Inclusion capital theory: a constructivist grounded theory of difference and diversity in the New South Wales Police Force

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A thesis submitted to Western Sydney University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2019
Statement of Authentication and Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

I declare that I have not received any form of funding support from any external agencies in relation to this work, nor are there any conflicts of interest to my knowledge.

Signature and Date
Dedication

For Rachel and Evan, in the hope that inclusion capital theory will help to make workplace inclusion a reality for their generation.
Acknowledgements

This thesis is the product of the assistance and contribution of so many people. They have all been crucial to its completion.

Firstly, I would like to thank the research participants, all sworn police officers, for their candid responses and genuine interest in the study. Hopefully, the outcome may help to make working life a little easier for you.

I would especially like to thank my supervisors in this project. This research may never have been finished without the timely guidance and kindness of my principal supervisor, Brian Stout. Brian, your ability to give just enough to learn but not enough to spoon feed is a skill I hope to emulate one day. Thank you.

This research would never have been started without the determination of my secondary supervisor, Michael Kennedy. Michael, your unconditional support and belief in me (even during our more robust discussions) is the reason I have made it this far. Thank you.

I also thank the supervisors who helped me at the start, Michael Darcy and Kerry Clamp. Both of you pointed me in the right direction in the early stages when I was unsure what I was trying to do, leading the research to what it eventually became.

The New South Wales Police Force has also been a key part of this research, and indeed an integral part of my working life. I am grateful to the senior managers and the Research Coordination Unit who made access to the organisation possible. I hope this research will assist in some way for the future.

To my incredible NSWPF colleagues who I have worked with for the last nineteen years, you made me realise how very important this research is. You all deserve to feel included and part of the 'team'. I hope this small contribution will take you there. Special mention must go to Detective Chief Inspectors
Dave Gawel and Caroline O'Hare, who believed I could do this and were kind enough to give me the space to do so. I also thank the old Team Gawel at CT who put up with me changing shifts to get this done, never once making me feel like an outsider. You all know who you are.

Thank you to the team at the Police Association of New South Wales and especially my wonderfully supportive manager, Angus Skinner, for your constant encouragement and interest in the final result.

There are some who deserve a very special mention for their support along the way:

June, my mother-in-law, thank you for pushing me to go back to writing six weeks after the birth of Rachel, and allowing me the time to do so.

Oscar, who was here at the start but not at the finish. I miss you every day, my furry best friend.

Mum and Dad, thank you for providing me with the capital to know that this was all possible, and the determination to never give up. Ever. I do not have the words to describe how very important you both are to me.

Kirsten, my sister, thank you for your unwavering support regardless of the circumstances. I think you might actually be superhuman and I have no idea how you fit it all in. I also thank Andrew, my brother-in-law, and Lauren, Luke, Cameron and Pippa for the many hours you looked after Rachel so that I could write in a quiet environment.

To Rob, the most amazing partner and husband I could ever have hoped for. Your constant encouragement, even when you were secretly hoping I would have a day off, has been essential to getting this done. You will finally know what it is like to have a partner who is not a PhD candidate!
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## List of Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CALD</td>
<td>Culturally and Linguistically Different background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBTI</td>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Intersex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSWPF</td>
<td>New South Wales Police Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post-traumatic stress disorder</td>
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Abstract

In Australian policing organisations in recent times, promoting organisational diversity to ensure representation of the communities they serve has become a priority. This focus has resulted in various strategies being used to increase levels of diversity within these organisations. However, questions about why individuals from diverse backgrounds find it difficult to integrate into police culture are still being asked.

This research used constructivist grounded theory methodology and methods to study the experiences and perceptions of diversity and difference by sworn officers (detectives) in the New South Wales Police Force (NSWPF). This resulted in a substantive grounded theory, known as inclusion capital theory, being formulated. The theory explains why some officers are more included in the workplace than others, regardless of their category of difference or diversity. Three elements, together known as inclusion capital, contribute to an officer being included in the workplace: cultural congruence, competency, and being a team player. When officers develop and maintain these three elements amongst their colleagues, they experience higher levels of inclusion in the workplace. Failure to demonstrate these elements can mean the officer is excluded.

This thesis proposes that this information can be used at the organisational level to shape the definitions of these elements to increase inclusion for all officers. This thesis provides police management with a guiding framework to discern appropriate strategies for increasing diversity and inclusion in their organisation, while also maintaining organisational effectiveness.
Chapter One: Introduction

This research used data gathered from interviews with twenty sworn police officers (detectives) from the New South Wales Police Force (NSWPF) to provide an analysis of their perceptions and experiences of diversity and difference in the workplace. The study allowed various perspectives to be heard to gain a holistic view on inclusion in the policing workplace. This highlighted five important understandings of organisational diversity in the police context that were then built into a substantive grounded theory. In doing so, it adds to existing literature on how diversity is viewed and practised in the NSWPF. It allowed for various perspectives to be heard, rather than focusing on any particular category of diversity, to gain a holistic view on inclusion in the policing workplace.

The substantive grounded theory is called inclusion capital theory, and it provides a framework for both individual officers and police management to increase levels of inclusion in their workplace. By using three elements – cultural congruence, competency and being a team player – police officers can mould their own behaviour to increase their likelihood of being accepted and included amongst colleagues. More importantly, police management can use the understandings of these three elements to shape policy, with a view to improving the experiences of individual officers, especially those who have traditionally been excluded. This chapter introduces the study, with more in-depth explanations given in the following chapters.

Introduction to the researcher

My interest in this project started many years ago, as a junior police officer. After travelling extensively for a number of months, and then returning to work with the NSWPF, I observed that my new understandings of other people and their cultures had affected the way I thought about and conducted my work. I was now more interested in the differences between people, why these differences were seen as negative rather than positive, and how this impacted on the way we, as police, did our work.
Prior to my travels, when I first joined the police, I expected people to leave their differences at the door. This included any difference I had – I was a white, middle class female who graduated from a high profile selective high school. When I joined the police I felt I just had to meet the same level of expectations as everybody else, and where I came from was irrelevant. In hindsight, all of that is relevant, because where we come from shapes how we think, what we do, and why we do it. After spending a lot of time overseas, living with and observing people from all walks of life, I became passionate about police officers (and others generally) being able to see the world through the other person’s eyes. I felt that with more understanding of each other, hopefully, interactions between police and their colleagues, and subsequently with the communities they serve, might become more productive. While this research focuses on a small part of this huge concept, I hope it will be a step towards a mutually understanding society.

My viewpoint transformed as I journeyed through this research project. Over the years it took to complete this research, I experienced many personal changes, including different workplaces within the police and becoming a mother. At the beginning, I felt I always needed to place myself in the other person’s shoes, but they should not have to deal with any of my issues – I preferred to manage it all myself. In hindsight, I was still trying to meet the same old expectations to function at a high level without any assistance, even when things were difficult. After realising that working full-time and studying full-time did not leave room for anything to go wrong (and it did go wrong), I became a part-time worker (working three hours per week less than everybody else) to facilitate my (now part-time) studies. All of a sudden, I felt that my colleagues did not view me as being capable due to my part-time status, as I was given a lot less work to do. It seemed I was now ‘different’ and ‘not as useful’ in the same way my research participants described. Comments made during some of the interviews were difficult to read on a personal level, because I realised my colleagues did not value my work contributions unless I was there full-time. This was exacerbated further when I became pregnant with my first child. Most of the coding of interviews and analysis of findings was completed at this time, so reading
comments about women not being as committed because they had childcare issues made me realise I was no longer in a position to deal with my own issues and meet the same expectations. At some stage in our working careers, most people need help with something, whether it be ill-health, learning something new, or just for others to be understanding of their individual circumstances. In addition, while it is important to provide understanding to and look after others, it is also about accepting there are times and circumstances when you cannot keep up. There needs to be a two-way process where we help those who need it, and ask for help when we need it ourselves. By doing this, everyone’s differences can be used in ways that will benefit the organisation we work for.

As the previous paragraphs show, it is not possible for me to claim the role of the objective outsider. In fact, I am quite the opposite. Critically thinking, I know I am subjective but I believe I am fair, and I do try to walk in the shoes of others, whether they are the police or the policed. I have been a sworn police officer for nineteen years, half of that time spent in specialist squads as a detective, similar to the research context here. It would be impossible to ignore this when analysing research outcomes for this project. So rather than hiding away from my background and perspective, this project will attempt to use them in a meaningful way, whilst pursuing rigorous academic process.

**Introduction to the research**

This research analysed the understandings and experiences of difference and diversity within the ranks of the NSWPF using constructivist grounded theory. Twenty sworn officers from the NSWPF were interviewed with a view to addressing the following research questions:

1. How are difference and diversity perceived and experienced by members of the New South Wales Police Force?
2. How and why are these experiences and perceptions perpetuated and reinforced within the organisation? Do they fit with official policy on diversity?
Currently, policing organisations across the globe use many strategies to increase and manage diversity in their workforces. The NSWPF uses similar strategies, including recruitment from diverse populations (NSW Police Recruitment n.d; New South Wales Police Force 2017d), cultural diversity training (New South Wales Police Force 2011; 2017d), and building contacts with local communities through specialised liaison officers (New South Wales Police Force 2011; 2016a; 2017d). Global research on the subject has indicated that despite these strategies, the overall culture of police organisations has been slow to change (Chan 1997; Holdaway 2010; Jaeger and Vitalis 2005; Martin 1994; also see Grossman et al. 2013). In reviewing the literature, it was noted that the voices of the practitioners implementing and experiencing these strategies are missing, or only particular categories of diversity, such as women, were addressed. This means there are other elements of police culture identified by those practitioners that could be of interest. This research was designed to identify different perspectives on diversity as a whole within the NSWPF, so rather than looking at diversity as a group of categories, this research looked at diversity as an overall concept. It was also designed to ascertain the reasons why and how diversity is experienced in these ways, to assist in filling these knowledge gaps.

When applying a social constructivist viewpoint, it must be acknowledged that the current police culture is shaped and affirmed by individuals within the organisation. At the same time, individuals think and behave in particular ways because of the culture they work within. Constructivist grounded theory methodology allows the researcher to analyse data in such a way that these behaviours and perceptions will emerge throughout the research (Bryant & Charmaz 2007). From this, the research can contribute to existing knowledge about diversity experiences and strategies.

As already indicated, it is important to be clear that I was a police practitioner while conducting this research. As such, I do not purport to have been without a pre-existing point of view; indeed it would be impossible to maintain an entirely objective viewpoint even without my past experience in the field. Charmaz
(2014a, p. 31) discussed this issue from a constructivist grounded theory perspective, stating that researchers can begin their research from the ‘vantage points’ they have. However, they must be ‘subject to rigorous empirical and analytical scrutiny and possible dismissal’ (Charmaz 2014a, p. 31) from the research. As such, I have tried to be reflexive and conscious that my prior conceptions in relation to diversity and the NSWPF have needed to be tested rigorously before being included as part of the analysis.

