

Sexism and misogyny as traits of police culture. Problems, red flags and solutions.

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to utilise pre-existing literature, to explore the problems of misogyny and sexism currently found to be operating within the police service and to provide recommendations around reform. This paper will analyse problems associated with sexism and misogyny at a time of media scrutiny, following Baroness Casey's Review of the Metropolitan Police culture, which identifies these concepts as an institutional problem which can impact upon female police officers and women in general.

The paper will begin by highlighting the importance of understanding the differences between sexism and misogyny and will then review potential strategies towards police reform. These changes will include a review of policy and law; use of education; leadership changes; reform to the Police Complaints and Discipline system, male peer support and more effective whistleblowing processes. The article concludes by establishing that all strategies are worthy of consideration in order to reform a negative police culture. It also acknowledges that failures to respond to the challenges of dealing with misogyny and sexism effectively, will result in the strengthening of a police culture, which continues to damage police reputation, public trust and which will consequently affect all who are victim and witness to this behaviour.

Keywords: Police, Police Culture, Sexism and Misogyny.

Introduction

The concept of trust is an important factor within police - public relations, without which the police cannot effectively rely on the cooperation and engagement of the public (Jackson and Bradford, 2010). The concept of trust will therefore be tantamount to perceptions of the police as a legitimate body (Goldsmith, 2005), which in turn will facilitate public support for the organisation (Van Damme, 2015). Through this notion of legitimacy, the public provide consent to be governed by the police and adhere to a sense of obligation to conform, as this is 'the right thing to do' (Jackson et al, 2012, p.151).

The importance of policing by consent was highlighted by Sir Robert Peel, when issuing the nine principles of policing to a new body of Metropolitan Police in 1829 (Joyce, 2011). These principles took the form of guidance, which embodied the importance of concepts such as public support and policing by consent (Joyce, 2011). For Peel, discipline and control within a new body of police was vital, as police duties and the ability to perform the police role were incumbent upon public approval (Williams, 2003), which in turn would be dependent upon police 'actions and behaviour and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect' (Gov.UK, 2023, No page). Therefore as a state institution, the police even in modern times, must maintain the cooperation and compliance of the public by 'developing policies that generate legitimacy' (Jackson et al, 2012b, p.2), whilst also enabling positive interactions with the community in order to build trust (College of Policing, 2023c). Furthermore, during times of damage to police legitimacy, if the police as an organisation can demonstrate success in both its ability and wish to implement the correct course of action, then levels of trust and confidence in the police can be restored (Hall, 2011).

Although Peel's Principles remain important for policing (Robertson, 2012), Peel's ideology for the Metropolitan Police Service has recently been subject to reputational damage, which has consequently impacted upon recruitment drives (BBC News, 2023). This damage has partly resulted from the inappropriate conduct of police officers, who have displayed racist and sexist attitudes and behaviour towards minority group officers, based within the police organisation. These matters have been evidenced and reviewed within recent Governmental Reports such as the Operation Hutton Report, published in 2022 by the Independent Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) and the Baroness Casey Review published in 2023 (Casey, 2023).

The Operation Hutton Report (IOPC, 2022), followed the murder and sexual assault of civilian Sarah Everard, by serving Metropolitan Police Officer Wayne Couzens and highlighted details of nine linked incidents, exposing the prejudicial language and inappropriate conduct displayed on social media platforms by officers from Charing Cross Police Station in London. Both the Operation Hutton Report and the 2023 review into police standards conducted by Baroness Casey (Casey, 2023), identified the existence of a negative police culture operating within the Metropolitan Police. The latter Review describing the Metropolitan Police as institutionally 'racist, misogynistic and homophobic' (Casey, 2023: p.7).

Under new Metropolitan Police Commissioner Mark Rowley, the Metropolitan Police have responded by expressing a strong determination to ‘root out those responsible’ within what has been described as an ‘appalling culture’ (The Guardian, 2022, No page). Consequently, the police will now face a challenge in attempting to dismiss officers from the service and also face a broader challenge, in rebuilding trust and legitimacy in the eyes of the public, at the heart of which, is tackling the current problems associated with sexism and misogyny.

When reviewing matters of sexism and misogyny found within the police, Wisely (2023) argues that these subjects are not easy to understand and are often neglected as areas of study and further warns, that a lack of attention to these concepts will result in a lack of solutions. Therefore, it is vital that the meanings and differences of sexism and misogyny are fully understood. To facilitate this understanding, Parikh et al (2021, p.18) define sexism as ‘discrimination on the basis of one’s sex that predominantly afflicts women, whereas misogyny implies hate or entrenched prejudices against women’. However, although sexism and misogyny are given different interpretations by Parikh et al (2021, p.18), with the definition of misogyny reliant on terms such as ‘hate’ and ‘entrenched prejudice’, this paper will highlight that often the line between sexism and misogyny and what types of incidents fall under these definitions, can be difficult to gauge.

