

**INCREASING THE NUMBER OF POLICEWOMEN THROUGH JOB
ADVERTISEMENTS AND RECRUITMENT METHODS**

by

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Bachelor of Arts (Honours), University of Manitoba, 2018

MAJOR PAPER SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (CRIMINAL JUSTICE)

In the
School of Criminology and Criminal Justice

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UNIVERSITY OF THE FRASER VALLEY

Winter 2020

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Abstract

How to increase diversity within policing is a question that has received substantial political and media attention in recent years. The ideal police applicant and the qualities sought have transformed alongside social changes, shifts in police work, and cultural variations. While many of these changes have created more opportunities for women, females remain underrepresented in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). As such, it is important to examine ways police organizations in Canada can entice more females to apply. One area of particular interest is the recruitment process, specifically the recruitment material developed. By exploring the existing literature and utilizing several theoretical models, this preliminary study describes the value of diversity within the professional context of policing, identifies how policies and recruitment methods have changed and outcomes of these changes, and explains how job postings may contribute to keeping the number of women low in the field of policing. Based on this assessment, practical recommendations are provided to develop effective advertisements to increase the number of women who apply to the RCMP.

Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking my wonderful family and friends, without whom I would not have been able to complete this program. I am especially grateful for the continuous patience, consideration, and love I received from my mom, dad, and sister.

I also want to acknowledge my supervisor, Dr. Irwin Cohen for his thoughtful feedback and guidance. He was always available to answer questions and provide help and support. Additionally, I appreciate the faculty at UFV and my fellow master's cohort members for their encouragement, knowledge, and expertise enabling me to learn about and explore numerous topics.

I would finally like to thank everyone else who has helped me along the way, whether that be through accommodation, making connections, providing advice, or helping me move an outrageous amount of times.

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Introduction

How to increase diversity within policing is a question that has received substantial political and media attention in recent years (James et al., 2017). Previous studies on police diversity in Canada, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom have largely focused on differentiations in gender, age, race, and educational level, without noting what policies, movements, or social structures have contributed to these differences in the contemporary period (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Hong 2016; Milgram, 2002; O'Connor, 2008; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2009). One of the important issues to understand is what motivates people to apply to become a police officer and what might be some of the barriers experienced by those who choose not to apply for a career in policing, even though they have the necessary skills, knowledge, experience, and interest to become an excellent police officer. One area of particular interest is the recruitment process, specifically the recruitment material developed to entice people from diverse communities to apply to the police. This is an important area to understand because recruiting advertisements are an important signaling device for potential job applicants (James et al., 2017). Recruitment advertising can be the first source of information about the type of job being offered and can signal to people what the organization is looking for and who is the type of person the organization is interested in hiring (Feldman, Bearden, & Hardesty, 2006).

With the introduction and implementation of community policing in Canada, many police organizations have had to redefine the role of the police officer from one that was strictly focused on reacting to crime to one that sought to identify and address recurring problems that affected public safety (Workman-Stark, 2015). With the adoption of this model of policing, the required skills and qualities of an ideal police candidate changed from “hyper-masculine attributes, such as strength, power, and authority; to those perceived as feminine, such as

communication, empathy, compassion, trust, and relationship building” (Workman-Stark, 2015, p. 764).

In addition to shifts in models of policing, changes within the composition of police organizations in Canada have also been motivated by several external factors, such as federal legislation, lawsuits, financial incentives, and the availability of federal grants that require police organizations to meet specific quotas for hiring and promoting women and other minority groups (Workman-Stark, 2015). While many of these changes have encouraged and created more opportunities for women, females remain underrepresented in some policing organizations (Workman-Stark, 2015). Statistics Canada presented data that showed that in the last 32 years, the number of female officers has increased from 16.2% in 1986 to 42.3% in 2018 (Statistics Canada, 2020). However, as of 2018, only 21.6% of regular RCMP members were female (RCMP, 2018). Although increasing the number of female applicants to the police does not always result in more women being hired, when the female applicant pool is substantially increased, police agencies typically hire more female recruits (Milgram, 2002). Given this, it is important to examine the ways that the police in Canada are trying to entice more females to apply to the police.

A variety of factors, such as high physical agility requirements, a preference for veterans who have served in the military, and the requirement to relocate to participate in police basic training can screen women out of the process (Milgram, 2002). However, a detailed consideration of these issues is not the focus of this major paper. Rather than examining the recruitment process per se, this major paper focuses on examining the messaging used to attract new recruits into police organizations through an examination of the RCMP’s advertising posters (Milgram, 2002). This major paper will exclusively examine how job postings may contribute to

keeping the number of women low in the field of policing. More specifically, this major paper will focus on what type of recruitment advertisements are likely most effective at generating a more diverse workforce, specifically with reference to increasing the number of women in policing. The particular focus of this major paper will be on how the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) can attract and retain more female candidates through their recruitment material. In effect, the question this major paper seeks to address is how the RCMP can increase the number of women who apply to the police through the RCMP's use of advertisements and job postings.

While a significant amount is known about the value of diversity in general and specifically in policing, less is known about how to actually attain and retain diversity in policing. As such, this major paper has three main goals. The first goal is to describe the value of diversity within the professional context of policing while identifying the historical challenges the RCMP has faced in attempting to achieve this objective. The second goal focuses on how the RCMP can address this issue by analyzing how the RCMP currently presents itself to women through its marketing materials. The third goal of this major paper is to provide practical recommendations on how job advertisements and recruitment methods can be improved to increase the number of women who see themselves as having a fulfilling career in the RCMP.

The Importance of Workplace Diversity

Workplace diversity is a holistic concept that denotes the complex physical, sociological, and psychological differences that exist between people and groups working within an organization (Eboh, Asiah, Abubakar, & Doko, 2018). These distinctions include physical attributes, such as gender, race, and ethnicity, as well as non-physical attributes, such as

education, sexual orientation, socioeconomic background, and religious or political beliefs (Eboh et al., 2018; Hajro, Gibson, & Pudelko, 2017). Members within particular diverse groups often share particular world views, norms, values, goals, priorities, rules, meanings, language, and communication styles (Hajro, Gibson, & Pudelko, 2017).

The argument for workplace diversity is multifaceted. It is about the recognition and appreciation of the uniqueness and contribution of each individual's distinct set of characteristics to the team or the organization (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017). For the most part, researchers have acknowledged the benefits of diversity, such as innovative ideas, increased creativity and productivity, and improved critical thinking and problem-solving skills (Eboh et al., 2018). Diversity also has the ability to unite the collaborative strengths and inherent weaknesses of employees (Eboh et al., 2018). Researchers have argued that organizations that encourage diversity have demonstrated superior performance (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017). For example, diverse police organizations are often perceived as being more trustworthy and fairer (Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Lavena, 2014; James et al., 2017), are correlated with less crime in their jurisdiction (Hong, 2016), and have higher rates of reporting traditionally under-reported crimes, like sexual assault (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty 2006; James et al., 2017). The benefits of having female officers, including increased legitimacy, higher reporting of sexual assault, and less aggressive and confrontational behaviours, such as threats, use of force, the use of physical restraint, searches, and arrests, are well researched and documented (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Silvestri, 2015; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Additionally, female police officers tend to possess better communication skills than their male counterparts. This ability to communicate effectively is associated with fewer citizen complaints (Lonsway, Moore, Harrington, Smeal, & Spillar, 2003). Moreover, a study by Meier and Nicholson-Crotty

(2006) found that, “police forces with larger percentages of women officers filed more reports of sexual assault, arrested more suspects for sexual assault, and arrested more suspects for rape, even after controlling for the increase in reports” (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006, p. 858).

Having a diverse police organization is not only important to the employer, but propitious for the public (Anderson, Plecas, & Segger, 2001). Greater diversity enables an organization to better adapt to change, increases innovation and creativity, and addresses the needs and concerns of a diverse client base (McNab & Johnson, 2002). Diversity can also positively change the behaviours, attitudes, and perceptions of citizens (Hong, 2016). A diverse police organization can directly affect the public’s perception of its legitimacy when it reflects the diversity within society (James et al., 2017; Riccucci et al. 2014). This is because citizens’ perceived notions about bureaucratic legitimacy are positively affected if the identity of the bureaucrat matches that of society (Riccucci et al., 2014).

The gender of a police officer may also affect and shape citizen’s actions and attitudes when interacting with police (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Symbolic representation works cognitively on the group that is being represented. For example, women are more likely to recognize police actions as legitimate when the organization is comprised of female officers or if female officers are present (Riccucci et al., 2014; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2009). Similarly, women are more willing to cooperate with police, especially in cases of domestic violence, when women are represented or present (Riccucci et al., 2014). These examples highlight the importance of representation in bureaucratic agencies, particularly police organizations.

Police representativeness and representation are correlated with a reduction in public allegations of corruption and increased public perceptions of reliability and fairness (Hong, 2016). In a 2016 UK study, Hong suggested that increasing the number of ethnic minority police

officers was also correlated with a significant decrease in the number of crimes within the associated police jurisdictional area (Hong, 2016). Diversity also has the potential to alleviate the institutionalized practice of officers acting on assumptions surrounding visible minorities being inherently more unlawful than white people (Hong, 2016). By knowing people from diverse groups, preconceived notions of particular groups can be reduced. For instance, respectful interactions are associated with positive identity formation and reduction of status and power differentials (Lee, Mazmanian, & Perlow, 2020). This can create dialogue surrounding gender-based issues, hear lived experiences, counter stereotypical myths, and combat implicit biases. Therefore, diversity supports a greater discourse around justice and reduces tensions within an organization. Subsequently, the organizational integrity and ethical climate can improve with respect to the staff's treatment of minority groups (Hong, 2016).

Furthermore, a more representative police organization may increase the willingness of minority populations within it to cooperate in the co-production of public values and organizational goals (Hong, 2016). Greater representativeness has been associated with improved integrity, fostering a more ethical climate, and has had a positive influence on bureaucrats' attitudes and behaviours when interacting with minority populations (Hong, 2016). However, it must be acknowledged that some research on whether diversity leads to improved performance has produced inconsistent conclusions (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017). In such cases, it has been argued that performance was contingent on whether the organization's environment fostered trust and mutual support (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017). Still, the general consensus in the literature is that a more diverse civil service enables the government to more accurately reflect and better serve the needs of a diverse public (James et al., 2017).

Theoretical Framework

The decision to apply for a particular job is influenced by a variety of factors, such as recruiter characteristics, the expectation they will be hired, and perceived fit (Chapman, Uggerslev, Carroll, Piasentin, & Jones 2005). Thus, many theories contribute to understanding the most effective recruitment methods for police. The four leading theoretical frameworks that help identify reasons for the lack of diversity in policing are the Attraction–Selection–Attrition paradigm, Person-Environment Fit Paradigm, Objective Factor Theory, and Social Dominance Theory.

Many elements affect an applicant's attraction to a particular job or position. One of the most common measures is an applicant's opinion of the overall personal attractiveness of the prospective job or organization (Chapman et al., 2005). The most fundamental model used to address attractiveness is the Attraction–Selection–Attrition (ATA) paradigm developed by Schneider (1987) and later expanded on by Perry and Wise (1990). Within the ATA paradigm, it is argued that people with higher public service motivation (PSM) are more likely to be employed in public service professions because it is public service itself that attracts them to the position or organization (Linos, 2018; Perry & Wise, 1990; Schneider, 1987). PSM is the idea that individuals are drawn to the public domain with intentions to do good for others and society (Perry, Hondeghem, & Wise, 2010). Within this framework, it is argued that the greater an individual's public service motivation, the higher the probability that they will seek membership in a public organization, such as policing (Perry et al., 2010). Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as “an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 368). This definition incorporates motives, such as civic duty and compassion (Perry et al., 2010). Individuals with high PSM may

already be inclined to apply to become a police officer. However, focusing solely on PSM messages is ineffective at attracting applicants that would have not applied anyway (Linos, 2018). In fact, PSM messages alone do not necessarily attract more people to policing (Linos, 2018). Therefore, it is essential that potential candidates' characteristics, needs, and values are included in advertisement to encourage them to take the next step and apply.