**Methodology and methods**
When considering the research questions and my position as an insider of the organisation being researched, constructivist grounded theory was found to be the most appropriate methodology for this study. Grounded theory originated in the 1960s as a way to cement social sciences as a valid field of research, during a time when positivism was the dominant approach (Charmaz 2014b). The founders of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967), advocated for research that arose from the data, rather than from preconceived ideas or hypotheses. While this sounds simple in theory, it is a lot more difficult in practice, as most researchers already have some knowledge of their field prior to undertaking the research, as is the case for this study. This practical issue resulted in the linking of constructivism to grounded theory by Kathy Charmaz (Higginbottom & Lauridsen 2014), a move that allows for prior knowledge to be used within grounded theory methodology.

Social constructivism as a theoretical perspective depends upon its own social context (Hirtle 1996; Keaton & Bodie 2011; Khalifa 2010; Paris 2011; Young & Collin 2004). In this regard, reality can be constructed through both individual and collective or by social means. This means the individual may view their social world in their own particular way, with this view also being shaped by the collective groups around them. Conversely, that same individual also has the ability to shape realities for the group. It is accepted that in this research, the institutional culture and the individual both work to shape that person’s reality. Therefore, realities are constantly changing as the culture and the individual change. It could be argued that each person’s reality is different. However,
constructivist grounded theory assists in finding common themes that can explain social structures.

With the concepts of constructivism and grounded theory placed together, constructivist grounded theory allows for the researcher to use their prior knowledge in such a way that it adds value to the research, while also acknowledging that this prior knowledge will have an influence on the resulting theory. This includes the use of prior literature, and in this study, practice and knowledge. Rather than having one objective reality, it also allows for multiple realities depending on the participants and the researcher.

Of course, when conducting research that arises from the data while also using prior knowledge, a level of reflexivity is necessary. Any theory that is formulated in such a way cannot avoid some outside influences. With this in mind, I have attempted to place myself in the research context as an individual who has experience as one of the researched, but also as an individual who can conduct some level of analysis in relation to those experiences (Brown 1996). Thus, I have tried to place myself both inside the research as a police officer and outside the research context as an academic.

When using constructivist grounded theory methodology, data is analysed throughout the collection process (Charmaz 2014a; 2014b). This allows the researcher to test any emerging theories with subsequent participants. For this study, testing was conducted through the use of two phases of semi-structured, electronically recorded interviews, with the second phase confirming the results of the first. The interviews were transcribed and coded just after they were conducted. Coding was carried out using an abductive approach, where there is no prior assumption placed on the data. This meant the themes located were new for this research and emerged as the data was coded. Upon completion of the first phase of interviews, the most prominent emerging themes that were likely to result in a theory were chosen as hypotheses. Four major hypotheses were located in the data:
• *Hypothesis One*: Police officers are accepted by their colleagues through fitting into the culture or through a perception of competence or both.

• *Hypothesis Two*: Police officers perceive difference and diversity as a problem to be solved, rather than a benefit to the organisation.

• *Hypothesis Three*: Muslim officers are regarded with a greater level of suspicion than other officers.

• *Hypothesis Four*: A disconnect exists between officers’ understandings of New South Wales Police Force official policy on diversity and the belief systems and practice displayed by those officers.

The second interview schedule was written with a view to proving or disproving these hypotheses. The second interviews were also transcribed and analysed as they were conducted, with a fifth hypothesis emerging during this time:

• *Hypothesis Five*: Police officers perceive diversity initiatives in the organisation to be somewhat unfair.

Coding for the second set of interviews was closely aligned to these hypotheses, with memo writing playing a role in extracting the substantive grounded theory from the data. For grounded theory analysis, memo writing by the researcher is vital. Memo writing is used to gather the researcher’s thoughts and ideas while compiling the data. This was especially used while coding interview transcripts. These memos were mainly used as a memory prompt for later analysis, rather than writing lengthy notes that explained entire ideas. Many of these memos related to my own personal experiences or feelings about a particular topic, based on what had happened during my time in the organisation. However, other memos detailed links between concepts and ideas that were used in the final discussion.

**The parameters of the research**
The research was conducted on sworn police officers, all detectives, from the State Crime Command in the NSWPF. The NSWPF is a state (rather than federal) organisation comprising of 16,649 sworn police officers (New South Wales Police Force 2017c). State Crime Command is a large section made up of a
number of specialist squads. At the time of the data collection, these squads included the Drug Squad, Firearms & Organised Crime Squad, Gangs Squad, Middle Eastern Organised Crime Squad, Organised Crime Squad, Fraud and Cybercrime Squad, Homicide Squad, Child Abuse Squad, Property Crime Squad, Sex Crimes Squad and Robbery & Serious Crime Squad *(State Crime Command, n.d.)*. The command has a focus on large scale and serious crimes, with each squad having a particular crime focus, as indicated by their names. To become a criminal investigator in this command, officers must have completed their detectives training or be willing to do so. To become a detective, officers must have spent time in general duties (uniform) policing, as with all recruits who leave the police academy. Using a research sample from State Crime Command meant that participants were likely to have experience mainly in detectives’ offices, but also in general duties policing.

The research participants had attained the ranks of Detective Senior Constable (thirteen participants), Detective Sergeant (six participants) and Detective Inspector (one participant) (see Chart 1) and their work locations were across a range of the specialist squads. Their length of employment in the organisation ranged from seven to twenty-seven years, with an average of just under seventeen years (see Chart 2). Their ages ranged from twenty-nine to fifty-four years old, with an average age of forty years old (see Chart 3). Four participants were female and sixteen participants were male (see Chart 4). Demographics relating to race, ethnicity, religion and sexual preference were not canvassed. However, some participants offered their own information regarding their racial background (two Chinese, one Vietnamese, one Middle Eastern) and religion (one Christian, three Muslim) during their interviews. These demographic questions were not specifically asked in order not to draw attention to any particular aspect of diversity in the interview process, as it may have biased participant responses.

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1 The NSWPF has since been re-structured, meaning some of these squads have merged or changed.
Chart 1: Participant Rank

Chart 2: Participant Length of Employment
Chart 3: Participant Ages

- 25-29 years
- 30-35 years
- 36-40 years
- 41-45 years
- 46-50 years

Chart 4: Participant Gender

- Male
- Female
Snowball sampling was used in the initial stages of the research, along with some purposeful sampling to obtain a large cross section of participants. As the research continued, theoretical sampling was also used to ensure that interesting themes were explored in more depth. Theoretical data saturation was used to ascertain when enough participants had been interviewed. This was the point when new participants discussed similar codes and themes, therefore it was unlikely that new themes would occur.

Given that culture is subject to change depending on time and place (Sklansky 2006), this research must be viewed as a snapshot in time rather than an ongoing examination of police culture. While the study describes the participants’ viewpoints at the time of data collection, these may have subsequently changed. Since the beginning of the data collection phase, a number of things have happened that could affect the outcomes of this research if it were to be completed now. Of particular note, not long after data collection commenced, Curtis Cheng, a police employee, was murdered by a radicalised Muslim youth in a politically motivated terrorist incident outside Police Headquarters. This incident may well have played on the minds of research participants, especially as Police Headquarters is where they are predominantly based. In addition, after the data collection had been completed, a new police commissioner was appointed, resulting in a large-scale restructure of State Crime Command and other sections in the organisation. As such, participants are likely to have seen further changes in their workplaces. This study should be viewed in the context of the time it was conducted, and not as a concrete description of what is still occurring in the police workplace today. It could also be viewed as a starting point for future research to track changes in the organisation. This might give researchers and practitioners an idea of where the future of diversity in this organisation is headed, and of new strategies that may help to improve workplace experiences.

**Significance of the research**
One of the principles used by Sir Robert Peel when establishing the Metropolitan Police in 1829 was that ‘the police are the public and the public are the police’ (cited in Williams 2003, p. 100), meaning that police officers are members of the
public who are paid to look after their community (Workman-Stark 2017). This continues to be an important principle in policing practice to this day. However, for many years, police organisations have been comprised primarily of white males, a direct contradiction of this very principle. Interest surrounding diversity has risen in recent times, meaning this contradiction can no longer be ignored or justified, and an increase in police diversity has been argued to be a positive improvement to policing organisations. Increased diversity is regarded as a good business case, as well as an overall human right for equal opportunity in employment (Mor Barak 2011). Increased numbers of women in the police has been advocated as a way to change police culture (Sklansky 2006) and provide a better workforce (Silvestri 2015). Increased numbers of police from culturally and linguistically different (CALD) backgrounds are seen as a way of engaging with the community (Fielding 1999; Jaeger & Vitalis 2005). More specifically, increased numbers of Muslim police are seen as a way to combat the threat of terrorism (Dunn et al. 2016). As such, arguments abound for why there should be more diversity in policing organisations, and often these arguments are fragmented depending on the category of diversity being discussed.

Research into police diversity has generally been focused on particular categories of diversity, such as women, CALD backgrounds and lesbian, gay, bisexual and intersex (LGBTI) people. Indeed, the word ‘diversity' has different meanings depending on the individual and the context. Rarely has ‘diversity' been researched in a holistic sense, allowing for viewpoints from any and all sides, and few studies look at the Australian context, or more specifically New South Wales (NSW). This research was designed to do this. No particular category of diversity was initially targeted, allowing for the participants to guide the outcomes of the research. The result here is that practitioners’ voices and opinions have been heard relating to overall diversity, not just about a particular demographic, adding to existing literature in the diversity space. This research could be used to guide future policy, or to focus on emerging areas of diversity that have been overlooked previously because the voices of practitioners have not been loud enough in the past. This research presents a base line of experiences for the NSWPF in relation to their diversity; with the hope this can
be used to look at future directions where diversity is not viewed as a competition, but a way of thinking of ourselves and others.

**Thesis outline**
This thesis contains twelve chapters in total. This introduction chapter is first, followed by Chapter Two explaining the use of constructivist grounded theory methodology, including how this was used in the research. Chapter Two contains an explanation of social constructivism, along with the origins of grounded theory, and how these two complement each other. It also outlines how semi-structured interviews were used as the research method, how participants were recruited, and the ethics approval process.

Chapter Three reviews the literature regarding organisational diversity in policing agencies. The chapter assists in creating an understanding of the participants’ responses, and gives some background in order to make comparisons with existing studies in the discussion chapter. The literature contains context and information that is relevant to the discussion of police diversity.

Chapter Four sets out the NSWPF policies impacting on diversity experiences for police. It also includes relevant reports regarding diversity and policing in Australia. These reports predominantly relate to women in policing organisations, indicating how this category of diversity has been at the forefront of most diversity efforts in the policing space.

Chapters Five to Eight set out the findings of the research through hypotheses that came from the first set of interview data, with a further hypothesis from the second set of interview data discussed in Chapter Nine. Chapter Five discusses the ways police officers are accepted by their colleagues through fitting in to culture, being perceived as competent, or both. Themes include the perception of a ‘boys’ club’ and drinking culture, a need to pass the ‘attitude test’, officers changing their identity to fit with the norm, needing to have a strong work ethic, keeping up with everyone else, and being a team player. Whether or not colleagues like an officer also affects levels of trust and the workload that person
is likely to carry. Another concept involved the ‘good bloke’, or someone who gets along with everyone but does not necessarily do a good job.