In order to explore the two subjects of sexism and misogyny in more depth, this paper will now seek to review the following matters. Firstly, it will discuss the existence of a police culture where sexism and machismo operate as cultural traits, within a predominantly male organisation. The paper will next provide a brief overview of why sexism and misogyny must be identified as two separate phenomena. It will then explain the importance for the police in combatting the two matters and the implications of not doing so. The paper will then review potential strategies for dealing with sexism and misogyny, which include changes in police policy; leadership reform; peer support; moving complaints of sexism and misogyny away from internal police processes; the beneficial use of education during the early stages of recruitment and also the use of an effective whistleblowing system. It will conclude by highlighting how the existence of sexism and misogyny can be detrimental to both the police as an organisation and society in general and the benefits of providing consideration to solutions, which seek to challenge a negative culture of sexism and misogyny.

An Existing Police Culture

As a state organisation, the police like any other organisation operate within a culture, which is often attributed to both problems associated with the police and discussions of police actions (Cockcroft, 2013). However, the actual term *police culture* is a difficult concept to define (Westmarland, 2012). Reiner (1992, p.109) for example highlights how cop culture relates to “the values, norms, perspectives and craft rules that inform police conduct”, whilst Loftus (2008: No page) defines cop culture as “ a set of shared informal norms; beliefs and values that underpin and inform police outlooks and behaviour towards people”. What is apparent however, is the existence of particular traits which form part of this culture. Examples of these cultural traits will include sexism, machismo and solidarity (Reiner, 1992).

According to Fielding (1994, p.47), the existence of machismo originates from a culture of ‘hegemonic masculinity’, existing within a predominantly male workplace, where patriarchal views and misogyny are used against women, within a culture identified as physically demanding and one which is perceived as only being able to be performed by men (Waddington, 1999). According to Adisa et al (2019), these patriarchal views are constructed by males and reinforce the view that men are more dominant than women. As a result, the disparity displayed via gender stereotypes and inequality between the sexes, becomes embedded (Adisa et al, 2019). According to Lila et al (2013), a powerful male police culture will support the existence of sexism and will reinforce perceptions that policing is only for males (Wilson et al, 2001). According to Charlesworth and Robinson (2012), the perception that a man can conduct the policing role better than a woman, has also extended to male hostility being displayed towards female officers who have requested to work part time.

Despite these negative views of women held by some male police officers, the police have attempted to reform the culture by increasing diversity within the organisation (College of Policing, 2023b). This has been actioned through direct entry programmes which seek to broaden diversity of perspectives amongst the police (Smith , 2016), as well as developing initiatives such as the Police Uplift Programme, which looked to address matters of inclusion and diversity (College of Policing, 2020). Yet, according to Brown et al (2019), attempts to reform the police through policies promoting equal opportunities, can result in a backlash by those who feel threatened by such polices, leading to further discriminatory behaviour. Furthermore, there is an acknowledgement via the Equal Opportunities Act 2010, which assists in promoting equality in the workplace and within society (Gov.UK, 2015), that

equality in the workplace cannot happen unless there is a proactive implementation towards the necessary changes, in promoting egalitarianism (Hepple, 2010).

One of the current problems for the police is that cop culture according to Cancino and Enriquez (2004), is facilitated through a concept of secrecy, which has been identified as playing a significant role within the culture and which will determine right and wrong with regards to officer conduct. Furthermore, through solidarity and secrecy, officers can retaliate against colleagues who appear to have broken from the norms embedded within an existing police culture (Cancino and Enriquez, 2004). Rabe- Hemp (2008) for example, highlights how those challenging the norm within policing, will consequently face retaliation and alienation. Yet despite this negative perception, the culture is still said to play an important role within policing. For example, solidarity within the police is argued to facilitate effective teamwork (Loftus, 2010), whilst also providing officers with the reassurance that colleagues will offer the necessary protection, during incidents involving danger (Edwards, 2005). Moreover, some of the negative aspects of the culture have been subject to positive reform arising from officers acquiring skills established through community policing and recruitment drives with diverse groups, such as females (Loftus, 2010). However, despite its perceived benefits, the culture continues to be connected to traits such as machismo which includes notions of ‘assertiveness, strength, bravery, suppression of negative emotions and reservations against women’ (Gutschmidt and Vera, 2020: No page).

The Importance of defining Sexism and Misogyny in Policing

This paper acknowledges that sexism can be a problem for both men and women (Chapleau et al, 2007). However, as a result of the findings published within the Operation Hotton Report (IOPC, 2022) and the Baroness Casey Review (Casey, 2023), this paper will focus upon the impact of sexism and misogyny for female officers and women within society.

Both sexism and misogyny can have detrimental consequences for women, leading to experiences of trauma (Parikh et al, 2021). The traumatic consequences endured by victims and observers, highlight the importance of acknowledging the difference between the two terms, especially when there is a tendency within society to use both words synonymously (Aron, 2019). However, in identifying the distinct and separate nature of the two phenomena, there is an acknowledgment towards the different forms of hostility which can be actioned by men towards women (Wrisley, 2021).