The ATA model suggests that applicants seek a fit with their personal characteristics, needs, and values (Chapman et al., 2005). This fit can include the type of work and the perceived work environment (Chapman et al., 2005). This choice is influenced by the compatibility of their individual identity and disposition, and organizational characteristics that would satisfy their prosocial and altruistic orientation (Perry et al., 2010; Perry & Wise, 1990). Thus, it is a central component of the selection process (Linos, 2018; Perry & Wise, 1990; Schneider, 1987). That being said, whether an organization will fit an applicant's characteristics, needs, and values is an individualized decision. What attracts one individual may not attract another. Therefore, it is imperative that individual variation be considered and organizations research what characteristics, needs, and values are prominent in the communities they police. Once determined, these attributes should be presented in various ways in their recruitment advertisements.

This segues into the Person-Environment Fit Paradigm. How an organization presents itself throughout the recruitment process, and particularly the job advertisement, heavily influences an individual's perceptions of fit (Linos, 2018). Perceived fit can have a significant level of cognitive manipulation since the assessment and weighting scheme applied is completed within the applicant's mind (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). Thus, one of the

strongest predictors of an applicant's attraction to a position is the perception of fit (Chapman et al., 2005 & Linos, 2018).

Person-Environment (P-E) fit assesses the congruence or perceived fit between an individual and their work environment (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Perry et al., 2010). At the broadest level, this includes the vocation or occupation (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Fit can be understood as similarity, need-satisfaction, or demand-ability match. It can also include compatible skills, needs, preferences, values, personality traits, goals, and attitudes within a job and an individual (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). For instance, individuals are more likely to apply for a job they believe they have the skills for to one they believe they do not (Gaucher et al., 2011).

The P-E fit paradigm is comprised of two factors: complementary fit and supplementary fit (Cable & Edwards, 2004). Complementary fit focuses on the ability of the person or organization to provide what the other wants or needs (Cable & Edwards, 2004). For instance, a potential applicant may have a skill set or characteristics that policing requires or the policing occupation offers what the potential applicant is seeking (Cable & Edwards, 2004). Person characteristics refer to the biological and psychological needs, values, goals, abilities, and personality of the potential applicant, whereas organizational characteristics include the intrinsic or extrinsic rewards, physical or psychological demands, cultural values, and environmental conditions of the job (Cable & Edwards, 2004). In this sense, advertisements can provide cues if an individual will belong in a given organization. Consequently, if advertisements are not diverse, underrepresented individuals, such as women and ethnic minority applicants, may be more likely to question their fit within the organization (James et al., 2017). This is important for policing because women tend to focus more on how job characteristics fit and less on the

perceived fairness of the recruitment process than men when determining the attractiveness of a job or organization (Chapman et al., 2005). This exemplifies the importance of diverse actors in advertisements as women may feel a stronger fit when they see other individuals like them represented on job postings.

An individual may also use the selection process to determine supplementary fit (Cable & Edwards, 2004; James et al., 2017). Supplementary fit exists when a person and an organization have similar characteristics or value congruence. Value congruence is the similarity between an individual's values and those of the organization (Cable & Edwards, 2004). For example, an employee and the organization may both consider autonomy important, thus creating value congruence (Cable & Edwards, 2004). The self-selection process encompasses matching the needs of an applicant with the organizational climate and its ability to satisfy those needs (Saks, Wiesner, & Summers, 1994). People typically search for job opportunities that fit their knowledge, skills, abilities, personal needs, and interests. Given that some individuals are unable to determine their fit for the position without specific information, potential applicants may be less inclined to apply for positions if they are unsure what the job entails. Thus, general advertisements with minimal information may leave potential applicants with the perception that the advertised job may be unsuitable for them (Feldman et al., 2006).

Personal compatibility and suitability are not the only factors that must be considered. Although potential applicants may be drawn to organizational characteristics depicted in an advertisement, they may also contemplate if they desire what the organization is offering. Potential applicants frequently make inferences from the information presented in job advertisements (Feldman et al., 2006). Recruiting variables, such as pay, type of work, and

organizational image, can change an applicant's attitude towards the job and organization (Chapman et al., 2005).

Both intrinsic and extrinsic needs of a potential applicant must be considered. For example, job security, career advancement, and benefits are all strong motivators (Linos, 2018). Objective Factor theorists Behling, Labovitz, and Gainer (1968) predicted that an applicant would select a job mainly on their evaluation of both the position attributes and organizational characteristics. The attributes considered include job specifics, such as pay, benefits, and the type of work portrayed, as well as the characteristics that reflect the organization, such as company image, policies, size, work environment, and location (Chapman et al., 2005). Therefore, including statements about the organization's equal opportunity policy can enhance the attractiveness of an organization to women and those of other diverse groups (McNab & Johnson, 2002).

Lastly, Social Dominance Theory (SDT) is key when determining the most effective recruitment marketing techniques. The nature of an individual's work is associated with their well-being and social status. By institutionalizing types of jobs to distinct social groups, societies create and maintain group-based social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). SDT is focused on the notion of group-based social hierarchy within societies. SDT maintains that there is one or a small number of dominant hegemonic groups characterized by their possession of a disproportionately large share of social value and ability to access the means of individual achievement (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Wilson, 2017). This opportunity is often related to an individual's privileged identity, such as masculinity, heterosexuality, and whiteness (Liu, 2017). Institutional-level mechanisms embedded within the social structure and institutions, such as law

enforcement, facilitate, reinforce, and perpetuate these existing group-based inequalities and privileged identities that maintain the status quo (Gaucher et al., 2011; Liu, 2017).

There is a significant amount of literature that identifies the differences in the way men and women use everyday language and are linguistically dissimilar. Yet, there are subtle cues that often go unacknowledged and overlooked by society that reinforce the underrepresentation of certain groups in certain sectors of employment. For example, gendered wording in recruitment materials heightens the gender-based underrepresentation of women in traditionally male-dominated occupations. Consequently, this affects the psychological process of applicants significantly. Masculine language emphasizing words, such as competitive, dominate, and leader, are often included in job advertisements in fields that are characteristically male dominated, such as policing. These words often cue women that they do not belong, which can serve to discouraging them from applying (Gaucher et al., 2011). This reinforces the existing gender inequality and keeps women out of these male-dominated professions (Gaucher et al., 2011).

Within SDT, aggregated individual discrimination refers to the simple, daily, and inconspicuous individual acts of discrimination by one person against another. When thousands of individual acts of discrimination are aggregated over days, weeks, and years, they contribute to the noticeable differences in the power between groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Wilson, 2017). An example of power differential is the number of female commissioned officers in Canada. Commissioned officers include personnel who have obtained senior officer status (Statistics Canada, 2019). This typically includes individuals who have obtained the rank of lieutenant or higher (Statistics Canada, 2019). Although the number of female commissioned officers has gradually increased, as of 2018, they only accounted for 15% of all commissioned

officers (Conor, Robson, & Marcellus, 2019). This means that men hold most positions of power within policing. If masculine language continues to be used without recognizing its implications, women will continue to be deterred from applying to police organizations or other male-dominated professions where power differentials prevail.

Gendered wording can emerge through a motivational bias that exists beyond an individual's awareness (Gaucher et al., 2011). Motivational biases "include conscious or unconscious distortions of judgements and decisions because of self-interest, social pressures, or organizational context" (Montibeller & Detlof von Winterfeldt, 2015, p. 1230). As such, marketing teams may unconsciously utilize gendered wording in their advertisements. However, Gaucher et al. (2011) found that men displayed only a slight preference for masculine-worded advertisement and that it did not affect their feelings of belongingness. Conversely, he found that gendered wording does affect women (Gaucher et al., 2011). Gaucher et al. (2011) discovered that women were deterred from advertisements and job positions that utilized masculine wording. Women perceived such advertisements as less appealing and anticipated less belonging than those with feminine wording, such as support and understanding, and words that emphasized interpersonal skills (Gaucher et al., 2011). As a result, such wording reaffirms and perpetuates gender inequality manifested through the language used in job advertisements (Gaucher et al., 2011).

To mitigate this, masculine wording must be identified in advertisements and job postings. Some masculine words should be replaced with feminine wording to balance gendered language, especially in traditionally male-dominated professions. Women tend to be more attracted to male-dominated jobs when the advertisements are unbiased and refer to both men and women as candidates, or explicitly refer to women as ideal candidates. Moreover, women

tend to be more communal and interpersonal than men. Thus, it could be beneficial to utilize more references to social and emotional words (Gaucher et al., 2011).

The importance of language was exemplified by the New York Police Department (NYPD) in 1973 when the terms “policewoman” and “patrolman” were replaced with the gender-neutral title “police officer” (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). The use of gendered wording affected people’s perceptions of these jobs. This exemplifies how both men and women find jobs described in language consistent with their own gender appealing because it is a conceived indicator that they belong within that occupation (Gaucher et al., 2011).

Police Policies and Programs

Traditional customary requirements for the RCMP include being a male between the age of 18 to 30 years old, unmarried, and over 5’8’ (see Advertisement 3 in Appendix A). However, traditional requirements have been removed or modified alongside transformations in Canadian demographics. Adaptations have included implementing special policies and programs to diversify applicants, remove barriers, and make the career as a Mountie more attractive (Tunney, 2018).

RCMP policy changes have ranged from removing credit and criminal record checks, eliminating mandatory aptitude, hearing and vision tests, and reducing the required time spent at their training facility to remove actual and perceived barriers to employment (Tunney, 2018). Other policies and programs have included cultural shifts, such as the RCMP allowing Muslim women in its ranks to wear the hijab as part of their uniform in 2016 to better reflect the diversity within Canadian communities and to encourage Muslim women to consider the RCMP as a career option (Montgomery, 2016; Slotkin, 2016).

In 2013, the RCMP Recruiting Unit in British Columbia took exceptional measures to encourage women to join the RCMP by creating the Women's Accelerated Recruiting Process (Rogers, 2019). This initiative was designed to hire more women and create a more equitable balance between female and male members. This accelerated process adhered to the identical standards of the current RCMP application process while reducing the application process time to six months or less for women to encourage more women to apply and join the organization. In total, 23 women successfully completed the recruitment exam through the accelerated recruiting process and moved quickly toward their goal of becoming RCMP members (Rogers, 2019).

Employment equity (EE) goals and affirmative action initiatives have also been used to increase the presence of underrepresented groups in uniform and to better reflect the communities the RCMP serves (RCMP, n.d.; Rogers, 2019). The RCMP recognized that employee diversity contributed to its strength (O Division, 2018). Accordingly, to increase the number of women interested in joining the organization, the RCMP created an Officer Candidate Program (OCP). The O Division OCP Development Program was designed to encourage and support employees to reach their full potential and succeed in promotion to an officer level position (O Division, 2018). The OCP development committee consisted of O Division officers with various backgrounds and abilities who sought to mentor, coach, and coordinate developmental opportunities (O Division, 2018). In the 2011-2012 cycle, 24% of female applicants in the OCP successfully completed the program. This increased to 62% in the 2016-2017 cycle (RCMP, n.d.). The number of successful EE group applicants, other than female, in the OCP also increased from 28% in the 2011-2012 cycle to 51% in the 2016-2017 cycle. These outputs suggest that the program was effective in increasing the number of diverse individuals becoming police officers (RCMP, n.d.).

While many advancements have been made by the RCMP, substantial gaps in equality remain (Status of Women Canada, 2018). The RCMP has utilized Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+), an analytical process used to assess how diverse groups experience policies, programs, and initiatives to identify gender inequalities (RCMP, 2018; Status of Women Canada, 2018). In early 2012, the GBA+ was completed to identify the effects of RCMP policies on diverse groups, address barriers, and increase diversity within the recruiting process (RCMP, 2018). In October 2017, the GBA+ produced considerable procedural change to the OCP contributing to an increase of female applicants from 17% to 29% in less than one year (RCMP, 2018). Full implementation of the results began in 2018 with efforts to continue to increase the interest and diversity of applicants (RCMP, 2018).