Chapter Six explains how police officers perceive difference and diversity as a problem to be solved rather than a benefit to the organisation. Individuals with different needs are seen as less useful, sorting the system using their difference, or they are seen as ‘helpers’ to the officers doing the work, rather than workers in their own right. It was found that too many people from one category of diversity in one workplace are viewed as problematic. Participants did not identify structural factors as a hindrance to diversity, but rather stated that diversity is difficult to fit into the existing structure.

Chapter Seven discusses how Muslim police officers are regarded with a greater level of suspicion than other officers. It was found there are assumptions made in relation to Muslim officers, along with a denial of discrimination towards them. There is generally a lack of understanding and dislike of Islam and there is some concern that Muslim officers might be linked to terrorism. However, officers who had worked with Muslim police were quite positive about these interactions. Muslim officers related their experiences back to the concept of fitting into the culture.

Chapter Eight highlights the disconnect between understandings of NSWPF policy on diversity and the belief systems and practices displayed. Generally, participants were not aware of the detail in diversity policies, but some could see that an increase in diversity would result in positive outcomes. Others were generally concerned that increased diversity would have a detrimental effect on the workplace, citing standards and culture as things that might be affected. It was found that the ways in which policies are implemented are not conducive to cultural change in the organisation, and that the policies were not generally adhered to in practice.

Chapter Nine suggests that police officers perceive an unfairness surrounding diversity initiatives in the organisation. Equality was described in terms of the
treatment of each person being the same, with reverse discrimination also being a concern. Another theme was that the best person for the job should be selected, rather than using strategies such as quotas to increase diversity. The team is seen to be more important than any specific person’s needs, and any individual requiring assistance or time away from work is perceived as not doing their fair share.

Chapter Ten outlines Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of capital, which substantially contributed to inclusion capital theory. It explains how capital is used amongst field and habitus, all key components of Bourdieu’s work. This chapter also contains an outline of social identity theory, which explains how officers feel they need to be part of the police social identity, and why they strive to be included.

Chapter Eleven outlines the substantive grounded theory coming from this research, called inclusion capital theory. The theory provides a cohesive explanation of how police officers become included in the workplace. It unpacks the reasons why some officers are more included than others, and how difference and diversity can affect this on an individual level. It is demonstrated that the use of current diversity policy can be detrimental on inclusion for some individuals, and how police managers could use this information to tailor their strategies for greater inclusion of their employees.

Chapter Twelve concludes the thesis by explaining how this research can be used for future policy and guidelines relating to diversity, especially in the context of the NSWPF. It also identifies some areas of interest for future research that may build on the findings of this study.
Chapter Two: Methodology

This research was conducted using a constructivist grounded theory framework to construct a substantive grounded theory from the experiences and perceptions of the participants, known as inclusion capital theory. This chapter will explain the research methodology in terms of its theoretical perspective, its origins, and how these two concepts come together as constructivist grounded theory. Following this, the methods used for the research will be described and explained, including data collection and analysis. Ethical considerations will be considered, especially in relation to my position as a colleague of the research participants as well as a researcher. Throughout the chapter, issues such as reflexivity of the researcher and decisions made surrounding this will be addressed.

Theoretical perspective: social constructivism

As this research required the different experiences and understandings of diversity to be analysed, a social constructivist epistemology was used. Social constructivism requires the researcher to use social context as a background to any theory (Hirtle 1996; Keaton & Bodie 2011; Khalifa 2010; Paris 2011; Young & Collin 2004). This results in succinct definitions being unlikely, meaning explanations under this epistemology should be fluid and subject to change.

Social constructionism and social constructivism are terms that are often used interchangeably in the literature. For this thesis, it is noted there is a difference between the two, but they will be referred to as one, under the term ‘constructivist’. Briefly, constructionism refers to reality being constructed through collective and social means, while constructivism relates to the individual making meaning of their own world (Crotty 1998). However, it is posited here that one cannot exist without the other, therefore they will be referred to as the same. In other words, both individual and collective means are required to describe reality in any meaningful way.

For this research, there is dialectic between the institutional culture shaping a person’s reality, and the individual person shaping their own reality. Therefore,
the understanding of diversity by officers in the NSWPF will be different to the NSWPF definition of diversity. Each officer understands the official diversity discourse is understood in their own way, depending on their own social and individual experiences. This could include the use of stereotyping, as well as historical understandings about police behaviour, creating some resistance between the discourses.

The process of different discourses being added to each other has been described as ‘sedimentation’ (Crotty 1998). Over time, individuals in the NSWPF receive external information (such as the official definition of diversity; a preconceived idea of how a police officer should behave; or an interaction with a colleague) and this forms a basis of their reality. The individual then uses their own internal information to process how they perceive the world. This could include their own reasoning, or they may use previous experiences to analyse the current experience. All of these interactions and processes add to each other, resulting in the individual’s own perception of reality in that circumstance. This is also the case for the institutional reality of the NSWPF, as evidenced by changing procedures and guidelines. For instance, the NSWPF policies are updated every few years to ensure they are consistent with the organisational reality at the time. This is an ongoing process, meaning a particular reality will not remain stagnant, and is likely to continue evolving as officers spend more time in the profession.

This ongoing process has been confirmed elsewhere, as ‘knowledge is viewed not as a set of universal “truths”, but as a set of “working hypotheses”’ (Airasian & Walsh 1997, p. 445). By accepting this, we accept that knowledge can only be true at a particular point in time. This requires consideration when describing and analysing cultural or individual realities, as the research will be pertinent to a particular time and place, but it will not necessarily be a constant or consistent reality.

The constructivist viewpoint allows each research participant’s response to be analysed in its own context, from both an individual and cultural perspective.
The individual adapts their internal reality from what they perceive in the cultural world around them, with knowledge being created through that perspective. This knowledge can be created in an individual or collective sense (Paris 2011). Cultural processes and interactions produce different meanings, such as through language, culture, history and politics. Language especially is an important way in which collective realities are transmitted through sedimentation (Berger & Luckman 1987). Alternatively, these cultural processes and interactions are continued and endorsed through the individual’s actions and perceptions.

Berger and Luckman (1987) stated that roles are important for an institution, as roles help individuals to act in accordance with that institution’s reality. This can be expanded upon by looking at expectations held by groups of people, and to look at the consequences of these expectations (Coulson & Riddell 1980). In other words, individuals use roles to navigate their own place in the social world. When accepting a role, the individual tries to play their part in the culture of their institution. If the individual challenges these roles, their own reality may be viewed through a different lens than other participants in the social activity of the institution.

Another aspect of constructivism involves ‘reification’, which involves treating concepts as ‘things’ that exist outside interactions with people (Harris 2010). In other words, if we speak of a concept such as diversity in terms of it influencing an organisation, this is reification. For a constructivist, this does not make sense. Diversity in itself does not influence the way people view reality, but rather people construct the concept of diversity to fit their reality. Reification involves the way in which we assume that the way we see things is ‘the way things are’ (Crotty 1998, p. 41). It should be noted that we are not necessarily incorrect, but it is also important to note that not all individuals will see reality in the same way. This is of relevance to the findings in this thesis, as my experiences and perceptions may have shaped the way in which the interview participant has been understood. By asking questions in a particular way, or taking a particular
line of inquiry in interviewing, the researcher constructs their own version of reality according to their own experience.

Social constructivism ‘serves to open boundaries through inquiry, not through unquestioned acceptance of prevailing knowledge’ (Hirtle 1996, p. 91), so while definitions and understandings of diversity have previously been created and debated, realities may be different depending on the lens through which they are viewed. Police officers may perceive and experience diversity in ways that were not intended when legislation or policy was written. This constructivist approach has allowed those perceptions and experiences to be documented and analysed by avoiding, as much as possible, preconceived ideas of the reality of diversity, while accepting that the researcher's position has an impact on the analytical outcomes.

By taking a social constructivist perspective, there is the risk of asserting that all viewpoints are different, therefore all realities are correct. However, it can also be seen that many individuals' realities are similar, and this is where a theory may arise. For this thesis, a social constructivist epistemology was appropriate due to my position in the organisation and my own personal standpoint about how people see the world. Every individual shapes their own social reality, and there are always those who see the world from a similar perspective.

**History and origin of grounded theory**
Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss originally formulated grounded theory in the 1960s (Charmaz 2014a), as a response to claims that social science was not as valid as natural sciences (Bryant & Charmaz 2007). The timing of the emergence of grounded theory is important, as it was created in a context where positivist quantitative inquiry was seen as more legitimate, meaning qualitative methods of research were not deemed as robust (Charmaz 2014b). Grounded theory was primarily inductive in nature, meaning there were no preconceived ideas or hypotheses for the researcher to prove (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). This means the findings of a grounded theory study are open until all data is collected and analysed. In essence, the grounded theory researcher collects and analyses data throughout the research process in order to guide the research to new
findings and theory. It requires a focus on ‘meaning, action and process in the studied social context’ (Hallberg 2006, p. 146), which means the outcome of this research should explain understandings of diversity through the experiences of the participants.

In keeping with the time and context, Glaser and Strauss (1967) framed the grounded theory method of research in an objectivist, positivist way in order to claim its scientific validity. Their paper ‘The Discovery of Grounded Theory’ described how qualitative research should be conducted, with theory arising from the data itself (Bryant & Charmaz 2007). This data was seen as a reality that could be discovered (hence the title), in a similar way to scientific, quantitative methods. Grounded theory had its origins in symbolic interactionism (Corbin & Strauss 1990), where meaning is ‘negotiated and understood through interactions with others in social processes’ (Starks & Trinidad 2007, p. 1374) and pragmatism (Corbin & Strauss 1990), where consequences rather than antecedents are important (Star 2007). This means the researcher’s own experiences contribute to the research findings (Heath & Cowley 2004), as the researcher is the one interpreting the data.

There are three types of grounded theory research: classical grounded theory with all theory arising only from the data is attributed to Glaser; a more interpretive approach is attributed to Strauss and Corbin; and constructivist grounded theory is attributed to Charmaz (Ramalho et al. 2015). All use the premise that theory arises from the data, but their epistemological standpoints are different. These standpoints have evolved over time as different theorists provide further insights on how grounded theory can be used effectively. According to Glaser and Strauss (cited in Hanzel 2016, p. 24), one of the uses of grounded theory is for ‘practical applications – predictions and explanation should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some control of situations.’ The practical use of the grounded theory from this research is that it can be used by the organisation to improve on existing practices, or to show whether current practice is effective. It is understood that many organisations now have diversity policies, but the reality and effect of these policies in practice
is rarely stated. For a truly inclusive and diverse workplace, these policies and practices would need to be constantly changing as further information came to light.

Two distinct camps of grounded theory later emerged between Glaser and Strauss. This was due to disagreements between Glaser and Strauss on how grounded theory research should be approached. Glaser asserted that theory should come solely from the data sets collected, advising against using previous knowledge in the initial stages, while Strauss advocated a more interpretive approach (Covan 2007). This debate ‘centred on the researcher’s role, activity and level of intervention in relation to procedures used within the data analysis process’ (Walker & Myrick 2006, p. 547), with differences fundamentally based in methodology rather than ontology or epistemology (Heath & Cowley 2004). In the former camp, coding requires the researcher to put codes together using only the data, while in the other, the researcher should be comparing and asking questions of the data during the coding process (Walker & Myrick 2006). Neither of these viewpoints mentioned a constructivist response where the researcher places themselves as having an effect on the data or its analysis.

