been expressed in the general organisational literature that women are as resistant or even more resistant to having a woman boss, manager or supervisor than are men - and this view has also been strongly contested. The phenomenon was certainly present in our empirical work, but good women supervisors soon won over a group of female Detective/Constables.

We got a female Sergeant and even I was saying 'I don't know if I want a woman to be my Sergeant' because we had always had guys. The guys were a bit more accepting than a couple of us females had been.

Just on the street, it's good to have a man leading you. Male Sergeants I had would have a good scrap and it's just that safety thing. I think you felt more secure with them. But she was really good, a Detective Sergeant. She had only been here a couple of weeks and everybody said they respected her.

But thinking we are getting a woman, it was funny because it was coming from the females as well, whereas now we don't care. If they're up to it, they're up to it.

Our Sergeant is a female and she would be the best boss I have ever worked with. She is keen to get out in the car and drive around with us and is really interested in the work that we do. She provides help with your inquiries and even if we haven't got any problems she will just call in and ask how things are going. If we are going to an awful job she will come along, whether we are male or female. It is not like 'I'll look after the girls'.

Other common but contested contentions are that women tend to have a more consultative management style and are more concerned on average for their staff welfare than male supervisors. That was certainly believed strongly by a group of female Detective/ Constables.

She is more concerned about staff welfare than I have ever experienced. To get a call up after having done a long day or something, sitting beside you and saying how is it all going, how is your file holding and actually genuinely interested in what you are doing

I think a woman supervisor has been really beneficial to me.

I have had a female supervisor and it has made quite a difference to the operation of the office, how people feel about work and just picking everybody up.

I think women are instrumental in bringing about change a lot of the time because they are so open to it. The guys tend to get stuck on that one track; if it is working don't change it.

She would be the best supervisor I have ever had because she is so fair.

With women supervisors being rare in CIB, they stand out for good or ill and sometimes have a bad time. This may occur because of actual behaviour or prior reputation, fair or unfair. Two former CIB supervisors who had left CIB both had this experience.

Becoming a supervisor in the CIB, I dealt with a couple of individuals who just couldn't handle a female telling them what to do. One was actually a real pain. (Exit group)

Well the first group of staff that I had weren't going to accept me anyway. I was on a hiding to nothing from the word go. There was no way they were going to ever agree to anything I did or ever accept anything I did. They were going to challenge everything and they were going to make my life hell. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

On the other hand, some current women Sergeants have received favourable feedback on their supervision and concern for staff

I find with the woman supervisor that I've worked under, and myself as well, we're keenly aware of our staff's needs.

The comment that I heard was that it was the first time they'd actually been supervised. Someone took control and sat down with them and went through what they were doing.

Only a small proportion of those in CIB will have actually experienced a woman supervisor inside or even outside CIB, due to their small numbers. However, a range of views was expressed on gender differences, benefits and problems by those with and without that experience, and by woman supervisors themselves.

One woman supervisor found that attempting to use a consultative style was ineffective with her staff, so that she had to become more authoritarian. This in turn may lead to much more criticism than would such an approach from a male. The phenomenon of labelling differently similar behaviour according to gender (aggressive for females v assertive for males etc) has been widely discussed in organisational literature as a barrier for women.

My initial management style when I was promoted was consultative - let's work as a team and let's try and facilitate, and I'd try and communicate and talk about things with my staff rather than being dictatorial and dogmatic and this is how it's going to be done. Then after a period of time I got to the stage with my first lot of staff that "okay, bite the bullet, if you are not going to do it my way and discuss it with me, I am the boss, you are going to have to do it my way and this is how it's going to be done". I had to adopt that management style really to get things achieved or else they would do nothing for me and I became, I suppose, labelled as a bossy bitch or whatever. A male colleague had the same approach - assertive and direct and you knew exactly where you stood with him whereas I was labelled aggressive and domineering. The parallels were seen quite differently from the perception of my male staff to another male staff member who may have adopted the same approach. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Barriers, actual and perceived, to recruitment, retention, and promotion of women

The possibility that there are no barriers - or only those produced by women themselves

As with whether there any attributes more common among women, some officers believe that everything is a matter of the individual and so there are no barriers that are worse for women than men in the CIB or police. That includes some women, with a small minority of those in the study considering that they had never encountered any discrimination or barriers - these comments are from a range of female Detective/Constables, although some of them mentioned some problems later in the session.

I think the world is your oyster in the Police. You just have to have the motivation to go for it and you need a support system, which I think you find in the Police. It's only the rare occasion that I know of, that people don't get positions and that might be because of personality clashes.

I found my immediate superiors very good, very approachable. I never felt I couldn't approach them and ask for advice on a file. I have had very good experiences - I haven't found those barriers.

We are 50/50 men and women so I don't think I can really complain about anything. It doesn't seem to be gender orientated at all. You don't always get the victim or the general inquiries. I have been involved in every role that there is.

I don't see that being a female is a particular barrier to anything I want to do in the job. I think it is more your attitude, whether you want to achieve things.

It has been hard in the past but I think now there is nothing to complain about.

All the females were all the junior staff so you seem to get all the crap jobs, but that was probably more because you are junior staff than that you are female.

For me personally, I never had a really, really bad experience working with blokes for just over eleven years in the Police.

When I've been given a position, people trust me with it and I've gone with it. I was asked to open a two-man station. I felt honoured by that because the boss had chosen me because of my abilities.

A few Female Sergeants, too, felt that there were no barriers.

I don't feel any of those pressures. I have got two kids and I do my thing, and I don't feel in any way hindered amongst any of my peers.

Everything that I've wanted to do, I've achieved.

I've had nothing but encouragement to go as far as I want and really the only limits I put on myself are my own limits - it's not from the males in the organisation.

Others have no problems early on, but encounter some later on or when trying for promotion, as suggested by the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO.

Often some of the younger ones don't recognise it for a long time - that there are actually barriers there. When I first came, a lot of them said we don't want that because there's no problem. And yet now I'm finding the women who are attracted to the Women's Consultative Committee are the younger police women. They feel that this is a place where they can be heard and identify things and say something about it. (Alison Gracey)

I was lucky and I had colleagues that were very supportive of me and treated me as an equal and I never wanted to be different. They accepted me as an equal. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

However, this officer later encountered problems and particularly an unresolvable situation with a superior officer, and left the police. Even the most senior women officers who have prospered in the system may feel some ambivalence later in their careers.

As a constable certainly no problems - and very little in my career. I think we can often get disgruntled and blame it on gender and I have tried not to do that in the past and in fairness I have been fairly well treated by most police officers in this organisation, and I haven't come up with a lot of gender issues because I suppose I can deal with most of it myself. But I do have to ask myself - well, how come there is such an imbalance with gender numbers in the ranks? I am beginning to think that now, especially as a lot of young women have come to me with various issues lately. However, I have seen a lot of problems that men encounter as well, and I think that it is absolutely right to ask how much of it is actually gender. It is not only at constable level - it is in the ranks and there are some extremely good police officers that are women and why are they not putting their hand up to go through the ranks and why are they not being accepted? (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

The Cox report noted that several of the eight female supervisors interviewed had reported that there were no problems, and that women just had to 'harden up'. Superintendent Cox's impression was that "they could have been exhibiting signs of fitting the culture by adapting", an impression which fits with some comments in the current study discussed later.

Some men and women believe that 'women are their own worse enemies', unsupportive to each other, while others have had, as we have noted, very supportive women supervisors.

I think women can be a barrier to women in the first instance. In any area in CIB I think we can become a little protective of our own environment and not supportive as we could be for other women coming through. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Others see middle rank and age men as being more prejudiced than younger men and those at the top.

I think what I have found is that men who have trained with women are very accepting, and if they get on well with the women they don't question the work. What I find is that middle management, Senior Sergeant rank particularly who have never trained with women, don't hold the same views that women can have merit. You still have the old school attitude permeating in certain pockets around the country and I think the CIB figures show the pockets where it is hard for a woman to even get in, or once they are in to stay, or to even think about promotion. (Female Sergeant)

Most male senior officers acknowledge the existence of some problems, certainly in the past, and perhaps today.

I was on the surveillance crew, and Wellington and Dunedin were the only teams in the country who had women when I first started, then Hamilton got them. I used to coordinate the training for the whole country bringing all the trainees together at the Police College for a two week period and at the end of that I was bringing the O/Cs as well from surveillance teams. The guys in xx were particularly difficult in respect of women. There would be women on the course and they'd be making derogatory comments and saying how useless they were and they didn't need them on their team and I would be pushing them saying they're great, they can get a lot of places where no guys go. If you park a woman outside a school she's not a suspected paedophile, but if you put one male outside a school, the school's ringing up the local police to see what he's doing. (Detective Inspector)

However, some managers are still thought to believe that while they may need a woman, this can amount to a maximum of one or two in a large group, thus preventing the recruitment of other women. This may, of course, amount to illegal discrimination when qualified women apply.

I believe we've got some males who are very very good - who are really trying desperately to make sure that they have a well balanced CIB. Others say "I've got my quota now". People have commented around the country, saying that two is the maximum - that's all they want. (Alison Gracey)

Oh we have got one of those we don't need any more. We have got a woman, hey we have got the token thing, we have ticked the box we don't need any more. (Female Sergeant)

Recruitment - and Reasons for Leaving

The recruitment area appears to be of less significance than in the past, except in a few small centres. However, this is not entirely a matter for complacency, since it results partly from the fact that it is now easier for both men and women to be accepted for CIB training, due to recruitment/retention problems.

I'd take anyone so long as they met the basic criteria. I'd give anyone a go - we're quite desperate. In the past there was shoulder tapping - you were in a very privileged position and lucky to get the call up. That doesn't exist now. Different times create different opportunities. (Detective Inspector)

Some of our guys are being forced on leave because of the number of homicides and working hours upon hours on their days off. The CIB workload is horrendous, but they've been sent on leave and they've got no new ones coming up the ranks. A year ago in South Auckland we were

something like 12-15 staff down in CIB, and the heads came to talk to our section staff. They just came in and said, 'Anybody want to be in CIB? There were those that put their hands up and that's how they were recruited. (Female Detective/Constable)

They're not having trouble attracting women, they're having trouble attracting anyone. They're begging for people to come in, they'll take just about anyone and try and make it work. Even if it's not the right person for the job, they will try and make it work. (Female Sergeant)

The male Detective Sergeants stressed the need to meet the standard, irrespective of race or gender, and several believed that CIB recruitment continued to stress this, but that in police generally, affirmative action had gone too far.

As far as recruiting people we don't care what sex or race they are, if they are in the police and they have got talent and we think they are suitable for CIB, we will go for it and try to get them in.

In X we simply recruit people because they are suitable for the CIB. In a lot of other areas of police they go in for affirmative action. In the CIB, we don't target women because they are women, dark people because they are dark people. I think CIB is unique in the police in that area. If they are good we will have them, if they are not up to scratch then we don't want them.

I certainly wouldn't pick my CIB because the administration says you have to have 30% women. If there were 60% women downstairs and only two of them were good enough I would only take two of them and take the rest of the men to keep standards up because I want to be able to give them the training and send them out there. I think it would be the worst thing that could happen to the CIB for us to apply the same standards that we do to general recruiting where if you are a white male you will get in last after the other ethnicities or women.

While the number of women and ethnic minority recruits to police is increasing, a planned and desirable trend, the notion of white male recruits being a rarity and disadvantaged is clearly exaggerated. However, it is a very real perception, even more so among the male Detective/Constable group and this should be a matter of concern to management, in terms of the need for training and communication in this area. So should the perception of reduced quality overall in CIB, in the face of recruitment problems.

In recruiting they came out and said they were looking for 50% women going through the College now. Who cares about quality? They just want 50% women and a certain race, either Maoris or Polynesians. We come last.

Now every man and his dog is coming in, in terms of quality of people in CIB. The women are actually better than the guys. Some of the women coming through are actually quite good, where the guys are hopeless. They're so junior they don't know how to be a cop.

In this group the views were also expressed that there is no need for high numbers of women police, since offenders are largely male and that the lower proportion of women was simply individual choice of occupations. The first point ignores the fact that police deal are concerned also with victims of crime, who are disproportionately female, with witnesses, and with others in the community.

Looking at the Police and saying we've got a really bad ratio of males to females, why don't they look at the people we deal with? 99% of them are males, usually a lot bigger than us and drunk. We're getting to the stage where we're going to have a bigger percentage of female officers than of female offenders.

It's not every woman's cup of tea. A vast majority of women find the whole idea of approaching offenders and things like that far too scary or macho or it's not their thing. People have propensities to go into areas they're interested in. To be honest, women, given a choice, the majority will pick teaching or nursing or things like that where their abilities and skills lie. That's not to say that policing is anti-women. It's just to say that wrestling to the ground 18 stone mongrel mob men isn't for every woman, just like it isn't for every guy. Unfortunately the percentage of women that want to do it is lower than the percentage of men.

The general CIB recruitment problems, discussed briefly in the section at the end, include the time involved in becoming a qualified detective from entry to the police, when on average police careers may be shortening with the fifteen year option. This may be more of a deterrent against joining CIB to women with or intending to have children, as mentioned by a woman Constable in GDB.

I think people joining the Police now are probably less likely now to be looking at it as a career that they're going to be in for a long time. To get the experience to join the CIB you're expected to have a certain amount of years for you to qualify. Then to actually get some benefit from your job that's a long time. Do I really want to be in this job for that long? It's probably more of a disincentive for women if they're going to have children at some stage.

However, there is the countervailing tendency of having to spend a shorter period in general duties than in the past before starting training for CIB.

I think we're going to get more women coming into the CIB because you don't have to spend so much time on the street before being accepted - 6 to 7 years for most of us. A lot of women couldn't be bothered waiting for

that length of time for getting into that career choice. They wanted more stable hours, they wanted to be able to pursue outside interests and have a stable home environment, so they filtered off and did other things. Now they're not going to have to wait so long. The last six people to go through selection courses - all of them have been women. (Male Detective/Constable)

A number of female Detective/Constables consider they were discriminated against as women when trying to enter CIB in the past, and also that one had to be seen to fit, whether male or female.

You've got to wonder whether at the outset they think - she's female, what if she has kids? We might as well go with a man. I've never heard that and I don't know that they would voice it, but you wonder if they think it.

Getting into some CIB's, you've got to be able to walk the walk and talk the talk and be the right person, and if you don't fit that mould, if you don't play the game, if you don't wear the right clothes, if you don't drink with the right boys, you won't get in.

In X there were barriers for everybody, males and females, though males seemed to move a wee bit faster. There was a guy two weeks ahead of us at college who zipped through. There were comments from males as well females that he moved quickly, played for the right rugby team, and did the right thing. There was no way I was going to go to CIB - it was a real male bastion and they stayed put once they got there. Here it was different.

It was more personalities and people. If your face fitted you were in, if it didn't there was absolutely no way you would ever get in.

The thing about getting into CIB is first of all, you've got to get on with the boss. He's got to know you and you've got to have a really good reputation, That's not just for women, it's for anyone.

A woman Sergeant referred to inappropriate positive discrimination.

When I was interviewed as a Constable, the first thing they said was 'Oh X, that's a good police name, I worked with your father in, you're in. Five minutes - other people went in there and got grilled on statutes and evidence.

Others, outside CIB, suggested that it would be too difficult to do the training with young children or that one might not be selected in that situation.

If you have got a young family it could be a problem trying to get selected for CIB. I couldn't afford the time to sit at home and study. I couldn't go away for courses for a year or two.

I have been told by a Sergeant in the CIB that there is no point me putting in an application whilst I was intending to have another child. They are investing money in sending you on courses and if you are going to turn round while you are still in your probationary period of two years and have another child it is going to muck things up.

Some women, determined to succeed in entering CIB, have gone to great lengths to do so, for example hiding pregnancies at the induction course.

While it is clear that gender discrimination on entry is much diminished, there appear still to be some areas of the country where difficulties remain, with a few individual supervisors still in place who are opposed to recruiting either any women, women with children or intending to have them, or particular women officers to CIB. In the past, unofficial quotas of one or two women in a district and even male supervisors who wanted no women in CIB were apparently commonplace.

When I first joined the CIB, I have got no doubts that there was an informal quota system. Now I don't think that issue comes into it at all. We are looking for the most suitable people who want to have a career in the CIB and who are going to be staying, and you know that's the challenge. But I think there are some women who perhaps limit their options or endeavour to work in a particular area. There's a limited number of positions in the CIB that with any degree of confidence you know that you're going to be going out that door at 4.30 in the afternoon to pick up your child at 5. Once we had an absolute nightmare of a week with four homicides and virtually all the staff on one of the two I was involved with were females and they did everything. That investigation was short, sharp, and quick, no problems emerged, but if it had gone on for months and months and had been a 'who done it', it would have been interesting to see what issues were more prevalent to the female members than the male members. (Detective Inspector)

Nor is this totally in the past in the experience of a Detective/Constable in a small centre

All the females know that unless I leave there won't be another one in here. Everyone knows it but it noone can prove it. I'm the only one out of five in CIB. Some would like me out for other girls to come up. The girls downstairs ask me how long I am going to stay. They all know they have to look elsewhere if they want to go in CIB.

On a related issue, one woman who later became a senior officer in CIB was told by her Detective Inspector, who had a history of ensuring that women 'were written out of the job', that she would never qualify soon after she was successful in her induction course.

Further, such practices were implicitly condoned higher up, with widespread knowledge of the views and behaviour of such officers but no action taken.

I know when a female tried to get into the xx CIB, she was turned down – ‘We don’t have women in the CIB, you should be at home barefoot and pregnant and tied to the kitchen sink’ – that sort of attitude. But again it comes from the top and that was the DSS. That was his culture, that was what he encouraged, that was his boys’ club so that was his CIB and when I went to work with that CIB it still had no women in it and the blokes down there revelled in having female colleagues to work with and the guys were just so supportive of me as a woman in the CIB merely on attachment and were just excellent.

Noting that it was only in the late 1980s that quotas for women police were abolished and that there were perceptions that women, particularly married women, had high turnover, Superintendent Bishop said that as far as CIB was concerned

There had been an unspoken policy where women were discouraged unless they were single and seen as career officers.

Hence it will take time for numbers to grow. Of course the perception of high turnover can be a self fulfilling prophecy when police organisation makes it very hard for women with family responsibilities to stay, as discussed later.

Attempting to return to CIB after a period in the Uniform Branch could also be foiled by a resistant supervisor. One qualified woman detective had relocated to an area which initially had no CIB vacancies. She tried for four years to return before succeeding, during which time she regularly relieved in CIB, but was several times turned down, with her clear impression being that there was resistance in this office of eight detectives.

I was thwarted on every occasion by the administration because they said the office was too small for a woman. Other people would come in - they would transfer them in from another district and the argument was always ‘too small’. They weren’t actually clear about it obviously even in those days. You can’t pin it down, but it was very clear. As each application went on of course they were more cunning and in the end I achieved the job. But I put in a report with the application and added a paragraph stating that I was aware that a feeling existed in the office and that my previous applications had been affected by it -that the office was too small for a woman. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

Standardising the procedures for recruitment to CIB is an important measure even though this is a less serious problem than in the past.

A lot of the guess work has gone out of it now because certainly in xx very few people start on trial at CIB without having already been considerable time in the Crime Unit. So normally their work ethics and potential and abilities are well sorted out. We have a selection meeting when their

supervisors report on what their potential is, how well they work, what their work ethic is. So now I think we're probably 95% sure when we select them that they are going to be good. (Detective Inspector)

There has been regional and district variation in the methods of selection, with the old application form having been capable of introducing gender and family status bias. We were told that that form was still in use in some districts, even though it has been withdrawn. Local appointment systems and transfers are more capable of manipulation than nationally advertised vacancies - two female Detective/Constables from a smaller centre.

The next problem that you encounter is the large majority of CIB vacancies aren't selected by way of nationally advertised vacancy, which means they avoid having to use the appointment criteria. It is a rare thing that you actually see a CIB vacancy advertised, except in small stations.

The majority of them are by way of internal memo, and as a consequence all that goes forward is generally a 258 and perhaps a bit of a CV, and the selection process amounts to the boys talking about it in the bar on the Friday night and that's the process. If you're prepared to put out, drink or play up to them, you're guaranteed a job.

The CIB selection process developed by Canterbury District involves processes to endeavour to ensure that the CIB selection process is fair and transparent for all applicants (see Appendix Three).

The aim and objective of that policy was to make entry much more clear and visible so staff could see why they were or they were not being accepted. And so it put a bit of fairness and equity in the whole thing rather than a shoulder tap to somebody down the corridor because someone quite liked him and thought he would be a good bloke. I believe that it can still be manipulated and it's something that has to be watched carefully. But it's a big step in the right direction. (Alison Gracey)

This does not mean that it is inappropriate to attempt to spot good candidates for CIB, and suggest that they consider applying. But this process needs to be even handed across all those with suitable skills, irrespective of gender and other attributes, rather than shoulder tapping one preferred individual only.

Old forms which include inappropriate personal questions, with gender biases, will continue to be used until the Canterbury procedures are adopted nation wide and this is enforced. Some small centres are still using it, as these Detective/Constables have found.

I think the old application form itself asks how many children you have and whether you own your your own house and I think that is totally wrong. I think it is irrelevant to whether you should be chosen on merit to go into the CIB.

Yes. It is really gender biased. And it was brought out at the national conference that everyone should apply on a CV based on a detective's Personal Description and it hasn't been taken up nationally. The recommendation was that it should be, but most places still apply the old application form.

When I was in X , I asked how they apply, and he pulled out the old form. I said 'what about this and that on the form?'. He said 'no one's told me any different'. He was quite happy with it and tried to justify the issue of whether you own your own house or not.

Extending the Christchurch pilot to the whole country is a development strongly supported by the WCC, and is likely to occur, but is awaiting the results of this report.

I simply haven't put it forward yet: what I would really like to do is put together a package out of this report, rather than take a piecemeal approach. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

Two other issues with respect to recruitment are discussed in Appendix Six. The first is whether it is legal and whether it is appropriate to ask questions relating to family responsibilities etc of applicants for positions or promotion - and the possibility of gender bias arising in such procedures. The second is whether it is legal and whether it is appropriate ever to advertise specifically for a woman officer to fill a position, and if so, in what circumstances.

With recruitment and retention in CIB being a major current issue, it should be noted that the reasons given by those not wishing to join were much less gender related than those leaving. It is possible for many officers to do investigatory work on attachment or in CIU/CCU without actually joining CIB, and going through the two and a half year training involved in qualifying. Two of the Hamilton GDB group of women constables referred to workload and insufficient incentive as reasons not to join CIB.

I used to have the interest in going in and when I was asked a few months ago I said no there is no point, no incentive to take on the stress and the aggro and the long hours for certainly no financial reward like it used to be. Why bother, why put myself through that extra stress when it is not required?

What put me off, it just seemed to be so over the top in workload, stress and hours and you got to all the real cruddy jobs that the more senior ones didn't seem to want to do. That is a left over from the old police, where the junior guys used to do all the horrible stuff and the senior ones got the perks. I don't know whether that's still part of CIB or what.

By contrast, those who had left CIB referred to both general and family issues, which are essentially related to gender roles. Only one of those citing family issues really wanted to go - the rest would have preferred to stay if better opportunities to combine work and family were available. Some others felt overworked, unappreciated and/or disenchanted with CIB, partly related to gender issues, with one reference to an approach being made to reconsider far too late.

I couldn't afford the type of childcare you need if you want to do shift work. My husband is in the police and does shift work, so one of us had to sacrifice our career, because only one of us could really do shift work.

From my point of view I had to sacrifice my career for my family because the Police do not offer me a temporary solution to try and keep me in.

For me personally, even if there had been the option of jobs being organised so you don't have to be available all hours, I probably wouldn't have utilised it. I want to be at home with my kids, and I didn't want to be doing the long hours and having someone else looking after them. But there are a lot of people that would use it.

The department said, 'Oh well, since you're pregnant we'll get you to do twenty hours as a Senior Sergeant, but in the meantime you can carry on with the DS and do your old job'. I thought great, that's a forty plus hour week plus twenty hours - a sixty hour week. They probably want me to get paid as a senior and lose my detective's allowance. Get stuffed.

What wore me down in the last few months was that it was so busy. I was unbelievably short-staffed and I had the two biggest drop-kicks working under me, who just would not be told and thought they were better than anyone and they were just the bee's knees.

They weren't trying to refill the position, and I ended up getting so stressed trying to do their work, trying to run the squad, and I went on sick leave and not one boss phoned me to say, 'Please come back'. I thought 'Stuff all of you, I can't be bothered with this'. I had eight months of working the job. There were meant to be five of us and there were only three - the other two had left. I thought, 'I have done all this for you and I get nothing in return'.

I had already been away for three months or so and he rang me up and his words were, 'What can I say, what can I do to make you come back?'. I said, 'Well I really think this is too late, I've been gone for three months'.

'He's a good guy - really great: he's fantastic but they do very little all day. They do half or a third of what you do and nobody even notices. They talk about these guys as great - plays rugby and really flash, and we go drinking all the time and he's a really neat guy. I found, to be honest, my entire CIB career had been a bit of a jilted experience.

Since the interviews were held, Detective Senior Sergeant has decided to leave the Police. It should be a matter for concern that the most senior female CIB officer has made the decision to leave. It is clearly essential that her reasons, experience, and reflections are taken seriously by those concerned to promote and retain able women officers.

Work environment - CIB in particular and NZ Police in general far from family friendly

This study found that by far the most significant barrier to retention and advancement of women in both CIB and the police in general is the difficulty of combining work and home responsibilities, particularly for women with children.

I do think it is one of the biggest barriers for women. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

It's only relatively recently that women were allowed flexible employment and so, if women were to have a family, well that was it, sorry you've got to leave and that is the only way of dealing with it. And still some of the people in our middle management have difficulty in coming to terms with a flexible employment policy. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

As one female Detective/Constable put it,

You are labelled as a mother now and that is what you will always only be. We need to change that.

although another suggested that it may be as difficult in GDB as CIB, and in both areas retention of women is difficult for family reasons.

I wouldn't say that being in Uniform Branch is easier when you have a family.

We had 18 females out of 48 in our wing, very high at the time, and I think 9 have gone for various reasons - to have babies, to other careers. (Male Detective/Constable)

In society in general and the police in particular, the responsibility for children and other caring and household work remains disproportionately in the hands of women, despite some small shifts towards male partners doing a share of this work. While this aspect is a matter for concern and there is a need for attitudinal/ behavioural/policy changes at a society level to accelerate more equal sharing of this work, it has to be recognised that this is a very long term

issue. Hence any workplace that wishes to encourage greater participation by women at all levels, especially retention and promotion of experienced women staff, must implement practices and organisational changes specifically taking account of the need to combine work and family. This will be of benefit to both men and women, but particularly affects women. For further discussion and evidence on these issues from other studies, see Appendices Two and Four.

The police is a more difficult workplace in this connection than most others, as is evidenced by the very small proportion of staff on FEO/part time work discussed earlier and the attitudes of some supervisors to women who are pregnant or who are mothers.

Recently I was at a meeting and a Senior Sergeant was talking about how he was getting too many pregnant women - he was really anti actually, and a male Inspector stopped him and said 'I don't like that attitude. If these people are getting these negative vibes from you basically there is a problem.' (Superintendent Sandy Manderson)

This probably applies even more to the CIB. The Cox report outlined the view that the CIB had a reputation even among male officers as requiring particular attributes relating to total commitment and the ability to work significant overtime, which militates against those with family responsibilities. The long and uncertain hours, and possible callouts make the issue of child care a crucial one. These issues are discussed further later on, but the overall feeling of most female Sergeants was that combining CIB with family, particularly at Sergeant level, was extremely difficult, if not impossible.

The biggest barrier is that women choose to have families. Try and juggle both - guys don't tend to have the same stresses and strains as you. Although you're not the only caregiver you tend to be the main caregiver.

I think everybody who has had children, you don't want to compromise what you've got, because the last thing that will be remembered about you is the time that you said 'No' They won't remember all the times you said 'Yes'. It's that perceived compromise of your work ethic and your reputation that you feel is going to be compromised.

If I can do the Detective Sergeant's job, I will go as far as I can, because once we start having a family that's it.

It's not that you can't do it, it's that you're focusing from everything revolving round work, to revolving around your children, and if work fits in there that's brilliant.

That's the fear, that if I have children I will lose everything I've worked for over the last fourteen years.

From watching other women working and have kids, it never seems to work out. It's just too damn hard, particularly when you are a high achiever, driving yourself too hard to the point where you just bust.

I'm not going to be somebody that turns up when it's convenient for me to turn up at work. If I can't do it, then I won't do it.

Yes I think if you have got a family it is a huge issue because at the end of the day the view of most managers is that 'hey the job's on, we are here until it gets done'. In respect of a homicide I mean or a serious job you might get called out at 3 o'clock in the morning and you might not get home again until 8 o'clock that night. Particularly with homicides you could be doing 12 to 16 hour days.

Even for those without children, the uncertainty of whether and when partners can be together can make maintaining a relationship difficult, particularly where both partners are in the police force. There appear to be a very substantial number of such marriages/de facto relationships within police, probably proportionately more than in many occupations. As in many organisations and families, the male partner's job usually comes first, particularly if he is at higher rank, and this may cause difficulties for the female partner, as this case study from Superintendent Bishop indicate.

She had all the skills to go to the very top level in the CIB but she had no flexibility to move because of her partner, who was a specialist in the dog section of the organisation with less flexibility than most. And I think that's where we do disadvantage women, because the flexibility of moving is not there, with most partners working and often required to work.

Many factors no doubt contribute to the frequency of police marriages, including a common understanding of the needs of the job and difficulties. However, the maintenance of two police careers poses considerable problems, even without moving cities.

To make matters worse, if your wife and you have to move to different sections and work different rosters, when are you going to see each other?

Well we have put up with that for the last seven years... the way that my wife and I work the roster, she works FEO in Youth Education and we only have to get four days child care for three weeks. That is very good but often the only way you could do it is for them to come up with some way that if we got into trouble they could provide child care. Why should we pay for child care because the department want to screw us for more time? (Two Male Detective/Constables)

When children are involved, the pressures are more severe.

The nature of policing makes it a very difficult type of career to take on and CIB even more so. It's because of the inability to know, certainly in our areas, what each day is going to bring you. My wife went back to work when my children were very young. I had joined the Armed Offenders Squad at that time as well as getting called out to all sorts of other things. It does put a lot of stress on you, continually having to tell people my wife's on night shift this week. She was nursing, as well as doing tertiary studies and stuff like that. It was an absolute nightmare. Because of the type of things you are exposed to in the police you perhaps worry about having safety nets in place more than a lot of others. You know the bad things that can happen. So you arrange that 'hey, if I ring you in the middle of the night, will you be able to look after the kids?' I've been going through years of that and you're continually worried that some things wouldn't quite mesh. A couple of times I've brought the kids to work with me. (Detective Inspector)

I think the biggest problem a woman has in the CIB is that she ends up having children and other commitments. It is hard enough for a man in the CIB. I was lucky I met my wife when I was in the CIB and she has just put up with it forever. Obviously when they have children it becomes very hard trying to balance things. One policewoman I had, she couldn't do it in the end - she left because it was just too much. (Male Sergeant)

They look at CIB and think about being on call, working longer hours, operational requirements, and how is it going to affect my partner and trying to raise a family or look after kids? That goes with both genders too - bringing up young families. I've got a partner who's in the CIB a year behind me. It's a logistical nightmare, to be able to fit in a career, a kid and to see anyone outside the police. Everything revolves around the police. (Male Detective/Constable)

There is a common belief that it is necessary to accept that one career must be put first at any point in time, although which it is can change.

Well it depends on individuals. You saw a police officer yesterday who has children. We've put her in a position where she doesn't have to have callouts. Otherwise there would be difficulties as her husband may want to do shift work. It becomes a personal thing. What they have to do is work a combination between them and one of them will be on a driving forward phase where their needs with respect to their career is taken and the other one is in a flat stage. And that's how it works. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

The degree to which police employment policies, or individual managers and supervisors should take account of family responsibilities is deeply controversial among both male and female officers, although the latter unsurprisingly appear

on average more favourably disposed towards family friendly policies and practices. However, some staff see it as entirely a personal and individual matter. If one can't organise child care and family responsibilities around work schedules as currently organised, one simply can't do the job. Others see the desirability of changes, but, as things are, do not want to stand out or be seen as not pulling their weight, a concern repeated in this study again and again.

The possible conflicts with the needs of operational policing in CIB is a real dilemma, with the Police Association among those torn on the issue.

I'm not sure that work in the CIB, some aspects of it, are easy for persons who take care of young children and I wonder how far the police have to go to make the job more friendly. The Association would support EEO very strongly but by the same token the Association also supports operational policing. The feeling I get is that this is a reality issue. I feel there is not much room to carry people who can't contribute fully to the intensity of the investigation. That is the issue for management to define - can we manage this? This may not be the way we've always done it but can we manage this work in such a way that we can make it more predictable? Give more certainty of hours to staff. That will make an obviously huge impact on people who have got family responsibilities.
(Kathy Drysdale)

Another belief strongly held by many officers, particularly men but also some women, is that family friendly policies are to be seen as equally applicable to men as women.

If you set aside time for the woman to go off and have a child or what have you you have also got to set aside time for the guy. I mean this goes all around, if my wife and I started having kids, she would stay in the job, but you would like to think there are times when I could take parental leave or something like that, ten weeks or so, I don't know what the rules are on it, and she can go back to her job, because she would be getting a bit fed up at the stage and she would want to get back and talk to some normal people and that sort of stuff to. There are to's and fro's. (Male Detective/Constable)

Some consider this is insufficiently the case at present.

It just seems to be different rules for women and men in the police unfortunately. It's not a fair balance at all on maternity/paternity leave.
(Male Detective/Constable)

In many ways, this attitude is a good sign if it means that many men are becoming willing to take an equal share of child care responsibility. However, the current reality is that it is still much more often the mother who does the bulk of this work, and some women Detective/Constables believe that more latitude and credit is given to men who do take a share.

I don't ever see a case of a male CIB member whose wife is at home with a sick child having any problems taking the morning off to run to the doctor or having a day off because they have a baby sick, but when it comes to a female in the CIB actually having a baby there seems to be like this huge thing.

One guy leaves dead on the dot to go uplift his child from daycare: no one ever says a thing, but when x has appointments, I hear comments. She's pregnant and goes to a specialist so she has to go within work time - she doesn't fiddle her timesheet but puts it down as specialist leave. I haven't got to the family stage but it really puts you off thinking about it. She is doing so much but she hasn't been well and if she has a day off because she's tired you get a guy saying 'my wife worked right up to two days before she had our child and she was heaps bigger than her'. I answered 'well, every pregnancy is different and maybe she wasn't doing the same sort of work that x was doing'. It makes you think you don't want to have children while working here.

When the guys do it (take leave to look after sick family members) it is a wonderful thing but when a woman does it, it is just the normal thing.

Because they see me as a single woman, it doesn't matter whether I've got a partner. They see me as single with no ties, but I'm looking at the fact that I'm a woman who's going to be turning 35 in the next year and my priorities are not the job. My long term goals have always been to have a family at some stage and until there is more flexibility in this job I am not going to be here in five years and that saddens me.