Policies implemented to encourage diversity are not limited to recruitment. In some specialized units, actual and perceived barriers have been removed to address concerns that might be holding existing officers back from applying for reasons that do not relate to the actual job (Vasylchuk, 2019). A 2012 survey conducted by the Canadian Police College found that the most common barriers to women applying to the Emergency Response Team (ERT) were fitness standards, a perceived unwelcoming work environment, and work-life balance. In response to this survey, in 2015, the RCMP's ERT modified its physical standards, selection process, and course to identify and address these barriers (Vasylchuk, 2019). By removing outdated physical standards that were not representative of job function, the ERT modernized its approach by testing only with the ERT Physical Abilities Requirement Evaluation (PARE) to ensure the activities undertaken by applicants translated to what an ERT member actually does (Vasylchuk, 2019). Additionally, the RCMP claimed that the standards were "gender-neutral and backed by science and psychology" (Vasylchuk, 2019). This helped to ensure there was no discrimination

in the selection process (Vasylchuk, 2019). Of note, the selection into an ERT unit is restricted to those who have already served a number of years as a police officer and, therefore, does not directly encourage the recruitment of more women into policing in the first instance.

Although creating different policies and programs to enhance diversity has proven to be effective, it begs the question of whether such strategies are actually necessary. This major paper focuses on what other modifications can operate alongside broader discussions on large policy shifts to achieve greater diversity in the RCMP. Simply put, there are other ways that the RCMP can attract more qualified, diverse applicants without creating new policies and programs.

Historical Ideals

The police service has a long history as a masculine organization with a strong militaristic and virility culture (Davies & Thomas, 2003). Police work has historically been a male-constructed occupation embodying hegemonic masculinity (Hewitt, 1996) that reinforces power through the subordination of women, heterosexism, authority, control, competitive individualism, aggressiveness, and the capability to utilize violence (Workman-Stark, 2015). The representation of the male police body has played a central role in understanding, reinforcing, revisiting, and recreating gender, power, and normative standards within the RCMP (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). Distinctly strong male-oriented images and a preference for masculine traits such as dominance and competitiveness have created tension, an inability to be accepted, and feelings of otherness for some women, which reinforces their marginalized status within masculine organizations (Davies & Thomas, 2003). While women have experienced this discord, it must be acknowledged that women are not the only group that has been challenged by masculinity within policing. Some men, predominately those who do not conform to hegemonic

masculine ideals, have been excluded as they may threaten the association of masculine identity within policing (Workman-Stark, 2015).

In the 20th century, perceived physical limitations of the female body, such as finite mental and physical energy, frailty, and delicacy, were so entrenched in the thinking of most Canadians that, by the 1970s, such characteristics were assumed to be natural to femininity and attributes shared by all women (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). Socially constructed notions of appropriate femininity included passivity and subordination to men; traits that were considered unsuitable for policing (Reilly Schmidt, 2013).

Before the middle of the 20th century, many police organizations around the world had height and weight standards and requirements for officers. Any applicants unable to meet the established standards were not considered suitable applicants (Bonneau & Brown, 1995). In North America, height and weight requirements were set by individual police departments (Anderson et al., 2001). For instance, in the 1950s the RCMP had a height requirement of 5'8" (see Advertisement 3). Despite the fact females were not permitted to apply at this time, most would have been unable to even if they had since the average height of a female aged 18 to 44 was 5'1" in 1953 (Pett, 1955).

It was assumed that large males were best suited for the rigors of police work, especially the tasks of pursuit, confrontation, and arrest (Anderson et al., 2001). In the early part of the 20th century, many police officers patrolled rural environments, often on horseback in unpleasant weather conditions. Consequently, there was an assumption that only large men had the capacity to do this type of work and that they were best fitted for the job (Bonneau & Brown, 1995).

The RCMP culture was one that honoured physical ability and a great muscular body (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). It was believed that what was established as the ideal male police body

was the most effective crime-fighting mechanism (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). Since the RCMP identified itself as an organization of strong, white, adult males, transcending the simple understandings of a masculine ideal, it was believed that Mounties were more than capable of responding to physical violence with force if required (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). During this time, the physical masculine strength of an RCMP officer was regarded as appropriate and the Mountie was considered the “living embodiment of a state that was manly, white, and powerful” (Reilly Schmidt, 2013, p. 32). “Stature, physical strength, aggression, and the willingness to engage in violence were considered essential in transforming men from civilians to police officers” (Reilly Schmidt, 2013, p. 104).

Conversely, the female body was believed to be unlikely to uphold civic authority due to its physical size and limitations. Women were generally smaller in stature, considered emotionally unpredictable, and subject to their reproductive functions (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). Ideas surrounding the physical limitations of the female body created the perception of women as the weaker sex, generally frail, unable to maintain an authoritative presence, and suffering from the debilitating effects of menstruation (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Reilly Schmidt, 2013).

Police organizations were needlessly denying themselves the opportunity to recruit a large segment of the population who were perfectly capable of doing the job (Bonneau & Brown, 1995). It was realized that neither size nor gender ensured occupational fitness (Bonneau & Brown, 1995). By the 1950s, many agencies began to acknowledge the arbitrary and discriminatory nature of standard officer requirements and subsequently eliminated the height and weight restrictions that had once prevented smaller statured individuals from becoming police officers (Anderson et al., 2001; Bonneau & Brown, 1995).

As the 20th century advanced, despite a number of RCMP commissioners actively perpetrating the organization's masculine and heroic identity (Reilly Schmidt, 2013), people began to challenge the dominance of white bourgeois masculinity in Canada. By the 1960s, public awareness and concern over equality issues was increasing and women began to demand an equal role in all sectors of society (Montgomery, 2016; Reilly Schmidt, 2013). In 1967, the Canadian government established the Royal Commission on the Status of Women to address gender inequality in several sectors of Canadian society (Montgomery, 2016). One of the 1970 recommendations was that the RCMP begin to accept women recruits (Montgomery, 2016). The mid-1970s brought the arrival of women into the RCMP, which disrupted "the masculine image of a police force that was intimately connected to idealized Canadian manhood and the formation of the nation" (Reilly Schmidt, 2013, p. v). In 1974, the RCMP hired women as regular members and officially promoted itself as a gender-neutral organization after an explosive growth in feminism and significant political pressure on the government and the RCMP to change the organization (CTV News, 2020; Ingram, 2014; Reilly Schmidt, 2013).

Women were interested in policing for a variety of reasons. Cheryl Joyce, a member of one of the first RCMP female troops, otherwise known as Troop 17, stated, "[I] loved being involved in trying to make things better for people" (RCMP, 2014a). She explained that she "just wanted something that was outside of four walls, I needed to be out in the community" (RCMP, 2014a). Barb Alexander, also part of Troop 17, worked as a dispatcher and later worked at the front counter of another police department. These positions "had such an impact that she never considered a career other than policing" (RCMP, 2014b). On May 24, 1974, when the RCMP announced it would take applications from women, she immediately called the staffing office

and later that year, she was sworn in and headed to Depot, the RCMP's training facility (RCMP, 2014b).

By joining the RCMP, women met the same recruiting standards, received the same pay, and were invested the same policing powers. However, this illusion of equality concealed the masculine nature of the persistent informal police culture. While policy and legislation mandated the inclusion of women, they were not fully accepted within the field (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). Despite the portrayal of women being equal to their male colleagues, this was not this case. When the first class of 32 female recruits arrived at Depot on September 13 and 14 in 1974, they were issued purses to hold their small guns and handcuffs (CTV News, 2020; Ingram, 2014). They were also given short skirts, taupe panty hoses, red blazer jackets, white polyester turtleneck shirts, and shoes with small block heels that were not ideal for running after suspects. This was one of the first signals that the RCMP viewed women as different from men (CTV News, 2020; Ingram, 2014). The recognizable red serge was prohibited for women to ensure women kept their femininity (CTV News, 2020).

Many men in the RCMP opposed the arrival of women as they were seen as a threat to the traditional masculine image of the police organization and because they firmly believed that women were physically and emotionally incapable of performing police duties (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). Even once female officers began work, images of the male Mountie persisted (Reilly Schmidt, 2013). For example, the Canadian tourism industry continued to rely on the male Mountie whether that be through apparel, accessories, or collectables (La Boutique the Mountie Shop, 2020).

However, as time went on, there was an increasing emphasis on the importance of multiple voices representing the complexity of diverse individuals and a move away from conventional ways people fit within organizational discourses (Davies & Thomas, 2003). This led to a changing professional identity within the police service and a move away from simplistic notions of what it means to be a woman, man, or a policing professional (Davis & Thomas, 2003). The ideal police applicant and the qualities the organization sought transformed alongside social changes, shifts in what was expected of police work, and cultural variations (Inzunz, 2016). Despite a minimum level of required physical ability, testing became more job specific and there was less emphasis on physical strength when seeking ideal candidates (Ingram, 2014; Inzunz, 2016). There was a gradual appreciation of diverse abilities to offer more professional, tolerant, and caring community-oriented policing, and a realization that police activities, such as arrest or use of force, were relatively rare (Bonneau & Brown, 1995; Brown & Wolfenden, 2011; Davies & Thomas, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

Although workplace differences between the sexes had officially been eliminated by the RCMP by implementing federal employment equity policies and human rights legislation, policies have failed to create change in the police culture and the number of women within the organization. There are still gender issues in the RCMP with women continuing to be positioned as different and unequal to male officers (Montgomery, 2016; Reilly Schmidt, 2013). The police body is one visible surface that created cultural meanings and understandings of gender (Reilly Schmidt, 2013).

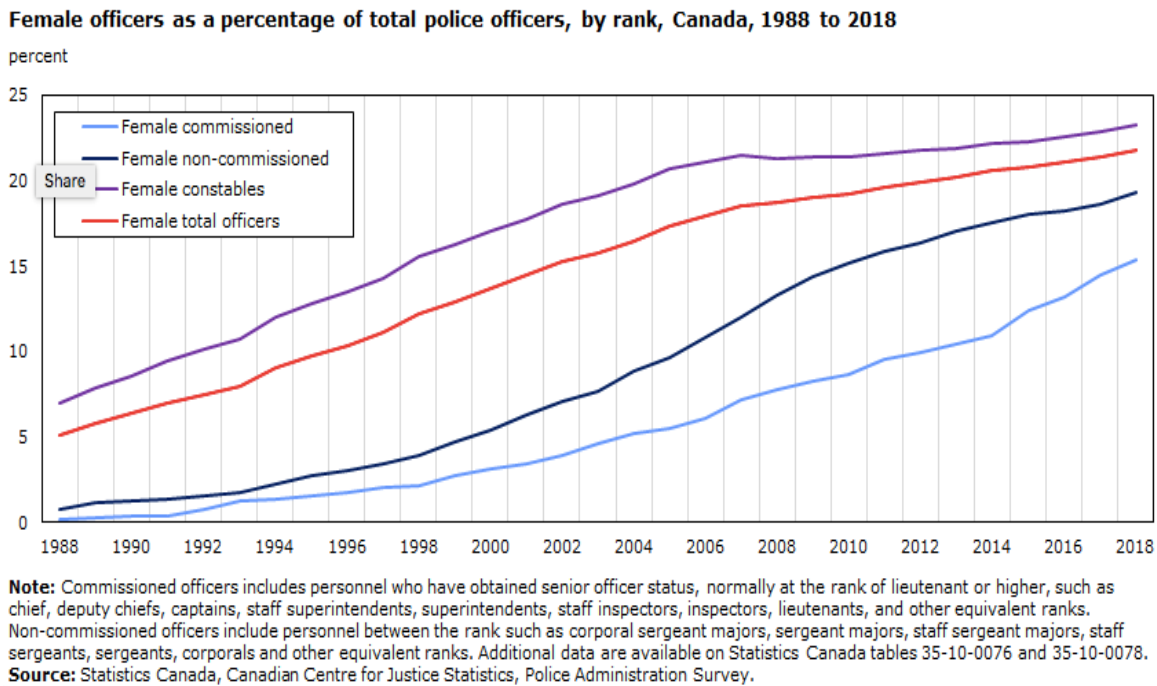
Despite the nature and philosophy of policing having evolved since its inception, “policing continues to be understood as a dangerous, “masculine” occupation because of its association with aggressive behavior and the legitimate use of force, from which women have

been traditionally excluded” (Workman-Stark, 2015, p. 764). Law enforcement remains a male-dominated profession (Milgram, 2002). In Canada, only one out of every five police officers are female (Malakieh, 2018). Statistics Canada indicates that the number of female police officers in Canada has increased steadily since 1986. In 1986, the proportion of police officers who were female was 16.2%. This proportion increased to 29.5% in 1995, 39.5% in 2005, 41.8% in 2010, and 42.7% in 2015 (Statistics Canada, 2020). However, the proportion of female officers in Canada has plateaued since 2015 from 43.2% in 2016 and 2017 to 42.3% in 2018 (Statistics Canada, 2020).