Sexism

Sexism is defined as ‘a form of prejudice that specifically subordinates women to men’ (Baretto and Doyle, 2023: p.99). It is interesting to note however, that the definition presented by Baretto and Doyle (2023) includes the term prejudice, which Parikh et al (2021) had used to define misogyny. This arguably highlights the difficulty in attempts to differentiate between sexism and misogyny within society and could provide an explanation for both terms being used interchangeably, as noted earlier by Aron (2019).

Female police officers, first encounter sexism during the First World War, when the first introduction of women into the police was established (Rose, 1997). The existing mantra at that time, that a woman’s place was in the home, coupled with the perception that female police officers would negatively impact upon rates of child conception and impede subsequent population numbers (Snow, 2016), meant that the introduction of females into the police organisation was not an easy path (Snow, 2016). However, the acceptance of female police officers began to gain traction, when women officers were allocated to roles which were identified as useful and were an extension of what could be described as, female domesticity roles, where women engaged in the primary care of females and children (Carrier, 1983). In contrast, male police officers were attributed to the task of crime fighting. This difference around the allocation of roles, is explained by Crimmins (2019), who highlights how both sexes are perceived as being polar opposites, with women identified as the weaker and less intelligent of the sexes, who fail to exhibit good leadership skills. A perception which is argued to contribute to women being assigned a lesser status within society (Crimmins, 2019). This is further supported by Adams (2017, p.6), who highlights how sexism negates equality between the sexes, with targets ‘being treated as ‘less competent’ (Adams, 2017, p.6).

Moving forward into the 1970s, female officers were now able to achieve more equality through the implementation of laws such as the Equal Pay Act 1970 and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. Both Acts seek to rectify areas of inequality, such as that identified in female pay; working conditions and promotion processes (Jackson, 2012). Yet myths around the female gender continued to perpetuate the existence of sexism (Jackson, 2012), underlining the point that sexism towards female police officers has continued throughout the decades (Cunningham and Ramshaw, 2020). Its existence has been witnessed in many forms, including the failure of male officers to provide the necessary support in *backing up* female

police officers (O'Connor Shelley et al, 2011). This breach of police solidarity exhibited by male officers towards female officers, was argued by Balkin (1988), to originate from females being unable to relate to male peers, due to a lack of commonality.

During the 1990s, several negative high-profile cases, gave rise to the perception that there was a tolerance within policing towards matters of sexism (McLaughlin, 2009). However today, the police have worked to create more supportive mechanisms for females working within the police. One example being the British Association for Women in Policing, which celebrates the diversity that female officers can bring to the role (British Association for Women in Policing, 2022). Moreover, the Police Code of Ethics created by the College of Policing (2023a), establishes the standards of professional behaviour amongst the police and its staff. This encourages officers to be respectful and to challenge and report matters falling short of this professional behaviour. Therefore, it could be argued that any form of behaviour falling short of such standards, which would include displays of sexism demonstrated towards women, will be identified as a breach of this Code. Yet sexism according to the Police Federation (2023), is still very much apparent within today's police organisation and urgent reform to the current culture is required, as female officers' reporting sexism were often not being believed. As a result, the Police Federation (2023) have called for enhanced training within the Professional Standards Department, which would facilitate support for females in reporting such matters.

By identifying potential *red flags* of sexist behaviour, it could be argued that some male police officers are unconsciously and consciously, exhibiting signs of this trait within the exercise of discretion, used within the police role. Discretion has been defined by Newburn and Neyroud (2008, p.82), as 'the freedom of the individual officer to act according to his or her own judgement in particular situations' and has many benefits such as the potential to facilitate good community relations (Brogden and Nijhar, 2005) but discretion however, can lead to questions of accountability amongst the police(Grieve et al, 2007). This is supported by Ossei Owusu (2009), who highlights how even though discretion has benefits such as facilitating a more efficient criminal justice system and allowing officers to deal with the individuality of cases, it can however mean a lack of transparency, leading to an abuse of police officer power. In a study by Gracia et al (2011), the use of police discretion in decisions made at scenes of domestic abuse, were argued to be indicative of inherent sexism within the police. Gracia et al (2011) found that police officers who preferred a form of

unconditional law enforcement, ie taking action against perpetrators of domestic violence regardless of victim's wishes, appeared to be less sexist, than those officers who operated a strategy of conditional law enforcement, ie taking action against a perpetrator, only when the victim consents to that action being taken. Those officers operating under the unconditional law enforcement strategy, were subsequently identified as being more responsible and treating the matter more seriously. In addition, these officers exhibited more empathy than those officers who operated via a conditional law enforcement strategy. Unconditional law enforcement officers instead had the ability to understand and acknowledge how victims were often restricted in decisions made around offenders, due to matters which included a fear of reprisals. As a result, the welfare of the victim according to Gracia et al (2011), appeared to be at the forefront of these officer's decisions.