While grounded theory was first pitched in a positivist way, the need for this must be taken in historical context. The original works of Glaser and Strauss did not allow for the researcher to be viewed as part of the research process, leaving the researcher as observing a reality, rather than being a part of it. This was in context with the epistemological thinking at the time, and there have since been a number of changes in the way grounded theory is thought of and conducted (Bryant & Charmaz 2007). Grounded theory can be described as a ‘methodological spiral’ whereby the level of interaction between the researcher and participant has become more as time goes on (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006, p. 25). This raises the issue of ‘voice’ in the research (Fairclough 1992), meaning the researcher must acknowledge their own influence on the responses given by participants. Both the researcher and the participant add knowledge to the data in a constructivist grounded theory study, meaning that the voices of both are heard (Birks & Mills 2011). This is because both people involved in an interview
have an influence on what is said within it. The acknowledgement of these higher levels of interaction between the two parties has resulted in a change from the positivist approach where the researcher sees an objective reality constructed by participants, to a constructivist approach where the researcher contributes to the perception and construction of that reality.

**Constructivist grounded theory**

Since the split between Glaser and Strauss, Kathy Charmaz (2014a) has written of a constructivist grounded theory approach, which contains elements of both authors’ later arguments. Charmaz advocated for the researcher using their analysis to tell stories of ‘people, social processes and situations’ (cited in Hallberg 2006, p. 146). This means the approach can be used to show a more personal perspective of the participants. Constructivist grounded theory looks at how realities are made using a constructivist lens, allowing multiple realities rather than stating that there is one reality waiting to be discovered (Higginbottom & Lauridsen 2014). In fact, Charmaz (2017, p. 38) reiterated that constructivist grounded theory ‘assumes that reality is fluid and somewhat indeterminate’. This is where grounded theory has turned away from the positivist approach, allowing the researcher to perceive multiple realities, or to choose one of them to construct. Having said this, it has also been stated that while grounded theory has taken a constructivist turn, it has still kept some positivist thinking as it looks for a neutral search for objective truth (Teram, Schachter & Stalker 2005). While this viewpoint may be partially true, using a constructivist approach means the negation of any claims of being completely ‘neutral’, despite the best efforts of the researcher. For this research, my findings might be different to another researcher’s, even with the same data. My life experiences have led me to find my objective truth in the data, while a different person may have found a different objective truth, meaning it is not actually objective.

Constructivist grounded theory was founded on a relativist epistemology, allowing the researcher to acknowledge that multiple realities may exist (Higginbottom & Lauridsen 2014). This also means the researcher and the researched are intertwined in this reality, so any attempt to create an objective
theory or argument is difficult. Through constructivist grounded theory, researchers can see how their own interactions may impact on the outcomes of the research, whether through their interview manner, their own thought processes or their status from the participant’s viewpoint. This is important, as the researcher needs to integrate these issues into their final discussion in a reflexive way to ensure that all aspects affecting their reality have been addressed.

One of the contentious points between Glaser and Strauss was whether literature should be used in the early stages of research. Glaser was adamant that prior use of literature by researchers can change their analysis of the data, and therefore does not constitute a true grounded theory project, while Strauss was inclined to allow the use of literature (Charmaz 2014a; McGhee, Marland & Atkinson 2007). Indeed, Strauss and Corbin felt that using literature in the early stages of research was likely to assist in a number of ways, including stimulating theoretical sensitivity and questioning and providing some validity, although they acknowledged this also had the potential to stifle creativity (McGhee, Marland & Atkinson 2007). Charmaz (2014a) later reinforced the use of prior knowledge and practice in conducting grounded theory research. There are differing viewpoints about how much literature should be used in these initial stages. Literature can be reviewed in advance to show there is a legitimate research question to be answered or an alternative approach might be to theoretically sample it in the same way as data (McGhee, Marland & Atkinson 2007). Either way, constructivist grounded theory allows the researcher to use prior knowledge to construct new theories, although the researcher should acknowledge this in their findings (Charmaz & Bryant 2011). In all, reading literature on the topic actually assists a grounded theory approach, as the researcher may be more capable of locating intricacies in the data.

**The role of the researcher**

Grounded theory methodology requires the researcher to analyse and test the data constantly as it is being obtained to ascertain emerging processes and themes. By doing this, the researcher is able to verify possible categories in subsequent interviews, leading to the emergence of theory, although this theory
does not necessarily have to be entirely new. Initially, grounded theory was purported to be objective, without the influence of the researcher (Bryant & Charmaz 2007). In constructivist grounded theory, the researcher uses their experiences and knowledge to guide the research. For this research, any attempt to start with no prior knowledge was impossible. I had already read large amounts of literature before deciding on a grounded theory approach, meaning this knowledge had already been gained. Further, as a serving member of the NSWPF, I already had an in-depth practical knowledge of the organisation. As such, literature and prior knowledge was used to assist in shaping the research. Charmaz (2014a) described this prior knowledge and practice through the use of the term ‘vantage points.’

Vantage points might come from past experience or from the literature, guiding the research in its initial phases. However, vantage points must be tested rigorously against the data prior to being used or discarded from the final analysis, in order to ensure reflexivity in the research (Charmaz 2014a). Reflexivity guards against ‘the assumption that there is an unproblematic relationship between the social scientific text and its valid and reliable representation of the ‘real’ world’ (May 2011, p. 15). This means that reflexivity in social science research is essential to ensure the data matches what the researcher asserts in their final analysis. Reflexivity is crucial in this research, in order to show its validity.

Reflexivity means the researcher accepts they have some prior knowledge and assertions about the topic, and that these are likely to influence the outcomes of the research due to their own participation in interviews and analysis of the data (Hallberg 2006). In fact, constructivist grounded theorists endeavour to locate themselves within the research as part of the social inquiry (Charmaz & Bryant 2011). This means the researcher must be alert and aware of their own standpoint as well as that of their research participants, and acknowledge and use these appropriately (Charmaz & Bryant 2011). To maintain a constructivist approach, the researcher is a necessary part of the theory making process, as there is no possibility for an entirely objective approach to occur (Ramalho et al.
For this research, I was already embedded within the organisation as an insider, meaning there could be issues associated with bias. However, this was ameliorated somewhat by my outside-insider status, meaning that I had received, and continued to receive, education and guidance on best practice in research (Brown 1996). I therefore accepted that I had my own standpoint regarding the topic. At the same time, one of the reasons for being interested in this research was the varying opinions and beliefs regarding diversity within policing organisations, so I was aware that my own beliefs would not be the same as some interviewees. This was difficult at times, as I was required to accept these viewpoints without engaging the participant with my own beliefs.

While reflexivity is crucial in this study, being too reflexive can ‘stifle creativity’ in producing a legitimate grounded theory, which could result in a mere description being produced (McGhee, Marland & Atkinson 2007, p. 335). This distinction required me to be aware of my viewpoints, but accepting of others in the final analysis. It also meant I could use my own experience to explain the analysis in more depth (McGhee, Marland & Atkinson 2007). A statement by Heath and Cowley (2004, p. 149) sums up how I approached theory generation: ‘It is wise to remember, too, that the aim is not to discover the theory, but a theory that aids understanding and action in the area under investigation.’ In other words, this is one of many theories that may have come from this data, yet my own personal experiences and beliefs have brought the theory to light in a particular way. Other researchers conducting the same study may have seen the data in a different light, which is a central premise of a constructivist grounded theory. As such, the theory generation was mine, meaning that any issues with it are a product of mine as well.

**Methodology, method and analysis**

**Constructivist grounded theory methodology**

There are often difficulties in finding a clear explanation of how to conduct a constructivist grounded theory inquiry, including knowing a correct sample size, coding elements and how to verify these codes (Nagel et al. 2015). It could be argued this is the point of grounded theory – that each study should stay true to itself. This means the study should reflect the topic being investigated, rather
than using preconceived guidelines. However, this is also a criticism from a positivist perspective, where it is necessary to align oneself with a particular method to complete the study rigorously. Users of grounded theory methodology have been criticised for ignoring literature, presenting data as a ‘theory’ and not using a methodology (Suddaby 2006). It can also be difficult to have the research approved by an ethics committee when interview schedules have not yet been formulated (Nagel et al. 2015). For these reasons, it is important to maintain a structure in grounded theory research to ensure the findings are robust and legitimate.

**Data collection and analysis**
According to Engward (2013), there are seven main components to a grounded theory study. These are openness, theoretical sampling, theoretical saturation, immediate analysis, coding and continuous comparison, memo writing, and production of a substantive theory. These components will be expanded upon here to demonstrate their use in this study, although points relating to method (semi-structured interviews), ethics and recruitment of participants have been added underneath openness for ease of reading. Production of a substantive theory has also been given its own section as this is an important part of the study. It is noted that a common way of writing this section in other theses would be to separate data collection and analysis. This is a difficult task for a grounded theory study, as these components are linked so closely and many components fit into both sections. For this reason, the two have been combined.

**Openness**
As discussed previously, reflexivity is a crucial part of a constructivist grounded theory research project. I have been careful in the analysis phase to ensure that my own personal experiences and knowledge of the literature have been used in an open and honest way. However, I have also tried as much as possible to ensure that the data has driven the final theory, as this is what makes it original research (Ramalho et al. 2015). This was difficult at times, requiring constant immersion back in the data to ensure that examples truly came from participants and not my own experiences or understanding of the workplace.
Method: semi-structured interviews

The research was conducted through semi-structured interviews, to allow richness in the communication and responses from participants for a more in-depth analysis (Gilham 2000). There were two phases of interviews in the research, with each participant being interviewed twice. This was to ensure that categories identified in the first phase could be tested in the second phase of interviewing. By interviewing the same participants twice, it is possible that these participants may have changed their perspective over time, resulting in the data not being strictly verified. Another possibility might have been to verify the data with a different set of participants to ensure a larger sample size, but the intention of this second phase of interviews was to verify the data that had arisen from participants. By using a second set of participants, this previous data would need to be introduced, meaning the final data would arise from suggestions from the researcher rather than the participants.

The first phase of interviewing predominantly used open-ended questions about three case study examples that the participants were asked to comment on. The case studies were created to be as realistic as possible for participants, using insider knowledge in a subjective process (Kirpitchenko & Voloder 2014; Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2013) to explore common situations within their workplaces. The case studies were also created to include as many aspects of diversity as possible to ensure a wide range of responses, but it was not possible to cover all aspects of diversity. The 2018 NSW Premier’s Priorities highlight a targeted increase in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander personnel in senior leadership roles over the coming years, so this is an area that could also have been covered. The details of these case studies are outlined and discussed further in Chapter Eleven. Open-ended questions meant data collected was more comprehensive than that gained through other methods such as questionnaires or surveys (Gilham 2000). Participants were also asked to elaborate on any experiences they were reminded of when reading the case study examples to ensure the categories found during coding were a more realistic interpretation of their experiences.
As much as possible, the word ‘diversity’ was avoided during interviews, as there was concern this may result in interviewees reverting to official discourse when it was hoped they would give their own personal understandings of their environment. The word was not used in any documentation given to participants, nor was it used in the case studies. The question regarding diversity policy was deliberately left until the end of interviews to ensure there was as little mention of diversity as possible. However, once a participant used the word ‘diversity’, this discussion was followed up further. It should be noted that this only occurred with one participant. As far as possible, the language of participants was used to ensure they were comfortable in describing their responses in their own words. This was an attempt to gain as much information as possible.