The RCMP is no different than the overall Canadian policing demographics. In 1974, the first female troop attended Depot (RCMP, n.d.). In 1999, female members made up 14% of the total RCMP member population (Johnstone & Rich, 1974). By 2012, women represented 20% of the organization’s 19,258 regular members (Slotkin, 2016). As of April 1, 2016, there were 3,979 females (RCMP, n.d.). Although this is a significant numerical increase, the disparity between female and male officers remained great. On April 1, 2016, females represented only 21.6% of all 18,462 sworn RCMP officers (RCMP, n.d.).

As illustrated in Figure 1, by April 2018, women represented 39.1% of the total workforce in the RCMP, 21.6% of regular members, 19% of individuals who have obtained senior officer status, and 51.7% of civilian members (Conor et al., 2019; RCMP, 2018; Tunney, 2018). Despite many police chiefs expressing the desire to increase the number of sworn female officers in their detachments, they find that few women are applying (Lappage, 2015; Milgram, 2002). The RCMP claims they are committed to increasing their number of female police officers, but the number of women still remains far less than men (RCMP, 2020b).

Figure 1: Number of Canadian Female Officers by Rank (Conor et al., 2019).



Shifting Perceptions

The qualities that an applicant should possess in order to become a good police officer are difficult to predict (Sanders, 2003). Still, the competencies and qualities necessary to become a successful police officer have been explored in a variety of studies. There are some abilities and qualities that are considered to be essential elements of a basic profile for a potential police officer (Sanders, 2003). Sanders (2003) explained that “traits such as intelligence, common sense, dependability, and honesty appear more frequently than others in the police literature” (Sanders, 2003, p. 314). Other elements within the selection criteria are generally divided into groups, such as formal requirements, physical requirements, and personal suitability (Inzunza, 2016). Examples of formal requirements include being within a certain age range, possessing a valid driver’s licence, and achieving a certain level of education. There are also essential job-related physical abilities that are required in the regular course of duty. Applicants are typically

required to have sufficient agility, strength, and endurance to meet the physical necessities of the job (Anderson et al., 2001; Inzunz, 2016). Although activities that require physical abilities are infrequent, it is essential that a police officer can engage in them effectively (Bonneau & Brown, 1995). Research has also identified certain characteristics as being particularly relevant to the personality of the ideal applicant. The term psychological suitability has been used to incorporate both desirable and non-desirable personal attributes (Inzunz, 2016). For the RCMP, officers must also be of good character (RCMP, 2019b). This means that officers must uphold the highest ethical standards on and off duty (RCMP, 2019a). During the recruiting process, behavior standards, such as honesty, integrity, professionalism, accountability, compassion, and respect, are expected and assessed. As a police officer, building and maintaining the public trust by upholding the highest ethical standards is essential (RCMP, 2019b).

Furthermore, in recent years, the diversity among populations has been changed by socioeconomic, geopolitical, environmental, and technological factors globally. This has transformed the composition of societies and manipulated the way diverse groups of people interact, work, and cohabit (Eboh et al., 2018). Subsequently, the requirements for an individual to be a successful police officer has shifted. For contemporary police organizations, personal suitability is now often more important than physical performance (Bonneau & Brown, 1995; Inzunz, 2016). Street-level policing requires interpersonal qualities to function within the professional group and to interact with members of society (Inzunz, 2016). However, often the demographics of police officers do not represent the diverse communities they serve (Linos, 2018). Given the mosaic of cultures, races, ethnicities, and genders in Canada, police organizations must maintain efforts to better reflect the communities they are there to protect and be able to identify and meet the dissimilar needs of such diverse populations. The worth of

attracting and retaining staff from all demographic groups is gradually becoming realized and accepted. Organizations are recognizing that diversity can improve workforce performance and improve their competitive position (Ferreira & Coetzee, 2010).

A stronger emphasis on a discourse encouraging the idea of bringing about change through difference has emerged in recent years (Silvestri, 2015). Many organizations have explicit directives and goals to increase gender diversity within their workplaces (Gaucher et al., 2011). In 2014, the RCMP expressed a goal to enroll as many women as men at Depot (Quan, 2014). However, many observers were skeptical about whether there was enough interest among females to reach the 50% recruitment target as a result of a masculine culture that still existed within the organization (Quan, 2014). As mentioned above, in 2017, females represented only 21% of all sworn officers (Conor, 2018).

The RCMP is actively attempting to increase its numbers of females and visible minorities. They are working to move away from the “traditional officer” and traditional criteria. The RCMP *Gender and Respect Action Plan* (GRAP), published in 2013, set goals for the composition and proportion of the regular member workforce to reflect 30% women by 2025 (RCMP, n.d., 2018). They also have a target goal to make the proportion of women in officer and executive positions at all levels to be at least 30% by 2025 (RCMP, 2018). If attained, the RCMP maintains that they will continue to set reasonable and attainable goals to reach gender parity. However, if unmet, the RCMP will continue to review its efforts, track the number of women applicants, and work towards achieving these goals (RCMP, 2018). Contemporary policing as a whole will be challenged to create greater gender diversity based on notions of equal opportunity in the coming years (Silvestri, 2015).

Project Methodology

Diversity can encompass many variables ranging from race and ethnicity to age, sexual orientation, and gender. All categories and forms have merit. However, this major paper focuses on gender, with a particular attention to women in policing. To determine how the RCMP can appeal to more women, this major paper utilized a qualitative methodological approach whereby RCMP recruitment materials were analyzed and policies were reviewed. This decision was due to a number of practical limitations, such as time constraints, financial barriers, and security restrictions to police data. By analyzing the images in recruitment advertisements and the policy approaches taken within the RCMP, this major paper highlights how recruitment techniques have changed over time and what has resulted from these changes. This analysis was supplemented by published research to understand how advertising and recruitment techniques are influenced by societal demographics. By exploring the existing literature, this preliminary study highlights how policies and recruitment methods have changed, the outcomes of these changes, and what more needs to be done to increase the number of qualified females who apply to the RCMP.

Multiple unsuccessful attempts to reach out to the RCMP to gain access to archived image-based advertisements were made. The RCMP's marketing and recruitment units from British Columbia and Ottawa, and Regina Historical Collections Unit indicated that they either no longer had old job postings or did not respond to my request for information. After careful consideration, it was decided to do a Google search, "X RCMP recruitment poster," whereby X was substituted for each year from 1974, the year the first female troop attended Depot, to 2020. The first 100 images for each year were reviewed because there was an enormous number of available images. Moreover, after 100 images, it became clear that the succeeding images were not RCMP recruitment images. Additionally, if duplicate images from multiple years were

identified, they were removed. Law enforcement or first responder career fair posters that included the RCMP among other organizations were excluded because it was not possible to discern if they were developed by the RCMP, even though these images depicted police officers and may contribute to women choosing to not apply to the RCMP. As well, RCMP postings that were for positions other than a police officer were also excluded. By using this approach, in total, 16 images fit the criteria (see Appendix A). Table 1 demonstrates the breakdown of images across the years examined.

Table 1: Number of Images from Each Year

Year	Number of Images
Unspecified year in the 1950s	2
1951	1
1981	1
2012	2
2014	2
2017	2
2018	1
2019	4
Unknown year	1

Each image was verified to establish the year it was published and to ensure advertisements were limited to the RCMP. Each image was reviewed to identify the number of women represented, the role or position the women had, how often and what type of wording was used, and what the purpose of the advertisement was. Subsequently, each image was reviewed chronologically to identify what changes in imagery and wording occurred over time. A final review of the RCMP careers website (RCMP, 2020a) was conducted to see the current image and wording the RCMP is presenting to the public.

Changes in Recruitment Message and Imaging

Upon a review of the images presented on Google, a Mountie in scarlet surge appeared in 8 out of 16 RCMP advertisements (50%), with six of these eight Mounties being male (75%); these images ranged from the 1950s to 2019. A cursory review of the advertisements suggests that the RCMP recruitment material was consistent with the notion that, for much of the history of the RCMP, the organization was considered a white, male service. One 1951 advertisement went so far as to say “a permanent career in the RCMP is available to young men” suggesting that women were unwanted. This advertisement depicted a white, male Mountie standing upright and rigid to seemingly reinforce the notion that the RCMP was an exclusively male organization. On either side of the Mountie were 10 provincial coats of arms. Below the image, the job requirements were noted, such as being unmarried, between the ages of 18 to 30 years old, in good physical condition, over 5’8” tall, and of good character. It also stated what was offered by the organization, such as security, prestige, adventure, an opportunity for advancement, and a salary starting at \$170 to \$200 per month (see Advertisement 3 in Appendix A). The other two advertisements from the 1950s included white male Mounties standing alone and smiling. Both posters had the lines, “a career in scarlet” and “you are invited to help maintain the right,” followed by invitations to join the RCMP (see Advertisements 1 and 2 in Appendix A). However, such advertisements failed to include any wording or visual imagery regarding what the position entailed and what the RCMP had to offer. All three 1950s advertisements only included white men, which could serve to send a clear message of what kind of person the RCMP was looking to recruit and join their organization. In effect, the lack of racially diverse visual imagery may have influenced the lower ratings of organizational attractiveness of the RCMP for visible minorities (Linos, 2018; Riccucci et al., 2014).

The next advertisement was from the 1980s since there were no images on Google from the 1960s and 1970s. The 1980s RCMP poster included women alongside men in uniform (see Advertisement 4 in Appendix A). Of note, as there was an approximately 20-year gap in the posters that were available for this major paper, it was not possible to determine exactly what year women began to appear in RCMP recruitment posters. However, this shift in advertising coincided somewhat with the RCMP hiring women as regular members in 1974 after a rise in feminism and political pressure on the RCMP to allow women to be officers (CTV News, 2020; Ingram, 2014; Reilly Schmidt, 2013).

One advertisement from 1981 depicted an altruistic side of policing (see Advertisement 4 in Appendix A). This was an improvement in comparison to prior postings because, according to the ATA paradigm, people with higher PSM are more likely to be employed in public service professions as the ability to help others is very appealing to them (Linos, 2018; Perry et al., 2010; Perry & Wise, 1990; Schneider, 1987). Rather than the advertisement imagery depicting a sole white male Mountie in red serge, this poster demonstrated police officers serving various roles. For example, one male police officer appears to be engaging with the community by speaking to a young boy and his dog. The image also displays a female police officer giving directions or assisting a lady on a bicycle. In the top left corner of the image, there is also an illustration of a male and a female police officer standing side by side, which can signal the desire to have members of both genders in policing. This advertisement provided the opportunity to conceive of policing as a helping profession to attract a wider range of potential applicants, particularly those with higher PSM.

Still, it is interesting to note that, in the job advertisement, women were not in the recognizable red serge. Instead, they were depicted in suits, skirts, and heels (see Advertisement

4 in Appendix A). These advertisements were an accurate depiction of what women were allowed to wear, at that time, in the RCMP. Women were given short skirts, panty hoses, red blazer jackets, polyester turtleneck shirts, and heels to perform their police duties (CTV News, 2020; Ingram, 2014); they were not permitted to wear the serge. One possible explanation for this was to ensure that women police officers maintained their femininity (CTV News, 2020).