The issue for the police, is that supervisors are not always present to observe the actions and decisions made by officers, along with the fact that any organisational change which consequentially impacts upon officer actions, can in fact create tension (Engel and Worden, 2003). However, supervisors do have the opportunity to scrutinise officer conduct at incidents, through a review of recordings from body worn cameras (BWC). This provides supervisors with the opportunity to review the footage as part of an appraisal process, but this has led to concern by some officers, who identify BWC as a form of 'supervisory surveillance' (Harrison et al, 2022, p.363). Yet perceptions of BWC remain positive amongst the police, with beliefs that as a resource BWC enhances professional conduct amongst officers (Vakhitova et al, 2023). However, concern remains around the issue of invasion of privacy for victims (Pfitzner et al, 2022). Furthermore, although there are potential benefits regarding increased professional conduct at incidents, as mentioned previously by Vakhitova et al (2023), there could still be potential issues around 'covert sexism', where negative perspectives towards females are acknowledged but are hidden (Swim and Cohen, 1997,p.104). Therefore, it could be suggested that although BWC can potentially contribute to increased professional conduct within the community, it will be unable to safeguard female officers within the policing organisation from those male officers, who once the cameras are off, continue to use sexist language and behaviour towards female colleagues.

Misogyny

Misogyny is acknowledged as a form of ‘hatred and extreme discrimination against women’(Adams, 2017, p.6) The nature of which is identified though the practice of both implicit and explicit coercion, where a patriarchal ideology embodies an ideal that women are inferior to and should be submissive to men (Richardson- Self, 2018). As a result, its impact can be traumatic for females who can experience psychological issues resulting from this behaviour (Cortina et al, 2001). This can subsequently cause a victim to leave employment (Baba et al,1998). Furthermore, its impact will encompass everyone, creating a negative environment for the victim and everyone else witness to such behaviour (Miner- Rubino and Cortina ,2007). This will have consequences for a policing organisation, which continues to seek and promote inclusivity (College of Policing, 2023b).

The existence of misogyny is argued to most likely thrive in situations where a woman is perceived to be acting outside of established patriarchal norms (Stark, 2019). However, it must be noted that displays of misogyny are not restricted to use by men against women but can also be evidenced in behaviour exhibited by women against other women (Two, 2019). This finding was supported by Walker (2022), who highlighted how being part of a marginalised group did not prevent its members going on to conduct further acts of oppression, against those found within that same marginalised group. A potential reason behind this, could originate from the powerful nature of misogyny which is overwhelming and makes it difficult for individuals to overcome (Stalker, 2001). A further reason for the use of misogynistic behaviour by females against other females, could also potentially arise from the pressure placed upon women to ‘defeminise ’ from other females, in attempts to be viewed as professional (Skrla et al, 2000, p.44). As a result, females are arguably attempting to fit into established patriarchal norms, operating within a dominant male culture.

In order to explain the concept of misogyny, Perry (2001) highlights how individuals within society are subject to a hierarchal order. Those in possession of dominant characteristics such as being white, male and heterosexual are placed at the top of this hierarchy, whilst others who fall outside of this category are placed at a lower hierarchal level. Moreover, Stalker (2001, p.292) argues that the concept of misogyny is connected to a form of subjugation, where males are often identified as romanticised protectors and as guardians of women but this perception can also be mixed with repressive behaviour, which is connected to ‘supervision, mastery and ownership’ of females. Through matters of subjugation; concepts such as anger and hostility towards women can be displayed through jokes, which are

perceived as hurtful and demeaning. The concern for the police as highlighted by Wilson et al (2001), is that the types of jokes told and how an officer conducts themselves, will be indicative of how police officers subsequently deal with an incident. As a result, it can be argued that any misogynistic attitudes held by officers and demonstrated through humour, will permeate into subsequent dealings with women as members of the public. Such negative treatment towards the community, can have a profound impact on victims of crime and in particular victims of domestic abuse, where it can impede future reporting of abuse (Logan et al, 2006). However, Waddington's (1999:p.288) discussion of a 'canteen culture' that exists within the police, offers a contrasting perspective to Wilson et al (2001). Instead, Waddington (1999) denies that private police discussions are indicators of how police behave with members of the public out on the street. However, the criminal actions and imprisonment of serving Metropolitan Police Officer Wayne Couzens, will arguably place doubt around Waddington's claim.

According to Hester (2013,p. 625) police officers tend to categorise victims and perpetrators of domestic abuse, as a result of 'gendered perspectives and constructions by officers.....'. Such constructions around who appropriately fits these categories of *victim* and *perpetrator*, are also subject to manipulation by male offenders (Anderson and Umberson, 2001). This is a point also supported by the College of Policing (2018), who identify how perpetrators, in using this form of manipulation, can use the police in a scheme of coercive control against the victim, where the perpetrator wrongly presents as the complainant themselves. As a result, it could be suggested that officers holding traits of misogyny, could potentially be more prone towards negative perceptions of female victims at incidents. However, according to Caveney et al (2020, p.1220), labels which dictate who is perceived as a 'proper victim' in domestic abuse cases, do not arise from victims being connected to a 'particular minority group' but instead, result from the frustration felt by officers around matters where it is difficult to achieve resolutions in repeat incidents, coupled with the lack of adequate resources.