Each interview was electronically recorded, with the addition of handwritten notes when comments were made before or after the recording. Electronic recordings were used for a number of reasons. Firstly, this allowed for a conversation with the participant, meaning the participant could be engaged with appropriately without trying to write down pertinent points at the same time. Secondly, as detectives, all participants were familiar with the method of electronic interviews, so this was a process they were likely to be comfortable with. Having said this, the interviews often reverted to an investigative style interview, where a question was asked followed by interviewer silence until the participant had completed their response. While this was a familiar style for the participants and for me, this may have had an effect on the responses of the participants, and even on my own thoughts. There were also circumstances when participants spoke about a number of things while being recorded, then elaborated on these significantly when the recording stopped. Participants were aware that all their comments would be used in my analysis, yet there were times when they appeared more comfortable after the recording was switched off. The recording may have created a talking point for participants which started them giving examples of experiences after the formal questions were responded to, which could be seen as positive.
Ethics

Ethics approval was granted through a National Ethics Approval Form. Informed consent was gained from all interview participants following a detailed explanation of the process both verbally and in a written format. This explanation was given before the interview process commenced. The form was made available to the participants, and contact details were supplied with details of the ethics approval. Formal consent was gained through a consent form that was signed by each participant. Participants were explicitly informed that their participation in the process was entirely voluntary and anonymous, and that they were not required to take part in the research if they did not wish to. Participants were also warned that any disclosure of corrupt activity would be dealt with through formal channels, meaning discussion of corrupt activity would not fall into confidentiality guidelines. This was not an issue at any stage in the process.

Identification of interview participants was conducted through the use of a numbering system, to ensure the identities of participants remained anonymous throughout the research. Any documentation and recordings were marked under this system to ensure there were no identifiable markings made at any point in the research. Quotes in this thesis were attributed to participants based on these numbers, with (A) quotes indicating the first set of interviews, and (B) quotes indicating the second set of interviews. It should be noted that most participants were willing to give their responses freely and without anonymity.

Another ethical issue was the possibility of my own personal bias. As an operational police officer, there was the potential that bias, including unconscious bias, may have affected this research. This potential bias is acknowledged, and has been addressed through the explanation and analysis of the research from a reflexive standpoint, as discussed previously. Participants were also informed verbally and in written format that they were not compelled to participate in the research, to prevent any misconception they were required to do so because of my employment status. Perhaps it is pertinent to state that my position in the organisation at that time had minimal contact with State
Crime Command, and I was not (and am unlikely to ever be) in a management position where I would make decisions regarding these personnel anyway. Fortunately, no other ethical issues arose that directly related to a potential conflict of interest.

**Recruitment of participants**
Permission to conduct the research was gained from the management of the NSWPF prior to any interviews being conducted. Interview participants were sworn officers recruited from the NSWPF initially using an email sent to all staff at the State Crime Command. From this, snowball sampling was used to gain further participants. The State Crime Command is a large section of the organisation, with a core function of criminal investigation, with some sworn officers providing a variety of other functions as well. For this research, all participants were in criminal investigation roles up to the rank of Detective Inspector. While it is not indicative of the entire NSWPF, officers at the command are from a variety of backgrounds and have worked in many different locations previously, meaning their experiences were quite varied.

While snowball sampling was used in the initial stages, purposeful sampling was also used to direct attention to some interviewees in order to obtain a large cross section of participants, including female and part-time officers. Having said this, no prospective participants were excluded (Baxter & Eyles 1997). Theoretical sampling was used as the research continued and hypotheses were located in the data.

**Theoretical sampling**
Theoretical sampling was defined by Glaser and Strauss (cited in Birks & Mills 2011, p. 69) as ‘the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges.’ Theoretical sampling has also been referred to as ‘stretching the codes’ (Star 2007, p. 84), with other types of knowledge being forced onto the data already collected. It requires the researcher to look for participants who have a particular characteristic that is significant to the research (Morse 2007) to ensure that as many possibilities can be catered for as possible. Essentially,
theoretical sampling involves the researcher shaping their study as it evolves. This means that significant categories emerging as the research is conducted can be tested and explored in further depth through sampling as the study continues, although Charmaz and Bryant (2011) stated it should not be used just to fulfil a particular demographic.

While initial recruitment did not specifically target any demographic, as the interviews unfolded rich data was provided by participants in relation to working with Muslim officers, which subsequently led to Hypothesis Three. While this hypothesis had not yet been fully created, it was deemed necessary to hear the voices of Muslim officers themselves. As such, attempts were made to recruit Muslim officers who may be able to shed light on their own experiences, resulting in three Muslim officers being interviewed. While exact numbers of Muslim officers in the organisation is unknown, this would appear to be a good sample. These officers filled a knowledge gap that would not have been addressed had this theoretical sampling not occurred. At one point, there were some reactions by one Muslim participant that were not expected. These are known as negative cases, where the expected response does not come from the participant (Morse 2007). These negative cases were not discarded, and were used in another part of the theory generation.

As the interviews were coded, another demographic emerged as important, being mothers who worked part-time due to childcare requirements. Theoretical sampling was not as important here, as they had already been recruited in the initial phases. It was found that one officer who worked part-time due to childcare commitments introduced others for the research, so it was not necessary to delve into this further from a sampling perspective.

There are conflicting views in the literature regarding whether theoretical sampling should take place during category generation or after categories have been fully generated (Charmaz 2014a; Birks & Mills 2011). For this research, the view was taken that theoretical sampling can occur at any time once the data collection, coding and analysis has started, but it is acknowledged this could be
problematic from an ethical perspective. As the nature of grounded theory research does not allow the researcher to know where the data collection is likely to take them, it is difficult to know prior to the research what is likely to occur (Nagel et al. 2015). For this research, participants were asked if they knew anyone who might fit theoretical samples needing to be covered. Had there been interesting perspectives outside the recruitment demographic of State Crime Command, the ethics process would have needed to be re-visited.

*Theoretical saturation*

Theoretical saturation occurs when ‘characteristics of instances’ keep coming up in the study, rather than the actual instances being the same (Morse 2007, p. 242). This means interview participants respond with similar categories in the coding process, with no new categories coming to light. For a grounded theory to be legitimate, theoretical saturation must be achieved, as all possible categories should be uncovered (Birks & Mills 2011). It should be noted this is a subjective concept for the researcher.

For this research, there were clear themes that were consistently repeated by participants, meaning it can be argued that theoretical saturation was achieved. Initially, a target of thirty to forty interviews was envisaged, but as the interviews were conducted, it was found that substantially new themes were no longer emerging. This could be accounted for by the similar work role that the participants are engaged in, with detectives having a different culture to uniformed police (Hobbs 1988). It was also found there was a large amount of data to be analysed in each interview, meaning interviewing forty participants would have resulted in an unreasonable amount of data to analyse in existing time frames to complete the research (Wood & Kroger 2000). While the number of participants was less than anticipated, a wide range of responses and experiences was still gathered.

As such, theoretical saturation was achieved in two ways. Firstly, semi-structured interviews allowed for some flexibility in the questions asked of participants. While the first interview schedule primarily revolved around the case studies given to the participants, it was possible to probe particular points
that came up in each interview if necessary. Secondly, through the use of hypotheses, the second phase of interviewing allowed for these interesting points to be looked at in more depth to ensure no further themes were left uncovered. In fact, the fifth hypothesis came out properly in this second phase of interviewing.

**Immediate analysis**

Interview recordings were transcribed at the completion of each interview, although there were occasions when it was not practical to transcribe and analyse before the next interview commenced. There were times when two or three interviews were scheduled one after the other, due to these being the only times available. At other times, participants finished their interview and suggested other participants who were available at that time, so these people were immediately interviewed rather than scheduled for another time. Having said this, when interviews were conducted one after the other, they were transcribed and analysed prior to further interviews being conducted.

**Coding and constant comparison in analysis**

An abductive approach was used in this research to achieve constant comparison in analysis. Abduction requires some level of analysis by the researcher that is not based on prior theories, and as such is compatible with a constructivist grounded theory approach. An abductive approach means there is no prior assumption regarding the data, and the researcher is likely to ‘discover or invent’ the rule or hypothesis they are using (Reichartz 2007, p. 219). This approach does not allow the researcher to give certainty on the final outcome, as it is likely there are different outcomes depending on the researcher’s own perception (Peirce cited in Reichartz 2007). It is possible a different researcher may have located different categories in the data, or they may have found that different categories were more important to explore.

An abductive outcome in research results in new hypotheses and theories that fit the data, with the potential for these theories to be developed and redeveloped (Reichartz 2007). This means that even the final theory of this study could be worked upon in the future if further data were to come to light. Given that the social world is constantly changing, it would be unrealistic to assume that the
entire grounded theory produced here will still be the same in the future. Indeed, it is hoped some elements do change to make for a more inclusive workplace.

According to Charmaz (2014a), grounded theory coding involves two main phases. In the initial coding phase, each segment of data is named (or coded). In the second or focused phase, these codes are used to ‘sort, synthesize, integrate, and organise’ the data (Charmaz 2014a, p. 113). From this point, subsequent interviews can be used to test these categories, in order to ensure they are a true reflection of the experiences of the interviewees. Starks and Trinidad (2007, p. 1376) stated that ‘themes identified through the coding of initial interviews may also be explored in follow-up interviews’, meaning that questions can be based on what is learned through the initial codes, and hypotheses can be formed following these initial codes being created, which can then be tested (Charmaz 2014a). This is important, as these themes can be verified to ensure the researcher has understood the meaning of the research participants’ responses.

After each interview, the recording was transcribed, with each segment of the transcript coded individually to find emerging themes. This coding was conducted line-by-line in order to gain initial insights and see what the data was suggesting (Hanzel 2016). These initial codes were used to formulate more specific and focused questions for the second phase of interviewing. While numerous codes were found in the initial phase, the clearest and most compelling codes were put together to form four hypotheses:

- **Hypothesis One**: Police officers are accepted by their colleagues through fitting into the culture or through a perception of competence or both.

- **Hypothesis Two**: Police officers perceive difference and diversity as a problem to be solved, rather than a benefit to the organisation.
• *Hypothesis Three:* Muslim officers are regarded with a greater level of suspicion than other officers.

• *Hypothesis Four:* A disconnect exists between officers’ understandings of New South Wales Police Force official policy on diversity and the belief systems and practice displayed by those officers.

Following the coding of initial interviews and the construction of these hypotheses, a second schedule of interview questions was written. Upon approval by the ethics committee, the second phase of interviewing commenced. During the second phase of interviewing, constant coding indicated there was a fifth hypothesis coming from the data. This hypothesis was:

• *Hypothesis Five:* Police officers perceive diversity initiatives in the organisation to be somewhat unfair.