However, PSM messaging alone is ineffective at attracting applicants who are not drawn to public service positions (Linos, 2018; Perry et al., 2010). Although potential applicants may be interested in organizational characteristics, they also make decisions to apply to a position based on recruiting variables, such as pay (Chapman et al., 2005; Feldman et al., 2006). Thus, it is essential that the intrinsic and extrinsic needs of potential applicants be considered, such as career advancement and benefits (Linos, 2018). The 1981 advertisement also presented information considering the intrinsic and extrinsic needs of applications by identifying a starting salary of \$18,430 and what qualifications were required to become an RCMP officer, such as being a Canadian citizen, possessing a valid driver's licence, and being proficient in English or French. It also indicated that applicants must be "of good character and good health" without specifying what these terms meant. It also included the benefits of joining the organization, such as undertaking an interesting, challenging, and rewarding career, and a single line that "this posting is open to both men and women" without any additional efforts made to encourage female candidates to apply (see Advertisement 4 in Appendix A).

Similar to the 1960s and 1970s, Google did not have any recruitment posters from the RCMP for the 1990s. Moving into the 2000s, advertisements began publicizing the different positions within the RCMP. In total, 11 images of RCMP job posting advertisements were found between 2012 and 2019. While some advertisements were quite basic (9.1%), simply inviting

applicants to become a member or join the organization in bold letters without any visual representation of people or what the job entails (see Advertisements 5 and 6 in Appendix A), others (27.3%) included images depicting police officers of both genders on snowmobiles, bicycles, and helping people in car accidents (see Advertisements 7, 8, and 11 in Appendix A). In total, eight of the eleven postings (72.7%) encouraged people to attend career presentations or information sessions and one (9.1%) specifically invited women to attend these sessions (9.1%).

Advertisement 9 from 2012 depicted a female police officer on duty in the foreground wearing the same uniform as a male police officer in the background. One could imagine that both officers hold the same position or role as there was nothing in the image to distinguish between the two members. It was around 2012 when advertisements began utilizing more vague tag lines such as “a career nowhere near ordinary” (see Advertisement 9 in Appendix A). However, postings with such tag lines failed to include what characteristics the RCMP was specifically looking for in recruits (see Advertisements 9 and 10 in Appendix A).

Advertisement 8 was also from 2012. It displayed a non-white female officer on a bicycle. This advertisement explicitly used visual imagery to emphasize gender and racial diversity to increase organizational attractiveness for women and visible minorities (Linos, 2018; Riccucci et al., 2014). The ATA model suggests that applicants pursue jobs that fit their characteristics, needs, and values through the type of work offered (Chapman et al., 2005). While the decision may be influenced by the ability of the position to gratify their altruistic orientation (Perry et al., 2010; Perry & Wise, 1990), this kind of advertisement may have also conveyed a specific message of the type of ‘softer’ work women in policing do, such as bike patrol. During this time, the RCMP’s recruitment materials also began to advise prospective female applicants that “women provide a unique policing perspective” and could “contribute to a balanced

approach to resolving problems” (Quan, 2014). In alignment with this general outlook, this advertisement and others began to promote women-only career fairs (see Advertisement 8 in Appendix A).

In 2014, the RCMP also noted that men tended to be “more physical and confrontational, whereas women tend to focus on communication” (Quan, 2014). This perspective was validated in a 2014 advertisement where a male police officer appears helping a woman in distress (see Advertisement 11 in Appendix A). An ambulance can also be seen in the background with another officer directing traffic on a police motorcycle. Both police positions are physical and may signal both a helping and a crime fighting role. Of note, there were no female police officers present in this advertisement. Instead, the only image of a woman in this advertisement was the person receiving assistance from the police.

By 2017, women dressed in the familiar serge became the focal point of several advertisements. Such postings enabled women to be represented the same way as men. While the image of the sole Mountie in red serge remained fundamentally the same, two advertisements used the image of a women police officer standing alone in what appears to be the same location as her male counterpart (see Advertisements 10 and 12 in Appendix A). Presenting a visual image can strengthen the message that women are welcome into policing by enabling women to perceive her as a peer (Linos, 2018).

Additionally, by 2017, the specific assignments and units, such as financial crime, police dog services, and tactical troop, were identified as potential opportunities (see Advertisements 9 and 10 in Appendix A). The detailed descriptions of career options provided people with the opportunity to determine their suitability to become a police officer, thereby potentially making them more inclined to apply (Feldman et al., 2006). Although one 2018 posting has only the

image of a single white male police officer, it also included detailed information surrounding what opportunities the RCMP had, the basic application requirements, what the recruiting process entailed, the pay and benefits, and lines such as “the Royal Canadian Mounted Police offers a challenging and exciting career to those interested in making a difference in their communities and their country” (see Advertisement 12 in Appendix A). Moreover, it included the statement “a uniform with your name on it is waiting for you,” which continued to be used in subsequent marketing material. This declaration can make people feel welcome and presents a sense of belonging, yet it still does not specifically target women (see Advertisements 12 and 15 in Appendix A).

By 2019, the RCMP was still using marketing material with minimal information and no specific target demographic (see Advertisements 13, 14, and 15 in Appendix A). To encourage recruits to apply, advertisements depicted a sole male or female Mountie with simple lines like “interested in a career as a police officer? Don’t miss these recruiting events...” All three advertisements neglected to provide any indication of what the role of a police officer is like nor did they specifically target women or diverse communities. Furthermore “A career nowhere near ordinary” was frequently used without any further information about what the job entailed or what kind of person would be suitable for the career. Overall, recruitment advertisements in 2019 and the website for jobs in the RCMP utilized the taglines “vast opportunities,” “adventure,” (see Advertisement 13 in Appendix A) and the statement that “the RCMP offers an exceptional career, letting you make a real difference in your community and your country” (RCMP, 2020a) without showing many officers engaging in these roles or opportunities.

The P-E fit paradigm suggests that people seek complementary and supplementary fit when considering a posting or a job advertisement (Cable & Edwards, 2004). The P-E fit

paradigm emphasizes that a person or organization must provide what the other wants or needs and that both must have similar characteristics and values (Cable & Edwards, 2004). Although some RCMP advertisements from the 2000s identified that policing offered a unique, challenging, and exciting career, in recent years, most advertisements have failed to identify how policing can satisfy applicants' wants and needs, and specifically the desires of female applicants. Both intrinsic and extrinsic needs, such as job security, career advancement, and benefits, were rarely considered or explicitly mentioned (Linos, 2018). Moreover, the more recent RCMP advertisements did not identify or speak to organizational values. This can negatively affect how a potential applicant discerns their fit for an advertised position. Instead, an effective advertisement would clearly articulate what a career in the RCMP has to offer and what its core organizational values are.

While shifts in policing from rapid response to community policing to problem-oriented policing to intelligence-led policing to crime reduction has expanded the police mandate from a wholly crime-fighting role to one that addresses wider community issues offering residents the opportunity to help identify and solve local problems (Workman-Stark, 2015), this is not the image the RCMP portrays in its recruitment advertisements. In all of the RCMP advertisement images identified for this major paper, not one included an RCMP officer engaging in community policing, problem-oriented policing, or intelligence-led policing.

The RCMP says that they want diversity, but the message they are putting out in their job postings do not necessarily reflect this or target these types of potential applicants. The principal recruitment message put out by the RCMP is “a uniform with your name is waiting for you” (RCMP, 2020a). Although it is indistinct, universal, and omits any previous policing stereotypes, no identifiable effort is being made to recruit minority groups nor does it

acknowledge that underrepresented groups are welcome and wanted. Moreover, it does not recognize the historical exclusion of minority groups from policing which may make it difficult for such groups to feel that they truly belong.

Although SDT would suggest that men and women use everyday language differently and that gendered wording in recruitment materials heightens the underrepresentation of women in traditionally male-dominated occupations, it appears that the RCMP has consistently disregarded any use of women-centred wording in their advertisements (Gaucher et al., 2011). This has the potential to affect the psychological process of female applicants. Advertisements that do not specifically and directly signal that women are desired for the position can discourage women from applying (Gaucher et al., 2011). Women tend to be more attracted to male-dominated positions when advertisements refer to both men and women as candidates, or explicitly refer to women as ideal candidates (Gaucher et al., 2011). Therefore, the RCMP must clearly identify that underrepresented groups are encouraged to apply in their advertisements.

Of note, the RCMP careers website does include a Women in Policing section that acknowledges the contribution of women since 1974 and that “the RCMP is committed to increasing the number of female police officers in our organization. From Constable to Commissioner, anything is possible for the proud and dedicated women who serve in this historic organization” (RCMP, 2020b). While the RCMP stated that, in 2015-2016, their careers website was overhauled to include updated language and a new “common look and feel” to reflect the guidelines implemented by the Government of Canada (RCMP, 2018), their page is quite vague and does not provide much information specific to women except the opportunity to attend a “Women in Policing” career presentation that provides women a unique opportunity to

meet and get advice from female recruiters and learn about their experiences as police officers (RCMP, 2020b).

The RCMP claims its current advertising campaign highlights diverse men and women in numerous policing specializations, such as bike patrol (RCMP, 2018; see Advertisement 8 in Appendix A). The RCMP pledges to continue to improve the design and content of its recruitment materials to include more women and utilize broader inclusive language that reflects the belief that women and men are equally capable and meritorious of promotion (RCMP, 2018). They also claim they will solicit input on all recruitment resources from all persons working within the RCMP (RCMP, 2018).

Upon a review of the advertisements, it became clear that the RCMP presents itself as a primarily male organization without any visual efforts to increase the number of women it employs as police officers. The RCMP conveys that they want more women to apply to the organization; however, they are not indicating that message in their advertisements, nor are they consistently presenting images of women wearing the red serge or in the line of duty. There appears to be a disconnect between what they say they would like to achieve and the posting they are using to achieve their goals. As times change, it is unlikely that police agencies will continue to comprehend recruitment as simply placing an advertisement in the local newspaper or on their website or having a display at a university career fair. Thus, the ability to understand recruitment as marketing may involve a significant paradigm shift among police agencies (Milgram, 2002).

Advertisement Recommendations to Increase the Number of Women in the RCMP

Three components influence an individual's intention to complete a job application process: one's attitude towards the organization, the job itself, and the work context (Feldman et

al., 2006). Although many practical considerations influence an individual's decision to apply for a job, such as geographical location or having the skills required, unobservable reflections provide guidance as well, such as fit and belonging. Based on an assessment of the published literature and the RCMP's own advertisements, there are a number of recommendations that the police should consider to better address diversity in policing and increase the number of women in the organization.

Articulate Clearly What the RCMP has to Offer Women

The attraction and retention of diverse high-quality employees is essential for an organization's success (McNab & Johnson, 2002). One way this can be accomplished is by making the organization attractive to a large portion of the applicant pool. This includes groups, such as women, ethnic minorities, and elderly people, that may have previously faced discrimination in the workforce. By attracting a larger number of people, more will apply (McNab & Johnson, 2002).

Messages that identify long-term career benefits tend to be the most effective in recruitment (Linos, 2018). The RCMP must stop using vague taglines, such as "a career nowhere near ordinary." These types of messages do not indicate that the RMCP wants more diverse individuals to apply. Instead, messages that emphasize the personal benefits of applying are three times more successful at getting people to apply without an observable loss in applicant quality than those without (Linos, 2018). Personal benefits include challenges of the job or career advantages (Linos, 2018). Such messages are specifically successful with women since they identify extrinsic and intrinsic incentives, making those who may not have otherwise been interested policing motivated to apply (Linos, 2018). Therefore, these messages should certainly

be considered when the policy goal of a police organization is to increase the diversity of applicants (Linos, 2018).

Additionally, less cognitive effort is required by applicants when information concerning the position is explicit (Feldman et al., 2006). For instance, it is important that advertisements or other recruiting materials clearly identify that women are wanted and recommend that they apply. Specific advertisements designed to attract women can result in more positive attitudes towards the organization and the perception of it being a desirable place to work (Feldman et al., 2006). Offering detailed information to applicants has a multiplicity of potential positive outcomes. It can increase the perception that the advertisement is truthful and informative, it can increase the perception that the advertised position will be appropriate for themselves and other likeminded individuals, and it can increase the likelihood of completing the application process (Feldman et al., 2006). Most RCMP advertisements contained minimal information regarding the role of a police officer and the organization as a whole. This lack of detail can cause an applicant to question how accurate and honest the advertisement's claims are. Instead, the RCMP should provide clear, specific, and comprehensive information that enables applicants to determine whether the position is appropriate for them.