Strategies in overcoming Misogyny and Sexism

In order to deal with matters of sexism and misogyny, a number of recommendations for reform should be considered, such as changes to the law and police policy; moving complaints away from the police internal process, male peer support, better leadership, education and finally, more effective whistleblowing processes. Many of the potential

solutions identified below, will be applicable to both sexism and misogyny but some will be attributable to either sexism or misogyny alone. Education for example, although facilitating an understanding of sexism and misogyny amongst new recruits, may arguably be restricted in its attempts to change the mindset of police officers who display entrenched beliefs of hate towards women. However, it does potentially provide an opportunity for police colleagues to identify the red flags connected to such behaviour.

The first solution discussed, will focus on misogyny alone. This solution reviews changes to the law connected to misogyny. Currently the Equality Act 2010 offers protection to those falling under the protected characteristic of *sex*, who are being victimised, discriminated against or harassed at work or in the wider community (Gov.UK, 2015). However, having misogyny placed under a different legislation, could arguably assist in highlighting misogyny as a separate entity to sexism, which instead focuses on the premise of hate. Currently, hate crime omits the term misogyny from the legislation but does include matters of hate relating to; race, religion, disability, sexual orientation and transgender identity (CPS, 2022: No page). According to Walters (2011, p .315), hate crime arises from a fear or a belief by the offender, that victims will impact upon the offender's form of 'group identity, cultural norms or socio- economic security'. This perceived threat can manifest in the use of violence towards the victim but can also occur through others encouraging the offender to use such violence. However, the use of violence is not always required to handle a perceived threat to group identity, as a display of support for societal structures and institutions which are complicit in the oppression of those who are a threat to the offender's identity group, is also identified as an effective way to deal with these perceived threats (Walters, 2011). It could therefore be suggested that women who display misogynistic hostility towards other females, as well as organisations which fail to combat the oppressive nature of misogyny, are providing the *support* for those societal structures, which maintain the oppression of women.

As earlier discussed, misogyny falls outside the classification of a hate crime in law (Gov.UK, 2022). Although acknowledged that laws can change according to the culture of the time (Friedman, 1986), there are presently no further plans to incorporate this concept as part of criminal legislation. This position was supported in 2021 by the Law Commission, who perceived the incorporation of misogyny into hate crime legislation as "more harmful than helpful" and impacting negatively upon the more serious forms of abuse against women, which subsequently makes these incidents more difficult to prosecute (Gov.UK, 2022, No

page). A similar perspective has also been evidenced by the current Conservative Government, who argue that the inclusion of misogyny as a hate crime is unnecessary due to the continuing effectiveness of existing legislation, such as the Domestic Abuse Act 2021; The Stalking Protection Act 2019 and the recently passed Police, Crime and Sentencing Court Act 2022, all of which contain the necessary provisions to assist in the fight against violence towards women (Gov.Uk, 2022). However, in 2016 Nottingham Police implemented its own force definition of hate crime, to create a policy where misogyny, although not deemed as a crime in law, can still be investigated (BBC News, 2016). Nottingham Police define misogyny as "Incidents against women that are motivated by an attitude of a man towards a woman and includes behaviour targeted towards a woman by men simply because they are a woman" (BBC News, 2016). However, in the absence of the word *hate*, this definition is arguably comparable to the definition of sexism, used earlier by Parikh et al (2021, p.18), who defined sexism as 'discrimination on the basis of one's sex that predominantly afflicts women'. This similarity will again blur the line between what can be identified as sexism and misogyny. Despite this, the Nottingham Police initiative has received public support which has been evidenced through the findings of a survey commissioned in 2018, by the Police and Crime Commissioner and the Women's Research Centre. The survey also demonstrated support within the community, for more public education around misogyny being characterised as a hate crime (Mullaney and Trickett, 2018). Through education, positive change around 'knowledge, attitudes and beliefs' can be implemented (Williams et al, 2021, p.89).

Moving Complaints from the Police Professional Standards Department

Moving complaints from the Police Professional Standards Department to an external panel for review, should be a solution for both misogyny and sexism. It is however acknowledged that some complaints relating to the police are dealt with externally by the IOPC. However, the recommendation here is for a panel who have expertise in areas of sexism and misogyny, to assist with the grievance procedure around these subjects.