While the interview schedule was not changed to accommodate this fifth hypothesis, when participants brought it up, the information was probed further. It is noted this can be one of the difficulties of a constructivist grounded theory project, as to truly follow a constructivist standpoint, interview questions would be constantly changing as new data comes to light. Obviously, it is impractical to have these interview questions reviewed by an ethics committee every time they are altered (Nagel et al. 2015). In these circumstances, the topic was engaged with only when the participant brought it up, to ensure that ethics approval was complied with while also attempting to expand on the category to be in line with the grounded theory approach. A number of participants did raise this point, indicating how inclined they were to have beliefs about how diversity should be managed in a fair manner.

**Memo writing**
Memoing has been described as ‘records of thoughts, feeling, insights and ideas in relation to a research project’ (Birks & Mills 2011, p. 40). Memo writing is a crucial part of grounded theory analysis, as it allows the researcher to build their thoughts while compiling the data. I used the opportunity to write memos mainly
as I was coding interview transcripts, and there were also occasions when I wrote memos immediately following an interview and whilst reading the literature. This allowed me to link concepts between interviews, and also gave me the chance to look at my own experiences and thoughts relating to the data. At times, I found that interview responses were similar to my own experiences, especially relating to part-time work (which I had engaged in to complete this study) and maternity leave (which occurred in the write up phase). I felt it was important to acknowledge this in an attempt not to skew the data a particular way.

It is noted that examples of memoing in the literature include lengthy pieces of writing, which was not how I wrote my memos. Often, an interview participant would say something that provoked a memory or thought that did not require large amounts of detail for me to ensure it was not forgotten. I found that notes written on my coding spreadsheet were generally enough to prompt the analysis further at a later date. For example, when one participant made a statement about the work style of their workplace not being suited to women, my original memo alongside this simply said ‘Wow’. This later prompted me to look at my own position in the study and in the organisation, as this participant was effectively stating that I would not be suitable in that working environment due to my gender. I was confronted by this statement, although I had to concede that once I had children, it would be more difficult to commit to an ‘on call’ roster or to large amounts of overtime. However, this was due to my individual family circumstances rather than my gender, as my partner undertook childcare duties during the day and worked at night. Attending to unplanned overtime or ‘on call’ duties for a prolonged period would therefore be extremely difficult for me. This prompted me to think about structural considerations present in the organisation. Does an officer need to be ‘on call’ for seven days straight or could this be managed differently to ensure that all personnel are able to participate in ‘on call’ duties? Would a more supportive childcare environment assist with this, and what would it look like?
Having said this, there were other times when I ensured my thoughts were written in more detail as I wanted them to be clear for later writing. One such memo occurred when I listened to a participant who was in favour of a workplace that was more representative of the community, but also raised concerns that Muslim officers were a safety risk when they were fasting for Ramadan, implying there should not be too many Muslim officers in one place for this reason. My memo stated:

’Safety issue? This seems to be the go to option when justifying why they don’t think people are appropriate for the job – non-English speaking is the other. It doesn’t make sense that a Muslim fasting during the day would be deemed more of a safety risk than a person who has been out drinking the night before (as this is one of the things that can make you a ‘good bloke’). This reasoning is also problematic when considering countries where everyone is fasting – how do their police forces run if everyone is on Ramadan?? There is a conflict in thinking here that may indicate that there are ‘safe’ reasons for leaving a person out of the workplace where participants won’t be seen as politically incorrect as they are raising perceived legitimate reasons not to have that type of person in the workplace.’

In grounded theory, the way in which memoing is completed should be the process that works best for the researcher, to ensure the analysis works well for them (Birks and Mills 2011). While I do not profess to have written technical, academic style memos, they were sufficient for me to raise the analysis of my theory and to prompt questions of my own reflexivity in order to do this.

**Production of a substantive theory**

In relation to the question of whether a true theory has been formulated, it has been said that ‘the form in which the theory is presented does not make it a theory; rather the fact that it explains or predicts something makes it a theory’ (Hallberg 2016, p. 142), meaning that existing theory can be elaborated on, rather than creating an entirely new theory (Suddaby 2006). However, Charmaz and Bryant (2011, p. 292), emphasised that the ‘purpose of grounded theory is construction, rather than description or application of existing theories’, meaning the use of existing theories should be limited at best. It is argued here
that an entirely new theory is difficult, as most contemporary theories build upon something that has already been said. In using grounded theory methodology in this research, existing knowledge and theory was built upon and new categories explored in relation to how and why diversity is perceived and experienced in particular ways amongst police officers, resulting in an explanation of how police officers are included in their workplace.

Often the best way to find a grounded theory in the data is to keep writing about the data, using memoing and the literature as well (Charmaz 2006). The substantive theory for this research was produced through the comprehensive coding of the data alongside each of the hypotheses. A lot of time was spent thinking, writing memos, rearranging hypotheses on a large white board and writing draft chapters that never saw the light of day. This was all part of the process of producing a grounded theory explaining how officers are included in their workplace.

It was a long process, as at very first glance, the hypotheses do not appear to relate to each other. Over time, it became clear there were three elements to inclusion for individuals in the NSWPF, leading to these becoming crucial elements of the final theory. Following this, Bourdieu’s (1977; 1986) work surrounding field, habitus and especially capital were located in the literature which proved to be crucial in the final understandings of inclusion in the policing workplace. These concepts are discussed and described further in Chapter Ten. The three inclusion elements were clearly similar to Bourdieu’s ideas about capital, meaning there was a logical jump to the grounded theory being called ‘inclusion capital theory’. This substantive grounded theory will be outlined and explained in Chapter Eleven as the key discussion of this thesis.
Chapter Three: Literature Review

Organisational diversity has been discussed widely in academic literature, with its application to police officers generally found in the space of women and individuals from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. Literature on diversity and culture has varied definitions. Rather than attempting to define either of these terms, this research has taken a wider approach by accepting that understandings of diversity and police culture cannot be defined in any concrete manner, and should be understood in their own contexts, both organisational and individual.

This chapter will outline literature on organisational and police diversity, as well as police culture, in order to give a background to this research. In keeping with Bourdieu's (1977; 1986; 1990) theoretical tools of habitus, field, and capital, whereby each context can be explained without any need to provide definitions, the research adds to the literature by taking a holistic approach to diversity, rather than using any particular definition or looking at preconceived categories. Bourdieu's theory became relevant to this research after data collection and during analysis, as is appropriate when using grounded theory methodology. His work has proved essential to the final grounded theory that has been constructed, and will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

As previously stated, scholars have differed in their views regarding the use and timing of a literature review in grounded theory research. While Charmaz (2014a) advocated for an approach that allows the literature to be used freely from a constructivist perspective, this was not the intention of the original authors of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967). It is acknowledged that often a literature review in grounded theory is conducted after the findings, and as such it would appear to be more appropriate to place it there in the thesis. However, as this is a constructivist grounded theory study, Charmaz's (2014a) view that some context is required prior to the study is the most relevant, as previously addressed in the methodology chapter. In this case, it is believed that some understanding of concepts should be given to the reader prior to discussing the findings.
It is contended that the position of the literature review in grounded theory research depends on the context and requirements of the thesis. Therefore, in some cases it is appropriate to give context in an earlier chapter prior to the findings, with further theoretical literature being placed after (Dunne 2011). This has been decided upon as the best way to present the literature in this thesis. As such, this literature review chapter will be used to identify the knowledge gap in the policing and diversity space. Issues associated with defining diversity will be discussed along with inclusion, followed by an overview of police culture, diversity in the policing context, as well as overall organisational diversity. A further chapter relating to theory will be placed after the findings, in Chapter Ten.

In order to locate relevant literature, various electronic databases were searched, including ProQuest Central, Taylor & Francis Online, SAGE, Wiley Online, Google Scholar and ScienceDirect. These were mostly searched through the Western Sydney University library system. The main topics searched were diversity, policing diversity, organisational diversity, workplace diversity, diversity definitions, police culture, social identity theory, field, habitus, capital and Bourdieu. These search terms were also mixed in various ways to obtain different results, including diversity in policing or police diversity. A snowballing process was used to find key articles containing further important literature or other topics that were then searched for and used in the review. At times a narrower search was conducted, especially when it became clear there were few studies specifically on the broad topic of police diversity. This meant that searches were conducted on specific categories such as CALD police and female or women police. This broadened the amount of literature significantly, as police studies have generally been completed in relation to a particular aspect of diversity. It is acknowledged this is problematic for this study, as being specific can exclude individuals whereas the intent of the research was to avoid excluding any particular demographic.

**Difficulties in defining diversity**

Diversity as a concept is used in different ways for different purposes, and its definition largely depends on the entity using the concept. There are multiple discourses applied to various aspects of individual or group perceptions of
diversity (Vertovec 2012). The fluid boundaries of these discourses must be acknowledged in any discussion of diversity, especially as structures are different depending on where they are positioned (Boli & Elliott 2008). On a theoretical level, Derrida (cited in Agger 1998) described the idea of multiple discourses for the same concept as ‘undecidability’.

Undecidability refers to the ways in which language and text are unable to confirm a particular meaning (Agger 1998). In other words, what a concept means to one person will be different for another. Thus, diversity, depending on context, has different meanings, and these meanings can be used for different purposes. While it is important to continue to find meaning, ‘nothing will automatically solve the problem of meaning apart from more attempts at meaning' (Agger 1998, p. 61). As such, it can be said that meanings of diversity will continue to change with time and context, requiring an ongoing analysis rather than one particular definition.

This notion of undecidability relating to diversity definitions is central to this research, as there are differences between how academic definitions and the NSWPF definition are used. While academic definitions vary widely in their scope and allow for differences between authors and contexts, organisational definitions are more precisely written, influencing understandings of the diversity concept. In addition, an organisation’s definition must be shaped in a particular way to indicate its inclusiveness. Diversity definitions range from giving specific characteristics of those who fall into a diversity framework, to giving details of how to define diversity without actually defining it. For this literature review, it is necessary to explore diversity definitions in more depth.

The many definitions of diversity
Discussions around diversity definitions continue to evolve, especially as it becomes a more widely discussed topic within organisations, with some trends identified. At one end of the spectrum, authors specifically name categories of diversity that are seen to require management, such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age and disability, giving the reader specific knowledge of the categories in the concept. Of note, this is the way in which the NSWPF defines
diversity, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Other authors prefer to be more fluid in their definitions, for example: ‘the usual protected groups of individuals, as well as those whose temperament and aptitude diverge from those of the law enforcement majority’ (Johnson 2012, p. 7) and ‘the presence of differences among members of a social unit’ (McMurray & Karim 2008, p. 321). This demonstrates how diversity cannot be described using one particular definition, but rather requires a contextual application.

As such, it can be said that diversity itself is constructed in context, rather than being defined in relation to individuals and their differences. The constructs that assist in the creation of diversity are important, as ‘diversity theory is linked to the way individuals are perceived and constructed by themselves and others’ (Holck & Muhr 2016, p. 48). Further, by using the word ‘diversity’ in relation to policy, there is an attempt by management in an organisation to include those individuals who are seen to be different from the expected or usual demographic (Herring & Henderson 2012). However, the social construct of diversity is dependent on time and place, making these definitions effectively meaningless as demographics change. While all definitions have a purpose, diversity constructs are more useful in understanding workplace behaviour and potential change, rather than pre-defining a concept that is constantly changing anyway. In this section, a number of issues relating to diversity definitions will be discussed.