Advertisements with specific messages and focal attributes, such as a female police officer, tend to be more credible and memorable than advertisements with general or abstract messages (Feldman et al., 2006). Detailed advertisements also have the ability to reduce the number of unqualified candidates (Feldman et al., 2006). Conversely, general advertisements are less informative and create unintended misperceptions about the job itself. By decreasing the amount of information provided in an advertisement, the believability of the message may be

reduced and a negative attitude towards the organization may be generated (Feldman et al., 2006).

Moreover, it is important to identify the gender difference in specific recruitment activities (Chapman et al., 2005). Job-specific information is often provided to establish initial beliefs and expectations concerning the job (Feldman et al., 2006). Applicants typically pay more attention to the parts of advertisements that offer detailed information, like exact starting salary, rather than to vague information without clear data (Feldman et al., 2006). When determining the attractiveness of a position, women tend to consider information about job characteristics, such as location and pay, more than men, and may be more likely than men to seek a position that offers a location or benefits that are less likely to conflict with other life roles, such as being the primary caregiver to children (Chapman et al., 2005). Therefore, it is important for advertisements to include attributes, such as location and pay, when seeking to increase the number of female applicants. Highlighting organizational attributes that reduce the conflict with non-work roles, such as flexible hours, location, family-friendly benefits, and on-site daycares, may make an organization more attractive to women (Chapman et al., 2005). However, some research has suggested that these benefits are becoming less important for women as societal norms change (Chapman et al., 2005).

Lastly, espousing the ATA model, people with intentions to do good for others and society seek a fit with their personal characteristics, needs, and values (Perry et al.; Perry & Wise, 1990). Advertisements must clearly identify the ways a police officer can help society and communities to encourage women and other minority groups with higher PSM to apply. When women know what the RCMP has to offer and how the organization will fit their characteristics,

needs, and values, they will be more inclined to apply, thereby increasing the number of women within the organization.

Fit is Fundamental

Advertisements have the ability to convey information about both the recruiting process and job content (Feldman et al., 2006). Characteristics of the job and organization are important factors in determining an applicant's intention to apply (Chapman et al., 2005). For example, perceptions of the recruiting process and organizational characteristics, such as the type of work and work environment directly influence an applicant's intentions. Consequently, they affect job choice predictions (Chapman et al., 2005). Minor modifications to job advertisements have the potential to influence a person's perception of an organization. The attractiveness of a position can be enhanced by emphasizing the positive characteristics of a job and the work environment (Chapman et al., 2005). This can affect people's discernment of belonging within an organization and whether they choose to apply (Feldman et al., 2006; Linos, 2018; McNab & Johnston 2002). A job advertisement may be an indication of how an organization's values and mission fit with the applicant's identity and values (Lincoln, 2018). It also can convey what skills are essential to be successful in the position. This can be understood as person-job fit.

As per the Person-Environment Fit Paradigm, candidates often search for cues of person-environment fit within an advertisement when determining whether they will apply for a particular job (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Linos, 2018). Supplementary fit considers the compatibility between the values or personality of an applicant with those of the organization (Cable & Edwards 2004; Linos, 2018). Complementary fit asks how an organization can fulfill the applicant's psychological needs, such as feelings of autonomy, competency, or relatedness. It

is the feeling that one can fulfill the requirements of their job and belong within the organization (Linos, 2018).

Therefore, it is essential for police organizations to provide suitable signals of complementary and supplementary fit that would attract new and different candidates (Linos, 2018). By identifying the necessary skills, perhaps focusing on some that women statistically excel in, such as taking initiative, resilience, and developing relationships, applying to the RCMP may be more attractive to a larger number of women (Gaucher et al., 2011; Linos, 2018; Zenger & Folkman, 2019). In addition, job postings can include ways the RCMP can meet women's psychological and emotional needs.

Moreover, an individual's values can guide their decisions and behaviors (Cable & Edwards, 2004). Accordingly, the careers they choose reflect their preferences, values, and experiences. These attitudes provide motivation, direction, and purpose for an individual to pursue a particular career path (Ferreira & Coetzee, 2010). What should be emphasized in job advertisements is largely dependent on whom the RCMP is trying to attract (Linos, 2018). Each distinct attribute will attract a certain type of applicant. For example, including work-life balance as a job description in an advertisement will be attractive to some applicants but not others. Given this, advertisements should include attributes that motivate the type of person the RCMP wants to hire (Linos, 2018). The intrinsic and extrinsic needs and values of potential applicants must match the needs and values of the police organization and what is conveyed in the advertisement (Linos, 2018). Small changes to language included in the advertisement can change who is interested in a position (Linos, 2018). For example, utilizing words, such as compassion, connection, interpersonal, and loyalty, appeal to women and can encourage them to apply (Gaucher et al., 2011).

Perceptions of fit have proven to be one of the strongest predictors of an applicant's attraction to a position (Chaman et al., 2005). Nevertheless, despite perceptions of fit being a stronger predictor than recruiter characteristics and job–organizational characteristics, the extent of the improvement is often small (Chaman et al., 2005). This is important to consider because it often takes additional resources to focus on individual applicant needs than to provide broad-based recruiting practices that are attractive to a large number of applicants to fill numerous vacancies (Chaman et al., 2005).

When developing advertisements, the RCMP may be confronted with the challenge to either design a general advertisement with limited job details that appeals to the masses to increase the size of the applicant pool or to include many specific details, thereby limiting the number of interested applicants (Feldman et al., 2006). Although having a large number of candidates may appear advantageous, such advertisements may also increase the number of unqualified or inappropriate applicants and become unappealing to individuals with selective search strategies who may very well be the best fit for the job (Feldman et al., 2006). Therefore, an advertisement should provide important information regarding the type of person an organization is trying to attract (Linos, 2018). While organizations use advertisements to recruit job candidates for vacant job openings, they also use them to screen out applicants with inadequate knowledge, skills, and abilities to perform the tasks of the job (Feldman et al., 2006). To attract women, such phrases can include empathy, effective communication, and the ability to build relationships to instill a sense of fit (Workman-Stark, 2015). However, it must be remembered that although organizations desire a large applicant pool to maximize their likelihood of finding the best potential candidates, by increasing the applicant pool, the amount of time and money spent on the selection process increases (Feldman et al., 2006).

Woman-Centred Wording

Supported by SDT research, the existence of social inequality and divisions of labour can be perpetuated and preserved in a variety of ways (Gaucher et al., 2011). Gaucher et al. (2011) found that job advertisements for occupations that are primarily male dominated utilized more stereotypical masculine words or words associated with male stereotypes, such as leader, competitive, and dominant, compared to advertisements for positions largely occupied by women (Gaucher et al., 2011). However, no difference was noted in the presence of feminine wording or words associated with female stereotypes, such as support, understanding, or interpersonal, within positions or jobs that are not dominated by a gender (Gaucher et al., 2011).

Gaucher et al. (2011) found that when advertisements included more masculine than feminine words, there was a perception that more men worked within these occupations. In addition, women found these jobs less appealing (Gaucher et al., 2011). Gendered wording is common in male-dominated fields like policing. Consequently, it contributes to the division of traditional gender roles by dissuading women's interest in applying to the police (Gaucher et al., 2011). By addressing women with advertisements or a webpage specific to them, with gender-specific wording, they can be encouraged to apply. These efforts by the organization demonstrate to women that they are wanted, valued, and important.

Messenger Characteristics

A job advertisement is composed of both a message and a messenger. Accordingly, both channels are important. A messenger not only depicts whom the organization is trying to attract, but also influences the way a message is perceived by underrepresented groups (Linos, 2018).

The messenger in an advertisement can strengthen the message for individuals who perceive the messenger as a peer from a variety of perspectives, such as race, age, or gender (Linos, 2018).

Milgram (2002) suggested that the following messages should be included in all recruitment efforts, “we have women officers who are role models in our department, we want women, we welcome women, women are leaders in our organization and have upward career paths, women have career opportunities in all areas of the agency, including special operations, and law enforcement offers a good salary and benefits” (p. 24). This creates strong positive messages to encourage and increase the number of women recruits (Milgram, 2002). Both messenger and messaging must be clear, namely that the organization wants, welcomes, and values diversity (Yu, 2018).

People tend to be more attracted to and trusting of other people who are similar to them (Cable & Edwards, 2004). Of note, visual imagery emphasizing gender and racial diversity is correlated with higher ratings of organizational attractiveness for women and visible minorities because applicants see the diverse messengers as peers (Linos, 2018; Riccucci et al., 2014). By exposing images of successful marginalized populations, the advertisement may resonate more with members of those groups depicted. Subsequently, the application rates of underrepresented groups may increase (Linos, 2018). When a female applicant goes to the home page of a department’s website and only finds photographs of male officers, she is less likely to click through the recruitment information than if she sees images of someone similar to her (Milgram, 2002). Although the RCMP has a separate Women in Policing page that acknowledges that the RCMP is committed to increasing the number of female police officers and encourages women to attend a “Women in Policing” career presentation, overall the RCMP still uses more images of men in its recruitment material and careers webpage. Therefore, if the RCMP wishes to attract

more female applicants, it must ensure that the images on their website, brochures, flyers, and other publications include more women officers (Milgram, 2002).

Recruitment Location

Using advertising as a recruitment strategy may require a major paradigm shift for some police organizations (Milgram, 2002; Yu, 2018). Agencies must proactively recruit through their webpages, social media, and other news outlets to entice quality candidates to apply in an effort to reflect the diversity of the communities they serve (Milgram, 2002; Yu, 2018). Police departments should also reach out to physically active women by posting flyers in non-traditional places, such as gyms, locker rooms of women's sports teams, and facilities for rock climbing, karate, kickboxing, and similar activities (Milgram, 2002). The Delaware State Police Department, for example, has recruited several successful applicants by posting flyers in the women's locker room of a local health club (Milgram, 2002).

There are many police agencies that connect with educational institutions to develop a collaborative goal of recruiting female students. This includes internships for students to strengthen their associations with the police (Milgram, 2002). Additionally, recruiters can pursue potential female applicants by getting in contact with women who have hobbies that are traditionally dominated by men, such as aviation, skydiving, or target shooting (Milgram, 2002). The ability to connect with these lesser-known groups has become easier with the rise of the Internet and digital communication (Milgram, 2002). "When law enforcement agencies reach out to qualified women and send them the message that they are welcome and valued, these departments can significantly increase the number of females in their training academies and ultimately on the force" (Milgram, 2002, p. 23).

Recruiters should also consider reaching out to their own civilian employees. These individuals are already connected to the department and understand its culture (Milgram, 2002). Agency programs, such as police aides, cadets, and reserves, offer potential recruitment opportunities (Milgram, 2002). As an example, the Winnipeg Police Service has recruited several women officers through its cadet program who were eventually accepted into the training academy with a final goal of becoming a police officer (McGuckin, 2018).

Effective Internet Use

The Internet is a primary platform for millennials seeking employment and enables police agencies to provide comprehensive information about their organization and recruitment processes (Milgram, 2002). Police departments are increasingly using the Internet to recruit job applicants (Milgram, 2002). The internet offers an inexpensive method to reach potential candidates from across the country and around the world (Milgram, 2002). One way to increase the number of female applicants is by using targeted marketing strategies. In other words, segmenting the market based on specific socio-demographic and socio-economic factors and implementing women-specific recruitment strategies may be more effective in recruiting more women into the RCMP. This can include having a web page explicitly for women, sponsoring a women-centred police career orientation, or developing a peer mentorship program whereby potential female applicants apply to be matched up with female officers to ask questions, get advice on the recruitment process, and recognize the benefits of becoming a police officer (Milgram, 2002).