Certainly, it is primarily women who leave the police force because of the difficulty of combining the two roles, with callouts one of the key issues within CIB. This is illustrated in these points from a number of female Detective/Constables inside and outside CIB, showing also disagreement on how much is police responsibility and how much personal..

I prefer the set hours of CIB but I couldn't be on call if my husband was out of town. So even though it would only be a minor part of it I couldn't do that.

Particularly if you are the sole caregiver there is no way you can do a 5 week roster. Who is going to baby-sit on the night shift? If you have an outside partner I think there could end up being quite a lot of resentment from him towards you and it's not the be all and end all in life nowadays - it's just a job, so I know I would tend to go to my partner's side rather more than the job side.

But women shouldn't have to do that, they shouldn't think 'oh, I want to have a family so perhaps I will seek another job'. We should be able to stay in CIB and have a family as well.

It depends on where you put your priorities though; you can say that this is the way I am going to prioritise my whole life and put child and family first and juggle work or you can put your CIB first and then juggle your family around.

I think the majority of women that I started off in the CIB with have all left and had children when I think about it. Y is the only exception and she keeps coming back. Then again Y knows she is leaving us to go onto a 4 week roster so she has found a niche in the CIB she can hang on to.

It's tokenism - 'of course you can come into the CIB and do all your CIB stuff and have a family: there is no reason why you can't'. It's a bit more difficult than that. Instead of giving it lip service, they need to say this is the structure that you can follow. They need to implement these things to help. Or if a guy wants to join the CIB and be family orientated as well we need to help in these ways rather than make it too difficult. Otherwise women leave the CIB or decide not to join.

I'm a mother and I cannot compete with thirteen hours a day or twelve hours a day. He's in at 7.30am and he leaves at 6.00pm, and tells us every Monday morning that we get paid a certain amount of hours per day, and we should be working overtime basically. I physically can't do it, and it's my choice.

I have no qualms about walking out of here if they can't be flexible at this point in my life and say 'ok - what can we do, how about FEO or how about we move you to that?' If not, they leave me no choice.

CIB is not an option for me because I can't be on call, I've got children. The other half does shift work, so I can't rely on him to be home at 2 in the morning. Having said that, I don't expect any favours. If I got allowances made for me because I'm a mum and can't be on call, why should I get that benefit when there are fathers there as well?

Usually those fathers have mothers looking after the kids so they are in a better position than you are.

Child care

Child care is clearly the major issue, as this exchange between two male Detective/Constables, both with CIB wives, illustrates:

I got called out to a homicide this year and the way that my wife and I work the roster, she works FEO and Youth Education and we only have to get four days child care for three weeks which is very good, but in this case I got called out Sunday, Monday and Tuesday nights, so we had to organise child care and pay for it: that was \$60 per day. I went to see my supervisor, kind of tongue in cheek, and said 'what is the department going to do for us?', He, tongue in cheek, said 'if you don't like it, you can leave CIB'. He sympathised, but he was saying 'here is the situation: there is no allowance for it - it is one of those things'.

We all knew what we were getting into at the start, that there would be callouts, but if they want to keep women in the CIB, they are going to have to provide assistance so that these people can do their job plus maintain a family life. It is going to be shit for the next few years with both of us in the CIB: one of us is probably going to have to leave.

Similarly from two female Sergeants:

If something came up it was panic - who's going to pick up my child and my husband was working late or whatever, so it can be a major difficulty. You don't feel that you can just turn around and say, 'I know you've got a homicide, but I've got to go now, I've got a child at home.' It's not really an acceptable option. I didn't want to be seen as being one of these women that every five minutes says 'Sorry, I'm going'.

I was O/C file. I wanted to be there for every part of the whole thing. Then one day I said 'I've got to spend some time with my son, I haven't seen him all week. Mum and Dad have had him.' That was the day they caught the offender. I was pulling my hair out and I had to find alternate childcare so I could rush back into work. You can't just not be part of it and then be given the whole file and told, 'Here you are, now take it to Court'. You're just not in the position to say, 'I've got to go home at three o'clock every day this week but tell me what happens in the meantime'.

Some female officers have managed to work full time, usually with a short period of maternity leave, throughout a child's growing up period, although it becomes harder with more than one child. However, this is usually where all or most of the following apply simultaneously: the male partner takes on the major role, particularly at night, there are local extended family networks, and good paid child care is available for pre-school and/or out of school care. These are fairly rare situations and for others who have tried to maintain their careers, the pressures often become too great. Further, some supervisors may expect that the mother will be totally responsible and are surprised if the father takes time away from his career to look after a child.

He immediately believed that as a woman my place was at home. I think nowadays there are more men wanting to be involved in the raising of

their children and I believe that having children is an issue for the relationship not for the employer. They can make it more accommodating but I think it has to be managed appropriately and it has to be in balance and it shouldn't be to the detriment of the organisation of policing. Unfortunately managers at senior levels think that 'Oh, we've got women, EEO' and so they tend to bend over backwards and accommodate women differently from what they would a male and again that creates inequality for men and I don't know what the solution is but I go back to equity and fairness for all, not just for women or for men. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Concern over whether women will be sufficiently available because of their childcare responsibilities may also militate against them being recruited or selected for particular squads. In turn, women may try to avoid seeking any accommodation in order not to be seen as failing to pull their weight and to avoid this consequence.

The issue of assistance with child care, through direct provision in main centres and/or subsidies, is one that has been raised before and direct provision was, I understand, explored but ultimately not pursued, with insufficient numbers for viability even in Auckland.

We tried to get a creche up and running before I had my first child, which is over five years ago, and we looked into it quite a lot, and then we had to work out funding. It went to the Police Association, and they said that it would pay itself within so many years, and it just got in a big hogwash. I don't know why. (Female Sergeant)

Some Auckland women Detective/Constables believe it should be explored again.

Maybe they need to get their act together and push for a creche - 24 hour if we're going to be on call.

Maybe open 6-6 and doing after school care. That would be great - there's so many, not just mothers, fathers there as well that would use the service. That's never got off the ground. It fell over when they took the project down to Wellington and they flipped at Head Office - that's what I heard.

While the viability of this is questionable, there is some sympathy towards financial assistance from managers.

I think it would have to be subsidies not a creche. I think subsidies are legitimate. If the solution is a subsidy then let's look at it. (Detective Inspector)

The reaction to both the options and the desirability of any such provision is varied among respondents. Many parents see some assistance as justified and helpful. However, some officers have the attitude that the choice to have children is entirely individual and therefore that any financial or other support is discriminatory against those without children. This of course reflects the range of attitudes in the population in general.

I don't believe it's the employer's obligation to provide child care 24 hours a day as has been mooted in some schools where because police work 24 hours a day the employer should provide child care and I think that as a career, women have a lot to contribute to the organisation and I don't believe that it's the employer's responsibility to arrange that child care facility. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

At government level, there is a range of support mechanisms from largely free education at primary/secondary levels to targetted financial family support, albeit at a lower level than in the majority of first world countries. Individual employers, too vary in their degree of support with child care and other policies with direct or indirect financial benefits which favour those with children, and therefore inevitably could be interpreted as discriminating against those without them. The fact that such national and employer support never comes near matching the costs of having children is not likely to shake the attitudes of those opposed to elements of the support. The case for support in the police, as elsewhere, incorporates both equity and efficiency elements. The main point to be emphasised here is the relationship to the terms of reference: that lack of help with child care and other family friendly policies forms a barrier to retention of women and the investment in human capital they represent.

Kathy Drysdale of the Police Association suggested some form of reimbursement of expenses and/or an innovative approach involving police families.

There isn't actually any provision for child care reimbursement for sworn members of the Police and I definitely think that is something that could be improved... We should try to secure compensation for child care for big operations like APEC, Millennium and things like that. We are seeking that, but not formal negotiations for an allowance... Maybe what they want is not a creche system but something like a Barnados system run by a police family. The families of other members of the police might have some organised system where police families will take children of other cops when they are called out. There is a more closed circle to know what kind of pressures operate. Maybe the concept could be used in Auckland or even in smaller stations where people might be prepared to take other cops' kids if they are called out on a payments basis.

How acceptable this would be as an officially sanctioned arrangement, rather than something informally arranged between staff is open to question. Officers

may well prefer to work out their own arrangements without outside intervention, even if that is benevolently intended. The subsidy option might be preferred, though work would be needed on criteria for eligibility between CIB, GDB, and non-sworn staff.

The dependent care subsidy policy, currently in draft form, is a small step towards subsidising child care, where it is needed unexpectedly. This is for jobs which do not normally require sudden callouts, and where roster changes are made without fourteen days notice - and with a maximum of only \$100 per officer in one year. It is partly intended to discourage managers from requiring officers to work at short notice in this way. If it was extended with a more positive perspective, issues for consideration would need to include breadth of coverage - ages of child/ren, what hours of work gave eligibility - e.g. unsocial/night, suddenness of call outs, time away from home etc, rank or income level limits etc

Issues over call outs

As mentioned before, the issue of callouts is critical, as indicated by these Female Detective/Constables.

Most women who don't have kids are going to want to have them one day, so I think so I think they are going to have to make allowance in the way that they look at rostering women as far as serious crime scenes go, if they do want to attract more women to CIB. Even though you want to do the same work as the men, the same hours, you can't, so maybe those women can compensate for the lack of being able to be on call at certain hours in other areas. You might be able to compensate later in the day with things that you're really good at. What CIB does is say 'she's not available' and that's it.

For me that would be an attraction if they worked out something like that. Let's face it, we normally are the caregivers at home if the kids are sick or whatever.

If you can only come in 8-4, maybe you could do those files that are just sitting there. Let the others do the immediate homicide. What's wrong with doing those files that are just sitting there? Everything is so set. You've got to do roster this way, files that way. Why not, these people can only do so many hours, let's do a roster where they can do these files?

Female Sergeants made similar points, but they also pointed out that women were anxious to pull their weight in this area when at all possible.

It's planning a life outside the Police at the end of the day. Invariably you plan stuff and the call goes out. If you knew you were on-call that week you wouldn't plan anything. It would give you way more control over your life than any of us currently have.

If you want to retain women with families, then have a time when they know that they're on-call so that they can manage their family.

It's your duty weekend and a homicide happens, it is you, you are it. I wouldn't feel comfortable saying, 'Thanks for the phone call, but I can't make it in'. I've turned up when I've been called out with my kids in tow, which isn't ideal, but it's just until my husband gets off the golf course or something.

It was a car full of women called out at Christmas - it was the women who had all turned up, all from CIB. At least four or five had children. The women apart from me would have had their husbands at home, so they'd all negated their holiday. For me there was a substantial penalty, because it's unpaid childcare - two weeks. I was \$500 down before I started.

In trying to find solutions whereby full time work can be maintained, with the problems for child care caused by uncertain and long hours and possible/actual callouts substantially reduced, some lateral thinking will be needed. This may be needed also for other reasons. I was told that being available at any time is, rightly or wrongly, becoming less acceptable to quite a number of CIB officers, irrespective of gender.

The culture of the CIB is changing: we are getting a group coming through saying 'Well, don't take this personally but I'm not coming out tonight'. That was unheard of years ago. With the CIB that's what's it all about, when the phone went there has to be a pretty good reason why you didn't front up. It's the new wave that are coming through too, who don't have that blind commitment that we had. (Detective Inspector)

To an extent we worked for some tyrants in the old days. We thought we would never get away with anything, but you also work like that because you're respected. You know the people that were asking you to do it had a commitment and feel for policing. It was terrible in the old days, a lot worse than perhaps it is now, but then people are living different life styles now. (Detective Inspector)

It is beyond the scope of this report to come up with a detailed plan for callout policies or other details of changes in policies to make the CIB and police more family friendly. A much more detailed knowledge of the operational requirements of the police in general and CIB in particular is needed than could be acquired in this study. Hence a working party is suggested on callouts and other matters relating to family friendly policies, involving a range of people inside and outside the police with relevant experience.

Some elements, such as the differences in practices between different districts on call out policies, would be essential items for consideration by such a working

party. Some districts implement a roster, with officers only expected to be on call one week in four or five, unless there is a major emergency with several incidents. Others call out staff at any time. While major cities with large staff numbers may be in a position to operate more flexible arrangements than those with low numbers (although the former will also have more incidents), an attempt to operate a system where callout weeks are scheduled would clearly be a major aid to those with children.

What we tend to do is grab whoever is available at that particular time and that means it's very unpredictable. It's very very disruptive, whether there are children in a relationship or not, and I don't think we can assume we have that right. Similarly, the situation where you may be week or week about on call, I question as to whether we have the right within current employment practices. We should roster so that staff are better able to predict when they are on call and make suitable family arrangements in a way that gives both the Police and the officer more flexibility. Having said that, we must remain in a position where we are able to provide an immediate response capability. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

If one only has to have back up child care in place one week in four, that may clearly be more possible, less stressful and less potentially expensive than the possibility of call out any night. Such a policy was supported by both the Deputy Commissioner and the National Crime Manager. However, the costs need examination.

There's major implications there cost wise: that is the real difficulty. We are getting the pressures on us to reduce costs. We don't have the ability to put people on call out allowances. We are very limited industrially as to what we can do. (Detective Inspector)

In the police generally, there are recent changes of policy in the area of dependent care with sudden changes in rosters, as mentioned earlier.

The unknown call-outs and things like that - they're part of the problem. We're looking at dependent care reimbursements. We do have a policy that talks about there being a 14 day requirement for advising a change of roster. And a number of people have innovative ways of organising their roster so that they can fit their other business and their lives in as well. It works well and so I believe that if you've got good systems in place or organisational practice to advise you of where you can get some of this support then we shouldn't have too much of a problem. I think some districts will suddenly decide that they need to have a roster worked out well ahead because otherwise they will be up for paying for people's child care. Because if they are called out and there is no advance warning or it isn't built into the requirements of the job, they'd have to pay it. (Alison Gracey)

This change of policy on allowances will not, however, help with many CIB jobs which do have callouts as job requirements, but the innovative ways of organising rosters does apply.

I was deciding whether I would call out additional staff or whether I would deal with it, so therefore my staff were not getting exposed to that first call. It's a training issue as well, that all staff should be on call and if you had 20 staff in your office instead of 4 constantly being called out every month, one week every month, 20 staff, that would really spread your whole month. For that one night you would deal with it. If you were unable to fulfil that requirement as an individual it would be your responsibility to get someone else. If you knew then you could make your childcare arrangement. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Issues over periods away from home

Another aspect of CIB work which is particularly difficult for those with family responsibilities is that of extended periods away from home on major investigations.

I think the major issue is the one where an incident occurs and it's an expectation that people will be there for 60 days without respite or whatever. And therefore all of whatever there is in the rest of their lives goes on hold. I think that went out with the ark in my opinion. I think more and more you'll find men are in the same boat because work isn't everything in the world to men now either. (Alison Gracey)

Many senior officers acknowledge the strain produced on families.

Life can change in a millisecond. Your life for the next six or twelve months can change dramatically if the coin rolls that way, and 18 months of life - your family life and personal life - is destroyed, and the expectation is you go there and want to do it and your wife and kids put up with what comes as a result. That's not a gender issue. The same expectations would be put on a female DI if she was there and I don't see that that's gender - that's reality. (Detective Inspector)

How can you plan out in your head at the time you become involved in it what your likely issues are going to be over 18 months? Anything could happen, and you know people trade their way through absolutely appalling months in that time period. They have deaths in the family and all sorts of things. They are having to cope with that and perform at a very high level and manage a team under pressure - you know it's a big call. (Detective Inspector)

Whether there is any way of dealing with this problem depends on the possibility of having changes of personnel on such enquiries. Continuity has been seen as highly desirable, with accumulated knowledge and feel for the case.

The argument there is that you really need continuity, you really need to keep that thread going, you really need to have that bond. To have that collegial group where everybody feels that, you know, I can trust them and I know that any information they have, we will get and all that sort of thing. So there are a whole lot of strands there but I still think we need to work on it differently. (Alison Gracey)

One way of considering it differently is to argue that the fresh eye of someone coming in, fully briefed, may be a viable alternative or supplement, with some of the team being released. And some investigations may not justify continued intensive work.

Whether we're going to have the luxury of investigating a serious crime in the way in which we have been doing it in the past is something we are going to have to review - the way we manage things for everybody, not just women, but certainly the caregiver with a family, so we make it possible. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

You have to manage it from a male perspective as well. They have families and responsibilities and the old CIB days of working 16 and 18 hour days on an investigation are gone because at the end of the day it achieves nothing. Initially in a major investigation the first 24 hours are imperative or the first 48 hours, so during that first 3-5 day period you work your butt off and that's accepted but the days of continuing that - of working 16 hour days, 10 weeks down the track after the incident has happened is just a waste of resources and not good man management practice. But the old mentality of senior management in CIB seem to think that they still have to do that - and they can't do it. They've got burn out, they've got people falling over and it's not only women, it's men. They've got people that have got family responsibilities, they've got kids that are having school concerts that they can't go to, they've got parent teacher interviews that they're missing because they're working on these homicide investigations that at the end of the day you've got to weigh up what are we achieving. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Once again, it is a matter of changing systems, not making allowances for individual women or men, particularly in a gendered manner, as indicated by these female Detective/Constables.

With some of the women that were on the enquiry it was asked how long should they be there because they had children they had to get back to. It was a comment that was never brought up in relation to the men. Some of the guys were continually working out there and one of them had five children and they never mentioned it about him. I was absolutely flabbergasted, although it didn't affect me because I didn't have any children.

That comes back to the male image thing - he can't say I have got five children at home and my wife isn't coping because that wouldn't look good. However, there are more men saying I can't stay on because my wife is working and I have to go home to the children.

The Flexible Employment Option

Turning to the Flexible Employment Option policy, its intention is to "introduce greater flexibility to attract and retain skilled sworn staff by allowing greater variation of working hours" within a minimum of 32 and maximum of 64 hours per rostered fortnight (for further details see Appendix Three). As mentioned earlier, there are only 83 sworn staff on FEO, 2.1% of the total, which is very low compared to parttime staff in almost any other area of the workforce, due to factors discussed below. Some believe there is insufficient education and encouragement.

You know it is there but it is never encouraged and you are not educated on it. (Female Detective/Constable)

However, FEO is seen as an invaluable provision by almost all who have taken it, many potential users, and other supporters.

I think it is awesome that we have FEO because I know of a lot of women who have left because they cannot juggle, can't manage. I think in the CIB as a detective there is an ability to do it because there are certain squads you could work as part time and as long as you put a good proposal up, they can't really turn you down basically. (Female Sergeant)

There is a very capable detective in xx and she worked FEO and it is working. To lose people like that would be just excellent skills wasted. She has got two children now and it has worked out well and we have retained all these very good skills. I think FEO is a big advantage to the police, but too often people look at it as if we are doing them a big favour. Yet these people actually want to stay in the police and otherwise they would leave. Possibly when they have finished FEO they will come back full time. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

I thought it was good because if it wasn't for that I would have had to leave the job, which I didn't want to. I enjoy it and I think I am a much better mother for getting out and going to work and talking to some normal adults. (Female Detective/Constable)

There is considerable variation in the use of FEO especially in CIB, where some managers and officers see it as almost impossible. Yet at our Auckland focus group of Female Detective/Constables there were four out of nine CIB officers on FEO, and also there is one woman Detective Sergeant on FEO in Auckland, who is very appreciative of the opportunity. Some others are contemplating applying for it soon and have some anxiety about it.

I'm very lucky, on an 8-4 Monday to Friday job, which is just about unheard of in CIB. I'm not called out, whereas when I was having this last baby, I was just on a regular roster and I could go for a whole week without seeing my son.

There are jobs there, and I think if you plan your career with those in mind, then you could probably slip into those jobs at the appropriate time.

I will be approaching my bosses about working flexible hours when my son starts school in a few months. I've very much set it in my head if they say no, then I'll quit the job. For me, that's a really important part of my life, and that's why I'm in the job. I'm just hoping that I'll get the right reactions. I don't think it's a CIB thing as such.

Nobody's done it yet in CIB at my level out in my area. They've always said in the past we need supervisors, and I'm just hoping now because for three years they've literally been without a supervisor.

I will be asking for say six months of reduced hours, and I would be extremely disappointed if they didn't let me do that. I think I've earned the right to do it.

The greater number of staff in the Auckland area and the organisation of the work appear to be the critical factors, with squads other than Crime Squad not subject to callouts and able to provide 8 to 4 work and a less than five day week. The shortage of CIB staff may also change attitudes, as mentioned below. These factors leading to greater use of FEO have clearly facilitated the retention of many women in CIB in Auckland, which has a much higher proportion on FEO than elsewhere, especially in CIB, as this discussion among the group about their good experiences shows.

I'm on 7-3 but can basically work my own hours. I can fit in with my husband's job and work a late shift - as long as I do my 8 hours.

Some of us in Auckland are on duty weekends which might be once every six weeks - it's not often where you do a weekend.

I'm on FEO with a young child and have no weekend work. If I was told I had to do it or be on call, I'd be thinking seriously about whether I remain in CIB or not.

It's your priorities really, isn't it? It's the same for me. They've been very good with me with FEO but if it boiled down to it and I had to put work over family, I couldn't do that.

Full time I wouldn't have come back. Nor would I.

My bosses are very good. I ended up doing it last year for six months after a death in the family and then I came back 4 days a week. The DSS was just fabulous. He couldn't have helped me more. But I've heard there have been some real issues for some people trying to get FEO and being told 'well, do you want to be in the job or not?'

As far as I'm concerned, they've been extremely good. The only thing that I worry about, is that they may withdraw your detective designation.

I'm finishing off a degree. I had to be in a classroom in Auckland, so I had to transfer from Wellington. It was full time study as well. I think that if Auckland weren't so desperate for people it would have been a lot harder for me, but because Auckland need staff they were really good about it. They basically said 'you tell us what you want and we'll give it to you'. Whereas if I had to be in Wellington, I doubt, in fact I know, I wouldn't have got what I got here. Wellington was really good at releasing me because they had to cut staff.

I was told I'd have to resign from CIB when I initially put my application in. Basically it was just than noone knew about it. When I went on it there was only one woman in the country that had been on it in CIB, People said, not the bosses, but a lot of cops, 'you'll be lucky'. But when I went to the actual bosses they were brilliant.

I actually got asked where I want to work and I chose fraud. They said I could have gone to child abuse or general or anything except Crime Squad. Obviously because they were rostered to work nights.

However, the caution was given that management was considering a reorganisation that would abolish Crime Squad, even though other districts were contemplating introducing it. This possible change was seen as likely to set back the possibility of FEO in Auckland considerably and was a cause for alarm among this group.

There is talk of trying to scrap crime squad at the moment which could end up being an absolute nightmare. Sections like Company Fraud which have never had to do duty weekends have in the last few weeks had to do them, increasing duty weekend staff to a huge number, with a view to scrapping crime squad.

Elsewhere, to a greater extent than Auckland where there is clearly greater acceptance, there are concerns by those who use FEO not to be seen as failing to pull their weight. In actuality, there is evidence within and outside the police that most part time workers in fact do rather more work than the fraction that

their position represents, with less dead time and high motivation to be and to be seen as productive.

I think there's a very strong place for FEO. One of the things, being absolutely selfish here, is that people who work on the flexible hours and generally end up doing a full week's work in their 3 days anyway. So I think we as an organisation gain from it. Certainly I would encourage it - I've done so with my own staff. I think it's something that we'll quite happily take up as a policy within CIB. I think the concern is the on-call situation. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

An interesting observation is that the people I've seen on FEO come in and get on with it. They might only be working three days but their output is significantly higher. If we had everyone working to the same levels as them then our output would be considerably higher and across the board we'd all be doing a little bit less. (Detective Inspector)

My argument is, and I've had a couple of friends on FEO, that they may only be working 20 or 32 hours but, I tell you what, they work the hours solid. They don't stop for breaks and they have to prove themselves once again and they are really an ally to the police. (Female Detective/Constable)

Of course, as with any provision, the odd person may abuse it, and this can unfortunately reinforce people's prejudices and spoil it for others.

At zz, one woman was on FEO and it was a huge bug bear in the station. She'd been on it for 4 years and had renewed it for another 3. They were at her to leave the job. She's only there 3 days a week. She's not working hard - abusing the system. Because of that, there's a lot of ill feeling, especially from the guys. (Female Detective/Constable)

Yet despite the predominance of motivated hard work from FEO staff, others see many of them, especially in CIB, as being of little use and having to be carried, partly because of the nature of the work. Some women Detective/Constables naturally resent this feeling.

It's like find a wee portfolio that we can shove you in a corner with. I fail to see why you cannot carry exactly the same files but say have two less because you are working a day less.

It comes down to the attitude of the boss. FEO has come in. I have never had it with any of the squads, it's a pain in the backside, so we will just shuffle them off and pretend they are not here. We will carry on and we will carry them because they are a liability.

This belief applies also to some women who might otherwise take FEO, and their own or others' attitudes makes some unwilling to take FEO as a result, as these female Detective/Constables illustrate.

I think it's hard for anyone to do FEO, the way it's viewed. Everyone seems to think that because they're only there for a couple of days or whatever, then everyone else is carrying their workload, and it puts a lot of pressure on that person.

Our supervisor said he wasn't interested because she worked FEO hours, and he needed someone to work the full hours.

Those barriers are there with a person doing FEO, there was so many negatives against that person.

I just wouldn't even consider it because of how it's perceived.

You don't feel like you are part of the team when you are on FEO.

You don't feel like part of it. I was like an extra person in the office just floating around doing all sorts of bits and pieces.

With FEO I had to give up the job that I was doing because my hours just wouldn't mesh and it wouldn't work with FEO.

It puts your career on hold. No one wants you.

I can't really see FEO and CIB going hand in hand well, not at least the training side of it.

Where I work the guys there are very supportive, it was just myself - that I felt I wasn't pulling my own load, fair share.

The individual perception that you are letting people down and I would say that might even be magnified in CIB because there is an intense work pressure and a high work load for some of them and that feeling of not pulling your weight could be worse.

The Cox report observed that where FEO had been implemented, it was generally working well, with supervisors praising the efforts of those so employed, believing that they get far better value from them because of "their need to be better organised" and their putting in "significantly more effort in the time they are at work". However, he believed that many offices "arbitrarily restrict opportunities in this area." Women in CIB contemplating FEO certainly want to continue to do the responsible work for which they are qualified.

I think FEO will be interesting for us because there are four women now in CIB. Two have had a baby, two of us are going to have babies. So they will have to cater for us, somehow. At the moment I'm working in INTEL and that suits me. I'm quite comfortable with that. I certainly won't be put into a role where I'm just doing some clerical duties because I happen to be a female with a baby. I'm still a qualified detective. I'm going to pull my weight as well. (Female Detective/Constable)

The low take up, generally and even more so in CIB is likely to be very largely a result of this restriction and the general paucity of positions/types of work seen as suitable for FEO by most supervisors and many staff. FEO applies to all units of the Police, "subject to departmental discretion". However, the policy states that "the position must fit with operational requirements; and the full responsibility of the positions shall still apply. The appointee must be able to comply with full rostering, court requirements and any other demands of the position". Operational positions with callout provisions are seen as particularly difficult in CIB.

Not on the general squad, you just can't do it. There's no way with the Court file requirements, on-call aspects and stuff like that. I've got a really good supervisor in that everyone does the kindy run, the school run and they go off to their physio appointment and he is not a clock watcher. If anyone could accommodate it he would try to, but it isn't possible. (Female Detective/Constable)

Supervisory operational team leading positions at Detective Sergeant and Detective Senior Sergeant level are regarded as even more difficult for FEO. The policy states: "While it is intended that this policy will be generally available to all sworn positions, there are some functions where there are substantial reasons to maintain fulltime positions. An example where FEO is unlikely to be available is in a direct line supervisory position."

You would create resentment within your workplace because it is almost an impossible ask. You would be supervising staff that you would not be there to supervise half the time so in reality I would never put myself in a position expecting them to create jobs for me or work around me because that would be being unreasonable. If you are a DS or a supervisor in the CIB generally you are the only supervisor of a group of staff, you might have 7-12 staff under you. The nature of police work is that any time of day a job can come in and it is like right bang we are out, we are going as a team.

It seems a little bit different at the Detective level, because they get their file load and they know what they've got to do. The higher up, a little bit harder. (Two Female Sergeants)

Clearly, this is a very difficult area. Yet absences for sick leave, national sports teams (with a number of references to it being OK if it's rugby), accumulated leave etc are managed. Hence one task of the working party suggested above might be to consider if there are ways in which part time work as a supervisor could be managed, despite the contrary view in current policy and these views being held even by those who would benefit from changes. This might, for example, be through a more junior officer acting 'up' for part of the week.

In addition to some officers believing that those on FEO do not pull their weight, absorption of what fixed hours positions are available on a medium term basis by FEO staff is seen by some as unfair, as mentioned earlier. This is an example of attitudes which are hard to change and may to some extent be reasonable.

I have had a case of a woman who was doing FEO and the police management cancelled it because of envy by other members that this woman was getting a fast track of access to training, and other people felt they were missing out. The local management misguidedly intervened, took her off the job and put her back on other duties so that other staff could get the opportunity and we intervened over that. She's now gone on leave without pay and may not come back to the Police. The pressure came on and she was made into a troublemaker. (Kathy Drysdale)

Yet it is clearly critical to some people, male and female, to be able to do FEO for a considerable period of time, as these female Detective/Constables indicated.

I know someone who had it renewed twice. It came up for third time, a male, and he got told by his boss it's time you got back to full time policing. He was one of the first males to get it. He's done 13 years in the job and he said 'stuff them, then'.

What really concerns me is when they say 'you've done a number of years there now - time to get back out and work 40 hours a week. Realistically from our family point of view, I can't see that happening for quite a long time yet.

There are simply inevitable tradeoffs if the attempt to retain staff with family responsibilities is to be genuine - which is good for individuals and the organisation.

I think with FEO coming through you'll see a lot more return of people that would have otherwise have left. That's just going to take a while. (Female Detective/Constable)

Inclusion of frank and open discussion of the problem issues and tradeoffs in training sessions on EEO may help to dispel the negative attitudes: even if they do not do so, they are desirable developments with the intention of open airing of the issues.

A number of respondents suggested that positions seen as suitable for FEO were in fact shrinking rather than increasing, with resources tight.

The jobs set aside as being possible FEO positions - in the review the structure is reducing: those positions are disappearing even within service centres like communication centres. The job numbers are reducing and where people, women could go historically to spend a period of FEO is drying up. I think it is going to get harder to get FEO positions unless you got replaced. I see it as a great difficulty. I am sure someone could come up with a great idea but it is getting it accepted would be the hard bit too. (Female Sergeant)

Only if the FEO officer was a supernumary to establishment was there a comfort zone to its use, and this is certainly one, albeit expensive, option for making it more acceptable.

What the department should be doing is let you have the person as extra. If you have 4 staff, you should get 4.6, rather than probably cutting it back to 3.6 so it actually reduces the numbers. (Female Detective/Constable)

However, proper use of FEO staff could also be seen as simply a matter of improving the management of human resources.

If you've got somebody on FEO and you're paying them 60% of a full-time salary, you should get another 40% available to ask for expressions of interest of someone coming in to fill in that 40%. I find it incredible that in every station the amount of work can only be in full-time equivalents. Some districts are over strength and some are under strength but if you look at our sick leave, the number of full-time equivalents we have off on sick leave, that doesn't seem to come into the equation and in my book it should. If you can manage the staff sick leave numbers, you'll probably have absolutely no problem with half time equivalents. It's a fundamental management tool to fit staffing to the business. Some of our stations are fitting it with the business, we've got FEO where the bulges are - Thursday or Friday night etc. They're fitting FEO to those sorts of things - good management" (Alison Gracey)

On FEO and many other issues, such as harassment, officers will need advice over the best course of action. Some of this should come from supervisors, peers and/or mentors. But at times the first two may be the source of a problem and the latter not available. One other important place for assistance is the Police Association. Kathy Drysdale, one of its Industrial Officers, mentioned that she would handle about 20 enquiries per year across the police over FEO.

I get contacted when they are thinking of putting in an application and I'll be contacted if they're having trouble. I encourage people to apply for FEO because the policy is there and I take a very vigorous approach if the

policy is there - it is intended to confer something. I am aware through our own organisation structures that it seems as though some policing positions are quite unfriendly to FEO. I do think there's a practical issue lying behind the FEO policy that the Police management don't have a good understanding of how they could do things differently to run FEOs.

Because improved family friendly policies are in my view the most crucial element of increasing the numbers of women police, generally, in the CIB and particularly at higher ranks, I have given great attention to what was said in this area, particularly with respect to FEO. Appendix Six includes a discussion between two inspectors on FEO, which brings out many of the issues for CIB, and is followed by comments by other contributors including discussions with varied views among the non-Auckland group of female Sergeants, the group of male Detective Sergeants, and the mixed gender focus group. These were too lengthy to include in the text. FEO constitutes the central element in the range of specific family friendly policies that also include the use of maternity leave, sensitivity to pregnancy, appropriate child care and sick leave policies and use of leave without pay. However, the family friendly concept also requires consideration of general policies, such as call outs, staffing of major investigations, the impacts of availability of resources etc.

Other issues and options with respect to family friendly policies

Treatment of officers who are pregnant was an issue which came up several times. Female Detective/Constables believed that they should not be immediately shunted out of front line duties, and that they themselves were in the best position to know what they could do at various points in the pregnancy.

That is one thing you notice - as soon as someone says they are pregnant, all of a sudden they need to be shunted into child abuse or hidden in a corner

I was going to be working in the watch-house at X when I first got pregnant. I was on the list for the induction course to go next and it was just 'oh you are pregnant, we will drop you off the top of the list and down to the bottom and you just pop into the watch-house until you are fit and ready to get your marbles back and come back into the CIB'. I balked at that and said 'sorry, I am staying where I am'. I had a good supportive immediate boss and we dug our toes in and I stayed where I was. At the time there were two pregnant women in the watch-house and I thought I am not dealing with prisoners and taking bail reports at the counter while I am pregnant - it puts me more at risk than dealing with children and others in the child abuse team.

I told my supervisor that I was pregnant - I was about seven or eight weeks - because we were going to xx for an enquiry. Then he urged me to tell our senior boss on drug squad, and he wanted to get rid of me at nine

weeks pregnant off the drug squad. He started making enquiries on a squad and came back to me with a list of three jobs. 'I can get you here or here.' 'What? I'm not in a wheelchair. I'm capable on drug squad.' I had been there a couple of years by then, and it was 'there's nothing you can do here'. He was the top boss, not wanting me to be there, but my immediate supervisor was really good. I ended up being officer in charge of exhibits for one of the major electronic operations. I transcribed all the way through, and there was heaps of work I could do, but I managed to stay on the street until I was about four and a half months. Then I felt myself, that I didn't want to be out there.

Another possible direction to assist those with young children manage work and family is a more flexible attitude to working at home on suitable parts of the job - paper/computer work with files and reports etc. While there would no doubt be issues over security, confidentiality, and necessary protocols to be resolved, this could be of great assistance. It could be helpful for those who are unable at short notice to do extra hours on the street or in the station instead to put in corresponding time on policework at home. This would, both for themselves and others, establish that they are contributing as much as other officers who have greater flexibility to attend incidents or remain at the station at any time.