The findings of the Baroness Casey Review (Casey, 2023) will undoubtedly impact not just upon police officers but also upon staff and departments within the police, such as the Police Professional Standards Department (PSD). This paper earlier acknowledged how the Police Federation (2023) identified the need for police reform around police culture and also increased training for staff, based within the PSD. However, it has been argued that attempts

to reform this department have already occurred through the introduction of the Policing and Crime Act 2017, which promised reform around complaints and discipline procedures, after it was established that the department was not adequately independent from the police and lessons were not being learnt (Torrible, 2021). Both criticisms are worthy of note, as securing public confidence will be imperative within a police grievance system, to ensure the provision of accountability in dealing with police misconduct effectively (Torrible, 2018).

Police grievance systems should stand as an area where lessons can be learnt and a place which can ameliorate the police service in general (Prenzler and Porter, 2015). To achieve this accountability and to enable increased confidence in reporting matters of sexism and misogyny, it may be necessary to move a grievance completely from the remit of the police to a specialist panel for review. This will prevent the potential for police officer peers, to demonstrate a sympathetic approach to the wrongdoing of colleagues, which has previously been identified (Jefferson and Grimshaw, 1984). This issue has also been supported by Sweeting and Cole (2022), who highlight how reports of sexual misconduct against police colleagues, reported to PSD were not taken any further. According to Prenzler (2015, p.114), the police are not trusted with 'in house processes', 'as the public do not trust a system where the police investigate their own complaints' (Neyroud and Beckley, 2007, p.154). However, despite calls to move grievances to a more independent system of investigation, these processes are not without problems. This includes the perception that the police are unable to adequately maintain discipline amongst officers (Prenzler and Ronken, 2001).

Peer Support

Peer support provides a solution for incidents of both sexism and misogyny and refers to the practice of providing female officers with the confidence in speaking out, via colleague support. However, according to Drury and Kaiser (2014), men have difficulty in being able to identify sexism when it occurs, coupled with the fact that the ability to speak out and confront hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards a woman is not easy. In doing so, police officers risk speaking up against an existing and embedded culture and as a result face alienation from peer groups, as highlighted earlier by Rabe- Hemp (2008). Therefore, any support provided by male colleagues to encourage female officers to report wrongful behaviour in the form of sexism or misogyny, must be provided in a manner where individuals are free from any fear of being subject to forced transfers, retaliation and ostracism (Martin, 2003). Although it could be argued that both male and female peers can provide the necessary support for

colleagues, males are identified as being pivotal in supporting organisational change within the workplace, by providing necessary assistance around requisite reform within childcare and implementing initiatives, which confront forms of oppression used against women (Kaufman, 1999). Kaufman (1999) turns to the use of gender-based violence prevention programmes, in seeking to challenge unhealthy views of masculinity and promoting equality amongst women and men, such as that provided by the Greater Manchester's Gender Based Violence Strategy (Greater Manchester Combined Authority, 2023). This prevention strategy assists in addressing gender-based violence against women and seeks to challenge the unhealthy mindsets of men and boys. As a result, it could now be argued that these programmes should extend inwards within a male dominated police organisation, to challenge any oppressive attitudes held by male officers towards women.

Education Using Videos and the Hydra Minerva Suite

In the introduction of any strategies which seek to challenge oppressive behaviour in the form of sexism and misogyny, used by men towards women, it is imperative that the police in England and Wales, work collaboratively with charities experienced in dealing with these matters. Any subsequent training could then look to incorporate the use of educational videos which will be specifically created to address sexist and misogynistic traits. This training will be geared towards new recruits, who are not yet embedded within a powerful culture. This is supported by Worden (1990) who argues that recruits should embark on education, prior to entering the police organisation, to prevent the influence of the culture. However, according to Sweeting and Cole (2022), negative behaviour amongst new police officers is already evident during the early stages of training, with acts of sexual misconduct such as sexual assault and use of sexualised language evident. Despite this, it is imperative that recruits are provided with the appropriate education around sexism and misogyny, to influence changes around 'knowledge, attitudes and beliefs' as discussed earlier by Williams et al (2021, p.89). Videos which form part of this training, will therefore be able to offer easy access to this information (Tuong et al, 2014) and provide an effective learning resource, if used correctly (Brame, 2016). However, it is acknowledged that the use of videos will require extra time from trainers, to ensure that the use of this resource is effectively incorporated into teaching (Shi Chun et al, 2014).

Education of new police officers around sexism and misogyny, can also be facilitated through tasks allocated within the Hydra Minerva Simulation Suite, created by Professor Jonathan

Crego. The suite provides a simulation environment and ‘aids the transfer of learning from the classroom (simulation environment) to the field of operation’ (Davies, 2015, p. 116). In utilising simulations and experiential learning, students can learn in a manner that cannot be replicated through traditional classrooms (Arora, 2019). According to Davies (2015), the Hydra Suite provides students with resources which include syndicate rooms, a computer and also a video screen. Thus, providing an opportunity to use educational videos as part of a related task, where student activities can be monitored within a control room. This will arguably provide areas for discussion, where groups can later come together within a plenary room for a debrief (Davies, 2015). This facilitates reflection and discussion amongst peers (Daly et al, 2020). However, it is acknowledged how decisions made within the simulation suite are not real and may differ to those made in real life (Alison et al, 2013). A further issue connects to the psychological care of recruits participating in the Suite. This is due to the nature of the topic and the ability of the Hydra Suite, to immerse students within the subject matter (Alison et al, 2013). Therefore, it is suggested that any education around sexism and misogyny, must be accompanied by a warning at the start of training or before, around the content taught.