One example of an organization with effective Internet usage is the San Jose Police Department (SJPd). An analysis of the department's numbers in 2000 revealed that the

percentage of females in their academy increased from 8% to 50% in approximately one year. In that time, the only change in their recruitment practices was the creation of a women-in-policing section on the agency's website (Milgram, 2000). The 2000 recruitment survey discovered that the largest number of applicants learned of the job openings through the department's website (Milgram, 2002). In this situation, the website presented the SJPD in a way that emphasized its values aligned with female applicants by featuring biographies and photographs of the department's diverse group of female officers (Milgram, 2002). This ties back to the importance of ensuring recruitment materials emphasize that the needs, values, and goals of the organization are compatible with female applicants.

Create a Sense of Belonging

Belongingness affects people's propensity to enter a particular domain. When an organization mentions wanting and supporting diversity, yet shows photos suggesting low minority representation, distrust and discomfort of the organization may develop (Gaucher et al., 2011). "Do I belong?" is a crucial question people ask themselves when deciding to enter, continue, or abandon something (Walton & Cohen, 2007). The need to belong and be socially connected are basic human motivations (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Applicants from underrepresented groups are more likely to be responsive to cues of belonging than their white counterparts (James et al., 2017). Members of socially stigmatized groups tend to be more uncertain about the quality of their social bonds and more sensitive to issues surrounding social belonging. This belonging uncertainty contributes to racial disparities in achievement (Walton & Cohen, 2007).

Walton and Cohen (2007) suggested that some socially stigmatized groups assume that they might not fit into a given organization. They tend to be more sensitive to signals of belonging that lead to the hypothesis “people like me do not belong here” (Linos, 2018; Walton & Cohen, 2007). This includes cues within job advertisements. Stigmatization can create uncertainties about social bonds, leading to belonging uncertainty (Walton & Cohen, 2007). This uncertainty can be compounded by the psychological consequences that result from stigmatization and experiences of mistrust of the motives behind the way people treat them (Walton & Cohen, 2007). This threat to social connectedness and social identity largely affects an individual’s motivation (Walton & Cohen, 2007). To avoid belonging uncertainty, police organizations should include the presence of female officers in marketing campaigns and realistically highlight the duties and responsibilities associated with policing (Yu, 2018).

When law enforcement agencies connect with qualified individuals conveying the message that they are welcome and valued, they can increase considerably the number of diverse individuals selected (Milgram 2002; Yu, 2018). For example, when agencies substantially increase their female applicant pool, there is a higher probability that they will hire more female recruits (Milgram, 2002; Yu, 2018). The RCMP should continue to display women in police roles in their advertisements if they truly wish to increase their number of female officers.

Research Limitations

This major paper examined the ways a number of RCMP job advertisements can encourage or discourage women to apply to become police officers. Due to the restricted length and time available, this major paper was limited solely to the advertisements housed on google.ca. Therefore, advertisements that did not show up in this search were excluded and not

analyzed in this study. In effect, this major paper provided a cursory review of some of the advertisements produced by the RCMP in their recruitment efforts in an attempt to identify the possible relationship between how the RCMP present themselves in a small sample of their recruitment advertisements and the low representation of women in the RCMP. However, as not all recruitment posters were available, the selection used in this major paper may not be representative of all RCMP recruitment posters over the past 70 years. As such, the preliminary findings presented in this major paper should be considered with caution.

It must also be noted that an applicant may value one piece of information in an advertisement over another. For instance, an applicant may consider the pay relative to the job description when deciding whether to apply. Therefore, the relative strength of predictors is dependent upon what factors are being considered (Chapman et al., 2005). Additionally, this major paper focused exclusively on job advertisement wording and imagery. There are other techniques that the RCMP use to encourage women to apply. For example, the recruiter and recruitment process are both important determining factors. The way the recruiting process is perceived affects job choice and an applicant's attitude and intentions (Chapman et al., 2005). How an applicant perceives a recruiter encompasses the recruiter's characteristics and behaviours. For instance, if a recruiter is friendly and competent, a position may appear more attractive, regardless of the imagery used in advertising posters (Chapman et al., 2005). While positive recruiting experiences may not incentivize applicants to accept job offers, there is a greater likelihood that individuals will reject a job offer if they have a negative recruiting experience (Feldman et al., 2006).

Future research should continue to evaluate the value of diversity and what effect diverse groups have on policing. This can include visible minorities, ages, and people of diverse sexual

orientations. Such studies could offer recommendations on how to encourage various diverse groups to apply to policing organizations. Additionally, it is important to identify whether retention is an issue. If it is an issue, it is not sufficient to simply focus on recruitment and marketing methods since it is one issue to get members of diverse groups to apply to the police, and another to keep them in the organization. This leads to the importance of identifying cultural and systemic issues within the organization. That being said, the most effective recruitment messages and methods should continue to be explored in future research, particularly identifying what RCMP messaging, imagery, and tag lines can have the greatest increase in the number of female applicants taking into consideration the suggested recommendations (Linos, 2018).

Conclusion

In recent years, the RCMP has experienced various staffing challenges (Tunney, 2018). Though the challenge in attracting a diverse workforce is not unique to policing (Yu, 2018), the presence of physical risk perpetuates a culture of masculinity and a dominant image of the ideal man who is autonomous, brave, and strong (Workman-Stark, 2015). To encourage masculinity, a focus on the image of the physical crime fighter has remained, while the social service aspects of the job have continued to be downplayed (Workman-Stark, 2015). However, a culture change towards diversity has the potential to maximize the efficiency of a diverse workforce.

Policing continues to evolve. While historically masculine qualities of strength, authority, and power have dominated policing, the introduction of community policing has created an environment that serves to create cooperative relationships with communities (Workman-Stark, 2015). Yet, the findings of this major paper highlight how the RCMP and other police organizations continue to utilize masculine images and wording to define what it means to be a

police officer, both internally within the organization and externally in its advertisements and job postings (Workman-Stark, 2015). Recruitment material continues to portray male police officers in tactical and other traditional crime-fighting roles (Workman-Stark, 2015). This suggests that, despite the increased number of women in policing, the masculine reality within policing has not been wholly resolved (Workman-Stark, 2015). Gender issues, such as sexual abuse, harassment, and discrimination within the RCMP, remain as the organization attempts to shed its old attitudes and aim for equity and diversity (Montgomery, 2016).

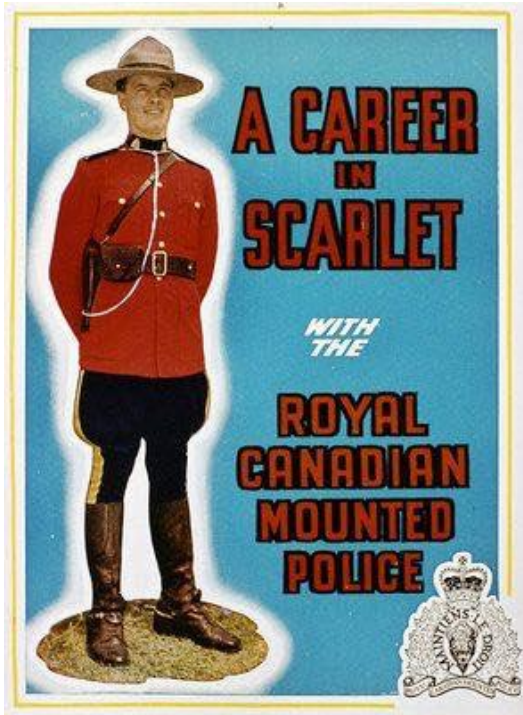
While many elements contribute to obtaining diverse candidates and there is a multiplicity of reasons as to why some groups are less inclined to apply, it is evident that at least part of the equation is how police organizations recruit new members. The results of this research have important implications for police recruitment. Given that many police organizations stress community policing as a guiding philosophy, it is essential that diversity among their members is offered (O'Connor, 2008). Women are unique and bring varied skill sets that focus on communication, critical-thinking, problem-solving, and conflict resolution. Thus, recruiting more women would transform law enforcement (Yu, 2018).

The ability to change the RCMP is a slow process. However, the RCMP aims to move beyond compliance with statutory obligations to inclusion and remains committed to ensuring it is a place where employees feel valued and respected, and able to contribute to their full potential, regardless of gender, ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, age, or any other personal attribute (RCMP, 2015, 2018). The RCMP remains dedicated to increasing the number of women in regular member, officer, and executive positions (RCMP, 2018).

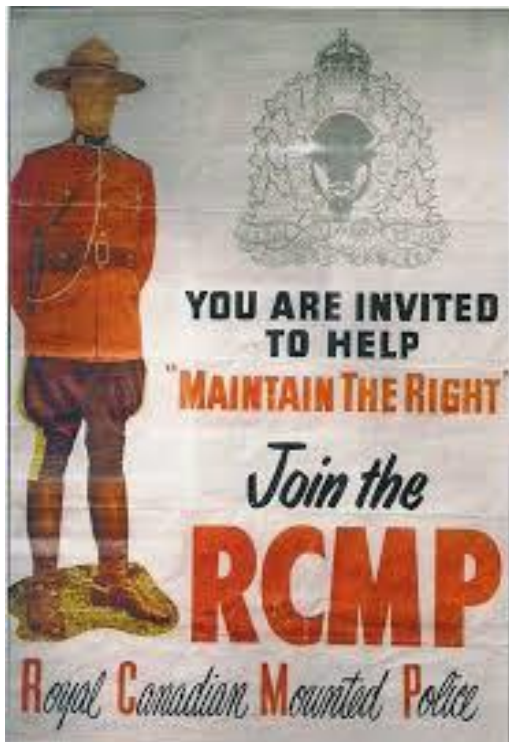
Becoming an inclusive and diverse organization will require a fundamental shift in thinking, culture, leadership styles, and problem solving (RCMP, 2015). However, the RCMP

must continue to pursue initiatives and recruitment methods that combat biases, remove barriers, and encourage underrepresented groups to apply. This can be done by clearly identifying what the RCMP has to offer, providing signals of complementary and supplementary fit, utilizing woman-centred wording and visual images emphasizing diversity, recruiting in strategic locations, effectively using the internet to implement women-specific recruitment strategies, and promoting a sense of belonging and organizational attractiveness for women.

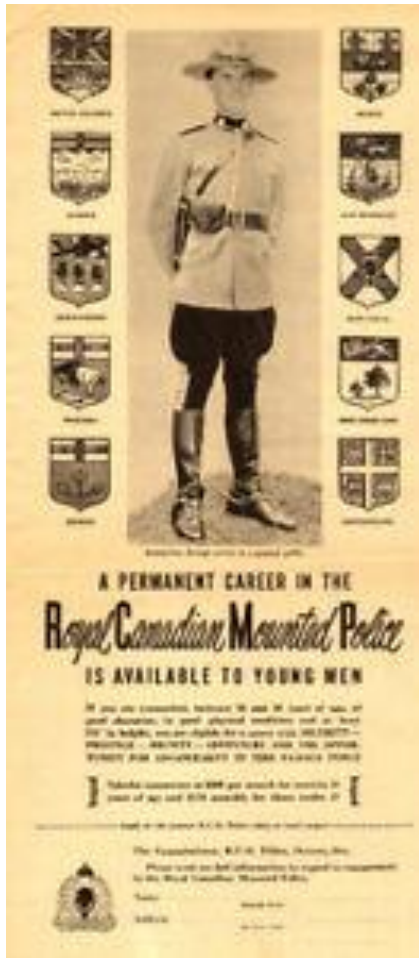
Appendix A – RCMP Advertisements



Advertisement 1: Advertisement from the 1950s - Found on Google Search "1974"



Advertisement 2: Advertisement from the 1950s - Found on Google Search "1974"



Advertisement 3: Advertisement from 1951 - Found on Google Search “1980”



Advertisement 4: Advertisement from 1981 - Found on Google Search “1981”



Advertisement 5: Advertisement from unknown year - Found on Google Search "1974"

Come Join the Force
Law Enforcement Support
Special "I" Vancouver

Advertisement 6: Advertisement from 2017 - Found on Google Search "2014"



Special_I_EDIV@rcmp-grc.gc.ca



RCMP-GRC



RCMPCAREERS.CA
CARRIERESGRC.CA

JOIN THE RCMP	DEVENEZ MEMBRE DE LA GRC
CAREER PRESENTATION April 1 at 6:00 PM RCMP Heritage Centre, SGI Canada Theatre 5507 Dewdney Avenue Regina, SK	PRÉSENTATION SUR LES CARRIÈRES* le 1 avril, à 18 h 00 Centre du patrimoine de la GRC 5507, avenue Dewdney SGI Canada Theatre Regina (SK)
CAREER PRESENTATION April 5 at 10:00 AM SI/AST, Kelsey Campus Room 317 Idylwyld and 33rd Street, Main Building Saskatoon, SK	PRÉSENTATION SUR LES CARRIÈRES* le 5 avril, à 10 h 00 SI/AST, campus de Kelsey, salle 317 Immeuble principal, Idylwyld et 33rd Street Saskatoon (SK)
<small>*A number of a recruitment session is limited. Space is limited. *Le nombre de places d'une séance de recrutement est limité. L'espace est limité.</small>	
NWR.SaskRecruiting@rcmp-grc.gc.ca 1-877-RCMP-GRC (1-877-726-7472)	

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE - GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA

Canada

Advertisement 7: Advertisement from 2014 - Found on Google Search “2000”

RCMP-GRC



WOMEN'S CAREER FORUM
FORUM SUR LES CARRIÈRES POUR LES FEMMES

RCMPCAREERS.CA
CARRIERESGRC.CA

► Join us for an information session on the RCMP selection process and a career as a police officer. Guests are invited to attempt the Physical Abilities Requirement Evaluation (PARE). Come prepared by wearing your athletic gear and register early as space is limited.