Another similar way diversity has been defined was to explicitly state specific aspects of those who are regarded as ‘diverse’. Examples include describing workforce diversity as ‘the differences identifiable among members of the workforce, such as age, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, health and physical ability’ (Strachan, French & Burgess 2010, p. xvii); ‘visible and non-visible difference which will include factors such as sex, age, background, race, disability, personality and workstyle’ (Kandola & Fullerton cited in Lorbiecki & Jack 2000, p. S19); and stating that ‘systems of inequality are constructed around particular attributes – such as one’s income and wealth, gender, skin color, sexual orientation, age, and state of able-bodiedness’ (Neubeck & Glasberg 2005, p. 185). Specific definitions can be useful in particular circumstances, such as for
organisations attempting to manage diversity issues, or to give researchers a starting point for their study. Organisational discourse can be influenced by definitions, so they are regarded as important in that context, especially when management is trying to implement change. However, specific definitions may exclude those who do not fit into the definition, meaning resources or attention may not be provided to those who really need it. They also give an indication of what is valued and prioritised within an organisation.

Other academic literature provides definitions of diversity without naming these categories. Generally, these types of definitions provide a sense of inclusion and exclusion, by using words such as ‘differ’ (Ledimo 2015), ‘difference’ (McMurray & Karim 2008), ‘majority’ (Johnson 2012) and ‘distant’ (Lumby & Morrison 2010). These definitions, while aiming to avoid categorisation, allow for a discourse relating to the ‘other’. By assuming there is an ‘other’ in an organisation such as the NSWPF, there is a risk that the dominant discourse will continue, and that any power imbalance will be maintained.

More recent academic literature encourages a comprehensive analysis of diversity and what it actually means for organisational culture. This is helpful, as it covers issues surrounding inclusion and exclusion based on being placed in a particular category. In particular, diversity scholars can use a critical approach to provide more useful understandings. Rather than naming categories of diversity, analysis should contain reasons why parity, equality and inequality exist (Herring & Henderson 2012). By doing this, it is acknowledged that everyone has ability, but these abilities do not all have to be the same. Further, it can be argued that using diversity categories puts the focus on groups rather than individuals, making it difficult for those individuals to gain any form of power (Holck & Muhr 2016). This recent literature regarding diversity has moved away from using diversity categories towards an environment where individuals are looked at from an equal standpoint. One way this can be achieved is that each person is seen as an individual, with overarching policy that allows for difference without imposing preconceived categories on that person (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith 2015). By analysing each context, individuals can be actively included and
differences acknowledged, regardless of whether they would previously have been seen as the norm in an organisation. This is important in increasing inclusion levels in a workplace, as it moves away from an either/or understanding of diversity.

Power and inequality are also aspects adding to the analysis of diversity, meaning definitions must take these into account while also ensuring that time and place are accounted for (Tatli & Ozbeklin 2012). This approach means that intersectionality can be addressed within these definitions. Intersectionality occurs when individuals fit into more than one preconceived category of diversity, such as a woman from a CALD background. For these individuals, confusion may occur as to which category should be treated as more important. If intersectionality is not addressed, organisations (and researchers) run the risk of simplifying how individuals experience diversity issues (Tatli & Ozbeklin 2012), as when a person in power deems a particular category more important than another, this can result in further inequality for the individual. Alternately, they may choose a dominant identity that does not allow for any other identities the individual has. In other cases, the individual may not feel they have suffered inequality as a result of their perceived diversity, or they potentially have power despite their diversity category (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith 2012). In these circumstances, applying a mindset of inequality is inappropriate and unfair. Intersectionality will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

The most important characteristic of effective diversity understandings is that they must be time, place and context specific. An understanding of diversity in a policing organisation in Australia will be different to a large business organisation in another country. Indeed, understandings might be different in different sections of the same organisation. When definitions are used in a ‘one size fits all’ context, this prevents any good work from being done for diversity in that area. This is especially the case where diversity is used to lobby for particular benefits, to the detriment of those who may not belong in any preconceived category. For this research, no specific definition of diversity will be
given. This is due to the changing nature of diversity that would make any definition a hindrance to any kind of meaningful change.

Organisational diversity
Organisational diversity, where personnel within a particular organisation are regarded as diverse, is seen as positive for two reasons: for human rights and for better business. Having said this, each organisation has different ways to achieve diversity depending on its own context. This may relate to the type of organisation, as well as where the organisation is located. Location is especially important, as legal frameworks surrounding diversity differ depending on jurisdiction, affecting how diversity is viewed and managed (Davis, Frolova & Callahan 2016; Dickie, Soldan & Fazey 2012; Strachan, French & Burgess 2010). The human rights and business arguments, while aimed at achieving the same goal of organisational diversity, have different benefits attributed to them.

The human rights argument for diversity and the resulting legal frameworks
The human rights argument is used to encourage diversity in the pursuit of equality and fairness for all individuals. Under this argument, it is posited that all individuals, regardless of background, are entitled to the same rights, including equal employment opportunities. The position of this argument has led to legislation in various jurisdictions, including Australia, ensuring these rights are met. Following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948) and civil rights movements across the globe, legislation was enacted in Australia to increase diversity in the workplace (Strachan, French & Burgess 2010). Essentially, this legislation was put in place to give fair and equitable access to employment opportunities, with the idea that it would create an environment where every person had access to their human rights.

In Australia, models for managing cultural diversity are varied, as legal frameworks do not impose strict obligations on organisations (Syed & Kramar 2009). In the main, workforce diversity legislation for public and government organisations is at a federal level and therefore applies to federal rather than state agencies, with the NSWPF being a state agency. Some federal legislation does apply to all organisations though, including the Racial Discrimination Act.
1975, the Sex Discrimination Act 1984, the Australian Human Rights Commission Act 1986, the Disability Discrimination Act 1992, the Age Discrimination Act 2004 and the Fair Work Act 2009. These are not specific to government organisations; but do have an impact on them, as they make it unlawful to discriminate in recruitment and employment.

In New South Wales, the Government Sector Employment Act 2013 makes the head of a government sector agency responsible for workforce diversity and for integrating diversity into workforce planning. This means the NSWPF Commissioner is responsible for workforce diversity in the NSWPF, although there are no specific laws as to how this should be implemented. The New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Act 1977 makes it unlawful to discriminate against individuals applying for work, or in their work on the grounds of race, sex, age, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, caring responsibilities and marital or domestic status. As such, while it is illegal to discriminate against a person in employment, there is no legal onus on executives to ensure a fair demographic of diversity across their organisation. This means organisations are able to manage their workforce diversity as they see fit, provided they comply with and meet minimum standards under law (Strachan, French & Burgess 2010). When this legislation came into being, the NSWPF introduced Equal Employment Opportunity guidelines in line with the legislation, although there was still resistance to their implementation (Fleming & Lafferty 2003; Lusher 1981). More recently in 2018, the NSW Government published the Premier’s Priorities, which included a section on ‘driving public sector diversity’, indicating an intention to significantly increase women and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in senior leadership roles across the public sector. This strategy helps to avoid discrimination against particular individuals, but does not address many of the structural factors making it difficult for them to gain senior leadership roles in the first place.

The business argument for diversity
The business argument is used to encourage organisational diversity from the perspective that it is beneficial to the organisation itself (Thomas 2005). Using this argument, increased diversity enables employees to be exposed to different
alternatives and perspectives, have wider connections to varied networks, and bring different skills to the workplace. This may result in a decrease in ‘group think’ in the workplace, as there will be a wider range of perspectives are offered (Thomas 2005). For policing organisations, this means they are able to provide a better service to the community if they increase their own diversity, as they are better able to connect with members of the communities they serve. It can also be asserted that police may face difficulties in the future that cannot be solved with conventional thinking, therefore organisational diversity is necessary to combat these future difficulties (Johnson 2012). For this increase in diversity to occur, these personnel need to be embraced for their skills, which may require a more critical level of thinking.

The argument that better service will be provided with increased diversity is used across police diversity and community relations literature in both Australia (Fleming & Lafferty 2003) and Britain (Fielding 1999; Hong 2016; Johnston 2006). In the Australian context, an increase in police numbers from different backgrounds has been seen to provide a solution to poor police relations with the community (Fleming & Lafferty 2003), including by community members discussing counter terrorism initiatives (Dunn et al. 2016). However, it has also been argued that while members of the community might feel they are better represented, it is more worthwhile to look at the attitude of the individual being recruited rather than their characteristics of diversity (Miles-Johnson & Pickering 2017; Shepherd 2014). This would provide a better workforce for dealing with the community, rather than just being seen to do so. It is also likely to change overall cultural perceptions relating to inclusion.

Management of organisational diversity
Ways in which organisational diversity are managed depend largely on each organisation and its ideological position. This point is important in this research, as the NSWPFS understanding of organisational diversity affects how it is managed in practice. It has been posited that there are two basic ideological standpoints an organisation may use to enhance its diversity. Firstly, colour-blindness is used to assert that all individuals are equal, therefore difference relating to diversity should not be acknowledged by employees. It should be
stated here that colour-blindness does not just relate to skin colour, rather it relates to the broad range of different types of diversity, meaning any difference is not acknowledged under this concept. Secondly, a multicultural standpoint allows for differences to be celebrated, meaning all differences are acknowledged. These two standpoints should be viewed on a spectrum (Plaut et al. 2014), and can be taken further by stating that a multi level approach may be more effective, with the organisation being seen to view all individuals as equal within a diverse environment. Individuals are therefore encouraged to embrace difference but not use it to compete (Hahn et al. 2014). Thus, the organisation can be cohesive and diverse at the same time, meaning individuals are more likely to feel included in their workplace.

It can be argued that any approach to organisational diversity in Australia needs to be tackled on multiple levels to ensure organisations are truly inclusive (Syed & Kramar 2009). By approaching diversity from national, organisational and individual levels, perhaps cultural change could actually occur. This idea provides a more holistic approach to diversity management, especially in light of findings that managers and human resources staff do not necessarily believe in diversity management approaches as a way of improving their organisations (Davis, Frolova & Callahan 2016). This is where the difference between diversity and inclusion is relevant. Roberson (2006, p. 217) highlighted that ‘diversity focuses on organisational demography, whereas inclusion focuses on the removal of obstacles to full participation and contribution of employees in organisations.’ In other words, diversity relates to having personnel from diverse backgrounds in the workplace, while inclusion means those personnel are valued as equals. If diversity and inclusion is encouraged and valued from the very top to the very bottom, it may be possible to make it a reality of every day organisational life, meaning that difference can be leveraged for the benefit of the individual and the organisation.

**Police culture**
Similar to definitions of diversity, police culture definitions are varied in the literature. Police culture has been studied over decades, with some earlier literature still relevant today. Generally, police culture has been described as
negative across most academic literature (Waddington 1999), but this is tempered with authors who frame their thoughts in such a way as to be more understanding of the nature of police work (see Klockars 1979; Waddington 1999). This is also true of media representations outside the academic arena. This section will attempt to provide an overview of the police culture literature, acknowledging it as a complicated, nuanced and changing concept. As with most subjects in social science research, it should be noted that the ways in which police culture have been described depend somewhat on each author’s outlook, and that understandings of police culture affect the experiences of those directly involved with it. Some of the points to be discussed in this section include masculine police cultures; racist police culture; whether there are one or multiple police cultures; enduring and changing values in police culture; and how police culture appears to override other cultures.