Overall, a climate of flexibility and give and take, within the framework of all expecting to pull their weight is one most conducive to a happy and productive workplace.

I must say that my boss has been awesome. Recently I was having problems at home because of the hours I was doing and I went to work one day and said things weren't that great. He said 'you're off for two weeks, go sort the stuff out'. Although I have some hassles, because it's a smaller station, communication is really good. (Female Detective/Constable)

In New Zealand we know down to half staff members because we have such tight rigidity in our staff allocation and we fight over one or two people. It causes more resentment than it's possibly worth but I think that once we get the review sorted, there will be more flexibility creeping in to practices. We were able to be much much more flexible in the 80's than we are now in the 90's. A constable at Stewart Island, his wife was pregnant, and there was no doctor on the island, so he came to work in Invercargill for 10 days. We can't do that today. Another officer: his child developed cancer and needed to be treated up in Starship Hospital and I just transferred him up for 6 months, and said 'right oh - you can work in Auckland for 6 months'. Auckland were appreciative of having the extra staff. Now we don't have that, because Auckland would say 'oh no, hang on: whose position is he holding?' (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

One woman supervisor talked of unsuccessfully attempting to persuade an inspector to move offices at a difficult time after a death when he had family responsibilities.

I thought he was a good boss. I spoke to him about transferring. He said 'I don't think that I can do the hours'. I said 'we are big enough to support you. You don't have to start early: we are big enough as a group to sit down and work with you so that you can achieve the job plus your family needs. If we can't do that then there is something wrong with us. You are valuable to us. You don't have to work under those old misconceptions. What you bring to us in your 7.5 hour day is better than what somebody else can bring'. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

She also contrasted this give and take approach with clock watching and clocking in for appearance sake, but doing little outside set hours, the contrast emphasising how flexibility in a context of pulling one's weight is far more productive than strict adherence to unnecessary rules.

It has no basis in reality or common sense. You get up at 6.00 o'clock to get there at 7.00, on many occasions for no good reason. I did it because that was the culture. I take work home and make myself available to be contacted on the way home or at home, but there is no credit for the continuous interruption to your home or personal life by telephone calls. The people who do their 7 o'clock start but after 3 are completely unavailable are heralded as the hard workers.

This phenomenon of credit for doing overtime, whether needed or not, was also commented on by a female Sergeant.

This is a bit of an old culture thing in the Police - to be seen to be working overtime. You're a clock-watcher if you leave at four o'clock or you arrive at eight o'clock on the dot. The rest of are here at quarter past seven, why are you here at eight? You're there to be working from eight to four.

A relevant issue relates to ease of transfer between home, part time work or FEO, and full time work. The normal maximum time for FEO is four years, after which a further application has to be made, and the implication is that it would be granted only in exceptional circumstances. This appears somewhat restrictive, for example where more than one child is involved. Similarly the maximum length of leave without pay, which I was informed was two years, could well be extended for family circumstances, for example immediately after maternity leave, and reentry after resignation for family reasons could be made easier. It is possible that provisions exist that are already adequate. This was pointed out to me with reference to General Instruction L 375 (Ten-One 125, 6/9/1996), which allows for preferential re-entry conditions for up to five years from the commencement of maternity leave. Also, combining parental leave, unpaid leave, and FEO could encompass a seven year period. However, these options are clearly not well known by staff and probably supervisors, so the proposed

working party on the family policy area should consider the extent to which provisions need to be improved, as against education and implementation of current provisions.

I'd like to mention maternity leave. I think you get one year's maternity leave only, and a lot more women would come back to the job if they were given 3 or 4 years to think about what they wanted to do, until the kids were 2 or 3 at kindy. It sounds a long time, but not when you're in that situation - I've just had 8 months maternity leave and it's flown by. As well as or instead of that change, a return to policing for police/CIB officers who have had time out for family responsibilities could be facilitated by easy re-entry for those who have left the police for this purpose, with full recognition of previous service. (Female Detective/Constable)

Flexibility of employment allows people to go out and come back in, and come back in at a level that they left at, particularly if they're climbing up the management tree. Maybe even as a result of developing some skills they are able to come in at a higher level. All those things would be catered for in our policy but in practice maybe it's a bit more difficult. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

Another relevant issue here is the shorter police working life that can arise from the 15 year contract. This contrasts with the trend in the labour market overall for some people to retire later with an increase in the universal superannuation age to 65 and with age having become a ground on which discrimination is illegal in Human Rights legislation. While the particular requirements and stresses of police work may mean that earlier retirement or other ways of leaving the police at younger ages remain standard, it could be a useful exercise for management to consider the possibility of retaining willing officers to 65 or even beyond in roles where this is possible. In particular, this could be attractive to women (and men) who have taken time out for family responsibilities during their police careers. A related possibility is to create regional pools of those willing to fill gaps, full or part time, created by officers on FEO.

While it is critical to retention of women staff that work systems as a whole are organised better than at present to facilitate combining home and family, this does not imply that individual women should be expected to use them or receive special treatment automatically. A number of women Detective/Constables said that they resented this and wanted no favours.

We had a job on once when you all needed to be there. It was after hours and we were gathered around for a briefing. X started giving people out jobs and then said to me 'It's nearly 5 o'clock - you can shoot off if you like to pick y up' and then turned on to the next person. I said 'can I just have a word?' and took him aside and said 'I am not the only one on the squad who has children: there are three other guys that have families - I will stay'. His face went bright red, the penny dropped, and he said 'I'm sorry.

I've just realised what I said. I feel awful' and he went on about it for months. I said 'forget it, just don't do it again because it really pissed me off'.

The boss of the area said 'could you work?' to my husband, who said 'sorry, my wife's working'. We have to take turns and do a bit of a juggle. The boss said 'oh don't worry about that, we'll sort that out'. It came back to me and I made sure I was working, and people were saying 'why do you want to work New Year's Eve?' I said to the guys 'everybody has got family. I am not saying I want to work New Year's Eve just to be difficult, but everybody should be afforded the same rights'. I want to be treated like everybody else.

Work environment - police culture

All organisations have their own culture, but aspects of policing including the nature of the work, its huge stresses and pressures, public visibility, and long and uncertain hours thrown together with colleagues probably make for a stronger culture than in many other workplaces.

There are groups within the police whose attitudes I have personally found quite distasteful. From my contacts with them, they were often riot type groups. It reinforces the thing about this male bonding, about getting together and all this ra ra kind of stuff. That's a difficult environment in my experience for women to be able to cope with. That's where I think deliberate sexism has crept in. It's probably an area with a higher level of sexual harassment than any other area, and I think it's brought about by cultural elitism. I think one of our biggest threats is our elitist, hard player environment and we have all experienced working in those particular areas. (Detective Inspector)

The historically male workforce, and day to day experiences with offenders who may be threatening, inevitably tend towards a male 'macho' culture, although most of those in the focus groups who commented on this saw it as having decreasing strength. For example, general social changes reflected in the police and heavy workloads mean that long hard drinking sessions are no longer commonplace.

The whole thing of drinking - everyone is a lot fitter these days, They're out training, not stuck in a bar guzzling jugs. That's where that culture was perpetuated, I feel. (Female Sergeant)

The more offensive manifestations of group male culture clearly differ from place to place and branch to branch. CIB has a reputation elsewhere in the police as a self-defined somewhat elite group and with the lower proportion of women, could manifest the bad features of male culture to a greater extent than the rest of the police, but this is not clearly demonstrated in this study. However, the CIB does not stand out as a good example, either - three female Sergeants:

CIB is seen as the last serious male bastion, apart from Dog Section.

We've had some women come into this organisation and think we're pretty sick. One was appalled at the attitudes, she listens to people in conversations and just can't believe it because it's so endemic that nobody even notices it. I don't even notice it any more when just having a normal conversation. I wouldn't have picked up half of the things that she'd come out of a meeting seething about. We're so immured to our own culture and have actually used it to achieve where we are, that we don't notice it any more.

It is still a fairly macho male culture.

With CIB, once you are in there, you are in there, but if you are not, you are not and that is the same with the whole police culture. It is like a little sub culture within the big wider police. (Female Detective/Constable)

I would take the culture of the police as a barrier to women progressing. The police has its culture and it's something that we're trying to change but you don't change culture by running a few training sessions and saying 'Oh well we've done our culture training'- it takes time. There's still a macho image. I see it with staff on the street. Some can be quite hard nosed, so can some of the women. I think basically that macho image goes with being a policeman or policewoman and that creates a barrier. (Detective Inspector)

For some, this culture may be alienating.

A perception or signal that you've got to be one of the boys, is a turn-off and a reason for not belonging. I do think though that gradually that sort of attitude will go. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

Of course, the police and CIB cultures are not by any means alienating to all female officers, and longer serving women officers comment on becoming part of it, and so no longer continuing to see it from the outside.

It has definitely got its own culture but it is quite hard for me after 23 years in the police to stand back and criticise it because I am very much part of it and contribute to it. You have got to be part of a culture before you can change it. You can't see it from the outside, step into the culture, and then think I don't like this so I am going to change it immediately because you don't get acceptance. So once you are part of a group and you get acceptance, then you can go about influencing that group's culture and making positive changes. But having said that, for some women it is quite difficult to change the culture to suit them because they find they are a lone voice. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

There are also very understandable reasons in the pressures of the job for the development of aspects of this culture. Superintendent Manderson went on to say:

Constables work very hard when they come out of the college onto the street. They have got a new job to cope with. They deal with death a lot which is a worry in itself. They joke about things - you have heard about the black culture in the police. I don't have a problem with it as long as it is not disrespectful in front of people, because they have to deal with all these things. Then they have got to give people traffic tickets that abuse the hell out of them. So they can't go and struggle against the tide. To actually influence the culture is quite difficult so sometimes they accept it because it's easier and sometimes they find it quite fun too.

Thus one way of fitting into a largely male culture is essentially becoming 'one of the guys', for example by joining in the crude and perhaps anti-women jokes and swearing. For some this may come naturally, but for others it will not work or feel comfortable, and it may also be seen as over-compensation.

Alternatively, one can attempt to retain a sense of gender difference and perhaps femininity, but any resistance to these manifestations of macho culture can see a woman labelled as prudish and become an outsider, as this group of female Detective/Constables and an ex-Sergeant illustrate.

I think one of the hard things, particularly when you first join, is trying to find the fine line between being a female, acting like a female and maintaining your femininity and yet still being one of the boys and showing them you can look after yourself physically - so that I can get my partner's confidence in my ability to look after myself if something happened and yet still be feminine and get treated like a woman. That's a hard thing. Every time you change squads you've got to put the feelers out and feel where they're at to try and gain that respect.

That's a pressure that men don't have to the same extent.

I think they have a pressure to be macho and join the group. I think if you took them individually and said would you do that normally? They'd be like no, but because of the culture, they conform.

There's still a lot of, I want to say sexism, but it's not really that. Personally, I have never had a problem with dirty jokes and stuff like that. There's still a lot of it happening. It's not what you thought it would have been in 1999 in the police. You would have thought that things would have been cleaned up a bit more. To my thinking it's still rampant

I think in any male-dominated thing, it's going to be like that. For a lot of them it's just nature, they can't help themselves.

I think that men and women are different and we have different emotional needs and things like that and I don't believe that policing and especially the CIB is equipped to deal with that and as soon as you become different or anything they don't want to know. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

The fine line of being assertive but not aggressive, of maintaining bottom lines, but not putting backs up is a difficult one indeed. Frequently women will hold their tongue to avoid confrontation.

There were a number of occasions where I should have stood up and said "No, that is not acceptable, that is not behaviour that I am happy with" but I chose not to because I didn't want to be identifiable. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

There is also some concern that it is unwise to get too friendly with male supervisors in case this is misinterpreted in a way it would not be with two men, and that this can mean a loss of networking.

I find that I still have problems networking. It could just be me, but there are issues where you cannot afford to get close to your boss in a friendship sort of a way. I hardly even notice it most of the time, but you miss out on a facet of it a bit - a brotherhood, I think. I'm not really prepared to put myself in a position where people might start talking about me, because I've been seen to be too friendly with someone who is a supervisor.

When there are two men in rank who are very, very close, and there's a number of them, their relationship is never questioned, whereas, if there were two females, DSS and DS and they were very close, they'd be called lesbians. Our gender highlights issues that aren't mentioned when men become very good friends professionally and personally.

This was the only time when the issue of lesbianism or name calling as lesbians was mentioned in this study, apart from one unpleasant comment to officers coming to these interviews about 'that lesbian meeting'. The lack of comment on this area is perhaps surprising as it is almost inevitable that the police, like other heavily male workplaces, will tend to have a higher representation of lesbians than the general population. However, our sample was small, and it is possibly also indicative of the likelihood that 'out' lesbians (and gay men) might get a harder time in the police than other women, so any in our groups did not raise the issue.

Some male Detective/Constables believe that women should simply fit into the existing culture - otherwise one has 'minority rule'.

Well, some women are sensitive and you can't say certain things around them or you can't act in certain ways. You can't be yourself. You've got to

be careful about the things that you do or used to, because it's an issue with that particular person. You don't tend to get that with guys. If you say something that's offensive to another guy they don't get depressed about it.

If a woman does come in - the old hairy armpit brigade - and wants change, it doesn't go down well: it gets everybody's backs up. It just makes more of a problem.

I think the biggest problems for females in the CIB is that some are too sensitive. They might find it difficult on some squads.

It's minority rule in some of these squads, with the minority affecting the behaviour of the majority. The CIB has often been a stronghold of the traditional, male or macho behaviour within the Police because they're all still fairly traditional. To have women come in and have minority rule, some squads don't take kindly to it. If everyone had always sat around the office and a certain code or mode of language has been there for years and then one individual member comes in and kicks up a stink about certain words or things they don't like and the other 10 people have to stop their behaviour which they've enjoyed among themselves, that's effectively minority rule. Everybody is changing to suit this one person, instead of this person saying 'oh well, I don't particularly like it when they joke about that, but that's the way it is here'.

You have to work as a team of people. People have to conform. Nature of the job. It's what you do in the CIB, you work as a team.

The feeling that there are 'insiders' and 'outsiders' appears still to be prevalent, particularly in some regions. Many contributors to both the current and the Cox studies talked of the need to 'fit in' if one is to avoid having a hard time. This is true for both women and men, but women are rarer and hence stand out.

I know myself I mean I did things that looking back now with a bit of age and a bit of perspective, I think I didn't want to do that and I did it to fit. If your face doesn't fit, your life in CIB can be hell. There was one woman who worked in a squad situation. One of the guys in the squad didn't like her and he would make comments in front of the whole team and even the managers would laugh. The whole team would laugh it off so no one backed her up and she became incredibly isolated and because none of us worked in a team with her we couldn't input into it and she ended up leaving the police because of that. She couldn't stand the environment, it was an ugly nasty environment. It came about because her face didn't fit. (Female Sergeant)

Many believe that it is harder for women to fit, with any number of things preventing this and scrutiny greater.

There are only one or two women and because you are out in a rural area the guys do watch you more to see how you handle situations. Although they do with the guys too, it is not to the same degree. They take it for granted that they will be there to back them up and do the job properly whereas they will scrutinise you a bit more. Once you have done it, bingo, you are fine. Word spreads around if you have got in on a fight or you have backed up and been first out of the car into a scrap. That word is spread in other stations and you are set. With the guy, it's not like they have to get there to begin with - they are already there. (Female Detective/Constable)

If your face didn't fit, regardless of whether it was male or female, you got a hard time in CIB. I do think that any women that come with skeletons in their cupboard or a bit of something following them, they got a hard time. (Female Sergeant)

Some male Detective/Constables believe that fitting in is entirely up to the individual, and not in any way a gender issue.

It's not a gender thing, that's male or female. If you don't fit in well, we'll see you later.

There have been certain traditionally male squads and females have gone onto them and in many cases come off them disillusioned. It's not across the board, but I know it's happened. But other females have gone onto these squads as well and fitted in no problem at all.

The need to establish and maintain credibility was a recurring theme, clearly of huge importance to a police and CIB career.

To function you have to be credible. At the end of the day, you're not going to get anywhere if you're not seen to be competent and good at what you do, but the perception is that you have to work a lot harder as a woman to be recognised in the same level as your peers. (Female Sergeant)

It is also considered by many women that they are more likely to lose credibility with one mistake, when a similar one by a male might be brushed over. Many women officers believed that such mistakes were often attributed to being a woman, remembered for a long time, and often known nation wide, although some think this is reducing.

If a woman does a poor job it's because she's a woman. If a man does a poor job it's just a poor job. Because you're a woman you're criticised, because they've stuffed it up. (Female Detective/Constable)

You might make a mistake. They will ridicule you for it and yet if a guy makes a mistake he is not so easily identifiable and that is where the bias comes in. You stand out. So it comes down to who you are. Because you are visible as a woman the scrutiny is way more. We all know we are scrutinised way more, we stand out, our work is critiqued.

I still harp back a little bit to 'one female stepped out of line, all females have stepped out of line'. That's not to the same extent as it used to be. (Two Female Sergeants)

This may be worse at Sergeant level.

At our level we're way more visible, people are watching for us to put one foot out of place. If we do, it sure gets hammered in, whereas the guys can make mistakes and you know a supervisor might laugh it off.

Credibility may also be established in one place, but not be automatically mobile.

When you've worked in an area and you get promotion in that area, you are recognised, you have got credibility because you are a good worker. If you have to move away from where you have gained your credibility and move into other areas, there are incredible differences because of differences in supervisors' attitudes coming in. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

Closely allied to the notion that mistakes by women will be noticed more is the belief that women have to be better achievers than their male colleagues. In the Cox report reference is made to the existence of this belief, also picked up in the current study. There it is attributed to 'an internal belief rather than something imposed from outside', but discussion in our focus groups revealed far more complexity. The idea of 'internal belief' was also present, but it was also seen as real, with greater scrutiny of the female minority, as this group of female Detective/Constables and a male manager illustrate.

I think that, to a certain extent you've got to prove you can put it with the guys.

It's not just putting it with the guys, it's exceeding them.

I can remember the supervisor saying 'well you've dealt with those easy sexual abuse ones, now you're going to have to go into the drug squad or something and deal with the real type criminals'.

I can see the hassles women in the police have had. They've had to be not as good as, but probably better than the males. They had to be of a higher standard. Used to be that the guys could slack around and put in

work that was okay but not exceptional. If a woman did that in CIB back then they'd be called up or somebody would be saying 'what a slack bitch', whereas the guys would be able to get away with it. The women always felt that they had to prove themselves to the rest of the office by working harder, longer, doing better files, getting the results. If a woman got a little bit snappy or something, the comment was always 'oh she must be having her period'. I think those sort of comments are out of line and I hope that they're a thing of the past, but not always. (Detective Inspector)

A male Sergeant, too, thinks that there is reality, not just self perception, to women having to perform better.

I think there are two things, one that it is perceived by themselves that they have to perform that way - to be better than male police officers, and two that some policemen are arrogant enough to make them feel that way. I know that there are some policemen around that when a female makes a mess gives her a bit of stick, light hearted among the squad, but then another male could make those same remarks and be quite nasty about it. I know the policewomen I have had have been quite exceptional so it may be self perceived but for others it might be quite real.

Women need to be seen as not shirking difficult situations: if they failed on this, they would again be under scrutiny more than men.

I've been in a scrap situation where my partner has locked himself in the car. I didn't go and tell anybody, but if it had been the other way round, the entire planet would have heard about it. (Female Sergeant)

There was a determination by women to perform well both from pride in the job and oneself, but also because one already stood out as a woman.

I don't know if it's the same everywhere else but it's male dominated so you have to try and work that little bit harder to prove yourself. You don't want to be seen as 'oh we have got the token woman on our squad'. (Female Detective/Constable)

Everywhere you go in Police as a woman you have to prove yourself. We have to prove we are not just as good, but better than our male colleagues and most of us strive to be better because that comes back to acceptance and comes back to being part of a team. So in a lot of respects we probably set ourselves up for a fall but most women you talk to in the CIB have that perception - I have to be better than my male colleagues to be their equal. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

It is worth pointing out too that some focus group members, and also some senior officers interviewed, believe that with the low proportion of women and the need for tenacity to operate in the male dominated CIB setting, the average

standard of women entrants officers was higher than that of the men so better average performance by women might in fact be possible.

You know for women in the CIB we had to be twice as good as men and we were so identifiable. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

When it comes to treatment of individual women by individual men, a great variety is observed. Some women talk of nothing but good experiences, others have had one bad supervisor or peer, while some talk of substantial numbers of bad encounters. It is also common for female officers to find individual men easy to deal with, but a large group of the same individuals at may times display offensive or insensitive behaviour, in the form of anti woman jokes, mild levels of harassment or other pack behaviour. The group may egg each other on, with any individual uncomfortable with this behaviour unprepared to stand up against it and seem the odd one out, as discussed by this group of female Detective/Constables.

I think it's because you've got a group of men in that environment. If you put a group of women and one man I bet you he feels the same as we do in that situation.

I think it's just more prevalent in the CIB because it's a more static bunch of people. In uniform you don't stay in that situation, you're lucky if you stay on Section for 8 months with the same group of people, there's change all the time.

They tend to be more senior as well. They're a bit older.

It's male culture and we're always considered fortunate to be there, and that's how I felt a lot of the time.

It only is like that because of the pack - they all egg each other on. Split them up and they're not like that at all.

When I was in CIB there were two of us there and now there's just women everywhere, it's great because there are more of them. The guys tend to be more accepting and work much better with them because they're so used to having women detectives.

It is clear that a single isolated woman usually has a harder time than when two or more women are present on a squad or in an office.

It is hard being the only woman because then you feel that you really have to assimilate with the group. The boys are going for a drink - it's churlish if you don't go too. You are sitting in a car at an observation point and the boys are talking dirty: I mean you sit and listen to it and you end up laughing to their sick jokes even though perhaps you don't want to but if you make a song and dance you are the only one. (Female Sergeant)

Although I'd gone into a good office, it was really good with two of us. It was unbelievable the change. Now I've got a DS who's a female, and she's often saying 'hey it's great to have another woman in the office'. I say the same thing to her. I think it makes a huge difference. (Woman Detective/Constable)

The higher the proportion of women staff, the more likely it is that the macho behaviour will disappear. One of our focus groups was constituted by women uniform branch constables in the Hamilton office which is around half female. Most of the group commented on the excellent atmosphere in the office and attributed much of this to the gender balance. Similarly from another woman Detective/ Constable:

Stations I've worked in where there's been more women, I've found the guys a little bit more pliable to women's views because there are more of us there to shout at them. I worked in a section where there were 5 girls which was huge for the time. We had a great time because we outnumbered them. They got quieter because there were less of them and more of us.

By contrast, some all male squads were perceived as wanting to stay that way by some female Detective/Constables.

There is one group at X that is well known - every rotation it has been 'yeah, no female, the A team has stuck together again.' With the last rotation, I said 'send me anywhere but not on that squad'. I just couldn't be bothered. Mind you, it wasn't like they were against females: it was just their whole hype 'we're so great'. I thought 'I'm likely to say something that is going to get me in trouble'. But I have worked with a lot of those guys individually and absolutely had no problems but when they are in pack why do they have to be like that? Why do they have to make it an issue whether or not they have a female in their midst?

With the groups that don't have females, you notice that their attitude towards things is quite different to the ones that have a female. It's like when they miss out on getting a female again it's a celebration or if one comes in it's 'oh, we are going to have to watch our ways'. A big thing is made out of it: it is not just another one of the troops coming in, which is what it should be.

One important element of the ability to cope with a male dominated culture is the availability of support systems and mentoring, formal or informal. For the longer serving woman officers, the presence or absence of such support earlier on seemed to be largely a matter of luck and several female Detective/Constables felt it should perhaps be formalised.

I believe that new cops need mentors - someone to run issues by.

When I came through, there was no mentoring system. My mentors were my senior I-car partners. They deserved my respect. They showed me the ropes.

I think if you're a senior member in an I-car, you're a mentor whether you like it or not. I heard about this mentoring thing coming about 18 months ago, never seen it since.

This was discussed about 3 years ago at another meeting like this. Everyone felt they would have benefited earlier on in their career if they'd had a mentor. The Commissioner was there. All these things have been said before.

I think the same stigma goes with the mentor thing as it does to us attending something like this meeting.

That last comment is a matter for concern, where even attending a focus group discussion on gender issues in the police/CIB attracts negative attention. Similar remarks were made to other women officers.

Flippant comments that are meant as a joke - the classic example is us meeting here today. I heard nasty comments.

Helpful mentors had most often been male supervisors, with their being so few women. Some survived without it but were now attempting to support newer staff, even if simply by taking an interest and showing they are there. It may well be worth considering the adoption of a formal mentoring scheme, with staff time allowed for this for both those mentoring and being mentored. Otherwise, it is dependent on the goodwill of officers who are already overburdened and may have discomfort with role modelling or mentoring, unless it is formally sanctioned and encouraged.

I'm not sure that we're very good at it. There has been some role modelling that we've wanted to get into but that's been difficult for the women. A lot of them have been a long time in the Police, inside the system, so it's difficult. We have one who does outstanding work and I'd like to use a lot, but she just doesn't want to be put up as a role model, though she does go and talk to some of the groups. But I'm not sure that anyone has grabbed hold of her as it were and said we want to push this. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

The extent to which the male dominated culture is changing in the police, and the CIB is particular, is a matter of controversy and many different opinions, as seen in this selection of comments by female Detective/Constables.

I know a lot of guys have a problem with that size thing. They still think that the only way you can be effective as a Police officer, and that's not

just women, it's men too, small guys, and they think that the only way to be effective is if you're big because you can obviously overpower someone.

A lot of those people have pretty much self-destructed now, the ones with that sort of (old school) attitude, because I think they felt the pressure of change and if they couldn't change, then they either took it upon themselves to go, or the pressure was there that they had to go.

It just annoys me that everyone is sitting here saying that the place is changing, but it's not really, it's ingrained. Yes, it is changing slowly but it is still there.

Once upon a time they would actually say to your face, 'You're not going to make it here', whereas now they might think those things but they've learnt that because there are groups that will take them to task over it, they don't bother actually verbalising that now. They will keep it to themselves, but the decision will still be made how they would make it.

I tend to think so - there's still a boys club. We all fit in together and all work well but at the end of the day there always is and there always will be a division no matter how hard you work, no matter how many callouts you come to.

I think it is an old boys club. The rules are slowly being broken down because the old boys have wives that work and expect help with childcare. The community is changing and so they have to change. By letting us in and by what is expected of them at home. I think it is starting from the ground floor up.

Slowly. It is not moving too quickly.

A lot of the older guys have left now and the new generation of males that have come in have been with a lot more females around and they are a lot more accepting.

Some believed that the culture is changing quite rapidly for the better with the disappearance of this older generation.

Soon you're going to have a generation coming through that haven't been exposed to the sexism the way all these bosses have been. When I left the Police I was 31 and I joined when I was 20. So 20 year olds coming through now have a way different life experience to the 40 and 50 years olds that are there at the moment. (Female Detective/Constable)

In the old days, talking ten years ago, it was a lot harder. The PERF system made it much easier for women in the Police generally, and particularly in the CIB, because then there were a lot of old worn Detectives and intractable, intransigent men who didn't want to change, who didn't want to work with women, and made it very difficult to work effectively with them. Those men have all left through the PERF system, and people we work with now have modern management ideas. It makes it really easy for us to get out there and achieve what we want to.
(Female Sergeant)

Others argue, however, that the current environment inside and outside the police is more individualistic and competitive than in the past, leading to a new type of alienating and perhaps sexist behaviour among some younger male officers - and also that the lack of older male officers to set them straight may be a loss. The first two of the quotes below from women Detective/Constables reflect diametrically opposite experience of new male recruits.

I found a lot of the new male officers really good. They were willing to ask you, even though you were a woman, and you'd been there a year or eighteen months or two years, and knew you could answer their questions, help them out.

When we were at College, we were 'Yes sir, no sir, three bags full sir', where a lot of them now come out and they're 'Oh yeah - I know that', In that instance, being a female can go against us. These young guys that are coming up think, 'Huh, you're a female, I'm not listening to what you say'. If you're a female who knows where she stands, then you tell them where to get off and back off.

I think it might also have something with the structure that's changing in there. Over the last couple of years, a lot of the older guys have gone. They're not there to straighten them out.

I find the other negative thing in the Police is competitiveness. Especially in the big sections, it's like everyone tries to be better than the other person, and the saddest bit is that in doing that they step on the other one. It's like that teamwork has gone out of it. I've noticed that it's getting a bit worse, and I'm sad about it. I just miss the old days when the sections would support each other, and together bring up the young ones.

A few women officers believed it was their own responsibility to tackle those behaving inappropriately for themselves, but others had been burnt trying this.

A little bit of responsibility rests with us. If we don't agree with something we do need to say 'hey this won't do'.

Well I tried that and I got attacked. I got shot down in flames. (Two Female Sergeants)

Work environment - selection on merit

It has been stressed above that most women officers believe their visibility makes any mistakes obvious, and many are highly motivated to prove themselves. This arises from a combination of their motivation and enthusiasm for the work, their minority status, and proving that women in general and each as an individual is as capable of performing in CIB as well as any male officer. They believe that they fully earn everything they get and are outraged by any suggestion to the contrary or of gender preference.

I've worked very hard to get what I've got, and if anybody turned around and said 'You're where you are because you're a female', I would just lose the plot. (Female Sergeant)

Associated with this is the perceived need, discussed earlier, to perform better than the average man to be thought a success. It is a virtually unanimous view among women, as well as men, that they should be appointed, evaluated and promoted strictly on merit, with no preferential treatment (nor detrimental) on gender grounds.

Most want to get there on merit because it comes down to credibility and it comes down to respect from your peers if you are going into a position of promotion, you have to be respected, so merit is crucial. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

However, it needs to be noted with respect to merit that judgement is not as straightforward as it might seem (see Appendix Two). Sophisticated analyses of merit in selection and promotion processes demand detailed job and person specifications, applicants demonstrating in writing and/or interview their skills and experience relative to those specifications, and scoring by panel members and weighting systems to give overall scores based on the requirements. Use of referees can often be appropriate. The police, including the CIB, properly use this general approach. However, there are dangers in systems which are too rigid, with fixed scoring systems ignoring the advantages of some flexibility, including an attention to potential, the need for diversity, and elements that are not easily captured in a CV.

You should make enquiries and get the right person, not just the one can fill out the form and CV best. That's a serious part of it, but there's also the guy (sic) who's going to be very sharp on and off the field, all those things that don't come down to a piece of paper. Similar to being on a panel for performance assessment. There are things that aren't on these forms that should be there. (Male Detective/Constable)

Merit may be hard to capture totally with rigid systems, nor is it easy to make its definition and measurement totally objective. Even merit based systems can

become biased in favour of people very similar to those already in place. The interpretation of merit depends on the assumptions, perceptions and values of people and organisations applying it. Judgements may be tied to historical and cultural factors out of step with the need for a more effective and diverse workplace. The education, skills, experience and potential of women may be overlooked. A reassessment of the merit principle and the organisational processes involved can be steps towards promoting women's employment opportunities. This issue is discussed further under promotion.

Work environment - gender and sexual harassment

Gender harassment, which has varying degrees of seriousness, may well be more of a problem than clearly illegal sexual harassment, due to its greater prevalence and a lack of agreement over what is unacceptable. Nevertheless, sexual harassment remains a problem.

We do have people around the place, who up to a few years ago would have gotten away with it, where people who have said oh we've always known about him, he's always been like that, you've just got to take him with a grain of salt, just ignore him, or just put up with him, he'll never change. But we're really in a situation now where that isn't how the world operates. In my experience with sexual harassment complaints there have been a lot more complaints about more senior people coming through which is something that was a no no when I first started. I believe too that that's something that absolutely rocks many people when they find complaints coming up, and some of them have said well why didn't someone tell me about this before? Why didn't someone tell me before this that what I've been doing isn't right? (Alison Gracey)

Some female Detective/Constables find it hard to trust their senior male colleagues due to bad experiences.

I have found the only guys who want to mentor you will end up wanting something different. The senior people within the Police who sort of start the 'you're a very special person' routine, and then they start visiting you at home and it goes on from there, and they say, 'We don't work in the same station so therefore it's not going to be a problem'. Personal experience, and not once, several times. They're not junior staff, they are senior managers.

When I joined I was twenty-odd and I had those kind of experiences. I haven't had one in a few years, but if you're a young cop and you've just come out and you're trying to get yourself known in this organisation, sometimes it can be quite daunting when you get an experience like that happen.

Unfortunately I overheard a disturbing comment by a senior person which knocked me for a six, just talking about a particular female, saying 'I wonder how easy she would be?'

Fairly trivial behaviours such as jokes, sexual teasing, and displaying sexual material, which many men may not view as offensive, can accumulate for women on a daily or weekly basis. Jokes and teasing may even be constructed by men as ways of complimenting women. But for the woman, one incident follows another, to become common and irritating occurrences and perhaps amount to workplace bullying. Some cope with it better than others, as illustrated by this group of female Detective/Constables, but this does not mean that it can ever be acceptable. At times, women leave the police because of it and the system gives them insufficient support to stay.

I don't take the flippant remarks personally because I've worked with guys in this job and you know the sense of humour so I am not insulted.

When they get in with other men that have been in the job for a while they soon adopt the same attitudes

On their own they can be really nice chaps but in a group situation it is quite intimidating especially socially.

It does wear you down a bit. I went through a bad period with a male supervisor who basically didn't like me because I was female. I know that absolutely, and I categorically say that three other policewomen have left because of him. The amount that that particular individual has got away with over the years is just appalling. It's pure sexist behaviour. He doesn't like women, and he feels insecure about women being in the police. There are individuals I think, still in the ClB now, male supervisors who are in positions of authority, that do get away with it because they can't get rid of them.

Sometimes I don't think you can blame individuals, I think you just blame the whole Police system.

Repeated exposure to milder forms of unwanted sexual behaviours can affect those subjected to them just as much as a single more serious incident.

I've got no one to turn to. I don't know who to talk to about these issues and if it was direct sexual harassment I could address it but it's not, it's the innuendoes and the comments and those sorts of things that are really wearing down (Another officer to Marie Fitchett)

Some women officers indicated greater tolerance of barely acceptable behaviour from some older men brought up in a different era. They have a certain sympathy for the old guard and those that are old-fashioned and chivalrous, but

won't put up with poor treatment from peers or younger males (for more detailed discussion of this area, see Appendix Two).

There can be problems, and hidden attitudes revealed, when dealing informally with minor issues.

I approached a DI when I wasn't happy with some things he was doing, and he got stuck into me. One of the comments he made was that it's more important for women to be at home with their children than for men. Now, he's denied saying that but in the heat of the moment he did, and that's how he actually feels, whether he admits it or not. When you're coming up against that from a DI, there are definitely barriers for women in the Police.

Especially when they are sitting on panels because you can't see the darkness of their souls. (Two Female Sergeants)

There are, of course, procedures for taking complaints of sexual or gender harassment, and some do take personal grievance cases.

With personal grievances, I know personally that a friend of mine has been down that road and it is just a message to them, be aware what you say does matter and be careful what you say, it is just not acceptable any more. (Female Detective/Constable)

Nevertheless, there are real difficulties involved in making complaints, however justified, whether superiors or peers are involved. Many women officers prefer to deal with matters themselves, whether by ignoring them or confronting the perpetrators about the behaviour - sometimes with male support.