NOVEMBER 3, 2012
9 AM-2 PM @ RCMP HEADQUARTERS
657 WEST 37TH AVENUE
VANCOUVER, BC

► Joignez-vous à nous pour assister à une séance d'information sur le processus de sélection de la GRC ainsi qu'une carrière comme agent de police. Les participantes inscrites sont invitées à passer le Test d'aptitudes physiques essentielles (TAPE). Arrivez en tenue de sport, mais inscrivez-vous à l'avance, car les places sont limitées.

LE 3 NOVEMBRE 2012
9 H À 14 H AU QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL DE LA GRC
657 WEST 37TH AVENUE
VANCOUVER (CB)

RSVP as space is limited.
Call 1-877-RCMP-GRC (726-7472) or email lmld_proactive_recruiting@rcmp-grc.gc.ca
Be sure to include the following information: **Your name, phone number and email.**

R.S.V.P., car les places sont limitées.
Appelez au 1-877-RCMP-GRC (726-7472) ou écrivez à l'adresse lmld_proactive_recruiting@rcmp-grc.gc.ca
N'oubliez pas d'indiquer **votre nom, votre numéro de téléphone et votre adresse de courriel.**

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE - GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA

Canada

Advertisement 8: Advertisement from 2012 - Found on Google Search “2011”

RCMP-GRC
ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE / GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA



**A CAREER NOWHERE
NEAR ORDINARY
UNE CARRIÈRE
HORS DE L'ORDINAIRE**

> CAREER PRESENTATION
Friday, October 19 at 6:30 PM
Keyano College - Room CC233
8115 Franklin Avenue

> EXPOSÉ SUR LES CARRIÈRES
Le vendredi 19 octobre à 18 h 30
Collège Keyano
8115, Franklin avenue, salle CC233

> ENTRANCE EXAMS
Saturday, October 20 at 9:00 AM
Keyano College - Room CC228
8115 Franklin Avenue

> EXAMENS D'ADMISSION
Le Samedi 20 octobre à 9 h 00
Collège Keyano
8115, Franklin avenue, salle CC228

ATTENDANCE AT A CAREER PRESENTATION IS NOW THE MANDATORY FIRST STEP IN THE APPLICATION PROCESS. /
ASSISTER À UNE SÉANCE D'INFORMATION SUR LES CARRIÈRES EST MAINTENANT LA PREMIÈRE ÉTAPE OBLIGATOIRE
DU PROCESSUS DE RECRUTEMENT.

PRE-REGISTRATION / INSCRIPTION : 1-877-RCMP-GRC (1-877-726-7472)


Royal Canadian Mounted Police / Gendarmes royaux du Canada

Canada

Advertisement 9: Advertisement from 2012 -
Found on Google Search “2012”

RCMP
ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

**RCMP Career Exhibition
Monday, March 20, 2017**



**10:30am - 1:30pm
GH Atrium**

Advertisement 10: Advertisement from 2017 -
Found on Google Search “2013”

Speak to representatives from the following RCMP units:

- Explosives Disposal Unit
- Financial Crime
- Police Dog Services
- Tactical Troop
- Recruiting
- Chemical Diversion Unit
- Emergency Medical Response Team
- Crisis Negotiator Team
- Marine Services Enforcement Team
- PARE
- Forensic Investigation Section

UNIVERSITY OF
**GUELPH
HUMBER**
Career & Placement Services

For further details or questions please contact Allison.Scully@guelphhumber.ca

RCMP • GRC
ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE • GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA



WE'RE HIRING!
NOUS EMBAUCHONS!

RCMPCAREERS.CA
CARRIERESGRC.CA

CAREER PRESENTATION	PRÉSENTATION SUR LES CARRIÈRES*
September 12, 2014 at 6 PM	Le 12 septembre 2014 à 18h
Wood Buffalo RCMP Detachment 105 Paquette Drive Fort McMurray, AB	Détachement de la GRC de Wood Buffalo 105 Paquette Drive Fort McMurray (AB)

Attendance at a career presentation is the first step in the application process. / Participer à une séance d'information sur les carrières est la première étape du processus de recrutement. *Veuillez noter que cette séance sera présentée en anglais.

Registration / Inscription:
1-877-RCMP-GRC (1-877-726-7472)

Advertisement 11: Advertisement from 2014 - Found on Google Search “2014”

RCMP
ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

THE RCMP ARE HIRING!

Attend an upcoming RCMP Career Presentation:

Wednesday, February 7, 2018 @ 6:30pm

Location: St. George's Indian Band Museum

To pre-register contact:
RCMP Recruiting Officer
Cst. April Janes
709-772-5584
nlrecruiting@rcmp-grc.gc.ca

1-877-RCMP-GRC (1-877-726-7472)

A UNIFORM WITH YOUR NAME ON IT IS WAITING FOR YOU

rcmpcareers.ca

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES INCLUDE:

- General Duty
- Forensic Identification
- Community Policing
- Technological Crime
- Marine Security
- Youth Liaison
- Police Dog Services
- Musical Ride
- Emergency Response
- Drug Enforcement
- Peacekeeping
- & over 100 more

The ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE offers a challenging and exciting career to those interested in making a difference in their communities and their country.

BASIC REQUIREMENTS

- Canadian citizenship or Canadian permanent resident status (10 consecutive years of residency)
- At least 19 years of age at the time of engagement
- Proficiency in English or French
- Valid, unrestricted driver's licence
- Canadian high school diploma (or equivalent)
- Meet health & psychological standards
- Meet vision & hearing standards
- Willing to relocate anywhere in Canada or be pre-posted to British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, or Manitoba

THE RECRUITING PROCESS

- 01 Submit an online application
- 02 Write the RCMP Entrance Exam
- 03 Forms completion
- 04 Complete the pre-employment Polygraph Examination
- 05 Have a health assessment
- 06 Undergo a Field Investigation and security clearance

CADET TRAINING PAY

RCMP cadets receive an allowance of \$500 per week during the 26-week training period.

PAY and BENEFITS

At engagement	\$53,144
After 6 months	\$60,040
After 12 months	\$74,916
After 24 months	\$80,790
After 36 months	\$86,110







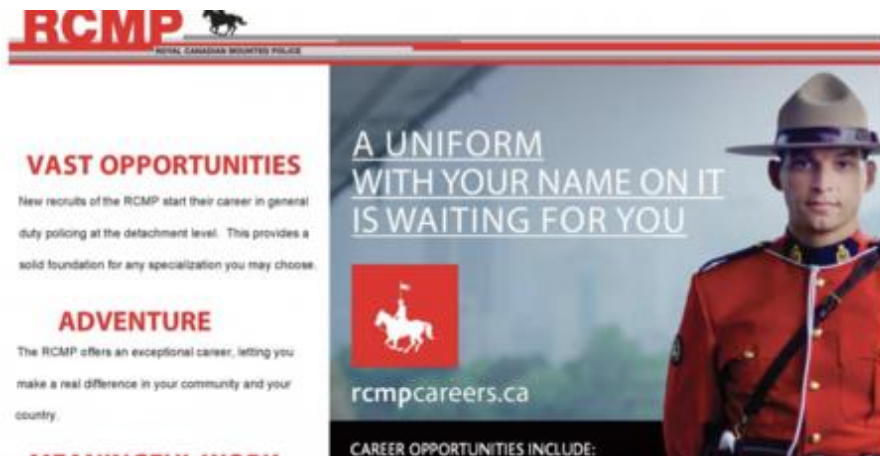






Canada

Advertisement 12: Advertisement from 2018 - Found on Google Search “2016”



Advertisement 13:
Advertisement from 2019 -
Found on Google Search “2019”



Advertisement 14: Advertisement from 2019 - Found on Google Search “2019”

<p>CAREER PRESENTATION</p> <p>June 27, 2019, 6:00 pm Whitehorse RCMP Detachment 4100 4th Avenue, Whitehorse, Yukon</p> <p>Find out more about career opportunities, the recruiting process, requirements and expectations for applying, and much more.</p>	<p>ENTRANCE EXAM WORKSHOP</p> <p>June 28, 2019, 10:00 am Whitehorse RCMP Detachment 4100 4th Avenue, Whitehorse, Yukon</p> <p>Review components of the exam and sample questions with a recruiter, and walk away with tips and study resources to help you prepare.</p>
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Registration is mandatory. To reserve your spot, please call **1-877-726-7472** or email **LMD_proactive_recruiting@rcmp-grc.gc.ca**.

Recruiting Event



RCMP Recruitment & Selection Process

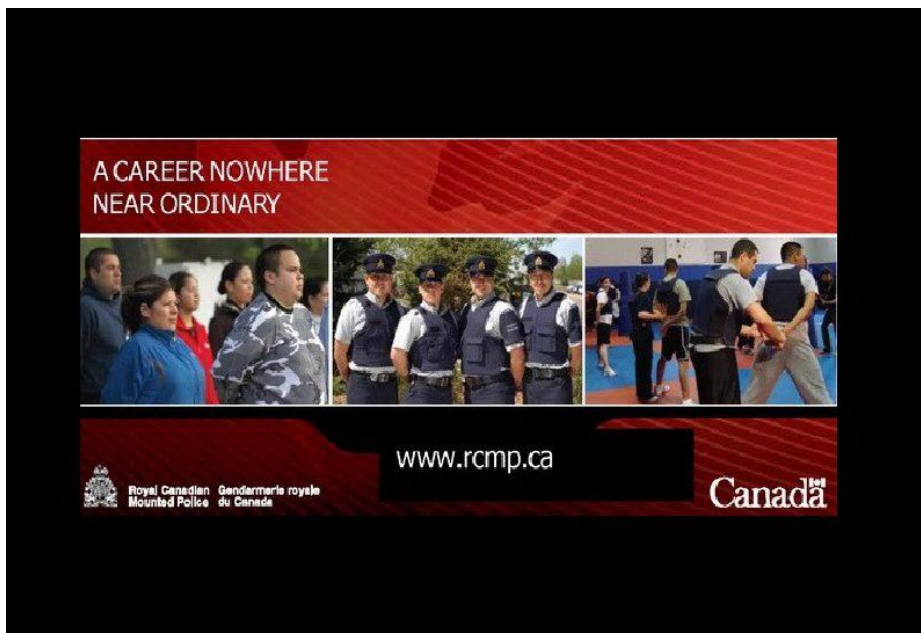
August 21 | 10:00 am - 12:00 pm
Call to register - Space is limited!

Next-Steps
Employment
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Advertisement 15: Advertisement from 2019 - Found on Google Search "2019"



Advertisement 16: Advertisement from 2019 - Found on Google Search "2019"

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