Strong Leadership

It is argued that strong leadership is a solution in dealing with both sexism and misogyny. Establishing practical and workable solutions to identify officers who possess misogynistic and sexist traits is not an easy task but strong leadership will arguably play a significant role. This is supported by Mason (2006), who highlights how a good leader is unafraid to confront issues of concern, can speak out when others remain quiet and will fight for the organisation rather than for personal gain. In contrast, leaders who simply use the role to apply power over employees, will be more focused on achieving for personal gain rather than achieving and working towards the values of the organisation, leaving employees feeling devalued (Mason, 2006). An added concern is that poor leaders feel less subject to limitations and restrictions within the role (Ashworth, 1994). Instead, good leaders show integrity and courage whilst also valuing and motivating others. Officers working under good leadership will therefore feel the positive benefits connected to job satisfaction and welfare, especially when being brought into the decision- making process. This finding was evidenced via the 2019 National Inclusion Survey (NPCC, 2021), which was the ‘first employee led national assessment of workplace culture in policing in England and Wales’ (NPCC, 2021, No page).

According to Pillay et al (2018) a good leader will also be able to share where the team needs to get to. It is these values along with the ethics of an individual, that will support a process of whistleblowing, which will be discussed later. However, it could be argued that the role of a strong leader must go further and first attempt to understand how police staff view internal processes, which seek to achieve organisational goals and advocate relations between the police and the community (Myhill, 2013). According to Kemp and Dwyer (2001), listening to the views of employees within an organisation and having such views considered, can encourage positive views around reform, even if the change is different to what was originally suggested. It could therefore be argued that there must be more focus towards listening and understanding police officer's views around channels which facilitate the reporting of matters connected to sexism and misogyny, occurring within the policing organisation.

More Effective Processes for Whistleblowing

One process which currently exists within the police organisation and which allows officers to speak out against acts of wrongdoing, is the system of whistleblowing. This solution should be made available for incidents relating to both sexism and misogyny.

The act of whistleblowing is identified as “ the disclosure by organisational members (ex- or current), of immoral, illegal and illegitimate practices under the control of their employers, to persons and organisations that may be able to effect action” (Micceli and Near, 1985, p.4). Yet the act of reporting peers is not an easy task and can be problematic (Gottschalk and Holgersson, 2011), leading to serious implications for an individual in terms of career and personal life (Johnson, 2006). It also provides an opportunity to maliciously report peers around matters of a spurious nature (Lewis, 2011). Therefore, the act of whistleblowing becomes a delicate subject matter, which is often portrayed as being synonymous with perceptions of disloyalty (Pittroff, 2014). This is particularly significant for policing, as the cultural characteristics of solidarity combined with the strict adherence to loyalty, displayed amongst police peers, often result in silence being maintained amongst colleagues (Alpert et al, 2015). This loyalty together with the concept of solidarity both facilitate the fact that silence, as part of a police culture, will be maintained even in the face of any wrongdoing amongst police peers (Ivkovic and Sauerma, 2012). This practice of police solidarity and remaining silent when wrongdoing is identified, is referred to as the ‘blue wall’ or ‘blue veil of silence’(Johnson, 2006, p. 77). This silence can be perpetuated by a culture of blame, non -

receptive colleagues, as well as a fear of negative repercussions (Noort et al, 2019). Therefore, although the concept of loyalty within the police has many positives, such as protection of officers in a dangerous role and maintenance of officer wellbeing, it can still possess a malign purpose in facilitating the protection of officers who break the law (Skolnick, 2002).

According to Lewis (2011), there must be effective routes for whistleblowing to occur, which in turn will encourage individuals to speak out against acts of wrongdoing committed by peers. By having confidence in the process, trust around the practice of whistleblowing can then be achieved. However, this trust will not occur according to Lewis (2011), if the hierarchy within an organisation does little to support ethical conduct amongst its employees. Furthermore, in the absence of processes to support reports of wrongdoing, wrongdoing cannot be confronted but instead becomes a standard form of practice (Wickersham, 2016). A further issue is also provided by Ahmed Rengers et al (2020), who highlights how even when mechanisms are in place for whistleblowers to speak out, such mechanisms are subject to fail in an attempt to protect a company's reputation. However, Honey (2009, p.8) highlights how "damage to reputation correlates positively with trust recovery". Trust will therefore require a form of predictability along with agreed consent, on what amounts to right and wrong. This connects to a determination to do the right thing no matter the cost (Honey, 2009). Furthermore, the College of Policing (2023c), in a community -based approach has reinforced its support around the principles of due process, which acknowledges and supports the ability of members of the public to speak out, whilst the police listen. As a result, it could be argued that more internal support is required within the policing organisation itself, to facilitate effective procedures for whistleblowing, which are clear and trusted and which have an appropriate investigation process, to ensure that those affected are treated fairly (Bartlett and Bartlett, 2011).