There were about 20 people there, and 5 or 6 I didn't even know. I was going to be working with these people for APEC and the Inspector running the group made two very flippant comments to me about my duties. I was discussing whether to wear a skirt or not, if we were allowed to wear suits at APEC. He said in front of all of these people 'well you might have to think about wearing some knickers'. I couldn't believe it. I had him on about it - organised an informal meeting and dealt with it then and there. There was nothing formal about it but I was so angry at him thinking he could casually make some reference like that in front of people I didn't know. Interestingly enough in that group I had about four guys come up to me and ask what I was going to do about it. He was really apologetic - all I wanted was an apology and to be able to say to him it was very unprofessional and sort it out. (Female Detective/Constable)

The view is very common that one will be labelled a trouble maker through making a complaint, and one's career and relationships with other staff will suffer, whatever the outcome. The following points from female Detective/Constables illustrate these issues.

I think all of us know someone that has taken a personal grievance about some comment. I have looked at it and thought 'who would get upset over something like that'. If it was me I would just thrash one back straight away, but that is what is happening in the police now. There are people taking these things seriously and taking a personal grievance and whether that is right or wrong I don't know, but the good will is running out now for those comments.

Of some personal grievances I know of, women have gone the whole hog and it has been absolutely detrimental to them and their careers. One has disengaged.

Supervisors who know of incidents may feel they cannot take action because of the potential impact on the officer who has experienced the harassment.

There were connotations of sexual harassment but you can't actually confront that person who for once in my life I was able to do something about because he was on my staff and I was in a supervisory role commenting on his performance. But I can't do anything because of the impact on the actual member. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

Most people are only likely to complain if they are ready to leave the police, as has often been observed in the labour force more generally.

We've got the policies – sexual harassment – but people are not going to go and rattle the cages because they don't want to be identifiable - they don't want to be a shit stirrer and your career aspirations are down the gurgler anyway. I think if there was an en masse behaviour change where women or Maori or Asians or Polynesians turn around and say 'Right, collectively networking throughout New Zealand we are no longer going to accept this behaviour and go for it and any behaviour that deviates from this standard is going to be reported to management and action will be taken', it may change, but that has got to come from the top. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

While the procedures are good on paper and some people do make complaints, problems remain because of the likely impacts on one's own career, the fact that police have to investigate complaints against fellow officers, and the fact that it is extremely unusual for anyone actually to be dismissed from the police. This is an issue which came up several times, with respect to harassment, imposition of quotas, and other shortcomings. It was said that many people at all ranks know who the problem officers are, but that supervisors turn a blind eye, despite performance appraisal systems, sometimes 'exporting' the problem to another district, with it being extremely difficult and rare to be dismissed from CIB or police.

It's impossible to get anybody out of the police. The appraisal system doesn't really allow for giving people the chop completely and we're moving our problems from the CIB back to the uniform branch. You can talk to people till you're blue in the face and tell them that they've got to shape up or ship out and if they continue to be slacking around, it is very difficult to get rid of them. The systems are probably there to do it, but it's actually the administration supporting the NCO's to allow it to happen. One case, all the right things were done with reports, appraisals, discussions, to get rid of somebody and when it came to the final sign off by the boss he said no and transferred that person to a different section - because there was obviously a personality clash. They had the same problems and they had to start the same process again. After about two and a half years that person actually decided that they wanted to go and were leaving the police. We achieved what we needed to but it should have been done two and a half years before. It's people having the guts to stand up and say 'yeah, I support you'. Someone else was a problem, was promoted for 'export' and continued to be a problem. (Detective Inspector)

They don't get rid of anyone in the police though - good, bad or otherwise. Once they have their exams, if they keep applying, eventually they will get a job. I am talking about Mr. Incompetent - he will get promoted. (Male Detective/ Constable)

However, the complaints procedures for sexual harassment are working well in some districts, with good personnel involved.

There are 3 districts in particular where we've actually got very confident contact officers and a confident co-ordinator and we're getting more, they're increasing. So some people will say oh we're ok because we haven't got any complaints and we know full well that they're the ones that have not been coming out of the woodwork because nobody can see that anything positive could come out of it. But where we do have competent people on board and staff are given awareness training regularly then it's working well. It will be handled properly at the complaints stage instead of getting mishandled and ending up escalating and where it escalates, you end up with a whole district polarised. And that's why I have written personally to each District Commander to try and say I want you to personally endorse the selection of these people as one who the staff would approach. It's no use them saying I will appoint a person when it's clear the staff would never approach that person for whatever reason. (Alison Gracey)

As with sexual harassment, other forms of discrimination may occur, but rarely will cases be taken under personal grievance procedures unless the officer is ready to leave the service.

I've had the experience in running grievances that have been very bitter and involved people that have stayed in the Police. That is quite rare. Usually the process of running a grievance is quite destructive and it is likely that's actually the end of it: the person will leave, regardless of whether they've been successful or unsuccessful. Unless you can resolve things in a pre-mediation or mediation stage, this is not really a sort of process that anyone can come through unscathed. (Kathy Drysdale)

Hence the consequences are usually too great for staff to contemplate taking a case, and discrimination is also very hard to prove. This is true in all settings, but the police will be particularly aware of standards of proof. Kathy Drysdale normally advises that unjustifiable action is a more appropriate ground to use, even in a discrimination-type complaint, with it being the one where it is most likely that complainants are able to stay in the force. However, she points out that there are rarely 'magic wands' to be waved which resolve a situation easily.

Another concern is that there is so much nervousness about gender issues that supervisors do not behave naturally.

Some of the bosses are totally scared of the gender issue. So worried about being seen to be politically correct, they actually go overboard, to the point that they do discriminate against you in an opposite sort of a way. Especially from the Inspector above me, very touchy feely, and you wish they would just get on and let you do the job and treat you like you're one of the troops. (Female Sergeant)

Work environment - unequal treatment in assignment of roles

Another major area of concern for some women officers is that of not being treated equally with respect to assignment of particular duties within a squad. As mentioned earlier, there is near unanimity that there should be no imposed or expected gender role specialisation, especially during the training period. This should only occur if it is a matter of choice later on.

I'm married to a policewoman. She hated working on the street. It wasn't what it was cracked up to be. Now she works in Youth Aid and Youth Education, and loves it. But she says if she ever had to leave either of those positions, she'd leave the police. She didn't really know what she was getting in to. (Male Detective/Constable)

Nevertheless, all officers, male and female, should have the opportunity to take on every position, task, and role throughout the service.

Women could and should do anything - they shouldn't be pushed into one area of police - which has occurred in the past. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

Some had never been denied equal opportunity during their own training periods, getting a fair share of the tough and interesting work automatically or after asking it, as shown by these female Detective/Constables.

On my squad, the guys don't even ask that question (whether a female victim would like to speak with a female officer). If they're there and there's a rape victim, and if the victim actually said, 'I'm not happy or comfortable speaking to you', then obviously they would do something about that. There again, it's individual squads and individual personalities of people.

I have just had a performance appraisal and my supervisor turned round to me and said 'what can we do for you?' and I thought 'ok, I have got you - I want more responsibility, like major enquiries I would like to do things other than witnesses, general, bodies and scenes. I would like something else. I would like to move on and be given a little bit more responsibility.' That was on a Wednesday. On the Friday I was File Holder for a homicide.

Others had been typecast into certain types of work or had had to hassle to get fair treatment, which may be less easy for some women, due to socialisation and expectations.

I saw myself as an equal for the guys. I had a peer group in my section that were all the same vintage as me, some of them had been on the same training course. They got work. I expected to get the same. They got arrests so I expected to get the same. A lot of what you achieve in the CIB in those days is really what you got yourself. You did get a certain allocation, but you could very quickly see the work that is going into something that has a twist. A lot of it is what you go out and get. They love the person that puts their hand up when you are in a competitive environment, and of course that's what you do - but you're never allowed to stop doing it. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

Many supervisors, though less than in the past, were said to be inclined to assign women regularly to interview women victims, rather than give equal access to responsibilities for the suspect or scene, as illustrated by these women Detective/Constables. Some women Sergeants made similar comments on their earlier years, which are not included for space and repetition reasons.

Very often certain jobs are dictated to you, and I believe it's because you're a female. For example a rape complaint - I counted up the number of victims dealt with and I dealt with 43 in a very short time and my partner at the time had done two

On all the homicide enquiries I have worked on I was always O/C Victim or O/C Body or with the relatives.

The problem is the decisions are normally made, they have already hand picked who they want. You generally walk in the room and your name is on the board.

I take just about every sexual complaint that comes in apart from the evidential - females that come in with rape complaints. You take it because you are a woman. Actually some of the guys on the squad have an interest in taking it because they don't get the opportunity.

I am going to be qualified and I have never done O/C scene because every job that comes in I am O/C Victim.

It depends on the supervisor. I had some who overlooked me, but others were more fair and would give me those opportunities.

Your supervisor has a lot to do with it, plus the others you work with, as to what sort of jobs you get. As long as you're a bit vocal yourself and let it be known that you're not happy with doing exhibits every operation.

Some also complained of being protected from cases where violence is thought likely, not being taken seriously, given files that were unlikely to be going anywhere, and/or not given credit when they get a difficult offender to confess.

I am still getting 'he is known to be a little bit rough - you guys go'. It is just so infuriating when you have them on the street and if there's a woman in the car, so be it - I will deal with it.

Because it is not like our rib cage is any flimsier than anyone else's if someone is going to stick a knife in it.

The female issue that you can't go to the rough jobs is just driving me barmy. It was only three weeks ago that I heard around the office "who is getting rubbery lipped?". I shouldn't have to put up with this.

I've been ten years in the job and I have never been assaulted. I've been in enough confrontational moments - but if it's going to happen, it can happen totally unprovoked. And there's this person to lock up who could be a bit violent and your boss says 'ok, take so and so' rather than your partner, because she's a female.

Some cops recognise that ability in women though, not all have the attitude we have been talking about, some do prefer to have a woman there because they do diffuse the situation.

You have women who are capable but are not taken seriously. I worked recently with another woman and we were asked to interview one of the bad guys. We did and we were the only ones to get a cough out of our guy and he was a big bad guy from out of town. Now the guys wouldn't take us seriously about it, but we appealed to his ego and it worked really well. In fact there were comments made about him just being soft because he had coughed and that there was an ulterior motive as to why he had made an admission this time. Nothing to do with what we had done.

We had this robbery and while the file was going to be 'no offenders known', it was 'oh you can have that file' - a big white elephant sitting on the corner of my desk. But as soon as a fingerprint hit came back and the person was known, it was 'we need a meeting - where's that file?' and my supervisor went to give it to one of the guys on the squad. He said 'I don't think you should do this. Look at the guy's history with assaults and things'. To start with I took it, but then I had a couple of minutes back at my desk and thought 'damn it: I've done all the work that has had to be done - I'm not going to give it up'. So I went through to his office and got to interview the guy. Then I got called in and spoken to because I'd interviewed him by myself instead of where there were other officers around. I locked him up, but I got told off for it.

A few talked of confronting their supervisors when this was apparent, sometimes with the support of male colleagues.

I have been in the position on crime squad, where I had a supervisor who did not give me the lock-ups, and it was seen by the detective working on my squad to be something against my gender. He, as a person at my own level, had a word with our supervisor and said to him, 'I think you're unfairly not giving this person the arrests'. They looked through the book and it was consistent that I was always interviewing the mother.

By virtue of your gender say a rape comes in, 'oh good I have got a woman: ok can you go talk to her. Managers do that subconsciously, because at the end of the day as team manager, you pick the best person for the job. You are looking for your skill basis, yep she's great with victims I will give her the victim. In my own experience after about 8 months of this I had to go to my supervisor and say 'I can do this with my eyes closed - I have done heaps of them. I am really experienced with them but I am not very experienced with scenes or offenders' - and he says 'I am really sorry about that, I didn't realise', so then he would channel other people to the victim. He was a good boss. The other thing is that you get certain male cops going in and saying 'look, you would rather be talking to a woman about this wouldn't you?' Two minutes later, 'look she doesn't want to talk to me she wants to talk to a woman'. That doesn't happen so much now

as it did when I first joined the CIB but at the end of the day it is seen as the woman's work by a lot of people in the CIB. (Female Sergeant)

I told them to go back and speak to your manager because it's a management decision and if managers are turning around and saying because it's a woman we have to have a woman to deal with it, they're creating the snowball effect which goes right through the organisation. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

It's up to us females if they do something that we don't agree with. I've had a small victory. One of the other DSs I work with who is, he says it himself, a male dinosaur. He's always put females in to interview rape victims, which I don't agree with. It's the best person for the job. I said to him 'look this is wrong, we've got guys here who can interview rape victims as well as the females, let's change the roles around'. For the last two rape inquiries that we've had, since I brought it to his attention, that's what he's done. (Female Sergeant)

A related issue arises where a male and female officer are working together in a car, and the man takes the prominent role in an arrest, assuming he will tackle the offender and/or being permitted to do so by the woman. Some finally react by taking the initiative.

Quite often in a group environment you might be working in a car. The man might be the one that steps forward and says 'hey this is my lockup', and a woman says 'ok that's fine'. She reckons she will help do the file and get joint credit. But when the lock up goes to court the man's name is on the bottom of the summary and he gets credit for the lock up. If you work with a male that is desperately out there to prove himself and perhaps more pushy than his female colleague he might be collaring every lock up that they come along to. At the end of the day at the performance period they might say you haven't got many lock ups, yet she would have done just as much work getting that lock up to the court as her colleague did, but he got the glory. (Female Sergeant)

I ran out of the car literally and then ran into the house and grabbed the offender and said 'This one is mine'. That was my first arrest in two months in crime squad, because this guy thought he should have all the work. (Woman Detective/ Constable)

It is very rare to have two women officers together in a car, but some staff and supervisors felt this was perfectly appropriate and safe for some pairs of individual women, and many junior officers do not wish to be overly protected - although this is not universal nor accepted by all other officers.

Sometimes it would be nice to work on a night owl with another female. That wouldn't happen. I did it once because of some emergency. We went

to a job and the dog handler said 'Oh, a girly car'. I didn't take offence to that - it was just that it doesn't happen. I'd trust x if I was in a car with her. I think our Sergeants tend to see it as an OSH issue, and I suppose it can be seen that way. (Female Detective/Constable)

If I had six women on the group, people would say 'she has picked a woman', but if there were six men nobody would make a comment. If I want to put two women in an I-car together, if I thought they were capable, I would put them in an I-car together. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

We have women who won't work in the car with another woman. It undermines how far we've come. So we are own worst enemies in a lot of respects. (Female Sergeant)

They're having I-cars in xx with all females. That creates another whole set of problems. (Male Detective/Constable)

Stereotyping women officers into the role of interviewing women complainants is also misguided for other reasons. A number of men have shown excellence in interviewing woman complainants of rape and/or violence and children. The greater difficulties for women compared with men of managing career and family discussed earlier means that a greater proportion of male police officers are likely to have children themselves.

One of the applicants was a married man with two children, an excellent candidate and the panel decided that he was the most appropriate person for the job. Well the questions and the backlash that came from that having a male evidential interviewer of children was just phenomenal and that wasn't only just within police but also from the Children and Young Persons Service and that member went on and is still in my opinion one of the best evidential interviewers. I have watched him work and he had children of his own and was able to relate to kids. I have seen male colleagues that are excellent interviewers of child abuse victims and of women victims - better than a lot of women that don't have children. The belief that because you are a woman you can interview children is a load of crap because most of the women in the NZ Police do not have children and yet men in the organisation, there are a lot of married men that do have kids that communicate with children every day. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

In the final analysis, it is a matter of management responsibility to ensure that all roles are rotated.

In xx, one staff member, who has moved on now, was forever getting O/C Victims family and she is very nearly a qualified detective. If you look at the roles she has played in homicides or in serious investigations it is

always that. I highlighted on her performance appraisal when I handed her on that she doesn't want that role any more, she wants to start getting into suspects or scenes or whatever.

That is really poor management because in my appraisals for my staff I will set certain things they have to develop - O/C Exhibits, O/C Scenes, interviewing witnesses, complainants and offenders and they have to perform those for their appraisals. And so myself as a manager, I have to ensure that they are doing some of those things if they are going to get a fair appraisal at the end of the year. (Two Male Sergeants)

Work environment - a lack of understanding of and training in EEO and human resource management

As stated in the introduction and amplified in Appendix Three, there is an admirable degree of commitment expressed by senior management in the police to EEO and removal of barriers, together with a raft of policies and practices. The NZ Police EEO Policy Statement supports the principle of non-discrimination and of equal employment opportunity for all staff to achieve their potential regardless of gender, race, ethnic or national origins, colour, religious belief, marital status, family status, sexual orientation or disability. It goes on to say that police strive to create and maintain a supportive and safe work environment that improves the representation of women, Maori people, Pacific Island people and ethnic minorities in management, and that management will not tolerate discriminatory practices including all forms of harassment.

Implementation strategies for the development of district capability include EEO training and review and the maintenance of reporting systems, while the State Services Commission document "EEO Policy to 2010" has been drawn on in the police context in various areas including:

Leadership - to ensure Police managers at all levels understand, promote and demonstrate EEO Policy and practice;

Organisational culture and strategic HRM - To contribute to the development of an organisational culture which actively promotes and demonstrates EEO Principles and practices;

Monitoring and evaluation - To develop an evaluation methodology that demonstrates the long term EEO Progress being made.

An EEO study module in the course for new recruits to the NZ Police is a good, if somewhat brief resource, up to date, and covering definitions of EEO, relevant legislation, generally and specific to the Police, target groups, the merit principle, diversity, and sexual harassment definitions, myths, and procedures.

The Sexual Harassment policy and documentation similarly covers well the relevant legislation, criteria, roles and responsibilities of managers, supervisors,

sexual harassment co-ordinators, contact officers, and mediators, and procedures in the case of a complaint, including documentation.

This all sounds excellent, and yet there is a great deal of scepticism expressed about its reality.

I think that we give a lot of lip service and tokenism to our commitment to EEO in the police. I think that we need training not just on women's issues of course but all sorts of EEO issues. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

They say 'I know all about EEO'. In fact they don't. (Female Sergeant)

Good policies and statements alone achieve little without a significant range of human resource management practices, training, monitoring, and positive and negative incentives to achieve results, all of which takes time.

I just wish the police would honour their EEO policy. I am EEO Liaison Officer and I absolutely refuse to go to training days and give the EEO speech because I know deep in my heart, the police don't honour EEO policies. (Female Detective/Constable)

It's like quality policing. It's right up there but there is nothing down here that says anything practical about how it's going to be achieved. (Female Sergeant)

You've just got to come back to the passage of time. The police have got this tradition in things that we've slowly got to work away at. I'm sure that the EEO policy and training does help. (Detective Inspector)

The commitment and training needs to permeate through the whole organisation, from top to bottom, and side to side, affecting behaviour and preferably attitudes, although it is sometimes the latter which follows the former. Without all this, much of the rhetoric is lip service only, and the proof of the pudding is in the statistics, the monitoring, and the reality of the commitment, without attempts at quick fixes which do more harm than good.

It's an awareness thing. Often guys aren't aware of what we're thinking and we're not aware of what they're thinking. Communication awareness. We need to do more of that within the Police.

Invariably when they see a problem they'll just storm in, 'right we've got to fix this' so they flip flop straight to the other extreme. Suddenly you get into affirmative action or practices which invariably undermine that credibility. (Two Female Sergeants)

The genuine implementation of policies in place is also necessary to avoid legal challenge in personal grievance cases. Appendix Four discusses a case taken

by a woman officer for unfair dismissal. While she was unsuccessful, the judgement contained some strong statements about this requirement, which the Police Association uses in advice to members.

If you have a policy in place, you have to pay more than lip service to it. The judgement makes statements about how your conduct will be scrutinised. You can't just say you're going to do something and then not do it. So I take those passages out of that judgement and refer them to women that contact me. I publicise it at our training seminars. (Kathy Drysdale)

There are significant questions on the extent to which policies are carried out. Training does not appear to be general and annual, even though this is the intention, so that some officers recruited before the training started may never have been through a course on EEO.

Maybe the District Commanders could put something in place where managers have to attend a two day course that covers, lwi, covers women, covers all the policies that impact on women. This is half the problem: some don't understand EEO policies, FEO, maternity leave, or any of the things that relate to women. It is all your middle structures: get into your small town station where the biases exist, haul them out and make them do this training. I see this as the only way we are going to effect change. I think you have got to make it ongoing. This is the trouble with these policies they get an initial burst like the sexual harassment policy and then nothing. Managers should get it every year. Unfortunately it comes down to cost and time. (Female Sergeant)

CIB personnel appear to be notorious for not attending training sessions which are arranged unless they are seen as being on strictly relevant operational areas.

Yes, there's been a general resistance, not just in CIB, to EEO type training - one of our weaknesses. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

In a whole lot of these areas, I think CIB lag behind. They have this view that those sort of things are a waste of time. We have to get on with the real work, and all that mumbo jumbo about management and stuff is not for us. I think that's where the CIB have let themselves down - they're getting left behind. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

Training for those entering management positions and those already in these positions are seen by most staff and managers as deficient in many respects, including modern management training, particularly in the area of human resource management, law, and practices, including EEO.

I think the one thing we could be doing in the organisation is by putting all our CIB managers on a training management process. I think that we don't give our managers any kind of development stuff. If you develop

your managers and explain why we need women and actually presented it in a proper forum with the advantages to the team - women can do this and this and this. I think we are not opening our managers' minds. We are allowing our managers with closed minds to have strong influence in the CIB. (Female Sergeant)

Train senior managers. They listen and they say the right things and they talk about the rights but there needs to be some accountability in their performance. I think it needs to come back to their performance ability and it may be that there is a 360 review process rather than just a senior managers down process of performance appraisals. It may be that someone down the pecking order assesses their management style. Often some of the best ideas come from people with limited experience and they're not encroached in all the culture and the bullshit and they can see all the crap and are able to offer some really good ideas but policing won't listen to that. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

The training may well need to be more practical than theoretical.

There's still a significant number of people who do not know really about the practicalities of why we need EEO. Everybody gets to read the law because they have to: when they fill out their CV, they have to know it. I think the fall down in the police is there is no good education in any of these policies. There needs to be continuous discussion and continuous structured training, but not in the way that make people defensive. The hierarchy just bring it in and we learn about it through the media, but there's no real continuous reinforcing. Talk about why are we doing things. If you are going to promote EEO, this is how you do it. You don't do it off anyone else's back. This is the constructive thing to do. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

It is not simply EEO training which is seen as lacking, but training in management in general, particularly in the realm of human resources. This view was expressed at all levels and seen as a key factor in deficiencies of leadership, with officers thrust unfairly into supervisory and management positions without the requisite training. The lack of knowledge of essential management and employment law obligations which may come out in court appearances was referred to by the Police Association.

I have been on certain jobs of cross examining our members who are Sergeants. They often do not know the basics about management obligations, employment obligations and things like that. I don't enjoy exposing this, when I know the problem is that management hasn't trained them for the job that they expect them to do in the grievance arena. Those sergeants are just as much casualties: they're meat in the sandwich. (Kathy Drysdale)

Dealing with diversity issues and EEO for women and others is just one aspect of this human resource area.

Why do you think we have got these problems with the way they deal with women? It is because they are not trained as managers. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

Anything is possible if you've got good management that is flexible - willing to adapt and change. If an employer accommodates their staff and tries to make things better for them, the morale goes up. At the moment we just seem to be fighting for everything we can get. (Woman Detective/Constable)

There are clearly also issues around the reconciliation of traditional command structures with modern management practices.

Police are trying to move into a different management culture, a culture which conflicts with some of the historical military style, but staff are still expected simply to obey and a major confusion will be created by that. They talk the talk at management level but they don't do anything differently... It's the integration of that support role and the administrative side of management that hasn't been done. (Kathy Drysdale)

Paradoxically, while more management training was emphasised, there was simultaneously some doubts expressed about the acquisition of formal management qualifications, such as MBAs, even if done in one's own time, despite the desire for better leadership. Perhaps this demonstrates a scepticism of what may be seen as too academic an approach rather than a more specific course on management in the police.

With the leadership of CIB all male, it is hard for this group fully to understand EEO issues or have those in the female ranks believe they are able to do so. Management of diversity is likely to be even more foreign territory.

EEO has sort of moved on now and we're now talking about management of diversity and EEO is an identifiable thing where you talk about a whole group of people where managing diversity is about individuality and encouragement and those sorts of things. It needs to be right across the board and it needs to be trained at that senior management level and everyone needs to buy into it and someone needs to police it. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Those eligible to attend the annual conference of CIB managers are all male, since attendance is based on position and hence rank. At the November 1999 conference a small number of relatively senior women were invited to sit in on some sessions, but prior to this participation in such conferences has been rare.

At decision making level there are no women that participate. There are no women in the CIB conference. I think it's really unhealthy that they don't have any active female CIB women there. (Female Sergeant)

In CIB the Senior Sergeants, and Detective Inspectors are still all blokes and I think the annual CIB meeting that they just had at the Police College, well you've got that testosterone all in a room and they might sit there and spout forth that they're going to change, that they're going to do this and they're going to do that, but the reality is they can't. Their culture is so embedded in who they are as individuals that they're going to need a frontal lobotomy to be able to change that behaviour and no woman is going to want to join the ranks of Senior Sergeant if that is their attitude. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

It is highly desirable that this key annual CIB Conference includes women, preferably getting there by right through their positions in CIB as soon as possible. However, in the meantime, female representation could be arranged through the most senior officers available, elected representatives or other means. Local conferences might be held to feed in the views of women to have them as little as possible distilled by men. Expenditure of money and time on such representation, general networking, and the Women's Consultative Committee needs to be seen as necessary and desirable, with participation an honour and responsibility, not something for male staff to resent or sneer at.

Another important aspect of a real commitment to EEO is accountability for processes and results. I understand that District Commanders have among their Key Results Areas from the Commissioner the outcomes on EEO, with the Commissioner also responsible for EEO in the police overall, monitored in his own performance agreement. This is a very good start with respect to accountability. It needs to permeate further down the hierarchy, and across branches, including CIB, and be taken seriously as an important component of the total evaluation.

Crime Managers in Districts - we need to make sure that the people who fill these roles know what they are. Some of them, I think, tend to think they're still about being what we call a field crime person, but in fact they should be about managing all the management competencies, including EEO, and making sure there are more women within the organisation and that we retain them. The Commissioner is going round all the districts talking about this, but we have a way to go. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

This is true, too, of human resource management in general. Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris considered that there has been somewhat staid and conservative management of people within the CIB. Despite the current perception of recruitment/retention problems in CIB, turnover in the police

generally is low by public service standards, and he sees rotation in and out of CIB as desirable. The unwillingness to face dealing with problem officers was mentioned earlier.

Once you've got your ticket, the detective qualification which is really hard to get, people think it's a ticket for life and they can stay there. It's viewed as a place where noone gets the axe - they can stay put. It's difficult with employment law, but management must start measuring and if they're not performing, the time comes when they have to go. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

Also of relevance is making good use of outside enquiries like the current one. It is important to ensure that this report does not simply gather dust, but is widely publicised and followed up, with access available to all participants, as promised, plus individual copies of the summary and conclusions being sent to each contributor. The recommendations should be carefully considered and a follow up internal report within a year should discuss the acceptance or otherwise of each recommendation, the action taken on those accepted, and the outcomes achieved. Further follow ups should be part of the general monitoring programme for EEO. Communication to all is essential, if resistant attitudes are to be changed.

The department embraces EEO and Maori issues and that sort of thing to the point where everyone is too scared to speak out and say 'look, this person is no good, get rid of them'. Someone will say 'no, they're a Samoan paraplegic. You can't'. (Male Detective/ Constable)

Reverse barriers?

Finally, on general barriers to women, it should be noted that some male officers and a few female ones have indicated that some barriers run the other way, against men. The argument here is that it may be easier for women than men seeking entry or advancement within CIB, and the police generally, due to policies seeking to raise the proportion of women and ethnic minorities in the police at basic and higher levels, as indicated by these women Detective/ Constables and one ex-Detective Sergeant.

I was under the impression recently that they were crying out for female staff and they seem to have fast tracked a couple of females into the CIB.

You could say it would almost be an advantage to be a woman applying for Sergeant positions.

I think that women shouldn't be given preferential treatment but again that tends to occur in a lot of situations because senior managers believe they need to have a woman. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Some male Detective/Constables were considerably more vehement on these issues.

I think the hardest person to try and get in the Police at the moment would be a white middle class male from a rural South Island town. You'd have no show, which is disappointing because that's for many years been the back bone of the New Zealand Police, but now you have to be a half Tongan, half Maori female. They'd give you an air ticket when you walked into the recruiting office. You see it all the time. You go to College and it's just unbelievable. You're walking round and they're taking all shapes and sizes.

One example about fitting in with the team. We had a crime car in xx, which operates a roster. You only have to do night shift once or twice a year. We had a female Detective who was assigned to work alongside another female Detective and she refused, saying she didn't feel safe working with another female. He let this person swap their shift. We brought up the issue. If I was a male and had done the same thing and said 'look, she's five foot two and a hundred and ten pounds. She couldn't fight her way out of a wet paper bag, I'm not working with her', I'd be raked over the coals and be lucky to stay in the CIB. That's the differing power that they have within the organisation. Management is so scared of having someone calling them sexist or racist, they'll go to extreme lengths to pander to them.

I don't think any of us have a problem with people getting positions ahead of us on merit, whatever sex, race or anything. But when it seems obvious that people are getting there because of their sex and race and they're getting there because of a regime brought in to do away with inequality of sex and race, what's going on here? It's basically reverse discrimination.

If anything, I'd say females have got a better deal than we have. The white male, like all of us here today, we're so disadvantaged today it's not funny.

We've all been told not to apply for jobs because a woman's going to get it. I had that in xx. Perhaps in the smaller stations it's worse because the squads are smaller and they swap member for member. I've been told, when I want to apply for a job in CCU that I'm wasting my time.

There may be some truth in a few individual stories, and any reverse discrimination needs to be guarded against, except in the limited circumstances outlined elsewhere in this report, to try to minimise resentment and misunderstanding of otherwise good EEO/gender integration policies. However, the overall statistics and experiences of many women officers speaks for themselves in terms of where the bulk of gender discrimination occurs.

Promotion

The paucity of non-commissioned, let alone commissioned women officers in the police and particularly the CIB is of concern to policy makers and many woman officers.

We have been at pains to go to the Women's Consultative Committee and for them also to come to us with ways upon which we can actually improve the status of women in the Police and about this particular issue - about getting women higher up the ladder. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

I haven't been on any panels where we've promoted women which I think is unfortunate because I do see a number of women that are quite capable of filling positions as detective sergeants. Sitting on the panel, what I'm really looking for is to see if a person can do the job and if they've sold themselves properly in their CV because unfortunately we're told that whatever you know about them personally you can't bring into it: it should be in the CV. Some people you know build themselves up, and others can't sell themselves so they don't get it. It's fair in one aspect because if you've got people from all over the country applying for a job and you know some but not others, it takes away that bias. (Detective Inspector)

There is certainly good will in principle to promoting more women, but it is accompanied by a lack of full appreciation of the barriers and to some extent a sense of helplessness about the situation.

How do policies work for women in the CIB? Well, not too good in terms of providing for a career structure and promotion, because we don't have anyone long enough to be able to nurture through a career path into a senior position and that's a problem for us. Over at least the last four or five years we've been pretty high up in terms of ratio of women to men. The sad thing is, with this retention problem, we lose them just as quickly as we train them. I think the real issue for the police, and I haven't got the answer, is that we need more women NCO's, Sergeants. You can't just go and make someone a Sergeant and I'd like to know why it is that way in the police. I think the way our promotion structure is set out, the opportunity is there for them if they've got all the qualifications and I think it's a problem for the police. We're never ever going to see a woman Commissioner unless someone gets to the rank and has the opportunities to compete for Commissioner. (Detective Inspector)

The highest level ever reached in CIB by a woman was Detective Chief Inspector, but recently the most senior rank was Detective Senior Sergeant, and this officer is in the process of leaving the police. There is only one woman Superintendent in the police and only five permanent and temporary Inspectors, just one of whom has two young children, with a sixth currently recommended for

promotion. As the highest ranking woman officer, Superintendent Manderson, herself said:

How come there has only been one Superintendent in the history of the New Zealand police that has been a woman? Now you cannot tell me that the women that have gone before me haven't been up to it. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

This scarcity in itself may act as a barrier to others seeking promotion, sending a message about the difficulties and the possibility that women are unwelcome at senior level, as well as meaning a lack of senior women able and willing to act as role models, let alone mentors or advisers able to offer support.

You don't have a mirror of women successfully doing it. They see me as an exception like I am an enigma in my own organisation, even amongst the women. (Dale Candy - then Detective Senior Sergeant)

Of course, a number of women officers indicate that they have been given excellent support by male mentors and encouragement to apply for promotion.

When I look at when I joined, who there was in the CIB that was a mentor - there were no women mentors. There might have been round the country at other places but invariably my CIB mentors were men who took an interest and recognised my abilities for what they were and were prepared to help and guide me. There were also other men who belittled me and my work and that was quite common then. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

They encourage us to seek promotion, which has come up recently, with DS jobs advertised. People have come to female Detectives and said 'We think you should do it', which would have been unheard of in days gone by. (Female Sergeant)

Some women in high positions, generally and in the police, certainly want to help bring forward other women, acting as role models, and perhaps mentors: others see gender not as an issue and believe that as they 'made it', so can other women, with no special attention. Even those favourably disposed towards supporting others will have problems being available to junior staff in this way, due to their scarcity.

It is policy to have a woman on all selection panels. There is a degree of irritation about tokenism in the way this is done, with some women being used with insufficient knowledge or experience of the area, which can be counterproductive.

Tokenism on the panels: having a woman there in that a lot of them don't understand enough. And it often happens with women on panels, that we are harder on our own. But if you've got somebody from outside who has

the knowledge and skills and happens to be a woman as well, that's a different thing

I get dragged on to selection panels all the time on top of my other work and I'm a token female. (Two Female Sergeants)

In considering the barriers to women seeking promotion in CIB, all the factors discussed under work environment remain relevant, most of them in exacerbated form.

To achieve promotion for a woman in the CIB is a huge achievement. We have got so few ranked women in the CIB. I mean we have got one DS in the South Island, three months ago we got another one. Two for the whole of the South Island. There were something like 250 CIBers and 2 women are in ranked positions. In the North Island we have one DSS - she is the highest ranked female in CIB. The police are not very good at valuing their people and I think being an isolated woman, you have to make the grade even better when you hit rank because you are expected to be better again. In your own expectations you have to be better to succeed. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

One additional factor frequently mentioned here and in the Cox report is that female officers delay applying for promotion until they are quite sure they are ready for the expanded role and responsibilities.

We won't move to the next level until we feel we've completely mastered the previous level.

Guys are a bit more 'I'll give it a go, I've got nothing to lose, I've done that once'.

Women want to be viewed as competent so a lot will sit and wait until they're sure they can cope and handle and get it right. (Three Female Sergeants)

This is sometimes seen as a lack of confidence, or willingness to take a risk and hence perhaps a fault ('women as our own worst enemies'), although it could also be seen as a desirable quality to wish to be fully qualified for any job one applies for.