Conclusion

This paper aimed to review the issues of sexism and misogyny within the police and to consider strategies which would reform a negative police culture. This paper comes at a pertinent time where the findings of Baroness Casey's Review into police culture and standards of police behaviour within the Metropolitan Police, has led to the unveiling of a culture of sexism and misogyny, demonstrated amongst some male officers within the policing organisation. This not only impacts upon officers who work hard within a role which

is often difficult and complex but also arguably damages the reputation of the police, if not seriously addressed. This will lead to the deterioration of public trust and will have negative implications for both police legitimacy and for the concept of policing by consent. This in turn, will affect the ability of the police to conduct an effective and efficient role.

The concept of police solidarity evident within a powerful and entrenched cop culture, presents a further problem for the police with officers being reluctant to report acts of misogyny and sexism amongst peers. This reluctance to report others, ensures observers become complicit in the maintenance of secrecy behind a blue wall, consequently facilitating the further oppression of female police officers. However, displays of sexism and misogyny by some male police officers, will not be confined to the policing organisation but also have the potential to become apparent within policing decisions, conducted within the public arena and which have the ability to affect victims, female members of the public and those witness to this behaviour.

Despite the terms misogyny and sexism being used synonymously within society, the two matters are categorically different. However, it is suggested that in the absence of two distinct definitions, the line between the two subjects often becomes blurred, causing confusion. This is significant as the separation of the two concepts must be maintained, in order to highlight the distinct forms of oppressive behaviour and hostility which can be used against women. What is clear however, is the connection between misogyny and sexism and the existence of patriarchal norms found to be operating within a dominant white male culture and which are often displayed through jokes and discrimination used towards minority groups. This subsequently reinforces the element of masculinity, argued to be apparent within dominant male cultures.

To reform a toxic culture of sexism and misogyny towards women police officers, a number of solutions have been suggested within this paper. These include changes to police policy and law, where misogyny is deemed a hate crime and investigated by the police. The success of the policy initiative introduced by Nottingham Police, although created for the community, could be developed as an internal policy within the policing organisation as a whole and therefore act as a deterrent to wrongful behaviour amongst officers. It is also essential that to facilitate the reporting of such matters, there are accessible routes to address any wrongdoing. Officers must have the confidence to report inappropriate peer behaviour, through an external process to the police, or if this cannot be facilitated, through a trusted supervisor. Moreover, a

trusted route of whistleblowing must be established within the policing organisation, which ensures protection and confidentiality amongst those who wish to speak out.

Education and training of officers is also paramount to provide an awareness around misogyny and sexism within policing and will assist in providing an understanding of the differences that exist between the two concepts. This training could be implemented using videos, which will assist in defining the two concepts; highlighting the toxic nature of both elements and evidencing the consequences of these matters for the policing role. This video would accompany tasks allocated within the Hydra Minerva Suite to new recruits. The training can be supported through the collaboration with individuals involved with programmes connected to Gender Based Violence Strategies, such as those operating within areas such as Greater Manchester. Although these strategies are again community facing, it could be argued that the same support can be provided within the police organisation, to confront issues of sexism and misogyny.

To be effective, any training scheme utilising videos should be implemented amongst new recruits who can undertake the training as part of the Police Educational Qualification Framework (PEQF). This will allow recruits to obtain knowledge of the topics; be alert to any potential form of oppression towards female officers, as well as creating an awareness of how male officers can subsequently support female colleagues in speaking out. Finally, the police require strong leaders who have the confidence to voice concerns and who strive to meet the established values of the policing organisation, rather than values perpetuating self-gain. Therefore, attention must also be considered around the benefit of democratic styles of leadership, which have been effective in appealing to the internal values of individuals to do the right thing and which subsequently foster a positive workplace. Together this form of leadership, coupled with the confidence of officers that investigations of more serious forms of sexism and misogyny will proceed away from the police organisation and therefore away from police peers, could potentially provide the necessary confidence for officers to step forward and report matters of sexism and misogyny.

Like any other organisation the police will inevitably wish to protect the reputation of the service but in order to regain trust amongst members of the public and to benefit the welfare of police staff in general, the police must be able to take the necessary steps forward towards reform. Any failings to implement the necessary changes which seek to prevent future policing scandals, will instead lead to the strengthening of an existing police culture

(Chan,1995). As a result, through the implementation of effective strategies towards reform, the police can advocate for a system which ensures that sexism and misogyny are recognised, reported and dealt with appropriately. However, until this is completed, women internal and external to the police, will continue to be negatively affected.

Declaration of Conflicting Interest

The Author declares that there is no conflict of interest'.

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