Guys are generally more interested in career progression - they are out there to promote themselves. Women are often their own worst enemies. Say we are looking for promotion, we don't move until we think we have got this job totally sussed, we wait until we think we can do that job just perfectly, whereas guys are more of the attitude 'I will just give that a go, hey the worst I can do is not get it', whereas women will say I'm not ready yet. I want to be totally confident by the time I get there so I don't muck it up or draw attention to myself, so I think we are our own worst enemy in

that respect. Now I am not saying all men are like that or all women are like that, but we do penalise ourselves in that respect. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

My experience with a lot of police women, detectives particularly I think, is that they tend to limit their careers a bit. They don't actually take the opportunity as early as their male counterparts. The majority want to prove themselves on an even playing field as opposed to getting some special consideration because of their gender. Several of them have told me that - I don't want any favours. I respect that, but I've also got to make sure that when the opportunity presents itself for key roles in major investigations that I don't just put them in some cosy role that may be traditionally female, dealing with female victims, but give them the interview of the offender(s) and the scene. The majority of CIB women want to feel that they've got a Detective position or a promotion on experience, and they're not token statistics to increase the number of women within the field. That's why it's progressed a little bit slowly. There's a big integrity thing and a need to actually have credibility with your staff, respect of your subordinates. There's a possibility of tokenism creeping in, with some arbitrary decision that there's going to be xx number of females in your structure. I think that's something that we have to be very careful to avoid. (Detective Inspector)

Noting that the Assistant Commissioner has the power to overrule a panel, for example if it was thought that it had applied the criteria too rigidly, Superintendent Bishop argued that this could perhaps be used in favour of an applicant with clear potential but a lack of experience in one area. The points made in the earlier section on the assessment of merit and in Appendix Two are relevant here.

Certainly, the determination that any promotion should be fully on merit, mentioned earlier, applies to almost all women considering whether to seek it, and credibility is again crucial.

Without any doubt any women who reached Commissioned Officer level would have to prove their credibility to a higher degree than a male counterpart and Inspector xx has certainly done that. (Detective Inspector)

The issue of how merit is assessed is highly pertinent in this connection.

It would be unfair of me to say that the current situation isn't based on merit but there are dynamics that draw into it that would create a situation where it is not always. Say you have a male applicant and a female applicant, say the male has worked on five homicides, say the female has worked on two homicides but done a length of service in child abuse, the panel might think that the person who has done the homicides is more experienced, yet you might not have been called out for those homicides

for perhaps your work at child abuse had kept you too bogged down and you weren't a squad that got freed. So in that respect some people on specialist squads can be biased against because some boss might see the homicides as being far more valuable than the child abuse experience so in a way there is bias on job merit as well. (Female Sergeant)

As with recruitment, it may be appropriate for supervisors to encourage officers seen as having the skills and potential for advancement to sit their examinations, which is usually less of a deterrent to women than applying for a position, and also to suggest that they seek promotion.

I travelled on a plane with a woman officer with five years service, qualified for Sergeant rank, late 30s, very able, doing a superb job where she is - an interesting job in SAT, but she wants to extend it into a wider role in that area. She doesn't think she's ready for promotion, but she'd be head and shoulders above many of male colleagues that I see for promotion. And I told her so. Whilst I have not always been in a position to bring someone through, I have encouraged individual women to apply for specific positions. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

Career planning as part of performance assessment seems hardly to exist in the experience of these female Sergeants, and this needs to be remedied.

No-one really sits down with you and says things are coming up. I've never ever had a career session in 18 years, but there haven't been any for men either.

If they want women to achieve they have to do some career planning with the people who are clearly able to do the job

In judging merit, other officers may make their own mind up, whether on good grounds or hearsay, as illustrated in these successive remarks by two male Detective/Constables:

There are some now. We are very lucky in xx we have yy who is a Sergeant and who soon will be a DS. With people like her, who would get any job on merit and who are great role models for males or females - those people will start to filter through the organisation. She hasn't interrupted her career to go away and have children and it is things like that which do affect them, but if you can get more role-models like that on merit I think it will slowly flow through.

If they don't get there on merit it makes it harder for the next ones that follow. You know you get people like zz through the organisation and it just gets everyone's backs up and the next lot of females coming through, always in the back of the mind of the supervisors who will have this image in the back of their mind and they perhaps don't treat the next ones as fairly.

There are issues even in the first male constable's favourable view above, as he rightly says that this Sergeant has achieved promotion with no family based career break. This, of course, involves the possible implication that one could not expect promotion had such a break been taken.

Whatever the substance in the second view, it shows the extra problems for women, as one unfortunate male appointment would not affect subsequent applicants in the same way. Women who are promoted may be unfairly subject to griping which men would avoid.

They've promoted two particular women and they've done very well out of it, but you still hear around the place all snide, nasty comments about the patronage and mentoring and all that kind of thing, that that is how these women got there, or have actually slept with this person. (Woman Detective/ Constable)

When you've got one foot on the rung, which is really all we're talking about yet and people go 'wow'! And that's a sad, sad comment, really. (Female Sergeant)

Certain women have been promoted when there are far better candidates, but this individual has to promote them to conform with the EEO that he has to comply with. That's just rubbish.

They make it part of the bosses' performance based pay that he must abide by EEO and all. He is going to promote a female every time because that will ensure his bonus. Talk about money driven, those guys are the worst. (Two Male Detective/ Constables)

Of course, appointing women to make up the number is not good, or even acceptable, EEO practice. I have no evidence, beyond these somewhat jaundiced comments, that it occurs.

It has been said earlier that there should be no imposed or expected gender role specialisation, nor any even by choice early in a CIB career, particularly during the training period. Where this has nevertheless occurred, and women detective constables have as a result a less wide range of experience than their male colleagues, it has had negative effects on their career prospects.

I think as a woman going into CIB, the advice I would give her is to get as much experience in as many areas as you can. Because at the end of the day if you want promotion, if you can show a good rounded knowledge instead of too much specialised knowledge, you are going to have a far better chance of being promoted and you are still deemed to be front line as opposed to being in roles that don't have the same credibility internally as front line work does. (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy)

There are a lot of women qualified, but few applying for promotion. We need to create opportunities, to ensure they have the experience. When we've sheltered people, using them in specified roles, that hasn't done them any favours when it comes to panels, and they haven't done a homicide, for instance. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

Some role specialisation by choice later in one's career may be reasonable, with a sharp distinction from the training period. A case could be made for promotion to be possible for those excelling in some specialised roles, rather than advancement being confined to generalists.

I think there should be some more flexibility, but the downside is that you'd get people who aspire to more senior rank and you want to bring across to a generalist role subsequently even if they may be promoted in a specialist area. We still don't have processes that identify potential. We can look at competencies and merit, but the development aspect is not there. With few opportunities, we are saying development is in the hands of the individual, not the organisation. We may have gone too far that way. (Superintendent Bill Bishop)

It's been a penalty because of the specialised squads I've worked on. You don't always get called off for the big jobs. You're not getting that homicide experience, whereas some of your peers who are on general squads get to stack the homicides. So they think they see gaps in your CV.

The operational jobs are the only ones that are valued in respect of promotion. Where you might have a lot of women in jobs like Youth Aid, but they're not valued, because of the whole focus of the Police as operational.

The undermining of specialisation is actually not assisting women to achieve. (Three Female Sergeants)

There appears to be a tendency for a disproportionately higher number of women than men to be in SAT teams, where the level of stress is considerable and psychological monitoring necessary. This may well be a choice, both in terms of the area of work and the fact that in some districts this may be a fixed hours position suitable for FEO or full time work for those with families wanting reasonable certainty about hours of work. It may be reasonable for those excelling in this or other specialist work to spend more time in these types of work than others and to be able to secure promotion. Where the choice is linked to the hours of work, the opportunity to spend lengthy periods there is questioned.

I don't believe in gender specification. I see unfortunately women in policing getting into day shift jobs, taking over all the day shift positions in the N Z Police because they are the caregiver at home, they have dual

roles and they cannot work the shift work. They have a husband and family so they are falling into the youth aid jobs, the child abuse jobs, the watch house keeper's jobs and they're day shift jobs but there is no tenureship - they're holding those positions for as long as they choose, and it conforms with the EEO requirements that the Commissioner has got to have so many women in the organisation. So they're creating these jobs for women and I think it's detrimental to males in the organisation because their career aspirations are being restricted. I think that any position in the N Z Police should be on a three year tenure. Then you should have to go back to frontline or the job should come up for review and everyone else should have an opportunity to apply for it. (Marie Fitchett - formerly Detective Sergeant)

Despite these issues, some see few or no deterrents to promotion.

I've done my Sergeant's exams and what I want to do is try and do CIB stuff. I think they need more women up there. If I was a new cop I'd like to see more women up there. I don't think from what I can see there's barriers to us being there, at all. I've always had encouragement from the day I started. I've had really good Sergeants and Senior Sergeants. Maybe one or two are forgettable. Okay, there's people that you're going to work with that you'll never get on with, but I don't think the road to promotion is blocked. If you don't want it, that's cool, but if you want it, it's there. It's just hard work. (Female Detective/Constable)

However, substantial number of female officers, and also some men, indicated that they would probably not seek promotion beyond constable level, or if at Sergeant level, not beyond that. A number of female Detective/Constables were ambitious for advancement, but some qualified this significantly, while many had been put off.

I'm still committed but I know that there's more to life than work.

I suppose in a way I wouldn't mind going up the ranks and becoming an Inspector but there's less contact with people at that rank. I often wonder whether I would change in that position? Would I become one of these yes people and say all these things that seem to be a prerequisite for Senior Sergeant staff?

When I first started doing my Sergeant's exams. I wanted to be Sergeant on a Section because I'm a people person. More realistically these days, you're more a pen pusher at that position and still a small fish in the big sea. To make those decisions you either have to be in upper management or basically be a politician to change anything that your front line officers can really feel. Although it's good being a Sergeant because you know that you can hopefully bring up your Section with the good qualities. Now,

I truly believe in life outside of the Police and now my studies that I do are aimed at a job outside.

I've got promotional goals. Not set in concrete because in the end the reality is the family issue. Basically I look at those and think how on earth am I going to do it all? I really can't see me being able to juggle it all and give 100% to both.

I think in the bigger areas it's easier than in a rural area. I did quite a bit of relieving down south and you're it basically. You've got a huge commitment to the job if you do take on a role like that - from rapes through to cannabis recovery operations. To be looking for promotion, it's probably easier in a bigger centre.

I've gone the opposite actually. I used to be really gung ho but now I've run out of puff.

I'm the same. I don't want to take on that responsibility. I do my job. When I leave that's it. Detectives that I qualified with that have gone there quickly, I think most of them have burned out. So what's the incentive to take on that role? You get hammered. The good bosses, like the good DSs around now, there's too much pressure on them. So they're ending up leaving or not being the good guys anymore because there's so much pressure.

You've got all the responsibility and it's the shittiest of jobs. We've just had two leave.

I tend to be the same. I had huge aspirations and now I just tend to think I'll plod along and go to University and prepare myself for outside the job. All of the DSs I've seen get shafted all over the place. You go on homicides and that's you gone for four months. I couldn't handle the pace now. I've got too much enjoyment outside the job. I love the job while I'm at work but I don't think I've got the commitment with all my outside pursuits. If you took on a DS job you'd lose a lot of your external activities because you can't afford the time.

I was really keen like a lot of people. Then it kind of peters out. It's just the rewards system which is so bad.

And one male Detective/Constable:

I certainly don't want to become a boss as such. I will never go any higher than DS but only then if it was in a suitable station. You just don't want to be part of that hierarchy that does us down all the time. We don't want to become one of them.

While the large proportion uninterested in promotion may be seen as simply a choice, the reasons for such a choice raise matters which should be of concern to police management. The stresses of the job, the results of the recent review, a perceived lack of resources including sufficient staffing and hardware such as adequate modern cars and computer support, a lack of top and middle management support and abilities, a lack of management and other training for those promoted, insufficient rewards, financial and non-financial, and being promoted too far from operational policing and becoming paper shufflers were the main deterrents to promotion cited by both women and men. Doubtless, many of these factors are not new, but there was clearly a general feeling that most had worsened in recent years. The gender aspects mentioned earlier make it even rarer for women CIB detective constables to see a career at high rank as possible and worthwhile.

They leave because they have children, they leave and come back with children and think I don't want the extra responsibility of being a supervisor. It is not an easy job because of things I told you they have to deal with. Sometimes women don't want to put up with the hassles that maybe men will. So that is an issue. And I think I have got to question the support they get as a supervisor - I think they sometimes haven't got the support structure they need. (Superintendent Sandra Manderson)

Clearly when promotion is being considered, the family issues mentioned earlier become even more acute.

I encourage them as much as I can to come in to CIB because they offer different perspectives and bring a different focus to an office. I don't think there are barriers to women actually coming in to CIB but there are barriers when they come to be promoted. A lot of the women have got married and are going to have kids at the time they consider promotion. It's just a matter of how we keep them and get them to go that extra step. I think it's encouragement to get them to do it and subsidies for child care or something like that to allow them to come back to work. When you have a major enquiry you need the staff to be there throughout. You can be flexible. At my level it's more of an administration role in the overall enquiry. You need management staff constantly there to help. If it's a detective, you can say 'cut out here early today but I need you to work tomorrow', but if a DSS wants to disappear at three o'clock when everybody else is working to 10,11 o'clock at night, it makes it difficult. (Detective Inspector)

If short times out of the police to raise children are seen as a negative factor, with loss of potential experience, this will have an adverse effect on women seeking promotion. It might well be argued, in the police as elsewhere, that many of the skills needed for successful running of house and bringing up of family are indeed relevant to the job. But irrespective of this point, there are a

variety of views on the general issue, with some equating time off for family to an overseas holiday and others seeing the difference. This was the dialogue on the matter between two male Detective/ Constables at a focus group:

By the same token I could not accept that I should be promoted to DS if I went away overseas for three years. You can't work out of a workplace where everyone else carries on working, come back in after 2 years and expect to get the job over someone who has been carrying on working. If you take a break from your career whether it be for travel or for child birth you put yourself on the back foot and that is just a choice you make.

Although I think that for females they are the ones that have to give birth and perhaps there should be a way for them to have their children and still be able to have that advancement. Because really they don't have a choice, if they want to have a family they are the ones that have to take the time off and have the birth. They can't say to the hubby 'you go and do it'. And therefore they shouldn't be penalised for that.

FEO is again a thorny issue. Many senior staff, including both those who might seek to take FEO as a line supervisor in CIB, and those who might be considering such applications, regard it as almost impossible for such supervisors to take FEO. In fact, it is not currently ruled out (see guidelines in Appendix Three), but safety issues require a clear business case to be made and accepted, ensuring supervised staff have clear and available lines of direction, support, and advice at all times. Where a senior manager has been reluctant to approve FEO for a line supervisor, it has been recommended that a trial period be undertaken with 360 degree evaluations from above and below to assess whether staff safety and interests have been adequately dealt with.

Unless the availability of FEO for supervisors is enhanced, it has to be realised that it will be extremely difficult to increase greatly the numbers of female officers in the police, let alone the CIB, at high levels. Even with the tendency to delay the age at which women have children, only a very few female officers are likely to be able to reach a level like inspector before starting a family. There are few high level jobs which can accommodate those women, still the majority, who wish to and have to take the major family responsibility without a radical rethinking of possible changes to operational procedures and reorganisation to change the nature of some positions. This will need consideration by the working party suggested earlier.

Final reflections on barriers to women

Having considered categories of possible barriers to women in CIB and police, it is important to step back and look at the situation more holistically, including the impacts of individuals with particular perspectives in positions of power.

There are still problems in the police overall dealing with gender issues and gender balances, and in my view a lot of it goes back to the individual who's actually dealing with those particular issues. Some managers think that they are good at dealing with gender issues but they're not. I think particularly of the background of some of the people who are better at it. They are often people who have made compromises and sacrifices within their own working lives, such as supporting partners going back to tertiary studies, and have a far greater understanding of the issues than others who think policing is primarily a male role. A lot of this is about what baggage they have brought to this particular career - whether they have come from homes where wives and mothers didn't work or whether they have had that rigid male, attitude which we are all a product of. Where you have had to juggle children and all that sort of thing, that's probably where you feel a sort of empathy towards it. You can get one manager who can change the whole emphasis and attitude of an office. At home they are really tough on their kids, they're inflexible and often old before their time and have difficulty with other cultures. A lot of it is down to the selection of individuals to be our future managers in the police. I think they have got to be people with really good people skills and an egalitarian approach, a respect for other people and who deal with people as they find them, without preconceived ideas about who would be suitable for this or that or who wouldn't be. (Detective Inspector)

Where individual attitudes constitute barriers to women, it is important to implement whatever processes there are to overcome them

I think it is a real problem to get women to complain. The problem is is that there are some individuals holding positions of power that are blocking the opportunity for women. I think this is an extremely sensitive issue because what I have heard through people who have come to me, is that some of the individuals are very highly regarded in terms of their ability to perform police functions and you get a clash between the high regard in which they are held in relation to policing functions and perhaps the particular pattern of the way they do things. They may have problems regarding whether women are able to do the job as well as men. My particular approach when confronted with that kind of issue is that you can manage that kind of person through process - through fair, open and transparent process. (Kathy Drysdale)

Finally, on the issue of barriers, it may be that some will argue that many of the stories related by women during this study are experiences of the past, not relevant to what is happening today, when almost all the barriers are disappearing. While I have indicated that some aspects, particularly the male

culture, are less of a problem than in the past, I would strongly argue against that overall conclusion. Many of the incidents are very recent, the family issues which are among the major inhibitors to women's progress are certainly all current, and the financial pressures, the lack of slack and flexibility, and the competitive individualistic environment of today may be leading to further barriers

Barriers to Maori, Pacific Island and other ethnic minority groups in the police/CIB

This area was not the major focus of the research. It was the researchers who suggested that totally to omit this important area of potential discrimination and barriers, both in itself and with the implication that women CIB or police officers form a homogeneous group with respect to possible discrimination, would be inappropriate and unfortunate. However, only one focus group was held, for obvious reasons in the Auckland area, of women Maori and Pacific Island police officers. Few were from CIB, as the representation there is so low. In addition to this, most focus groups and interviewees discussed very briefly the issue of barriers to Maori and Pacific Island officers, with the issue of Asian officers also brought up in one or two cases. The small amount of material collected on this makes the researcher hesitant in drawing too many conclusions in a sensitive area, particularly when issues of racism in the police towards members of the public is so much in the public eye. However, a little can be said.

It was clearly seen as important and valuable to have Maori and Pacific Island and other ethnic minority male and female officers in police in general and CIB in particular, particularly in areas of the country where these ethnic groups are heavily concentrated. The ability to speak Maori and Pacific Island languages and to translate where necessary, the ability to communicate and establish some empathy with leaders in the community, complainants, witnesses and suspects of similar ethnic backgrounds, was widely appreciated.

We are policing everyone. We need to have a good degree of people in the police representing each group and who can communicate with them, who speak Samoan, Nieuwan, other languages. We need people to represent all cultures in the country in the same sort of proportion as in the population. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

There were three Samoans working in the office. One joined at the same time I did and we worked for nine months together on a crime car, all the shifts, five week roster. They've got many skills that we haven't got that they can bring to bear especially when you're talking to Islander offenders. The three that we had in the CIB all spoke fluent Samoan and they were regularly called out to go and help other people that couldn't interview them. They were real good blokes. I'd be more than willing to have Maori

men and women working for me because they bring a different perspective. xx was great with his comedy, and on a major enquiry where everybody is feeling down in the mouth, worked long hours, going no where, a man with a good sense of humour can perk everybody up and xx could do that with no trouble at all. I can't think of anyone in yy office there now that are arrogant woman haters or racist. (Detective Inspector)

I certainly see some Maoris, depending on what area you are working in, that it is an asset to have a Maori in your team so you can relate to the offenders.

I was thinking about X, a Maori cop, and he has got a great rapport and he does some very good work because he is a Maori. All those juvenile Maori offenders, it worked very well for him and for us. (Two Male Detective/Constables)

There is of course one problem issue in the last two quotes, in identifying Maori as offenders, rather than witnesses, victims of crime etc, even though Maori presence in police relating to Maori in the community is appreciated.

The Auckland based Maori/Pacific Island women constable focus group also appreciated that their expertise was needed in police, particularly in that region, and the point was made that their ethnicity could be a positive advantage to them because of this need.

I find that being a 'darky' - general term for Maori/ Polynesian - actually works in my favour. Areas such as Otara and Mangere where the population make-up is mostly of dark descent, the bosses seem to target you and they say, 'We'd love you to come here and work', and because we get the members of the public becoming familiar with us, we tend to have a foot in the door already, simply because of the colour of our skin. That can work in our favour.

However, they felt that there were insufficient Maori/Pacific Islander, particular women, in the police force, nationally and locally, for the demand and for mutual support.

I think a negative aspect of policing is that we have too few Maori and Pacific Island people, particularly women. x and I met each other about two years before we joined the Police. We work in the same district and we're very close - we support one another through our hard times. Just recently, x attended something that really upset her. Her partner, who'd only been out two weeks, laughed it off, dehumanised this person who had died, a father of four. She bowled over home and we talked about it. I think that that's something that I couldn't get from anyone else.

A lot of our culture is based on Christianity, and we tend to look into the person more than just the body and the personality, the spiritual side of it. That's a side that I have to come to terms with, spirits leaving and it was difficult, the partner thinking just another guy, see you later, where I'm thinking that's someone's Dad, someone's husband, someone's uncle. He jumped out of a two-storey window and he landed in front of me. It's like another level, another bond. You've got your Police level, but there's your real mates to bring you through some of these tragedies

When I worked in yy, I was one of two policewomen and the other one was on maternity leave, and she was Maori. I had gone through something traumatic, and unfortunately I feel that as a policewoman I always need to prove myself, and that was one of the bigger struggles. I went to the place of my mate on maternity leave, and bawled my eyes out, because I didn't feel comfortable going to any of the guys.

I think it's also harder for us also because we are in South Auckland, and the majority of our cases are probably Maori. I'm the only Islander on my section, and all the incidents are all brown faces. I think we've only got two Pacific Island women in South Auckland. When you think of the numbers and the populations you're dealing with, it's nowhere near enough.

The lack of appreciation of cultural differences and reactions to tragedy was emphasised, particularly in the case of Pakeha men, creating the need for support. In addition, the experience of seeing and stereotyping Maori and Pacific Islanders in the role of suspects may influence some Pakeha staff to handle the issue of these ethnic groups within the police by constructing their fellow officers as quite different from those they meet in the streets.

I was constantly reminding my fellow colleagues that, 'Hey, not all Maoris offend'. I've spent a bit of time in Nelson and you learn that crime has no racial bounds. It's really hard. Unfortunately, in South Auckland, the majority of the people we were bringing into the cells were Maori.

They say, 'You're not one of them. We don't see you like that'. So I say 'What do you mean, I'm brown, I'm Maori too'

That's the thing, their view of you is different.

If you're educated and you've got a good job, you're okay, because you're not one of them, they're different.

I think it's hard for us to shake that stigma in South Auckland, and probably out West. You drive down the road and you see brownies. I think I've got to the point where it doesn't bother me anymore. I'm almost to the

point where I expect it, and it's sort of like water off a duck's back as far as I'm concerned.

It doesn't bother me, but sometimes they might say something and it's just a bit too much and I snap. And then I tell them. You can't let it wash over you all the time, because that makes it acceptable, which it shouldn't be.

I find that, especially where the Pakeha males are concerned, there are some that I will accept it from because I know they mean no harm. There are those that are just downright arrogant, and you can tell.

The I-car situation is very important. It has to be a team thing, and to have any sort of rivalry in the car is just not the time or place for it. You've got to trust your mate when you walk into a domestic, that they're going to watch your back and that you'll be watching theirs. To have them on about something that they've said that's upset you, if it's something that you can leave alone, then you just leave it. If it's something that's upset you so much that you need to say something, then so be it.

It was mentioned earlier that women officers may defuse some situations, where male officers might find it hard to avoid being seen as confrontational. This can particularly apply to Maori or Pacific Island women talking to men of their own ethnic groups.

I've been in a situation where we walked into a pub, and my partner who was a Caucasian male asked a guy to step out, and this guy confronted him and he was ready to smack my partner. I said to him, 'Hey, there's no problem: we just want to talk to you that's all'. It was just a soft voice.

You can see them coming around.

He just calmed down suddenly. He was a Polynesian guy, a big huge guy and I thought I'm going to get my face smashed. I knew I wasn't a threat to him, that's one of our advantages being a woman - we're not a threat: our uniform is, though. Usually we can talk a situation down, whereas if my partner tried the same thing and he's male, it's a challenge to another male.

You will get those that you deal that aren't so receptive to women. You just say one thing and they wind right up. The good thing with women is that they sense when something's on, like a talkative tone, or if it's off, then you just go quiet and let your partner do the talking. Then you just watch his back. I've noticed that quite a bit.

Women's intuition is very real.

A priority for this focus group was improved numbers, mutual support, and networking, as indicated earlier. This was seen as particularly important for Maori/Pacific Islanders, but also for women in general, including Pakeha officers.

I find it hard, having been brought up in a background where there's a lot of family support. You come to a police culture where it's just gone, and it's like you have to start from scratch. I found it really hard because, why do they keep asking for Maori and Pacific Island females to come in, when they don't have the support there for us to keep us going? A Raratongan mate of mine left a year ago - we need girls like her in, and she left because that support network wasn't there. They saw her as having too many problems and they let her go, when they should have brought a group support network together for a while until they're stronger.

It would be good to see a Maori/Pacific Island network set up to cover the areas we're more sensitive to, especially with welcoming new policewomen in. I haven't seen any other Samoan woman in the 4 years I've been in, which is a bit pitiful. I think that the Maori/Pacific Island women who are coming up need to have role models too.

And maybe as a group go out there and start recruiting women in. All of us get up and talk as a group, for them to see 'they've done it'. I know a lot of girls that want to do it - it's just that encouragement.

Unless you're Maori or Polynesian, you don't understand that support network, and how the culture works. It's a little bit like trying to ask a male to explain what it's like having a baby. Unless you're there, you don't know, unless you've been through it, you don't know.

Having said that, I think there are a lot of Pakeha women out there that need some sort of group as well.

You can't really separate all women and Maori/Pacific women because we've all slogged it and we regard ourselves as women, brown or white. We're always fighting anyway.

The recruitment suggestion above is a good one, although no doubt there are already too many demands on the time of a small group.

The final area on which specific comment was made was that of the existence of some resentment of any supposed special treatment of Maori and Pacific Islanders in the police at a time when there was a justified emphasis from management of trying to recruit this group. Such resentment was voiced by a few male Detective/Constables.

It is the same with the cultural thing, they went for a real drive with Pacific Islanders and Maori cops and there were guys that got into our jobs that

weren't really up to scratch. It's only that they are there because they are a Maori or Polynesian.

We're running night schools up in Auckland for Polynesian recruits to get through their initial exams, whereas down here they wouldn't do it. There are people that I know that maybe weren't exactly good at maths and missed out here. If they had the opportunity to do that at night school, they would have got through and would have made good policemen and women.

The Maori/Pacific Island women officers focus group commented on this area, resisting strongly and with good reason any feeling that they had had special treatment.

Some people think you do get special treatment. They think you've got through College because of your brown skin and all that.

You had to do the very same test that everyone else has to do, but I've had those comments.

I didn't want or expect preferential treatment. I wanted to know that I got to College and through College because I deserved it, and I worked very hard for it. But people thought that. They think you got in on the quota. I had one guy say that to me.

I remind him, I've got the government to thank because I slipped in on the 900. The rest is me. I had to run just as fast and hard. The people that think that of you, that's their excuse.

When I went through I worked very hard to make it. It took me about two years of training, because I was a single mother. I decided 'right, I've been out of school for about ten years, I'm going to do correspondence and get my Maths and English skills up to standard, and get back into the training mind set, and my physical training as well'. When I passed, I was really proud of myself, because the cards were stacked against me. Not only was I a female, but I was a Maori female and a single mother. I'm a fighter, and don't like losing, so I had that working for me. Nobody's going to take that from me.

As with women in general, one has a situation in which no one wants special treatment, nor gets it, but others looking for it create a problem. It is not special treatment to take measures to attempt to attract minority groups into police or to encourage them to go as far as they can, provided that to pass the relevant tests or achieve the promotions, they have to meet the same standard as anyone else - which is the case. Unfortunately, misguided resentment from others can make it even harder for these groups.

General issues

As mentioned earlier, many issues were brought up by members of focus groups that were general rather than specific to gender barriers. After discussion with Superintendent Bishop, it was agreed that while the terms of reference and hence the gender issues were to remain the main focus, we should include a short section on the more general issues raised, some of which were of wide concern.

The difficulties over recruitment and retention in CIB, which are a major concern for management and staff, naturally attracted considerable attention. Despite the great enthusiasm about the nature of CIB work discussed earlier, there are high levels of disillusionment on a number of fronts. These include levels and structures of remuneration, allowances, and other conditions, incentives to enter and remain in CIB and gain promotion, perceived lack of appreciation of a job well done, inadequate time to study for modules, performance review, provision of training, performance of management, adequacy of available resources, issues of valuation of CIB/GDB/traffic branch, and implications of the review. There is also some uncertainty about whether it is worth going into the CIB in the context of 15 year contracts.

We had neither the time nor the brief to go into these matters in detail. Nor am I sufficiently familiar with some of the factual material to form a view on some of the issues. I did discuss these concerns with senior officers, and there are clearly some misunderstandings about areas like the structure of allowances and relative earnings at various levels in GDB and CIB. However, even if some perceptions are simply incorrect, it is important for management to realise that a number of CIB officers and potential recruits believe that there is insufficient incentive to enter CIB, given the gruelling training involved in the induction course, the modules, and the qualifying course. At the very least, better communication and discussion is needed when policies and practices are changed.

With respect to the training modules, there is a widespread perception of inequity. It appears that a few districts allow some paid time off (e.g. 4 hrs per module) for study, but this is not general, whereas it is perceived that non-CIB officers doing outside study, such as university courses, receive more generous treatment. The lack of recognition of the skills gained from success in the modules for outside purposes is another issue raised. It may be that these issues will disappear with changes to both CIB and general training that are planned, including greater use of degree courses by distance at Victoria University. However, given the strength of feeling, it seemed important to put on record what management undoubtedly already know on this matter.

The issue of different district policies on time off for modules brings up another general area which often arose. This is the question of uniformity of policy, practice and organisation on a nation wide basis as against devolved power to districts, with varying local practices, both in CIB and more generally. Clearly, devolution with associated responsibility and accountability is an increasing trend, in police and elsewhere. It inevitably results in a reduction in the degree of commonality, which may in any case be desirable due to differences in the size and nature of different areas and the associated policing demands. However, clearly a balance has to be struck between national policies and practices and local autonomy. Where allowances and other conditions of work are concerned, districts with policies seen as more favourable to staff are naturally a source of envy. Both in the area of conditions and where initiatives are taken at a district level with respect to policing, organisation etc, it would seem desirable to exchange information, monitor results and adopt best practice more widely. More widespread adoption of the Christchurch CIB recruitment method is an example which springs to mind.

IMPLEMENTATION OF EEO AND GENDER INTEGRATION

The improvements in statistical collection and analysis, training, monitoring, policy development, accountability etc. which are suggested in the recommendations section of this report will of course require resourcing. It is essential that the general management commitment to the area is matched and demonstrated by the allocation of the required resources. Many of the conclusions and necessary changes, although investigated here largely within the CIB, are expected in reality to extend to the police as a whole, so some of the recommendations are general in nature. The detailed methods of implementation will be a matter for subsequent decision by management, including the National Crime Managers and General Manager, Human Resources, in consultation with the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO, the Women's Consultative Committee and other relevant groups. However, the contention of this report is that it requires an enhancement of both the central capacity of the NZ Police in this area, through more staffing in the EEO Office, and of the resources devoted to EEO within districts.

The only way you are ever going to get this to work is by resourcing the EEO office, I mean one person cannot ensure that an organisation of 8000 get the relevant material and training. We need to target middle management. The police are prepared to pay lip service to a lot of these things but they are not prepared to resource it to have it done properly.
(Female Sergeant)

Participation in the Australasian Women in Policing Advisory Committee has also been important in sharing experiences, research, and initiatives on EEO. Clearly, the two largest Australian states are ahead of New Zealand in proactive EEO work, with as many as seven EEO positions, I am informed, in one state office. Ongoing participation is highly desirable, with a view to embodying best practice from this group's experience, as well as learning from the literature on gender equity/EEO in the police and beyond, worldwide.

FINAL COMMENTS ON THE STUDY

As mentioned earlier, the fact that this study was commissioned by the National Crime Manager, demonstrating his commitment to removal of barriers to women, and the similar strong statements of top police management are good signs for a desire to make progress on recruitment, retention, and promotion of women.

I feel that we have really got to be told to our face the sorts of things that can be done and where we've gone wrong because if they don't, it's very easy to drift along and think we've got the policies in place. As you know,

we've produced the manuals and that sort of thing and so I've been quite earnest with some of our women - that they actually tell us the sorts of things we can do to improve things. When the report comes out, hopefully it will be very clear in terms of its recommendations. We'll want to revisit them, and so will you - and keep us honest. (Deputy Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

However, there is one issue of some concern in that statement and related ones by others which seek simple solutions from outside consultants. An outsider like myself, who comes in for a short time, conducting a dozen focus groups and a similar number of interviews and examining the data, can get only a limited feel for the real operational requirements and the day to day issues in the CIB and police. With our expertise in the general area, we can obtain some grasp of the overall situation and make suggestions and recommendations about the general directions of movement. However, the detailed working through of changes to policies and practices, what is possible and what is not, has to be the responsibility of management, with contributions from those with relevant expertise and experience in many parts of the organisation, and it is an ongoing, not one-off process. The Appendices show that police and other male dominated organisations throughout the world face similar problems. There are no magic wands. Instead there is patient and ongoing work throughout the organisation to develop policies, change behaviours, and change attitudes. Only then might there be less need for this final question and observation - a question which this study has, I hope, partly answered.

I don't know what makes the police such a tough job for women, why they don't stay in as long as guys do. I think that might be one of the main 'why's'? Why don't women stay the distance and carry on through? I know one woman who has - she's not the happiest person I know! (Female Sergeant)

Appendix One: Background, Terms of Reference, Methodology and Acknowledgments

Background: In April 1999, National Crime Manager, Superintendent Bill Bishop, contacted Prue Hyman, Associate Professor of Economics and Women's Studies, Victoria University of Wellington with respect to some concerns over the position of women in the CIB and possible actual and/or perceived barriers to their entry, progression and/or retention. He was interested in commissioning some research in this area, building on some work done in 1997/8 by Superintendent Ted Cox who was then in the position now occupied by Superintendent Bishop. Around the same time, Constable Vivienne Scott was planning to develop a research topic for her Masters degree on some aspects of women's experience in the NZ Police, EEO issues, and possible barriers to women's advancement. It appeared to all parties that it would be appropriate to fit together these two initiatives and design the empirical portion of Constable Scott's thesis work to be part of the research sought by the CIB in the form of focus group discussions. It was agreed that Prue Hyman would also attend a number of these focus groups and lead the first few, while she would conduct the necessary interviews with policy makers, managers, and have the prime responsibility for the report and recommendations to the CIB.

Concerns:

The proportion of women in the CIB in some parts of the country is considerably below that in the police as a whole, with significant variability. This is a matter of concern to Police District Managers, CIB managers and the National Women's Consultative Committee (WCC), who suspect that there may be actual and/or perceived barriers to their entry, progression and retention. The 1997/8 Cox study identified some concerns and recommended further study and monitoring of data and gender issues. The planned research was to identify whether barriers exist in terms of policies and/or practices which are not gender neutral in their effects. It was also to investigate the perceptions of women (and some men) CIB officers and of women police officers who are potential recruits to CIB with respect to the existence and nature of any such barriers. If any were identified, recommendations were to be made with a view to their removal.

Alison Gracey, Strategic Adviser, Human Resources: EEO to the NZ Police, and the WCC identified a number of specific areas which the research should cover, as well as general principles to govern it. The specific areas can be divided into:

- a) factual information on women in CIB:
- b) barriers to women wishing to join or continue in CIB:
- c) perceptions by women and men of their experience of working in CIB and any barriers/problems for women
- d) positive aspects for the CIB of having women represented.

a) Factual Information on Women in CIB: to include indicators on the representation of women in CIB including exits/years of service. This will require the CIB supplying the relevant statistical data to the researchers for analysis

b) Barriers to Women Wishing to Join or Continue in CIB:

- (i) identification of barriers to potential women recruits to CIB
- (ii) identification of any detractors in the CIB work environment, eg callouts
- (iii) identification of any barriers/problems for women working in CIB and their source, possibly including police culture (attitudes, group pressures, values and behaviours) and issues with respect to progression, promotion opportunities, mentors and support mechanisms.

c) Perceptions by Women and Men of their Experience of Working in CIB and any Barriers/Problems for Women: This covers similar issues to b) above but is specifically geared to perceptions of the work experience and any gender barriers by individual officers.

d) Positive Aspects for the CIB of having Women Represented: Perceptions by management/officers of such positive aspects, possibly including somewhat different values and perspectives, greater use of intuitive understanding, diversity, and appropriateness to gender of customer/clients.

Principles enunciated for the research:

- (i) that the project should be of practical worth to the police and be applied or evaluative:
- (ii) that the research should contribute towards identifying what issues are present:
- (iii) that the outcome/recommendations should contribute either directly or indirectly to the improved management and employment process of CIB and possibly the police:
- (iv) that the research should be of sufficient depth and rigor.

The groups consulted by interview/focus groups were to include

- (i) women (and men) in CIB:
- (ii) those endeavouring/aiming for CIB:
- (iii) those who would like to be in CIB, but cannot join for some reason:
- (iv) those who have exited from CIB.

Up to 13 focus groups would be held, of 1.5 to 2 hours in groups preferably of 7 or 8 participants, taped, transcribed by a professional (under an appropriate confidentiality agreement), and analysed by Constable Scott with supervision by Prue Hyman (again covered by confidentiality). Sergeants groups would be separate from constables, since they are more senior, have longer experience of CIB, and may have some different perspectives. In addition, trust issues could arise if constables and sergeants were in the same group. It was left as a possibility that some CIU members would be included (women police temporarily

attached to CIB but not full members): they would not have attended and passed the CIB induction course.

The issue of ethnicity, and in particular Maori, and perhaps Pacific Island women in CIB, was to be a subsidiary element of the project. It was considered desirable to explore the issues of double disadvantage that may arise to the extent possible in this project. Hence it was agreed that there should be one focus group for Maori and Pacific Island woman constables in the police, probably in Auckland. Further, issues related to Maori women (particular barriers/problems etc) could be raised in all the focus groups.

The methods of selecting participants for the focus groups were discussed between the sponsors and the researchers at the outset. Key issues were the desirability of obtaining willing cooperation and gathering as many views as possible within each group. The most statistically sound method of sampling within the overall structure is random sampling. However, issues of statistical reliability of quantitative results hardly arose with this project. The material was to be qualitative rather than quantitative in both the focus groups and interviews, and random sampling could conflict with willing cooperation. More important, but difficult, was the ability to attempt to judge the strength, commonness, and generalisability of various perceptions and viewpoints. It needed to be taken into consideration that volunteers may not in all respects represent the full range of views. Canvassing the various groups mentioned would, however, reduce this problem, with stratification by important variables already taken into consideration.

For the women in CIB, one third to one half of all members would be in one of the focus groups on the proposals above so that coverage of views should be adequate. For other groups this is less certain. After discussion with the sponsors, the exact methods of selecting the participants was deferred for discussion with WCC and the National Crime Managers Conference. Discussion at these meetings led to WCC and NCM members assisting directly, as appropriate to their constituencies, in the recruitment of many of the focus groups. Several NCM members also volunteered to be interviewed as policy makers/supervisors.

Issues arise in research of this type with respect to encouraging participation, engendering trust, and ensuring confidentiality. The independence of the researchers was stressed to participants, together with the interest of CIB management and the Women's Consultative Committee in improving the numbers and position of women in the CIB and removing the barriers to their involvement. Participants were assured that frankness was really welcomed and would cause no adverse impact on participants, that it was intended that real results and improvements would follow, and that individuals were totally protected as far as confidentiality is concerned. Withdrawal was permitted at any

time, before, during or after the focus group (the latter meaning that any direct quotes could be removed by request - see below for feedback details). The ground rule was established that what was discussed in the groups was to be in-house. However, one can never totally prevent leakage. It was agreed that the tapes and transcripts would be destroyed at the end of the research.

Most of the results were to be reported in terms of views which emerge and their strength. However, as reports are far more readable and interesting if they contain actual quotes, it was agreed that these could be included on the following conditions. With individual interviews, quotes would be checked back with the person interviewed and deleted, if required. If included, they would be without or with attribution, as the individual requires. These matters were explained at the beginning of the interview, and also dealt with in the consent form. However, with focus groups, the issues are more complex. It will not necessarily be obvious who has made what remark to the transcriber, the researchers, or even recalled by those in the focus groups themselves, so that a similar procedure is not possible. The issue of a quote identifying an individual was, therefore, to be avoided by using only quotes which could not do so.

A list of the quotes in the report from the relevant focus group discussions was sent to all participants (eg those from the women CIB Detective/Constables' group to all the participants in those groups). The main purpose, in addition to involvement/ feedback, was to allow participants to comment if they think anything of prime importance to them which they said had been omitted or distorted. It also gave participants an opportunity to comment if concerned about any quote, despite the efforts mentioned in the previous paragraph. Participants were to be given two weeks to comment, with the absence of a written response indicating no objection, and they were told this in advance. In addition participants are to be given a summary of the executive summary/recommendations, and have access, if they wish, to the full report. These points were included in the introductory letter/ consent form process. The research proposal went through the ethics procedures at Victoria University and was approved.

In the event, minor changes were made to what was envisaged with respect to the people interviewed and in focus groups. Twelve were in fact held. It was hard to find women in the police in the category 'would like to be in CIB, but cannot join for some reason', with it currently being fairly easy to gain entry to CIB, at least in the main centres. due to general recruitment and retention problems. However, some useful information was gained in this area from a focus group of Women Constables not in CIB in Hamilton and from the Auckland Maori/Pacific Island Women Constables group which had some inside and some outside CIB. Some had considered and decided against entry to CIB for reasons including family issues, as discussed in the text.

The twelve interviews were with:

Deputy Police Commissioner (Assistant Commissioner Paul Fitzharris)

National Crime Manager (Detective Superintendent Bill Bishop)

District Commanders, District Crime Managers and Inspectors, (Superintendent Cox, District Commander Manakau, author of the earlier study on gender issues in the CIB and formerly O/C CIB Support: Detective Inspector Scott, formerly Lower Hutt, now Hamilton: Detective Inspector Jones, Auckland: and Detective Inspector Pierce and Detective Inspector Hazlett, Christchurch - joint interview), Strategic Adviser Human Resources: EEO, to the NZ Police (Alison Gracey), National Women's Consultative Committee member (Sergeant Catherine McEvedy, Christchurch, formerly in CIB),

Industrial Advocate for the Police (Kathy Drysdale),

The most senior woman police officer (Superintendent Sandra Manderson, formerly in the CIB),

The most senior woman CIB officer at the time (Detective Senior Sergeant Dale Candy),

Former Detective Sergeant in CIB who has left the Police Force (Marie Fitchett).

The 12 focus groups were as follows - most included officers from surrounding areas:

4 groups of women Detective/Constables in CIB (pre and post qualifying, with some CIU officers) - in Wellington, Palmerston North, Auckland, and Christchurch - and covering surrounding areas

2 groups of men Detective/Constables in CIB (at detective qualifying course and in Tauranga: in the event, the latter was mixed genders and included a Sergeant),

2 groups of women Supervisors in CIB - in Auckland and Christchurch,

Male Supervisors in CIB - Wellington,

Women Constables not in CIB: some considering this - Hamilton,

Maori and Pacific Island Women Constables (some non CIB) - Auckland,

Women Exits from CIB (some still in Police) - Auckland.

Focus Groups Content: Areas to be covered varied slightly with different groups. An example, for groups of women constables currently in CIB, follows:

Welcoming introduction to break the ice, lay ground rules, establish independence of researchers and attempt to establish trust

What are some of the good aspects of working for the CIB?

What are some of the bad aspects (if any!) of working for the CIB?

Is your sex/gender relevant to any of these things about working for CIB? In other words, how (if at all) are any of the good aspects related to being female? What about the bad aspects?

What positive things do you think having women in CIB brings to the organisation?

- Prompts if needed
- a) diversity
 - b) appropriateness to gender of customer/clients
 - c) somewhat different values and perspectives
 - d) greater use of intuitive understanding
 - e) anything else?

Let's look at any barriers or problems there are that are particular to or worse for women (and any applying particularly to men) in the CIB - in turn we'll look at entry/getting into CIB: working in CIB: progression/promotion/retention.

First: entry (you all got in of course!) - but do you see any barriers to potential women recruits? What are they? (also something on the newer recruitment practices, which were piloted in Christchurch).

Next: working here: do you find any problems in the CIB work environment?

And are any of these particular to or worse for women?

- Prompts:
- a) long/irregular hours/call outs/body and soul owned by CIB
 - b) lack of family friendly policy/practices: child care problems etc
 - c) police/CIB culture and its maleness: attitudes, group pressures, value and behaviours
 - d) low numbers of women; isolation: discrimination/lack of EEO implementation/sexual harassment
 - e) anything else?

Now: progression, promotion opportunities, retention

- a) lack of mentors, support mechanisms
- b) gender work/role specialisation having negative impacts on chances
- c) discrimination/lack of EEO
- d) anything else?

So far we've talked about men's and women's experiences generally. In some types of work there are particular issues for Maori and Pacific Island employees. Do you think that is so in the CIB? Probe

Let's look at various aspects of training and professional development: What do you think of the four week induction course? the training modules? the detective qualifying course? Combined with the long hours on the job, can this be managed while maintaining any life outside work? Is this a particular problem for women? Any views on the need for/ opportunities for other professional development/ obtaining further qualifications etc at tertiary level. What about EEO training? What training in these areas have you had access to?

Do you think you and your female colleagues are better suited to any particular areas of CIB work than your male colleagues? If so, what types of work? and why?

Do you think your male colleagues are better suited to any particular areas of CIB work than you and your female colleagues? If so, what types of work? and why?

Have you found any differences in expectations about female officers' areas of work or performance etc in CIB compared to men's? Probe.

How in your experience does anything we've been talking about differ between the CIB and the rest of the police?

Do you have any experience with/views on the Flexible Employment Option? (attempts to use it, problems, usefulness when attempting to return after having children or in other circumstances? views on it?)

Do you have any suggestions for changes in policies or practices which would help in advancing women's position in the CIB?

Interviews covered similar areas with respect to barriers etc but focussed on policy and practices, and how policy makers/supervisors think they work in fact, omitting the experience/perceptions areas that are specific to the focus groups.

Timeframe/ Reporting Procedures

Focus groups and interviews were conducted during November and December 1999. Transcription of focus group/interview tapes were progressive in the period November 1999 to May 2000. Some of the conditions for the focus groups/interviews were not ideal, with interruptions and police traffic/other traffic noise, and some of the tapes were hard to transcribe. However, they were adequate to transcribe and analyse, and I listened to many of the tapes myself to supplement the prepared transcripts.

It was agreed that analysis of transcripts/writing of draft report by researchers should be completed by June 2000: relevant summaries of focus groups/interviews returned to participants for any suggested changes or additions, with a two week period for such comments in early July, 2000. Draft report submitted to National Crime Manager and Strategic Adviser HR: EEO by the end of June 2000: returned to researchers with any comments/suggested amendments within two weeks (mid July). Final report submitted July 31, 2000. Liaison and verbal reports on progress during the research to occur through phone calls and if necessary meetings.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the following people who contributed to this research:

- a) All those in the focus groups and who were interviewed for their willingness to participate and express their views
- b) Detective Superintendent Bishop for commissioning the study, encouraging participation, supplying the equipment and transcribers, and general support for the study
- c) Other managers in CIB and Police for making the time of participants available
- d) The transcribers of the focus group and interview tapes
- e) Constable Vivienne Scott for conducting the focus groups, two on her own and the remainder jointly with me, and she and Libby Tregear for summarising focus group discussions from transcripts and suggesting relevant quotes
- f) Members of the National Women's Consultative Committee, and especially Sergeant Catherine McEvedy, for initiating the study, taking an interest throughout, and helping with practical details

Most of all, I thank Alison Gracey, Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO, New Zealand Police, whose workload was greatly increased by this research. As an EEO office of one person, she has done excellent work, generally and in relation to this study, making available policy documents and statistics, and persuading others to do the same, and doing a myriad of necessary nuts and bolts tasks throughout the 15 months from the time I was approached to the delivery of the report. The long way there is to go to removing all gender barriers in the police is no reflection on her - they would be much worse without her work over the years.

Despite the help of all these people, the writing and content of the report is entirely my own - apart, of course from the quotes. Any errors or deficiencies - and also any virtues - are my responsibility.

Prue Hyman 31.7.2000

Appendix Two: Barriers to Gender Equity and EEO: Principles and Resources

Barriers to gender equity and integration prevent women from realising their full potential in paid work. The most important of these barriers are discrimination, overt and covert, direct and indirect, among which are gender and sexual harassment, including workplace bullying, in the context of a heavily male culture. The more blatant end of the continuum of these areas, deliberate and direct discrimination and serious sexual harassment, are clearly illegal, generally condemned, and probably diminishing reasonably rapidly. However the behaviours further along the continuum can be almost equally detrimental to a woman's career and job satisfaction, and are harder to detect and eradicate, as well as not being as clearly labelled and agreed by all to be inappropriate.

Academic studies of enterprises in a wide range of occupations and industries show the persistence of barriers to gender integration. This is in spite of substantial restructuring of systems due to economic, social, organisational, and technological developments, as well as attempts to bring about equality of opportunity. For example, a detailed analysis of local government, banking, and nursing in the U.K. found considerable advances for women compared with the days of linear career structures for men only, and yet structural gender segregation had not totally vanished, with organisational processes and dominant groups within organisations, continuing to generate gendered career paths (Halford, Savage and Wilz, 1997).

A performance-related management hierarchy, "based around values of competitiveness, specialist skills, dedication and 'getting things done'" is a culture "in which women can participate, since it is not directly associated with a particular gender. It is however a culture that depends on a particular configuration of the relationship between home and work, and which valorises the independent, lone individual with no other commitments. This has the de facto effect of making it difficult for people, especially women, who value other aspects of their lives, or who have domestic responsibilities they do not wish to or are not able to avoid, from playing a leading role in the organisations concerned." Such a performance-related hierarchy is now becoming common, including in the police force.

The authors note the rarity of women with children in senior positions, with women in all three sectors seeing themselves as having to choose between children and high career ambitions, despite most being committed to combining domestic and paid work. This, they argue, is due mainly to the perception and assumptions that "women's domestic commitments (not men's) and furthermore female embodiment (not male embodiment) are assumed to present problems, to be in conflict with organisational and career demands, whatever the material circumstances" (ibid, p 264/5). A few rare women were determined to transcend

the difficulties, but the warning that many professional and managerial women might well 'opt out' is one that has lessons for the New Zealand police if it wishes to retain women officers with children.

Halford, Susan, Savage, Mike and Wilz, Anne (1997), *Gender, Careers and Organisations - Current Developments in Banking, Nursing and Local Government*, MacMillan: Basingstoke.

In Appendices 2 and 3, I make considerable use of the October 1998 Report of the Gender Integration Audit of the New Zealand Defence Force, prepared by Australian Clare Burton. This is because:

- a) It is an excellent discussion of gender issues in the context of a working environment which is similar in many ways to the Police, based on a rather larger study than the current one
- b) It is widely respected and its recommendations accepted by both the NZDF and its sponsors, the Human Rights Commission
- c) I was involved in a small way in that study, as a New Zealand consultant who read all the material, and am therefore very familiar with it
- d) There appears little point in reinventing the wheel where the review of the literature and legislation is involved

With respect to the similarity of the working environment, both have:

- a) very structured hierarchies/chains of command with acceptance of these and obedience essential
- b) degrees of physical danger
- c) a heavily male workforce, changing fairly slowly.

The cultures, of both organisations, involving camaraderie and practices built up over a long period and related to their historical roles, including a and b, are inevitably slow to change.

With respect to the Burton Report's acceptance, the Human Rights Commission in a Press Statement on 31 March 2000 urged employers to take note of the recommendations contained in the report. Proceedings Commissioner Chris Lawrence called it a blueprint for employers to address gender equity within male-dominated work forces relevant to all human resource managers, not just the Defence Force. He argued that the Defence Force, like many other employers in traditionally male-dominated areas, had systemic problems in relation to gender integration. The New Zealand Defence Force fully accepted the report and its 121 recommendations. Within weeks of delivery, it produced a

video, Equity in the New Zealand Defence Force, which contained the forceful endorsement of the Burton Report by the then Chief of Defence Force, Lieutenant General Tony Birks. In brief summary, those recommendations are:

- a) Promoting the positive benefits of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) to all personnel:
- b) Promoting family-friendly policies and practices:
- c) Establishing goals for an anti-harassment policy:
- d) Strategic human resource management policy framework be established:
- e) Commanding officers and managers be held accountable for the elimination of discrimination and harassment in their units:
- f) Equal employment opportunity (EEO) program objectives be linked to broader strategic planning activity and to the overall mission:
- g) That there be an Equal Employment Opportunity Unit to develop a strategic, long-term planning process for the effective elimination of all forms of discrimination and harassment.

There are many other excellent resources available for policy making and education in the areas of diversity and equal opportunity. These include the EEO Trust publication **Making the Most of a Diverse Workforce: An Employer's Guide to EEO** or **Whakahaere huarahi whai hua mö ngä hunga mahi rerenga kē: he aratohu mö ngä kaituku mahi ki te Kaupapa Whakaōrite Whiwhinga Mahi**, (revised May 1999) and **A Guide for Employers on Human Rights Act and Equal Employment Opportunities**, New Zealand Employers' Federation & EEO Trust, (2nd Ed, April 1997).

Among important areas in the EEO Trust publication, mentioned below, are the meanings (and, where relevant, value and examples) of EEO, diversity, discrimination, positive action, family friendly workplaces, and appointment on merit.

EEO Definitions

“What EEO is and isn't: EEO (Equal Employment Opportunities) means eliminating barriers to ensure that all potential employees are considered for the employment of their choice, and that they have the chance to perform to their maximum.

EEO is:

- * fairness at work. EEO means a fair go for everyone who has a job or is trying to get one.
- * based on merit, so you get the best person for the job.
- * a cost-effective tool, to increase efficiency, productivity and competitiveness.
- * essential for active employee involvement. It's a requirement for the success of management plans such as total quality management.
- * a good way to plan for business. It sets clear objectives, and removes barriers to employment and top performance.
- * concerned with all aspects of employment, including recruiting, pay and other rewards, career development and work conditions.
- * a solution, not a problem. EEO is the workplace solution used internationally to deal with problems unfair discrimination causes.

EEO is not:

- * about quotas. There are no percentages set for you.
- * about tokenism. Putting a woman into a job just because she is a woman will benefit neither her nor you.
- * reverse discrimination. It does not replace one form of injustice with another, because it applies the merit principle and sound personnel practices to ensure fairness to all employees.
- * too good to be true, as you might expect from a system which benefits both employees and employers.
- * charity or a chronic attack of the warm fuzzies.” (p 7/8)

Diversity

“EEO (Equal Employment Opportunities) recognises that the increased diversity of the modern workforce has real advantages for employers and employees alike. (p 4)

Making the most of diversity involves changing the systems, structures and management practices which prevent people from reaching their full potential.” (p 5)

Discrimination

“Discrimination in employment occurs whenever factors or personal characteristics which aren't relevant to the job are used. Discrimination can be direct, eg. by refusing to hire people with disabilities. But indirect discrimination is more common. This occurs when people seem to be treated in the same way, but in fact are denied equal opportunity. Even where discrimination is unconscious, it still affects work performance. It makes sense that people who feel vulnerable or are discriminated against at work, won't give you the benefit of their full potential. EEO enables the whole range of your employees to deliver top performance.” (p 6)

Positive Action

“Positive action is not reverse discrimination. It is designed to overcome past discrimination and prevent it happening again, without creating new injustices. Examples of positive action strategies include encouraging particular group members to apply for jobs or training opportunities, providing network opportunities for groups and staff, mentoring programmes, career development designed for designated groups, and provision of childcare facilities or meeting family needs. A common positive action strategy is the use of a 'tie-breaker'. When you are deciding between two more-or-less equally qualified people for a job, promotion, training opportunity etc, you have to separate them in some way. You can use your EEO goals to assist and select the person who is a member of a designated group. This does not mean appointing a less qualified person. It means that if two applicants can both do the job, you link your choice to your organisation's goals for more diversity.” (p 26/7)

Family-friendly Workplaces

“Is your workplace organised to suit a traditional 'typical' worker who is male, employed full time, and has a care-giver at home who supports his career and looks after the children and elderly relatives? This picture of the New Zealand worker is out of date. Growing numbers of women continue to take up paid employment. The workforce has increasing numbers of employees with family responsibilities, and many of them want more involvement with children and other family members than in the past. More flexible work conditions include flexitime, a compressed work week eg. four 10 hour days, part-time work at all levels, term-time working - where a parent stops work during school holidays, job sharing, where two or more employees share a job, job splitting, where one job is split into two or more part time positions, flexible leave provisions, including career break schemes and domestic leave, flexible workplaces, eg. working from home or telecommuting, using fax, computers, modem, couriers to remain in touch. Many men want to see more of their children than they saw of their Dads. Many women want to combine family and paid work without compromising either. Smart employers will improve productivity, retention and morale by overcoming workplace barriers to a balanced life”. (p 19, 22/3)

Merit

“EEO employers base selection on merit, using clear and fair job criteria which are as objective as possible. An employer needing a certain standard of fitness had previously required minimum height and weight requirements. He identified this as a major barrier to recruiting women and discovered he could still get fit staff without excluding women by using more accurate methods of fitness assessment. He can now recruit from a wider pool of applicants and has improved his method of selection.” (p 21)

The last two of the areas mentioned above in extracts from the EEO Trust booklet, the family friendly workplace and selection on merit, are of critical importance and need further discussion.

Family friendly workplaces

The greater responsibility still accruing to mothers, on average, for raising their children, compared to fathers, means that juggling paid and unpaid work, career and home responsibilities, is still a major issue with respect to gender neutrality in employment practices. Increasingly, though, fathers as well rightly wish to take a major role in child rearing, as well as a minority having the prime responsibility. One parent households with one or more children, meaning sole mother households in about 90% of cases, have even more need of family friendly workplace practices if the parent is to be able to maintain a position in the paid workforce. The relatively poor record of New Zealand on supportive legislation, government policy, and workplace practices is among the reasons for the labour force participation rate of sole parents being among the lowest in Western countries. Thus supportive practices during pregnancy, parental leave, childcare and out of school care, leave for sickness of family members, easy provision of part time work and other flexibilities are critical in making it possible for women to combine paid work and family responsibilities, as well as having strong justification in terms of social and economic arguments.

It is now commonly accepted that family-friendly employment practices lead to a reduction in turnover and absenteeism, and that the provision by employers of child-care facilities or services reduces the length of maternity leave taken by women and increases their retention rate. The Burton report on the Defence Forces (p 43/4) cites several studies showing the positive effects of family-friendly policies, for example on recruitment, productivity and retention, including the case of Rank Xerox in New Zealand

It was clear from the focus group discussions in this study that the difficulties of combining police work and family life was the single greatest deterrent to women CIB officers seeking promotion or even remaining in the service.

Merit and human resource management

With respect to merit, two practices are common in many organisations. The first, now rightly obsolete, is to judge that 'one knows merit when one sees it'. The second, in reaction to complaints about the biases that can occur with this approach, is to use a much more sophisticated analysis of merit when selecting people for employment or promotion. This will often involve job and person specifications, applicants demonstrating in writing and/or interview their skills and experience relative to those specifications, and scoring by panel members and weighting systems to give overall scores based on the requirements. This is certainly a vast improvement on the first approach. However, there are dangers of going to the other extreme of rigidity, possibly partly caused by the opportunity for unsuccessful candidates to appeal. However, totally rigid scoring systems ignore the advantages of some flexibility, with attention to potential and the need

for diversity. Merit may be hard to capture totally with rigid systems, nor is it easy to make its definition and measurement totally objective.

There is a large body of literature discussing how recruitment can become biased in favour of people very similar to those already in place (Burton, 1988). Even merit systems are not immune from this. "How merit is interpreted depends on the assumptions, perceptions and values of people and organisations applying the principle of merit... Too often, judgements of merit are tied to historical and cultural factors which are out of step with the need for a more effective and efficient workplace. Too often education, skills, experience and the potential of women is overlooked, resulting in the under-utilisation of 50 per cent of the community - women" (Pratt, 1988).

Burton, Clare (1988) *Redefining Merit*, Affirmative Action Monography no 2, Commonwealth of Australia.

Pratt, Valerie (1988) 'Foreward' to Burton, Clare, *Redefining Merit*

"Validity is the crucial issue in personnel-related systems, tests and decisions. The more valid and job-related the test (or the assessment), the more efficient selection and placement will be. Reliability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for validity... In performance assessment, *inter-rater reliability* is a key issue - that is, the extent to which different raters arrive or would arrive at the same assessment of people's performance, whether by ranking against others in the pool (norm-referenced) and/or by rating each against a set of standards (criterion-referenced)". (Burton Defence Forces report, p 87/8)

The report (p 109/121) includes a lengthy and excellent discussion of validity and reliability issues in selection, testing, and performance review which is worthy of study. It is critical to validity that methods in each of these areas are closely correlated with and so predict as accurately as possible performance in the job. Burton discusses content, construct, and empirical validity. While designers of the current systems in the police may well be familiar with theory and practice in these areas, the doubts expressed about their workings in practice suggest that a one off and/or ongoing review of the procedures is necessary. In the Defence Forces study, concepts of potential, loyalty, leadership and integrity were interpreted very differently by different officers - this could well have parallels in police practice. Traits may also be differently described with negative consequences for women: for example, the familiar issue of the same behaviour being seen as forthright when displayed by males but aggressive when displayed by females.

Opportunities for advancement are often partly a function of organisational processes over which an employee may have little control. Among such processes which may disadvantage women, Burton lists some which appear particularly pertinent in the context of the New Zealand CIB (and probably police

in general): "Women are not benefiting from informal processes which are important for gaining organisational and/or occupational knowledge relevant to advancement; traditional ways of doing things, traditional conceptions of effective job performance and appropriate job holders, preclude from consideration new and possibly more effective way of performing in jobs by a range of different people; organisational rules, such as the requirement for geographic mobility, are applied without regard to the specific circumstances." Gender considerations in allocation of tasks, policies over call outs and positions suitable for FEO, and the method of handling serious crimes, such as expecting all those involved to have lengthy times away for home, are all areas where indirect discrimination against women can occur.

"Merit, then, is in part an outcome of organisational processes, of access to opportunities which develop it and which allow for its demonstration... A reassessment of organisational traditions, values and structural arrangements which disadvantage women, combined with a reassessment of the merit principle, are steps towards the promotion of women's employment opportunities" (Burton, 1988, p 9 and 11).

"Although, on the whole, senior male officers recognise the possibility of bias intruding into some of the career management mechanisms, this recognition is by no means as widespread as the sentiments regarding gender bias expressed by women.... Research shows that the more subjectivity and arbitrariness there are in HRM policies and practices, the more a traditional bias prevails, a bias 'for what has come before'. People are doing things with all sorts of good intentions and are using their common sense, but they often operate from a perspective which comes out of their history in the organisation, a history which does not necessarily reflect contemporary realities... This report, therefore, devotes space to some of the policies and practices which indirectly affect women but which do not necessarily deliberately or obviously affect women - the policies and practices which are, on the face of it, gender neutral, appear absolutely fair, apply to everybody equally, but disadvantage women - or people with family responsibilities. Then the question becomes: are those policies and practices reasonable under the circumstances? Can there be alterations to them such that women aren't unduly disadvantaged by them?" (Burton report, p 81) These questions appear as relevant to the Police in general and CIB in particular as they do the Defence Forces.

Gender and Sexual Harassment, and Workplace Harassment including Workplace Bullying (partly based on Burton report cb 53 and 56/7)

Gender harassment, which has varying degrees of seriousness, may well be more of a problem than sexual harassment, due to its greater prevalence and a lack of agreement over what is unacceptable. 'Low level' gender harassment (as defined by the Minister's Advisory Board on Women in the Canadian Forces), is,

in the view of some, the most serious obstacle to the effective gender-integration process in male-dominated work areas. It occurs where:

a social climate is created in which male peers or superiors feel free to make disparaging remarks and jokes *or otherwise indicate that women are not fully accepted as colleagues*. Women who experience this harassment feel isolated from the team by it. The solution involves knowledgeable, vigilant supervision and leadership. In units where low-level harassment is tolerated or ignored it will reduce the effectiveness of individuals and ultimately undermine cohesion (Minister's Advisory Board, 1992:34).

The report discusses "apparently trivial behaviours which many men do not view as harassment or offensive in any way (and many of which are not intended to offend) but which accumulate in many women's experiences on a daily or weekly basis". It refers to studies which show that these behaviours, which include jokes, sexual teasing and offensive sexual material are more commonly complained of than the more serious forms of sexual harassment. The typical victim is a younger, junior ranked woman and the harasser is likely to be a peer, slightly older, in the same workplace.

It needs to be emphasised that, from the point of view of a man behaving in these ways, such incidents may be seen as very trivial, not worth making a fuss about. Indeed, it may not be seen as harassment at all, but rather ways of complimenting women (Report, Attitudes towards unprofessional behaviour in the RNZN, 1992:10). But for the woman, one incident follows others, so that the trivial accumulates to be a common and irritating occurrence.

As Cuthbertson and Rosenfeld point out (1994:84), repeated exposure to the so-called milder forms of unwanted sexual behaviours can affect those subjected to them just as much as a single incident of more serious, unwanted sexual behaviour. However, there is a problem with different and inconsistent rules regarding what is un/acceptable behaviour. The 'grey area' is particularly so, given the different tolerance levels of boorish behaviour among women, and given, as well, the fact that many women are more tolerant of unacceptable behaviour from some older men who they feel have been brought up in a different era. Several women in the Burton study, and some in the current Police study spoke of their two tolerance levels in relation to men's unacceptable behaviour. They have a certain sympathy for the 'old guard and those that are old-fashioned and chivalrous', but 'won't put up with poor treatment from peers or younger males'.

On the matter of women's different tolerance levels overall, there are many women who distinguish verbal from physical behaviours and stated their tolerance of the former, but draw a line at certain behaviours which involve physical contact of an unacceptable kind. A range of contextual factors may affect a woman's perception of behaviour as harassment or not: for example

variables such as `age, place, the length of time the individuals concerned have known each other... influence judgments and perceptions as well as individual differences in attitudes... (Quinn, 1996:7). The research literature shows a consistent pattern of women being more inclined to categorise less explicit situations and gender harassment as harassment/offensive than are men (ibid).

In addition to specifically gender based harassment, the problem of more general workplace harassment has in recent years been increasingly recognised. Unacceptable behaviours of this type are often termed workplace bullying, and can affect both men and women. They can be perpetrated by superiors or peers and, more rarely, by subordinates. I was told that a number of Australian police jurisdictions have policies in place in this area, and that the New Zealand police plans to develop such a policy.

Cuthbertson, Amy L. and Rosenfeld, Paul, 1994, 'Assessment of Sexual Harassment in the Active-Duty Navy' *Military Psychology* 6/2, pp 69/93.

Quinn, K. Major, 1996, *Sexual Harassment in the Australian Defence Force*, Defence Centre, Canberra.

The points in this appendix are all important background to this report. Their placing in an appendix is to make the text more readable, but reference is made to various parts of the appendix at relevant points in the text.

Appendix Three: Legislative Framework, NZ Police/CIB Policies and Practices, and Case Law on Discrimination, EEO, Sexual Harassment etc.

1) Legislative Framework:

a) Discrimination: focussing on sex and family status

Unlawful discrimination occurs when a person is treated unfairly or less favourably than another person in the same or similar circumstances. The discrimination, direct or indirect, is unlawful if it is based on any of the prohibited grounds of discrimination set out in the Human Rights Act 1993, which include gender (or sex), ethnicity, marital and family status, sexual orientation, disability, and age - see Sections 21 and 65. Section 28(1) of the Employment Contracts Act 1991 also makes unlawful such discrimination, with employees having the choice of which piece of legislation and institutions to use to make a complaint of alleged discrimination. The forthcoming repeal of that Act and replacement by new employment relations legislation is certain to retain and probably strengthen these provisions, particularly in respect of sexual harassment, discussed below. The Police Act 1958, sections 87 and 88 are provisions which similarly make unlawful discrimination and unjustifiable disadvantage (subject to it not being unjustifiable if it is to ensure that an operational requirement is met). Similar exemptions, which have to be justified in the event of a complaint, apply in the Human Rights legislation.

Pregnancy and childbirth are prohibited grounds for discrimination, as well as family status, defined to include the presence or absence of responsibility for part-time or full-time care of children or other dependants. Exceptions are allowable with respect to employment matters if adjustments are required involving disruption to the activities of the employer, but such disruption must be unreasonable rather than requiring simply some adjustment by the employer. Preferential treatment of employers in relation to pregnancy, childbirth and family responsibilities is allowable under Section 74 of the Human Rights Act.

The Human Rights Amendment Act 1999 came into force on the 1st of October 1999. Among its provisions are continuation of the exemption from Human Rights Act compliance until 31 December 2001 for Acts, regulations and government policies relating to "new" grounds (age, sexual orientation etc). However, the Government has made a commitment to comply with the new grounds of the Human Rights Act 1993 from 1 January 2000 with respect to regulations, practices and policies, in almost all areas. In addition, the Police Act was amended so members' retirement may be deferred in accordance with the principles of the Human Rights Act.

b) Sexual Harassment

The Human Rights Act (1993) sets out the liability of the employer with respect to discrimination, including sexual harassment, in employment - and, by

implication, the responsibilities of superiors. Section 68 says in simplified terms that if an employee is the subject of a sexual harassment complaint taken to the Human Rights Commission, responsibility for that is either with the individual, or with their superiors, depending on the extent to which it can be demonstrated that the person subject to the complaint has been provided with policy statements and appropriate training and briefings; that mechanisms exist to ensure that policy directives have been implemented; and that the manager or superior person has taken steps to avoid such incidences before they occur rather than reacting to them when they do occur.

In A Guide for Employers on Dealing with Sexual Harassment published by the New Zealand Employers' Federation (1997), the employer's liability is described in the following way:

“Under the Human Rights Act... the employer is clearly responsible for the work environment and if this is intimidating, hostile or offensive, liability will accrue whether or not sexual harassment is condoned by management or the employer.”

The employer's defence rests on the extent to which s/he can show:

“that reasonably practicable steps have been taken to prevent sexual harassment (or any unlawful discrimination), or to deal with it if it occurs.” (1997:7).

In other words, it is the responsibility of managers to act before sexual and gender harassment complaints are likely to arise. Under the employer liability provisions of anti-discrimination provisions in the relevant pieces of legislation, a *preventative* stance is required. Through a range of means, a climate at the work place needs to be generated whereby the likelihood of sexual/gender harassment is minimised.

c) Equal Employment Opportunity/Good Employer Provisions

The State Sector Act, 1988, requires Chief Executives of Government Departments to operate personnel policies which comply with the principle of being a ‘good employer’. The requirements of this include development of an EEO programme aimed at identifying and eliminating any policies, procedures or other barriers that cause or perpetuate inequalities for any individuals or groups (to cover, at a minimum, the designated groups of women, Maori, Pacific Islanders, other ethnic minorities and people with disabilities). However, this Act applies only to non-sworn staff in the police. For sworn staff, an amendment to the Police Act in 1989 involving Section 7, requires the Commissioner to operate similarly with respect to a personnel policy that complies of the good employer, as far as possible. As noted in the Government publication from the State Services Commission, EEO to 2010, the Police and the Defence Forces have both now agreed to be included in State Sector initiatives and direction.

2. NZ Police/CIB Policies and Practices

a) NZ Police EEO Policy Statement

The New Zealand Police is committed to the principle of non-discrimination and believes in equal employment opportunity for all staff to achieve their potential regardless of gender, race, ethnic or national origins, colour, religious belief, marital status, family status, sexual orientation or disability. It is intended that by drawing from the diversity of New Zealand society, the New Zealand Police will become more representative of the community and develop better relationships with all members of our society.

Police strive to create and maintain a supportive and safe work environment that improves the representation of women, Maori people, Pacific Island people and ethnic minorities in management and will not tolerate discriminatory practices including all forms of harassment.

The EEO policy includes acceptance of and a commitment to fulfil the partnership and responsiveness obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi and to the development of effective relationships between Police and all ethnic minority groups.

b) EEO Policies, Practices and Training

Equal Employment Opportunities Policy Areas of Focus 1999/2000 (31 March 1999)

The New Zealand Police confirms its commitment to Equal Employment Opportunities as a long term, strategic response to addressing discrimination in the workplace and to building Police capability and performance based on a philosophy of continuous improvement.

National major areas of focus for 1999/ 2000 include:

The policy framework for the integration of EEO into all strategic management practices including:

The provision of non discriminatory practices and policies;

To more closely reflect the Police staff profile of EEO groups to reflect the community it serves, using the merit principle;

The effective management of a diverse workforce;

To ensure the monitoring and evaluation capability of collection, analysis and effectiveness of EEO strategies and progress.

Implementation strategies for the development of District capability including:

The management and reporting function with regard to discriminatory practices;

EEO training and review;

The development and support of EEO group networks including reporting lines with management;

The maintenance of reporting systems including the sexual harassment data base and audit/review processes.

This builds on District and National EEO strategies built up over time in consultation with EEO groups to ensure consistent and ongoing progress in EEO and continuing devolution of responsibility to districts. The requirements set out in the SSC document "EEO Policy to 2010" have also been drawn on: - those of leadership, organisational culture and strategic HRM, employment of EEO groups, and monitoring and evaluation. These have been developed in the police context as follows:

Leadership - to ensure Police managers at all levels understand, promote and demonstrate EEO Policy and practice

Organisational culture and strategic HRM - To contribute to the development of an organisational culture which actively promotes and demonstrates EEO Principles and practices

Employment of EEO groups - To develop and implement Police specific strategies for increasing the participation of EEO group representatives at all levels and specialist groups, while maintaining the merit principle. To include women, Maori, Pacific Island members, Ethnic minorities, and people with a disability (non sworn)

Monitoring and evaluation - To develop an evaluation methodology that demonstrates the long term EEO Progress being made. To include current profile of the Police and EEO Audit framework and a process for analysing EEO data.

A District EEO Template for 1999/2000 lists objectives, standards and key performance indicators.

An EEO study module designed for the course for new recruits to the NZ Police was published in 1998 by Police Studies Section Recruit Training Group of the RNZPC, Wellington. It is a good, if somewhat brief resource, up to date with

concepts and legislation to 1998, covering definitions of EEO, relevant legislation, generally and specific to the Police, target groups, the merit principle, diversity, and sexual harassment definitions, myths, and procedures. EEO is also covered in other courses, with a specific EEO Liaison Officer Course.

c) Sexual Harassment Policies and Training

A Sexual Harassment policy was ratified by the Police Executive in December 1996 and refined subsequently using the experiences of Sexual Harassment Coordinators and the EEO Unit. The policy document well covers the relevant legislation, criteria, roles and responsibilities of managers, supervisors, sexual harassment co-ordinators, contact officers, and mediators, and procedures in the case of a complaint, including documentation. Material supplied to an EEO Liaison Officer Course in March 1999 indicates that the policy has been written in a form for the Human Resources Manual and placement on the Intranet, but that this had not yet been achieved. As mentioned above, sexual harassment is briefly covered in the EEO unit of the basic recruit course, and more detailed discussion and case material is included in the Liaison Officer Course. The EEO office also undertakes annual sexual harassment Contact Officer training and sexual harassment Mediator training. It has held two national information sessions for District sexual harassment Coordinators. District Commanders are asked to ensure that those selected to attend the national training sessions are those considered the most approachable by all staff. A sexual harassment data base is maintained by the EEO Office, and for informal complaints confidentiality is guaranteed except where there is repeat offending or malicious complaints have been verified.

d) Flexible Employment Option and Other Family Friendly Policies

The Flexible Employment Option enables sworn officers to apply to work part time. Current policies and details are General Instruction C493 in Ten-One 89, 7 April 1995. The intention of the policy stated there is to "introduce greater flexibility to attract and retain skilled sworn staff by allowing greater variation of working hours" (subject to various conditions). Staff may apply for this option, indicating their preferences regarding hours/days/rosters to be worked (and/or acceptable options). The option is available for a maximum period of four years, reviewed annually, with possibility of extension under exceptional circumstances with a new application. Staff must work a minimum of 32 and maximum of 64 hours per rostered fortnight, with the primary way of working a lesser number of days per fortnight, although shorter working hours each shift may be approved. Most aspects of remuneration and conditions are pro-rata.

It applies to all units of the Police, "subject to departmental discretion". However, the policy states that "the position must fit with operational requirements; and the full responsibility of the positions shall still apply. The appointee must be able to comply with full rostering, court requirements and any

other demands of the position” and that “while it is intended that this policy will be generally available to all sworn positions, there are some functions where there are substantial reasons to maintain fulltime positions. An example where FEO is unlikely to be available is in a direct line supervisory position.” Authority to decide on an application is at district level, with supervisors indicating whether they are in support and making comments.

The WCC, in conjunction with Alison Gracey, has recently (November 1999) developed a Draft Discussion Document on FEO, containing suggested guidelines for applicants and managers. This is intended to assist with the promotion and use of FEO as good business practice, and the achievement of a more flexible work environment in the Police. It contains helpful clarifications of the policy and process of application/assessment and examples of some best practice applications/responses, but does not suggest any widening of scope or changes in policy. There were 83 Police staff on FEO in May 2000, with some others having been on FEO and returned to full time duties. The discussion document gives some examples of the position, role, and hours/days/weeks worked by such officers. Very few of the examples are from CIB, but a Detective and Detective Constables are mentioned in CIB (SAT), as well as a CIU, a CIS, and a Constable attached to CIB, two of them working 24 hours per week, of which one worked hours to suit and cover as needed, and the third 75%.

In addition to FEO, provisions exist for maternity leave, parental leave, child care leave, leave without pay and full time study leave in the NZ Police. It is possible to move directly from these forms of leave to the FEO option and for ex members of the sworn Police to return direct to FEO. Details of these forms of leave are beyond the scope of this report, but flexibility and improvements are clearly important to achieve a family friendly workplace conducive to retention of women officers. There is also a pregnancy policy (Ten One 117, 176 May 1996), which includes the commitment to providing work which does not place pregnant staff, their unborn child or work colleagues at risk. “The police recognise the need to provide pregnant members with support services for the duration of their pregnancy, such as sick leave, maternity leave and where required, the provision of ‘alternative duties’”.

In addition there is a Dependent Care Reimbursement policy, currently in draft form, referred to in the text, that applies for child care, where this is needed unexpectedly. It applies only for positions which do not normally require sudden callouts, and where roster changes are made without fourteen days notice, and there is a maximum of \$100 per officer in one year. It is partly intended to discourage managers from requiring officers to work at short notice in this way. This change of policy on allowances will not help with many CIB jobs since most have callouts as job requirements.

Royal New Zealand Police College Initiatives have included (where at all possible) providing assistance to staff attending promotional or senior courses at the college who have babies requiring feeding etc. with accommodation and meals for themselves, babies and in some cases other children, and the children's caregiver.

e) Selection Processes for CIB **The Canterbury Model**

In the past, there has been some regional and district variation in the methods of selection of sworn officers for CIB membership and training. The old form used is capable of introducing gender and family status bias. This form should by now have been phased out, but evidence from focus groups indicated that it was still in use in some areas and that equal opportunity for all was not yet a reality for entry to CIB across the country.

In July 1999, the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO wrote to the National Crime Manager, submitting a proposed Best Practice Model for CIB selection based on the process developed by the Canterbury District. This followed an April 1999 decision of the WCC to recommend that this be adopted nationally. This pilot involves processes to endeavour to ensure that the CIB selection process is fair and transparent for all applicants. In discussions between April and July, it had been agreed that the Canterbury selection process be prepared as a Best Practice model, and submitted for consideration to then Deputy Commissioner (since Acting Commissioner and now Commissioner) Rob Robinson and District Commanders. The National Crime Manager has been waiting for the conclusions of the present study before taking up this recommendation, if endorsed, along with others.

The proposed Best Practice selection process, the WCC suggests, should be used in respect of new entrants to the CIB in all districts. It involves dispensing with the old form NFB31. Periodically expressions of interest will be sought from members interested in a CIB career. A panel will convene annually, or more frequently if required, to consider applicants. Applicants will need to have submitted a curriculum vitae and any other information they wish considered (such as how they can demonstrate with examples where they meet the competencies, skills, attributes and experience required).

The Chair of the Panel will make a recommendation to the Officer in Charge, CIB, (DISTRICT) and all applicants will be advised the result in writing. This will include a priority listing and advice to applicants who are likely or unlikely to attend Induction Courses during the following year. Where a panel convenes to consider new applicants and there are applicants from the previous selection process who are still waiting to attend an Induction Course or who have not

commenced a CIB trial, these members will go back into the pool to be considered by the Selection Panel.

POSITION: CONSTABLE ON TRIAL

PERSON SPECIFICATION: SKILLS, ATTRIBUTES AND EXPERIENCE REQUIRED

Demonstrated ability to plan and investigate a range of incidents and crimes.

Demonstrated written and oral skills and the ability to present evidence correctly and effectively.

Displays appropriate personal management skills, is self motivated with the ability to work unsupervised and as part of a team.

Demonstrates an ability to obtain and use intelligence and intelligence systems effectively, including the cultivation and management of informants.

Demonstrates an ability to communicate and deal with victims and witnesses effectively.

Knowledge of and a commitment to the strategic direction of policing, the principles of EEO and OSH.

Knowledge of law, practise and policy regarding criminal investigations.

Demonstrates an ability to be innovative, use problem-solving skills and identify policing problems.

QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED

Permanent appointment

FOR SELECTION PURPOSES, EACH OF THE ABOVE REQUIREMENTS WILL BE CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE FOLLOWING:

Potential to perform well in the position, given a reasonable period of time for familiarisation and (or) training.

Personal attributes, qualification and/or temperament relevant to the position.

General health which will allow for the performance of all duties and functions of the position (A current PCT is an indicator of general health).

Completed five investigative skills modules.

3) Case Law: The Merritt case - the importance of organisational culture and management response

The Merritt case - it was found that this officer had not been constructively dismissed. Judge Colgan considered that the Police Department had a proper intolerance of sexist and other abusive language and conduct between officers, but the response in practice to Mrs Merritt's formal complaints about these matters in 1992/3 was "less than satisfactory by modern personnel management standards. That is one part of a broader, and in my view justified, complaint made by Mrs Merritt that the Police Department, whilst encouraging mature women to either enlist or re-enlist as constables, failed to appreciate the difficulties encountered by such as Mrs Merritt, and especially those in the CIB, in an employment culture in which young males predominated and also in which males of the same age had attained seniority in rank. The evidence tends to show that in the particularly male preserve of the CIB, these effects were even more pronounced and were, for Mrs Merritt, whilst posted in the Auckland Police District, intolerable. Although the evidence in this case does not avail Mrs Merritt in her claim to have been constructively dismissed, it nevertheless presents an unsatisfactory picture of an organisation culture that, whilst admirably encouraging the recruitment of mature police officers (and mature women in particular), failed to support Mrs Merritt in overcoming the difficulties faced by her in the organisation and which she made known to senior officers. I am aware that the present Commissioner is conscious of and takes seriously such issues and, if Mrs Merritt's experience in the CIB is not unique, as I suspect it may not be, will doubtless wish to address these issues if they remain, as also I suspect they may." Judgment of Colgan J 16.3.1998 AEC16/98 A40/97.

The legislative and policy framework outlined in this Appendix, reinforced by legal interpretations, should provide sufficient underpinning for adequate practices and implementation. However, laws and words in policies are not enough on their own. There has to be commitment, practices, training, and monitoring, to ensure that they are carried out in reality. The evidence presented in the report shows that there are deficiencies in some of these areas which the recommendations are designed to help eradicate.

Appendix Four: Previous Research on Issues for Women in the NZ Police/CIB and Selected Relevant Overseas Research

1) The Cox Report 1997/8

Superintendent Ted Cox, then O/C CIB Support, conducted a survey in 1997/8 of women's experiences within CIB, interviewing individually or in groups 38 randomly selected women officers who had been in CIB (32 current, of whom 11 had children, and 6 ex-CIB, 3 with children). In addition he interviewed 31 police women outside CIB, and a few groups. The research, like the current study, was a result of Women's Consultative Committee concerns over the under-representation of women in the CIB compared with General Duties, stated to be 9.3% as compared with 14.6%.

Some concerns were expressed to me and during that research over the lack of specific Terms of Reference, and the validity of the approach taken in that study. Questions are almost inevitable about the accuracy and completeness of the responses generated when junior female staff are being asked to state their opinions and concerns to the top male officer of the CIB. Also, while notes were made of the interviews at the time, they were not taped, and hence it is hard for the recorder/interviewer fully to reflect and do justice to the views of such a large number of participants.

Superintendent Cox was well aware of these issues: "There will be some who claim my rank, position or gender caused a bias in the answers, however I believe the potential bias to be minimal because of the range of issues raised by those approached, who generally were keen to assist and provide frank comments (again - my opinion)" (Cox, p 3-4). The intentions of the previous study were entirely worthy. However, the literature and belief in the need for outside independent research together with careful procedures to establish confidentiality and trust (see Appendix 1) inevitably reduced confidence in the full validity of the report and conclusions. Superintendent Cox himself stated that "Some of the issues raised require further work, and it is anticipated that this paper should provide a platform for further development work" (Cox, p 2). His conclusions also include the need for further study of gender issues in the New Zealand Police generally. As a result of all these considerations, the research has not been made generally available, but I quote relevant aspects in the text.

The material above, together with some specific issues raised by women officers to the Strategic Advisor, Human Resources: EEO, and matters discussed at the Women's Consultative Committee, explains the background to the commissioning of this study and its terms of reference, detailed in Appendix One. Current National Crime Manager, Detective Superintendent Bill Bishop, who was appointed to this position as head of CIB when Superintendent Cox became District Manager, Counties-Manakau, was in agreement that independent outside research on barriers to women in CIB should be

commissioned. Like the overall Police leadership and his predecessor, he is committed to equal employment opportunity and gender equity/integration.

Despite the need for this independent research, it is important to state that most of the issues raised by focus group participants in the current study are also mentioned by Superintendent Cox. The analysis of the issues is more detailed and the interpretations in some cases different in the current study, but the emergence of similar issues adds confidence to the results of both studies. The policy recommendations of the Cox report covered the need for a more standardised transparent selection process for CIB, possibly based on the Christchurch model, for reinforcement of the FEO policy for wider use within CIB, for increased priority for EEO training, for guidelines for the impacts of maternity/parental leave on CIB training time, and for wider promulgation of the ruling on pregnancy and sick/annual leave.

The first three of these recommendations are repeated with more background and detail here, while all should come under the scrutiny of the suggested working party on issues related to making the workplace more family friendly. Its other two recommendations are on the need for further study of gender issues, already mentioned, and on the need for further scrutiny of gender data, including gender statistics by district and branch. The call for better data, on this and other issues, is repeated here. The number of recommendations in the current report is of course greater, covering a more comprehensive range of areas.

There are three main areas where the current report clearly differs from that of Superintendent Cox. With respect to the possibility of partly different roles for men and women within CIB, he states that “Many of the group stated that they were not very comfortable dealing with offenders, and preferred dealing with victims or children. A considerable number had gravitated towards roles in Intelligence, Child Abuse Teams, and other areas working alongside CIB, but where there was no requirement to deal with offenders. Many of the women in these roles commented that they felt more comfortable in the nurturing role and they saw a clear differentiation between the roles of men and women” (p 12). Superintendent Cox clarified to me that this means that 50/70% of those were in the areas mentioned, and 25/50% of these had expressed the views regarding nurturing and role differentiation: hence somewhere between 13 and 35% of the total sample expressed such views. Certainly disproportionate numbers of women still work in these areas, probably from a combination of choice, socialisation, fitting in with family roles and in some cases FEO possibilities while raising their own family. However, in my own study, overwhelmingly, women officers believed that they could and should be able to fill every role in the police and CIB.

With no figures for the proportion of all women CIB officers in the roles mentioned, it is impossible to know how representative Superintendent Cox's sample and these views were at that time. It should be noted that "a considerable number of the women interviewed felt they were still pushed towards women victims", something also observed in the current study, but according to Superintendent Cox, "many still felt that women tended to self-select for those areas involving women (and children) and as a result disadvantaged themselves in terms of broader experience." However, "a considerable number of the women interviewed reported that they had the full range of activities available to them" (p 15).

There are complex and circular inter-relationships at work in terms of socialisation of women towards nurturing roles, expectations by women themselves and by male supervisors on these lines which lead to greater assigning of female CIB officers to O/C victim as against O/C offender or O/C scene, and hence greater familiarity with and comfort in such roles by some women officers. It is thus almost certainly still the case (statistics are lacking: see recommendations) that women are over represented in SAT teams and related roles.

However, in the current study, there was a consensus that in training and beyond, women wished to and considered they should be able to take on any position in CIB and police generally (including the Armed Offenders and Dog Handling Squads which are still almost entirely male preserves). Almost all those contributing to the focus groups at an early stage in their careers were determined to take on all roles on an equal basis with their male colleagues during the training period. Similarly, almost all women officers felt that policies and practices should give such equal opportunity to all. Some had been denied this during their own training periods, while a few talked of confronting their supervisors when this was apparent.

A second area where there is a difference in emphasis between the two reports is related to the origins of the feeling that women have to be better achievers than their male colleagues. In the Cox report reference is made to the existence among a group of members with five or more years of service of "self imposed higher expectations in terms such as '*you have to do more to be seen to be as good as your male colleagues*'. Such a feeling was present also in the current study, but whereas the Cox report CIB group is said to attribute this to "an internal belief rather than something imposed from outside", discussion in our focus groups revealed far more complexity.

The idea of 'internal belief' was still present, but it was discussed in terms of greater scrutiny of the female minority, with any mistake noticed, when a similar one by a male might be brushed over. Some women officers believed that such mistakes were often attributed to one being a woman, and remembered for a

long time. Thus, there was a determination to perform well both from pride in the job and oneself, but also because one already stood out as a woman and any failure in performance was particularly noted. It is worth pointing out too, that some focus group members and also some senior officers interviewed believe that with the low proportion of women and the need for tenacity to operate in the male dominated CIB setting, the average standard of women entrants officers was higher than that of the men.

The third area of difference of emphasis concerns what counts as a gender issue. Superintendent Cox states that in interviews with CIB women officers “it was common for issues to be raised as gender issues, but when probed further there was a realisation *that gender was not really the issue*. (my italics). It was often a function of experience, or the issue raised affected males in the same way” (p 17). In the current study, too, many of the matters which concerned both male and female officers about their own experience and about CIB work practices and organisation were general and some were totally gender neutral. But others were not. The notion of indirect discrimination is relevant here, with the possibility of policies, practices or changes which adversely affect women or those with family responsibilities, still usually women, more than men. Thus gender may be *part of* the issue. For example if something (like failing to get promotion) was *really a function of experience*, and some women officers had been denied access to a similar breadth of experience as their male colleagues, this becomes a gender issue. Similarly, if restructuring and tight resources has made staffing flexibility and use of fractional appointments more difficult (or managers think this, rightly or wrongly), then part time and FEO positions may be squeezed in a manner indirectly discriminatory against those likely to take it, more frequently women as family primary carers.

2) Encouraging Women to Pursue a Long Term Career in the New Zealand Police - research by Det Sgt Dale Candy (later DSS Candy), written up by Alysha Buckley, May 1998.

This research, undertaken in 1994/5, comprised a survey of the career aspirations of those joining the police, which showed little differentiation by gender concerning intended length of service despite the reality that women do serve for a shorter time. It states that the average age on leaving the service was 9 years lower for women, while average length of service is over double for men. An earlier study by Detective Constable Alec Waugh in which 56% of women gave the conflict of family responsibilities and police work as their main reason for leaving, possibly accounting for the difference between expectation and reality.

The quotes and conclusions indicated a lack of feedback and encouragement for women, a male dominated culture, competency models which can be manipulated to reinforce this, a perception of many instances of gender

discrimination, and an organisation unwilling to adapt to social change. FEO did not appear to meet the needs of many women with children.

Recommendations included more indepth research, the need for career planning and mentoring, for family friendly policies to be investigated to assist with the retention of women, including a review of FEO, and for changes in management and organisational culture.

3) Selected Overseas Research

a) Contrasts in Policing; Lessons from International Comparisons: Jennifer Brown and Frances Heidensohn (UK), 1999. This paper argues that aspects of police occupational culture create a hostile work environment for women who experience sexual harassment and sex discrimination. It also shows from international comparative data that discriminatory and harassing behaviour towards policewomen is universal, but that different policing systems result in different levels of reporting.

b) Deployment of Women in Policing: Nadia Boni, National Police Research Unit (UK) 1998. This paper discusses a range of barriers to gender integration, covering a very similar range to those in the current study, and outlining earlier work. Relevant comments include: "Various authors acknowledge that the primary obstacle for women in policing is the attitude of male officers. ... while policewomen favour a fully integrated role, policemen still believe that policewomen should have a restricted role"(p 9), with 'physical inferiority' still seen as a barrier. "Irrespective of the reasons for differential deployment, restricting women from full integration carries significant consequences at both an individual and organisational level. At an individual level, these consequences include diminished opportunities for career advancement, the perpetuation of sex-role stereotypes, and the preclusion of both policewomen and policemen from certain roles. This in turn impacts on the organisation by, for example, lowering levels of employee satisfaction and performance, and increasing turnover" (p 23).

c) The Future of Women in Policing: Mandates for Action: National Center for Women in Policing, USA, reported in The Police Chief, March 1999 This study of 100 of the largest law enforcement agencies in the US showed an increase from 2% to 12% in the proportion of women police officers between 1972 and 1997. However, a telephone survey of 800 senior officers, 94% of whom were chiefs of police, found that female officers still faced bias from male officers, gender discrimination, and a 'glass ceiling', while sexual harassment still occurred in many departments and mentoring opportunities were scarce. Similar strategies for improvement to those discussed here were recommended.

d) Policing Sexual Assault, Jeanne Gregory and Sue Lees: ch 2 - Police Culture and its Contradictions, (pp 24/55) (UK) Routledge, 1999 This is a comprehensive discussion of UK police culture, which appears to display, in somewhat more extreme form, the same range of barriers to women discussed in the current report. The chapter also discusses a number of cases taken by

women officers which show a prevalence and tolerance of mild to severe sexual harassment and other discrimination against them. The authors argue that progress towards equal opportunities is “painfully slow” with police officers “extremely resistant to measures to achieve radical change” and they found “resistance to allowing women to be employed on the same terms as men deeply rooted in the structure and culture of the force” (p 25). The force was 14% female, concentrated in the lower grades and in specialist areas.

Widespread disillusionment was found among women officers because of the “numerous obstacles to career progression they encountered” with a consequent lack of desire to climb the promotional ladder (p 30). A shortage of role models, the need to prove themselves repeatedly, a lack of sufficient part time work, many women struggling on in silence, male backlash, and a need to ensure several women in a group to avoid isolation all have parallels in this study. The lesson that “proposed solutions do not go far enough” because “they do not enquire deeply enough into the underlying causes of the problems identified” (p 31) is also a telling one in the New Zealand context.

Analysis shows staff increases since 1992 has resulted in an overall decline in the average length of service (as expected). Loss of experienced staff from attrition also contributes to a decline in average service. Gender difference in service are also noted. **Figure 2.10 : Service Sworn Females 1990 – 1997** shows the female service distribution.

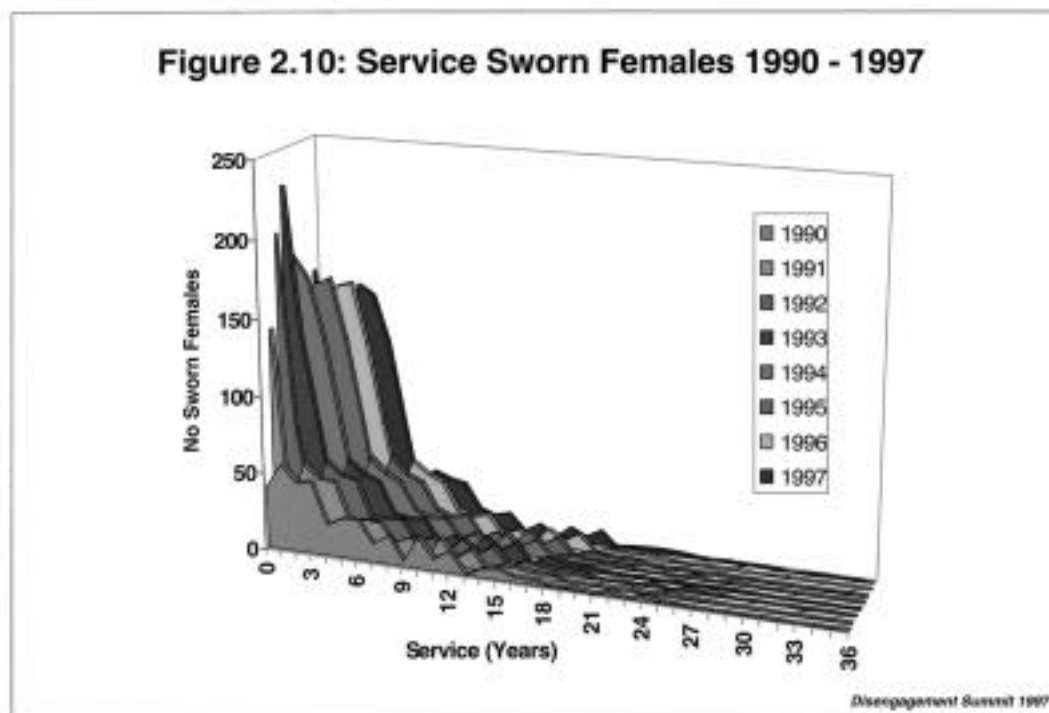
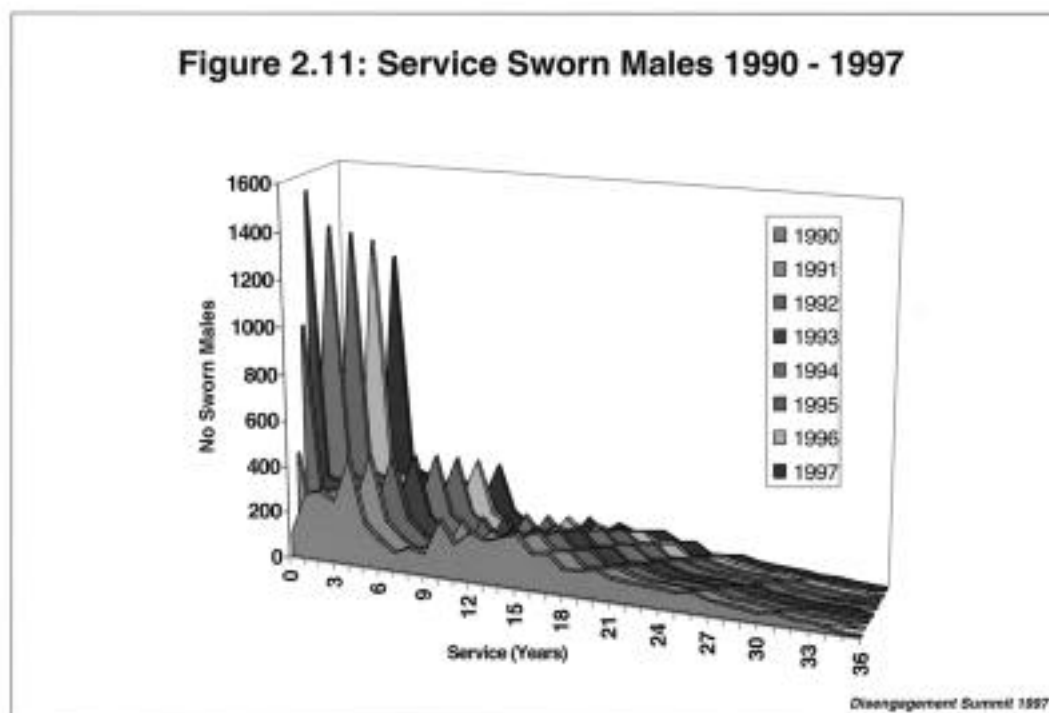
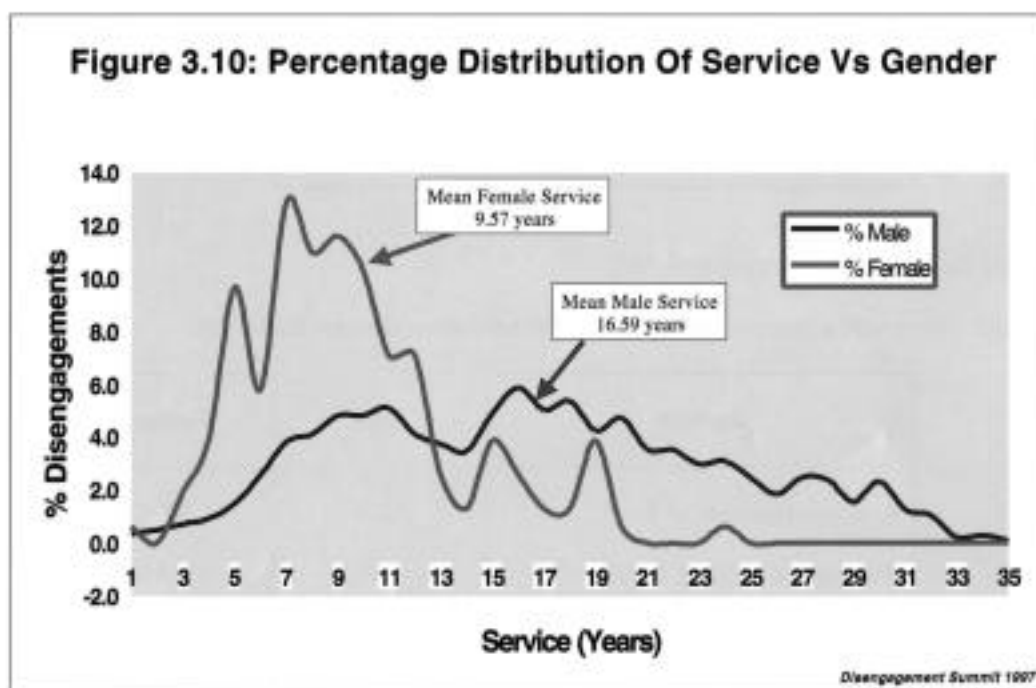


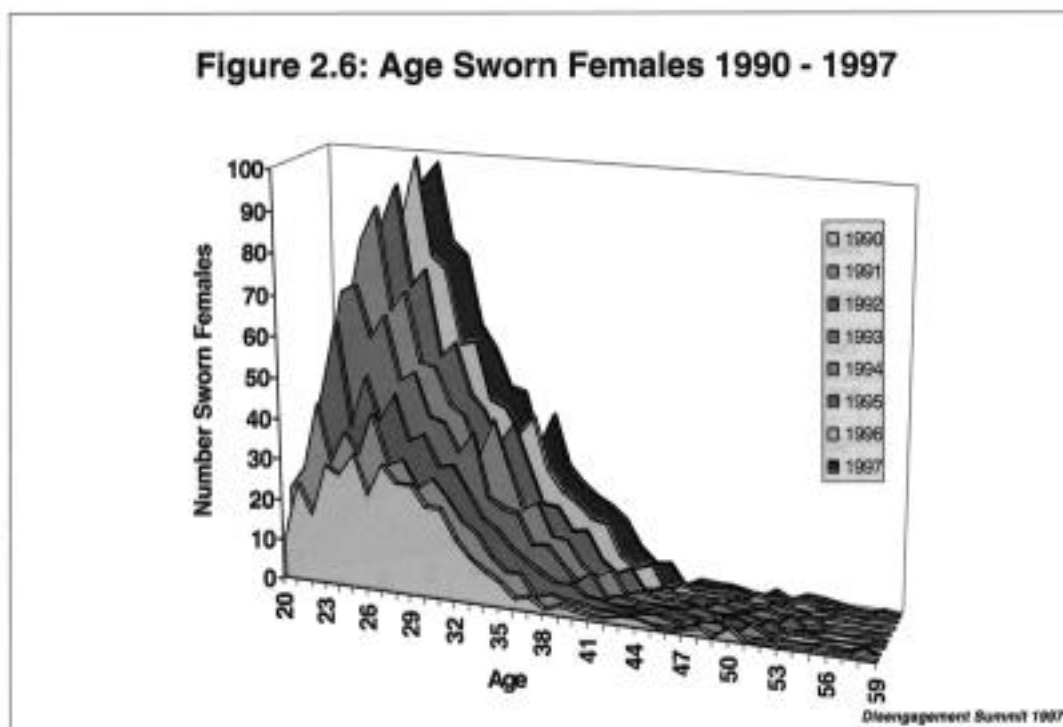
Figure 2.11 : Service Sworn Males 1990 – 1997 presents the service distribution for sworn males.



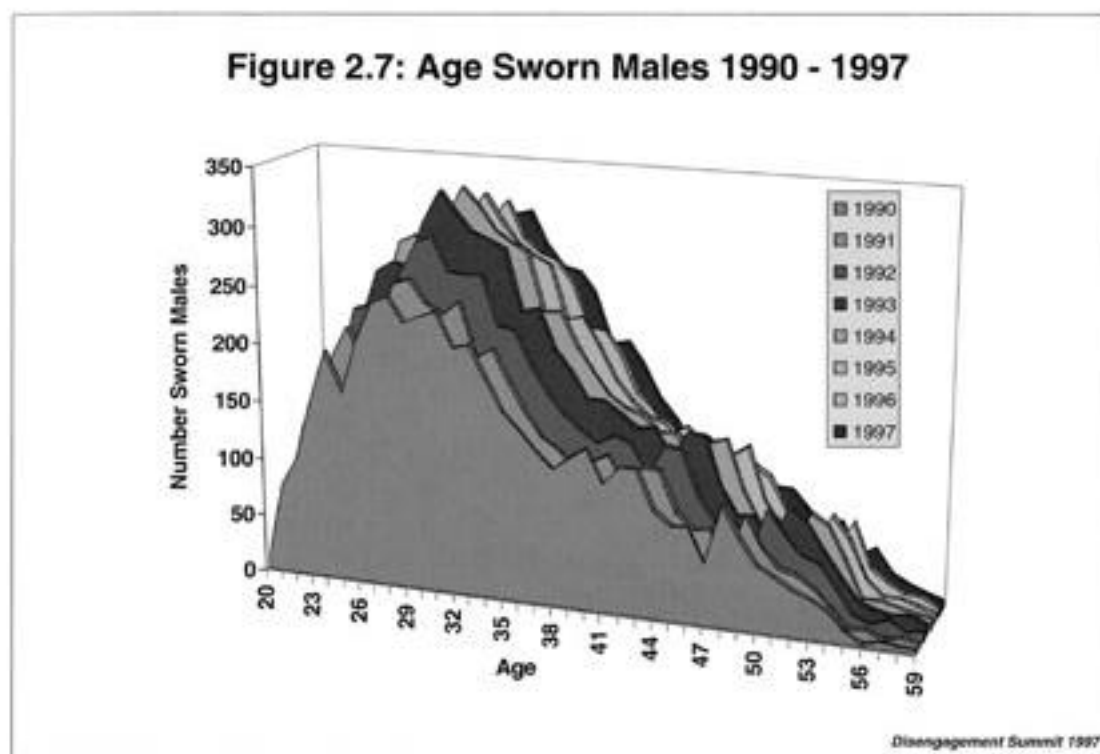
A similar comparative distribution for length of service is shown in **Figure 3.10 Percentage Distribution Of Service Vs Gender**. These differences are further discussed in 3.10 below.



A final measure is gender differences in the age distribution, as is presented in **Figure 2.6: Age of Sworn Females 1990 – 1997**.



This Figure illustrates the increase in numbers of sworn females and their low representation in the higher age range (with a concentration in the high 20s as their average age of 30.32 years suggests). Sworn males show a different distribution as presented in **Figure 2.7: Age of Sworn Males 1990 – 1997**.



The average age of sworn males is 35.91 years is reflected in a greater age spread.

The results show no difference in gender representation in disengagements compared to the Police population. However there are differences in age and length of service. An age comparison is presented in **Figure 3.9 % Distribution Of Age Vs Gender**.

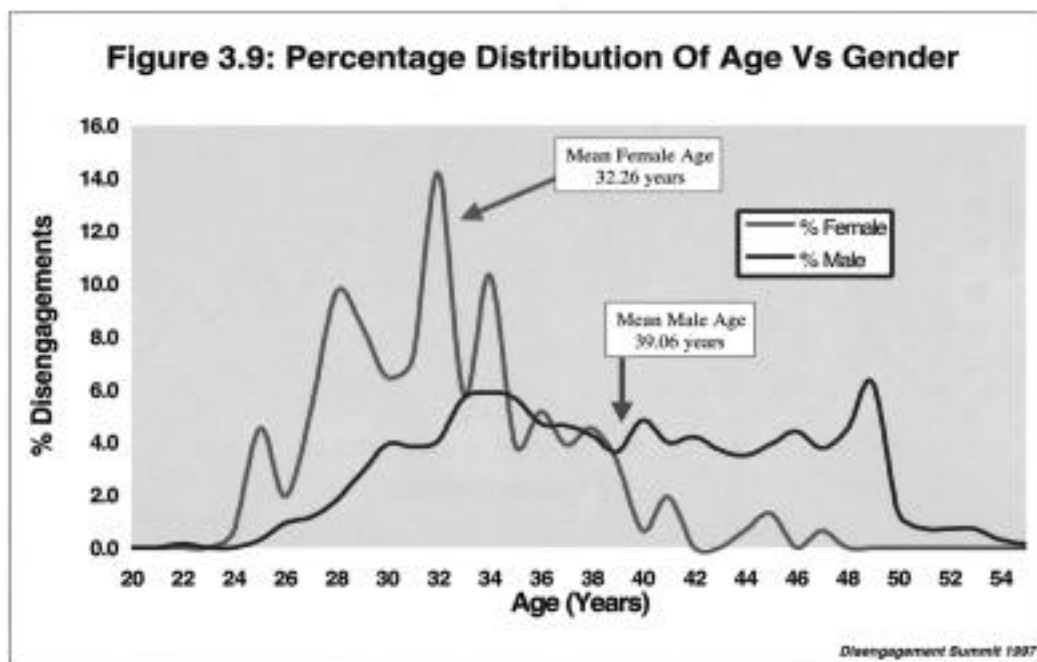
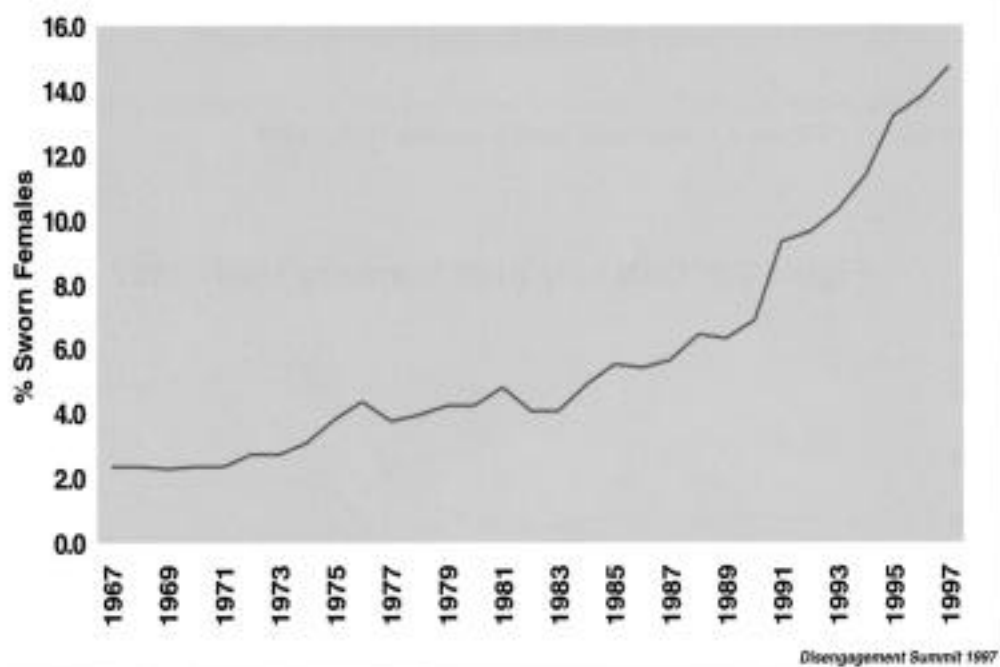


Figure 2.2: % Sworn Women Staff 1967 - 1997

This figure shows an increasing representation of women in sworn positions from 6.9% in 1990 to 14.7% in 1997. It is suggested that active recruitment policies implemented since 1987 to address gender imbalances are having an impact on the sworn employment of women, but it is evident that at 14.7% there is considerable room to improve the ratio of women to attain a more representative expression of gender balance. Consideration of other gender differences will be discussed in the following sub sections that address features of age and service.

2.4: Distribution by Age of Sworn Staff:

The changes in sworn demography over the period 1990–1997 reflect an increase in staff numbers, changed recruiting policies with Term Engagement from 1992, and the merger with the TSS. A countervailing influence is the effect of attrition which is held to involve older more experienced staff which should result in a net reduction in the average age of sworn staff. Examining the changes in the age distribution of sworn staff it is immediately apparent that there has been an increase in the average age of sworn staff over the period (for both female and male staff). **Table 2.1: Average Sworn Age by Gender 1990 – 1997** shows a steady increment as follows -

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Mean Age Female	27.90	27.53	27.76	27.95	28.36	28.95	29.67	30.32
Mean Age Male	34.03	33.94	34.59	34.98	35.31	35.75	36.04	35.91
Total Mean Age	33.59	33.38	33.94	34.24	34.50	34.88	35.15	35.08

The changes following 1992 are noteworthy, as shown in **Figure 2.2: Mean Sworn Age by Gender 1990 – 1997**.

2.5: Distribution by Service of Sworn Staff³:

Length of service statistics mirror age, since retirement and recruitment rules also truncate this measure. While the foregoing identifies an increase in the average age of staff; there has been a large increase in new staff (including the TSS merger) that has resulted in a decrease in the average length of sworn service. **Table 2.2: Average Sworn Service by Gender 1990 – 1997** shows a decline in average length of service as follows -

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Mean Female Service (Years)	5.17	4.57	4.17	3.80	3.86	4.11	4.47	4.71
Mean Male Service (Years)	11.78	1.54	10.51	9.53	9.58	9.89	9.99	9.76
Total Mean Service (Years)	11.30	10.94	9.91	8.93	8.91	9.15	9.23	9.02

**Appendix Six: Supplementary Material/Discussion on
(A) Recruitment Issues (B) The Flexible Employment Option**

This appendix presents some additional material from interviews and focus groups on the two areas above. It is in an appendix because the discussions were too long for the text, and it was decided to include it because the discussions bring out some particularly important points and difficult issues in each area, referred to more briefly in the text. In each case a discussion between two Detective Inspectors and the researcher is supplemented by related material from other interviews and focus groups.

(A) Recruitment Issues

Discussion between the two Detective Inspectors

"If you had a female member relieving a Sergeant in CIB who came and said 'well I'm keen to relieve in CIB but I can't be available for call outs', that would be untenable, I think. If a male lined up on the same basis you will get the same response from me.

When people join the CIB we expect them to realistically assess their ability to carry out CIB work. The position descriptions and specifications show what a detective does and what skills a detective is expected to have and develop, and so there has to be some personal honesty as to whether you can do that in a far more difficult environment generally than what you would have worked previously. The first decision maker is yourself, and not being shoulder tapped. I think that is really important, and we do strike members both male and female who haven't really thought it through and maybe had unrealistic expectations about the CIB. When people are training they need to be rotated across the CIB as much as possible to prepare them for the Detective Qualifying Course at the end of their two and a half years where they are going to be competing with other members from round the country. They are expected to have a broad range of skills and experiences. You can't just tick I want to work on the Child Abuse Unit. I try and accommodate what people want to do, but at the end of the day you can't always have what you want in your career.

When you're looking to bring somebody on and use enormous amount of time and resources and training, you must get some understanding as to what the person's potential to the organisation is. That's where you have got to work through these issues. There is a lot of time that goes into developing a Detective and I'm talking about males too who may want to join the CIB for cv reasons. It's not a gender thing, but about investing in a person, training them, and getting the best the organisation can get out of them.

In general terms without being a challenge 'well you, as a women, are you going to have children?', probably with both males and females you actually talk about their personal circumstances and it may arise indirectly by the woman saying 'well, we don't intend to have children for a few years'. It invites them, but you equally ask males whether they have their health in order, whether they've discussed this with their partner. Sometimes it's a horror story these days with blended families where you find that they have got one child and another relationship, and they will volunteer that the current partner is pregnant. You have to take all that into discussion because at the end of the day it's going to be down to them. I think that one of the important things that we need to do is to have them realistically front the issue, what's going to be involved in CIB training. We are getting people now with far more complex lives and I think one of the biggest pressures on young police officers these days is financial.

I had a situation with an applicant for the CIB, and I learned she was pregnant. I made the mistake of saying to her 'oh, is that something that the selection panel will be aware of?' Well, within about half an hour I had her husband in my office saying 'how dare I' and I actually think that's an integrity thing. If you employ a person in a and then find out having made that appointment that you're not going to have that person for 6, 9, or 12 months - I'm sorry but that's an integrity issue. I think they are entitled to know that. If they want to make a decision based on that information, that's fine, but they should know it. But there's a few saying 'no, they are not entitled to know that' or 'if I want to join the CIB, no you're not entitled to know what my future plans are'. It's not a gender thing but it's being open and honest with your employer, saying 'this is me - I want to do this - you need to know a, b and c'.

I totally agree it's an integrity issue and I think that goes right across the organisation that you know you have a responsibility to be up front and honest. The process has got to be clear and transparent and integrity on both sides."

Relevant material from other interviews/focus groups

The idea that it is appropriate to ask about intentions with respect to having children is certainly not accepted by all staff.

I was asked about a month ago 'are you intending to have children?' and I thought 'what has that got to do with you?' and that is what I said. (Woman Detective/Constable)

Another important area is the need for women staff in certain circumstances and hence the idea that one should be able to advertise in that manner.

I'd like to think that we could advertise if we wanted a woman in the CIB - I believe that all squads should have at least one woman on them because if you're going out to do search warrants, there's always going to be a woman

there that needs searching and a bloke can't do it. And she'll have a load of other skills. XX wanted a woman for those reasons, but we had to advertise and got a number of males and one woman. The woman was close to the top but not top, so we had to jig the figures to get her on the team and I see that as wrong. If the CIB office has got a very low percentage of woman and we want to raise it, why shouldn't we be able to advertise for them? I always had that problem on surveillance as well, where I firmly believe there should be one if not two women per team. They have to have the skills, but I think there should be two on a surveillance team so that they can go places and do things that blokes can't. (Detective Inspector)

Discussion

The material above raises some important issues. Human Rights legislation precludes discrimination in employment on several grounds, including family status, to include pregnancy. However, the legislation has exemptions, defined in such a way as to ensure that they can only be used in genuine and narrow ranges of circumstances, when the nature of the job requires them. It is argued by the Detective Inspectors above that CIB work has particular features where it is legitimate to ask about family circumstances, and integrity demands that applicants reveal them. This is a difficult issue which needs airing. It is certainly possible that women can be disadvantaged more than men by this approach.

Another issue above is that of the possibility of advertising specifically for a woman detective when it is considered that one is needed on each squad, or for surveillance etc. Advertising on a gender basis is of course not in general acceptable under human rights legislation, but there are some exemptions allowed in carefully prescribed situations. Here, the case appears to be well made. Further, I am told that it already occurs. One woman in a focus group said that a nomination had been called for in her area recently for a SAT squad member, specifically asking for a woman.

I have been informed that this matter was raised in 1997 in the context of the need for women police officers at rural stations, and a report on the matter included the following: "Considering a person's suitability may involve consideration of external factors such as the appropriate balance of people employed in the work place... In order for the Commissioner to efficiently carry out the functions of the Police (Police Act 1958, section 5(2)) it may be necessary to designate particular positions, where the need is demonstrable, for female police. Such appointments are exempted from discriminatory practices by Section 27 of the Human Rights Act 1993". This matter is taken up in the recommendations.

(B) The Flexible Employment Option

Discussion between the two Detective Inspectors

"I think the FEO arrangement is easier to deal with when you're dealing with an applicant who is at Constable or Detective level - the pool is greater. It will be interesting when we get applications for FEO from women or men who are DS or above. I don't know how we would actually cope with that. It will be very difficult because we don't have the pool of NCOs. We've got positions where we're going to have half a DSS, working half time, part time, split time. That could present a bit of a dilemma. Ten or twenty years ago we had a pool, not exactly spares but relieving NCOs. We don't have those any more, we have one person for each role.

I have one woman DS on FEO - just had her second child and committed to CIB work. I've actually done a little bit of sleight of hand. She's in the Criminal Intelligence area - I would expect that she would be doing her level best to stay in CIB type work. She said it's been good because she's had a partner who's been able to accommodate contingencies outside of those particular hours. The hardest part is the two careers, and, as I say, that's not a gender issue, but requires tremendous juggling.

What I try to do is to reach an accommodation for the person. I think we've got to get away from the blanket approach. I've done this on a number of occasions now - try and find an area that best suits a return to work at the time that they want to. They are coming back to work earlier and they might not necessarily be working in an area they want to end up in, but it gives them a bit more flexibility with childcare and things like that, and it's a win win. I've done it with analysts and areas like that and ultimately, I think particularly with the women with skills that you have got to keep fresh like analysts, it works.

There are two issues here: one is that the odd person is unrealistic, whether it be male or female, and you get a shop steward's approach to it, rather than 'look, we can sit down and talk it through'. I try and avoid it but I found from experience that if you're trying to reach some sort of compromise, the person involved can actually completely misinterpret or misunderstand or take something literally where you were suggesting alternatives. Perhaps that's brought about by stress later on - that they have a convenient memory of what actually occurred. I have got my fingers burnt in that area which has made me a little bit gun shy. It is something that does need more record keeping than I would usually do and have 2 or 3 people involved in it so that there's a clear understanding. 'This is what we can do' so that discussion may need to be slightly more formalised process where you're talking about the immediate future and the long term future and realistic expectations of career paths and the work as well.

I think going back to accommodation of FEO, we're in a transition stage. I think what the organisation is going to is a much flatter structure where you identify a position and the person in the position, and we don't have the pool. Realistically,

my view is that if you're selecting certainly DSSs and DSs whose roles are going to change because DI roles have changed, and now you'll find probably that homicides are going to be run by DSSs in the main so second in charge of the enquiry will be a DS. I don't know that the organisation can really afford to be appointing people who can't front up and do the jobs. That's got to be the reality if we don't have the fat to say we've got a reserve. When the phone goes you're really expected to be available to come out in the middle of the night and do the job. The reality is that at a homicide enquiry you can't have two people at the scene with the responsibility split.

This is the reality of the police. Generalist policing doesn't lend itself to the same accommodations as separate career paths in particular areas of work. It would be so much easier with technical positions that are in the areas that you can plan your day. For the groups on call, you never know what the emergency will be. It is very very difficult even for males often to be able to juggle their responsibilities to family and to other obligations that they have, so it's not the gender thing that keeps some people out of some of those specialist areas in the police.

You could have two fraud officers quite happily on FEO because they have their own work loads and files - no problems at all. I don't think you should have two DSs sharing the O/C Fraud role because you'll have joint accountability and all the problems with that. That's where I see the difficulty coming in the NCO level - something we're going to have to face and deal with. We may have to have a wee bit of slack out there somewhere so that we can actually identify the positions that are more suitable to FEO, but where they are in the CIB I'm not actually sure.

I think that as this organisation squeezes responsibilities further and further down and we have less and less fat, then my expectation is that anybody at NCO or above would have to be available to do the job and that would have to be an understanding at employment time because the burn-out that we experience in this job is because we keep going back to the same people. If we get more and more positions that are FEO, then it forces you back to the same groups who are available, but they are actually saying now 'I've had enough - I've done too many of those' or his wife's saying 'leave him alone for a while - he needs a break'. If we're going to deal with it, the organisation needs to provide greater flexibility in terms of less positions than people - at the moment it's very difficult to juggle when we don't have the fat there to do it.

The restructure, with flattened organisation, gives no ability to carry positions without putting the pressure on the remaining people working in quite a stressed environment. I believe that if the organisation has got a commitment to increasing the number of women in the police, particularly in the CIB, then they are going to have to come to some sort of arrangement where there is flexibility to actually have extra positions put aside to accommodate FEO.

Maybe you go over strength in the period of that person's FEO, certainly at NCO and above.

Exactly, I believe that's the answer. The organisation has got to commit itself to that.

It must be particularly hard for the husbands of police women detectives who haven't got a police background, but as you say unless you understand some of the culture, not being able to plan for anything, it is particularly stressful, the feeling of letting your family down when you have birthdays where you don't front up. All of us have missed Christmases and birthdays and important family times so there is an emotional aspect in it as well. I know women for whom it's a huge thing because they're often involved more in the organisation for the event - you know, they've got to go and get the birthday cake and they're standing at 3 o'clock in the morning at a homicide and suddenly thinking hell, the 4 year old birthday party's on at 3 this afternoon. We try to cope with it, we are very accommodating to both males and females, but it's all down to what you can actually accommodate in an organisation under a huge amount of pressure at the moment. We have got a male staff member currently that we are able to accommodate in a particular position because he had to take custody of his children and you know we worked out something there. It's not endless - you can do that for a person who needs time and breathing space to be able to make some other arrangements. I don't think it's an uncaring organisation but sometimes it goes in the too hard drawer, because when you approve some FEO arrangements, it can go on and on - for example two women in xx may be doing that for the next several years.

One of the problems is with women who do come back to their station too early after child birth. If their offspring has been unwell or they may have had some complications with the child, that's an added stress. This is a job not for the faint hearted, but for healthy people, and I would personally would rather see them stay off until they are well and have got things in order, rather than try and come back perhaps to show that they are committed to their career or so that they don't lose that particular position. It's easier to do this in a bigger office than in a smaller office, but I still say there are some accommodations that can be managed with people with the right attitude. It's very difficult under the restructuring. I'm sure that there are women whom you interview who have exactly the same added pressures from the flattened structures.

One thing that I wouldn't like to see is some sort of adhoc flexibility authorised that allows one office to do something one way and one office another way, because those sort of inconsistencies cause a great deal of problems. There's got to be something done nationally that gives us the numbers to accommodate this type of flexibility, like it is a win win for us if we did have that, because we are

retaining experience and people are coming back to the organisation refreshed and sometimes better focussed as to where they want to go in their career. Once they say 'this is going to be my last child and this is what I intend to do, and I want to remain in a career in the police', they can recommit to the organisation having got over that bit of a hump. Regardless of gender we all have burn out points in our police career, probably three or four, where it's so easy to walk away from it rather than actually try and wade your way through it. For some, the best decision was to walk away because the culture didn't accommodate and it's a huge struggle to deal with the frustration with a faceless organisation."

Relevant Material from other Detective Inspectors

At xx we had five squads, four of them worked a duty roster, with one week in four on call throughout that week. One of those squads is our child abuse team and the policy says that team shouldn't be on any rosters, they should be 8-4, same as CYPs. In xx where we've got such a high serious crime rate and just a small office, I can't see that I can take out 20% of the office and say you can work cushy hours while everybody else works callouts. A Sergeant in charge of child abuse has been arguing that they should come off, but everybody else in the office says they shouldn't including the staff that actually work there. But child abuse in yy have just gone to nothing else other than child abuse work so they work the straight hours and if we're going to say well that's where you'd put the women to work, I see it as unfair. I don't think that they should be stuck in there, but I suppose if they want a straight 9-5 job, or 8-4, well maybe they should, but you can only do that sort of work for a limited period of time before something happens to you. If she's happy doing it and it's not affecting her too badly, yeah, well stay there. (Detective Inspector)

We had one detective that when she got pregnant she stayed with us until she went on maternity leave. When she came back from maternity leave she went on youth aid section as a uniform constable. Then she had a second baby and she came back to CIB but she was given to us as an extra number. Say our strength was 25, she came on as 26 and she worked FEO, three days, no callouts. It would be very difficult if it was one of your strength numbers that you can't call out. You've got to be careful what you do with them and how you use them because if you put them in charge of a homicide scene, well it's not a three day business, it's full on for however long it takes. She was an extra so there was definitely no resentment. She took all the files of everybody else that needed filing, got rid of the exhibits, and helped out around the office. When she'd done most of that we put her onto child abuse where she was taking statements/complaints. (Detective Inspector)

Say you had two on FEO, one doing three days, one doing two days. I'd have no problem with that because the whole watch is covered. You'd know that for the first three days of the week that we're calling out x and for the second two days of the week you'd call out y. There would be no problems there. (Detective

Inspector)

I'd be interested to see what others tell you around the country on this because they'll tell you that the CIB are flogged to death. They do work very hard, I don't want to detract from that, but increasingly within the police there are greater opportunities to work an 8-4 type of job and in the past we mandated having someone on late shift in the CIB every night, now we don't. There's a lot more flexibility. Often staff work to suit their needs and our needs because there's got to be a balance to work in a roster that suits whatever they're trying to achieve. FEO has given people opportunities - I think we've got two or three on FEO here.
(Detective Inspector)

Discussion between a group of non-Auckland Women Sergeants (almost all Detective Sergeants)

In my position I would have to find someone else that wants to work the other half of the FEO and it would have to be a guy. There's no one like that around. I just don't think they have been really challenged at the DS level.

I definitely think the FEO thing has to be sorted out within the CIB as to what jobs can and can't be FEO

If there was something clearly coming out from CIB bosses as an encouragement to CIB supervisors to look for alternatives for the FEO work. There's a lot of areas that are saying this is a nominated FEO position. Positions shouldn't have to be nominated.

You get people on AOS and STG who are away a lot of the time from CIB and nobody's saying they can't do their job properly and they may be there less than an FEO person.

They're actually working but they're not seen to be working for the core business of their squad. In fact you'll find CIB managers will try and not have those people on their squad, because they're seen as a drain.

You can still hold files if you work part time. You can still investigate things, but there's the perception that you're away for these days and that you can't be contacted.

My view is that at the DS level, it's very hard to combine work and kids, because you can't really be a part-time DS.

I believe that a DS can be part-time. If you look at squads and the leave that people accumulate, then they go on leave and there is nobody filling their place. The squads still survive.

If it's a junior squad though, that's very hard. My squad's really junior, and if I was only there three days a week, they still need that advice on the days of the week that I'm not there.

I don't have any children, and I don't think I could do the job that I'm doing now with children.

I'm a Sergeant now and I aspire to be a DS as my goal, but I'm at the childbearing age now, and really I'm better off stopping where I am and having children, because I've got way more flexibility if I chose to work part-time than to go to the next level.

Discussion between a group of Male Detective Sergeants

FEO - they say the right things but they never do the right things. And if they are going to do it, they need to resource it properly so it actually works and everybody can be satisfied with it. But they believe they are great managers by rhetoric, just saying what they think people want to hear.

FEO is a good philosophy but I don't think it would work with CIB just because of the work we do and the continual nature of having to take responsibility and go with it. Sometimes it can be over in a couple of hours, but other times you could end up interviewing someone and all of a sudden they want to confess to 32 burglaries.

The other issue is that you will find a lot of the time with FEO positions that they are treated with contempt to a certain degree. They are not pulling the same weight in those positions because they will get a selected type of work which means that they are not going to be subjected to the same demands, and that does create some difficulties in terms of the relationship inside the unit.

They are still getting the same percentage of pay and so during that time they should be doing the same value.

Yes but you can't call a part timer out. You cannot expect them to do overtime.

Routine things you can but xx no longer has a Fraud Squad. We are getting further and further away from positions which would be suitable for FEO and more into just reactive crime squads and generalist investigators.

The only person I can think of in xx in CIB that has been on FEO was a guy, who took it to do university studies. And basically he was given the second-hand dealers portfolio because it was vacant and that is a job that he can do in which ever hours he wanted to work. That would be the equivalent if a women was

doing FEO after having a baby. They would probably just about create a job for her.

Are we allowing FEO to be part of our culture or not? Are we saying 'look it doesn't work there is no place for it, therefore we are not going to create a place for it?' I think it boils down to managers managing their staff whether they are on FEO, part-time, full-time, varsity, whatever. It is up to the managers to integrate those changes into the work. They should be part of the squad with provision made if they need to go because their families are sick, just like there are provisions made for men. I feel quite strongly about this.

I don't think that anyone would disagree about the fact that we want to retain women in the CIB. The question is the practical application of that philosophy. In my office I have got two women in my team. If one of them goes away on maternity leave, you look at the percentage effect across the whole unit, and the problem is at the moment that management decides it's your problem. I can't manage those sorts of calls on my resources and they won't actually take it on a national basis and say 'ok, we are aiming at say 30% women in the police and we are going to have this many FEO positions and we are going to manage it. Without that, the practical application of FEO isn't really feasible.

We have one going shortly. On a squad with a DS and four, including that person, they have to carry her for the next six months of maternity leave. That has a huge effect. It affects everyone's leave, file load, the whole situation, and the others think if she wasn't on maternity leave their workload pressure wouldn't be as much so it becomes a bit of a problem.

Discussion between a Bay of Plenty group in CIB - mixed gender, mainly Detective Constables, with one Sergeant

Those staying are the exception rather than the rule. If they could just have a five year break from the police and then come back, they'd be in boots and all. They don't want to resign because they have been in the job many years. They want to come back in say 5 years time when the kids are off at school and put in the 8 hours. (Male)

It's that time commitment. Most women are in relationships and the extra time on enquiries in CIB and out of town stuff are difficult - it's hard for X to be away from the home and those duties that generally go with the female. (Male)

Some bosses just won't even entertain the idea of people applying for FEO and others are open to it. (Female)

I don't think the CIB should pick up people who have got extra baggage whether they be males or females. If somebody has problems with kids, why should we

have them if they are going to have to deal with baby sitting issues and can't go to callouts and can't be called out for a week to deal with homicides and such like? I am only saying this for the sake of the rest of them, especially with offices becoming smaller and smaller, and them having more stress and more work load. (Male)

Is it not better though to retain the skills if you can manage the business around it? (Female)

But it doesn't get managed. (Male)

It can be managed, but you have to take the pluses with the minuses. This woman has had seven years in CIB and has good skills when she is able to work. She'd be first up if you had a hard interview. (Male)

What I am saying is that if you have got a pool of people coming into CIB and two are both as good as each other, surely the one who has got the baggage, for want of a better word, is the one that should be overlooked. Not selected because that person is a female because we are trying to get numbers up in the CIB. (Male)

FEO has been around for a number of years now, but because of the scenario you outlined, many don't even ever think about FEO. It's not until you promote it and say if we retain this detective on FEO, come four years down the track when she has finished FEO and she wants to come back full time you still have got a qualified Detective who has done the training, done the hard graft and is coming back to work quite happily full time. It's the marketing aspect of it. Supervisors don't do it. (Female)

I agree with that. People just see a part-timer doing their 20-hour week, getting the same dollars as the guys doing the 80 and expected to do all the other things like the callouts and the extra hours. For a supervisor especially, you are trying to keep everyone happy and keep the ship going straight and you can't draw on them. It goes back to that small pool again. (Male)

Discussion

The first two Detective Inspectors both see it as easier to cope with FEO in CIB when the applicant is a Detective rather than an NCO. One had found a way of having a DS on FEO, but this is clearly easier in technical and specialist areas compared with a squad responding to crime as it occurs. Further, both emphasised that it would be far easier to manage FEO if there was some slack in staffing resources, generally or through the FEO officer being a supernumary. With the flattened structures, reduced or tighter staffing, and greater responsibilities devolved to lower levels described by almost all participants in

this study as the recent experience, generally and from the review, suitable FEO arrangements could be even harder to find.

On the other hand, another Detective Inspector talked of an increase in 8-4 jobs, but he is from Auckland, which as explained in the text is the region most organised for this practice. Regional and district differences in many areas are considerable and significantly impact on the opportunity for women and men with family responsibilities to combine their paid and unpaid work. Another example is that some regions have rostered call outs, but not all. Some have SAT squads working regular hours, but not all, with the argument made by one Detective Inspectors that this is unfair to other squads. The places with these practices will be more family friendly in this respect and have a greater capacity to find FEO jobs than others.

The women and men Detective Sergeants have varied opinions on whether it is possible to be in CIB and particularly in NCO jobs on FEO. The range of issues are similar to those canvassed in the text. In the end it comes down to management will, organisation, and resources. Without all those being adequate, it will be extremely difficult on the ground. The Bay of Plenty discussion is particularly interesting, coming from the only mixed gender group. It shows through clearly that one or both of the two female officers are very supportive of FEO, using mainly the argument of skill retention, supported partially by one man. Another male officer sees mainly the problems, and sees no reason why the organisation or other staff should make any allowance for family issues. Spanning both groups is the issue that lack of resources and high workload makes FEO difficult to manage.

A similar dichotomy arose in this group between views on the lack of women in senior positions. This was seen largely as personal choice by men, with the family constraints just something to accept - why should one 'have one's cake and eat it too?' As long as the formal procedures were open to both genders equally, that is sufficient. Women are more likely to see the need for role models and flexibility in the system for family issues. The difference in views was clear throughout this group discussion. Given that it is a reasonable hypothesis that two women at basic grade among four men, one a Sergeant, may have felt the need to moderate the expression of their views, the difference may in reality be greater.

It's been my experience that a lot of it is their own choice. I've known a number of women detectives that have had their Sergeants' exams, the Seniors, and some in fact their Inspectors, but because of their own family commitments they haven't gone further up. (Male)

I think it goes back to the point that if you have got the skills, whether you are male or female, to do the job it should be open slather. From what I see a lot of

people want their cake and they want to eat it as well and they want our firm to conform to their lifestyles whereas our job is very demanding whether you are a male or female and sometimes you just can't have everything you want. (Male)

To me, when you start getting more women staying in a job and going to positions, then those who are coming through will see more women up there and will have more direction to want to get there themselves. As it is they think there aren't any up there: there's got to be a reason for it - I won't go there either. (Female)

So the women in the role, you have got a part to play down there, nothing is easy, and in your situation it is more difficult than maybe it should be but if at the end of the day you put your case forward and keep going and not accept the knockbacks that could very easily change. (Male)

Appendix Seven: Acronyms used in the Report

AOS	-	Armed Offenders Squad
APEC	-	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
CAT	-	Child Abuse Team
CCU	-	Combined Investigation Unit
CIB	-	Criminal Investigation Bureau
CIS	-	Criminal Intelligence Section
CIU	-	Combined Investigation Unit
DC	-	Detective Constable
DI	-	Detective Inspector
DS	-	Detective Sergeant
DSS	-	Detective Senior Sergeant
EE0	-	Equal Employment Opportunity
FEO	-	Flexible Employment Option
GDB	-	General Duties Branch
I-Car	-	Incident Car
ID	-	Identification Document
NCM	-	National Crime Managers
NCO	-	Non-Commissioned Officer
O/C	-	Officer Commanding
SAT	-	Sexual Abuse Team
WCC	-	(National) Women's Consultative Committee