**Masculine police cultures**

Masculine police culture has been described as one where ‘men dominate the work environment by words and actions that ultimately sexualise and segregate female counterparts’ (Swan 2016, p. 3). Officers associate this masculine culture with bravado and tough responses to police work as being the ideal (Loftus 2010). Vast amounts of academic literature regarding police culture describe it through this masculine understanding. A number of reasons have been given for this masculine culture, including perceptions that police work requires particular physical traits (Cordner & Cordner 2011; Workman-Stark 2015); that operational policing is more important than community policing (Reiner 2010); and that historically women were not fully part of the police until recent decades (Prenzler 2015), a phenomenon that is common across many workplace cultures. It is argued this masculine culture serves to maintain the status quo, making it necessary to exhibit masculine characteristics to be part of the in-group, although some change may be possible with strong leadership encouraging both a top-down and bottom-up approach, as identified in Victoria Police (Metz & Kulik 2008). This perceived masculine culture has been disputed though, as the hegemonic masculinity described in academic literature does not allow for the multiple masculinities that exist in policing (Kennedy & Birch 2018). Rather, these dominant descriptions of the masculine culture serve to reinforce it. In
addition, gay men and women have demonstrated their abilities as police, meaning masculinity is not a necessary requirement in policing (Bernstein & Kostelac 2002), and therefore the masculine understanding of police is a false one. This masculine culture does serve to continue an understanding that it is the dominant one, and an acceptance of multiple masculinities would describe the culture more effectively. Having said this, the perception of masculine police culture continues.

Traditionally, operational police work is seen as the most important component of policing, and also as a male domain. Members of society believe it to be physical, violent, and aggressive work, requiring officers who are capable of engaging in this kind of behaviour (Haarr & Morash 1999; Marks 2008; Robinson 2013). Rawski and Workman-Stark (2018, p. 607) referred to a ‘masculinity contest culture’ in policing, whereby officers are required to have particular competitive masculine traits in order to be part of the culture, leading to an assumption that male police officers are likely to be more competent in their jobs (Ffrench & Waugh 1998; Thornton 2003). In contrast, community policing has been regarded as a softer option, more suitable for those with feminine traits (Fleming & Lafferty 2003). In reality, while there are times when policing requires physical behaviour, this is not something that is prevalent in day-to-day police work (Ffrench & Waugh 1998; Swan 2016; Waddington 1999). In recent times, community policing models have shifted the focus from physical to other aspects of policing (Swan 2016), meaning that police are required to undertake a range of tasks not necessarily seen as traditional policing roles. While women may take these non-operational roles, the reasons given above do not appear to be valid. Rather, women were not accepted into operational policing roles until recent times (Prenzler 2015), which served to reinforce the perceptions they were not as good as their male counterparts at these operational tasks.

Despite assertions to the contrary, a focus on increasing numbers of women in the police will not have the desired effect under the business argument unless the structures underpinning the masculine workplace are addressed (Silvestri 2017). This can be explained to some extent by looking at time as a gendered concept,
whereby the ‘ideal worker is expected to be available whenever required, with part-time workers seen as enjoying ‘privileges’ rather than ‘entitlements’” (Silvestri 2017, p. 296), meaning they are less committed and less professional. This could also be said about other categories of diversity as well, whereby structures prevent their integration and acceptance into the workplace. While numbers of women in the police have increased (Prenzler, Fleming & King 2010), they are still in the minority in the NSWPF (New South Wales Government & New South Wales Police Force 2015). This shows that masculine cultural perceptions continue to be difficult to shift, meaning significant structural change is likely to be required if women are to be included in the workplace.

**Racist police culture**

Police culture has been described as racist in many jurisdictions, including in New South Wales (Chan 1997), the United States (Bolton 2003) and Britain (Bowling & Phillips 2003). This perception of a racist culture has been linked to the above-mentioned masculine culture (Haarr & Morash 1999), whereby those who do not have attributes that fit the norm are actively left out. While literature tends to focus on police racism towards members of the community, some authors have addressed racism within policing organisations in Britain (see Holdaway & O’Neill 2006a; 2006b; Holdaway 2010) and New Zealand (Jaeger & Vitalis 2005), with findings that new officers from CALD backgrounds are often required to prove themselves in order to be accepted. In Britain, it has been found that officers felt they were being 'tested' to see if they would tolerate racial comments or abuse. Once an officer showed they would tolerate this behaviour, they were unlikely to be ostracised from the rest of the group. They tolerated this behaviour because they did not want a poor reputation or the possibility that other officers would not attend when they called for assistance, meaning their tolerance was not necessarily genuine, but for self preservation reasons (Cashmore 2001). This was confirmed in the Netherlands, where it was found that a racist police culture depends on individual perceptions and whether an officer fits into the prevailing culture (Heijes 2007). Overall, racist police culture is a common theme across the literature in many jurisdictions, but its existence is complex and dependent on context.
Other authors have suggested that racism itself does not necessarily translate into racist behaviour (Reiner 2010; Waddington 1999). Waddington (1999) asserted that while conversations between police colleagues might have been racist or sexist, the actions of these police do not match their conversations. In other words, police may talk about their experiences in masculine or racist terms in order to appear confident and competent, but how they actually behave on the street is quite different. While they speak in sexist and racist ways in private, their actions when dealing with members of the public conform to societal expectations of fairness. In contrast, the Macpherson Report in the United Kingdom (1999) found institutional racism in the police was a factor in the investigation of Stephen Lawrence’s death, and while most of the recommendations from this report have been implemented, it has been found that police racism still exists (Athwal & Burnett 2014). In the United States, the more recent Black Lives Matter movement has brought attention to the high proportion of Black individuals who are stopped and searched in comparison to White individuals (Kramer, Remster & Charles 2017). In Australia, it must be acknowledged there has been significant media attention surrounding disproportionate arrest and incarceration rates of Aboriginal people, as well as the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (Johnston 1991). However, there is little recent academic research on police racism relating to officer experiences in the workplace.

**A monolithic police culture containing multiple cultures**

One of the difficulties in describing police culture is the assumption it is a single entity, as this oneness ascribed to police organisations does not allow for the many subgroups in the policing occupation (Paoline 2003; Reuss-Ianni 1983). Any assumption that a police organisation, or indeed any organisation, is a cohesive entity that sticks together is problematic (Marks 2008), as it does not take into account the competing priorities amongst sections, ranks or different experiences depending on duty type. This is the case between detectives and other uniformed police (Hobbs 1988), as the specific role that detectives have within the organisation requires them to view themselves and others in a different way to other roles. Further, a divide has occurred between police management and ‘street cops’ (Reuss-Ianni 1983), due to their competing
priorities between a culture of loyalty and factors driving the organisation to achieve goals imposed externally.

The descriptions of a single police culture have changed over time in response to diversity issues (Reuss-lanni 1983; Sklansky 2006). Police organisations globally have attempted to be more representative of the community using policies such as affirmative action, although these policies can be controversial due to a perception of unfairness (Thornton 2003). One study about attempts to increase diversity in a police organisation highlighted difficulties in integrating ‘different’ officers into a homogenous structure and culture, as this structure and culture required officers to bond and socialise in ways that fit the environment, rather than creating an environment of inclusiveness and acceptance of difference (Colvin 2009). This raises the question of whether multiple police cultures may have some overarching characteristics relating to diversity issues. It also highlights that descriptions of culture cannot always be clear – in some ways it could be regarded as monolithic, but the minor nuances also create difference depending on context.

**An enduring yet changing police culture**
Paradoxically, police culture has been described in the literature as both enduring and changing. While policy changes designed to change cultural practice are continually made (Chan 1997), it has been asserted that changes in societal expectations are more likely to make a practical difference (Reiner 2010). This begs the question of whether policy change can actually create cultural change. Some authors have asserted that police culture is static or enduring (see Ben-Porat, Yuval & Mizrahi 2012; Joyce 2011), implying that change is difficult to implement through policy. It can be said that there have been changes in culture over time, and there are ways in which further change can be achieved going forward (Workman-Stark 2017). A middle ground on whether police culture is enduring or changing can also be found, as perhaps some aspects are enduring, such as loyalty to colleagues, while other aspects are changeable over time. Importantly, cultural change should not be regarded as linear (Marks 2008), but rather that there are multiple ways culture is embedded and changed.
Policy changes are aimed at overall cultural change, but can be difficult to implement or require a long time to take effect as they do not usually address the process through which the cultural change will be made (Chan 1997; Marks 2008). Further, policy change does not necessarily translate into action (Miles-Johnson 2016; Reiner 2010). Difficulties in implementation can be attributed to an enduring cultural knowledge (Alcott 2012; Marks 2008), where employees are conditioned to fit in to the prevailing culture, and subsequently do not believe change is necessary. One issue is that police circumvent policy imposed from above, as they strive to keep their known cultural practices (Clements 2006). On a broader level relating to police practice, messaging by senior managers does not always fit policy, meaning it is not perceived as important (Maguire & Norris 1994). Reiner (2010) asserted that cultural change occurs in policing organisations as a result of changing societal expectations, regardless of policy, meaning that change is often driven by external factors. These societal changes can mean positive changes occur internally within policing organisations (Van Ewijk 2012) without the need for a top down approach to be imposed on officers. For successful cultural change around diversity practices to occur, knowledge of the cultural terrain at all levels of the organisation is necessary. Without this, any attempts at change through policy will miss their mark.

Enduring cultural elements may occur when there are entrenched beliefs or attitudes about something, which is then affirmed to new officers joining the organisation (Alcott 2012; Ben-Porat, Yuval & Mizrahi 2012). For instance, for decades it was believed that women should be kept to particular roles within police organisations, manifesting in a resistance to change surrounding these roles (Joyce 2011). The attitude that women were not able to be involved in particular tasks resulted in a slow acceptance of female police, although this has still occurred to some extent over time (Rabe-Hemp 2008). Another more concrete aspect of this enduring culture is loyalty to colleagues, largely because officers are required to rely on each other in situations of danger (Paoline 2003). This can mean that officers from different CALD backgrounds may have difficulty being accepted as they are not immediately trusted by those from the dominant
culture (Cashmore 2001; Sklansky 2006), therefore proving themselves to be loyal takes more time. While these aspects of culture are seen as enduring, they can change in themselves, and it is fair to assume they are likely to change further as older personnel retire or leave, and new employees bring their views to the organisation.

**Police culture: overriding other cultures?**
It has been asserted that police culture overrides other cultures once an officer joins the police (Heijes 2007), making any attempt to change the culture through education difficult (Wooden & Nixon 2014). New officers tend to change their behaviour in order to be accepted by their colleagues (Sklansky 2006), meaning they leave their old culture behind (Burke 1994); deny they are treated differently (Dick & Cassell 2002); or in some cases live double lives (Burke 1994). This appears to occur regardless of whether new officers are women (Fielding 1999); individuals from CALD backgrounds (Cashmore 2002); lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual or intersex (LGBTI) (Miles-Johnson 2016); or from any other background (Sklansky 2006). This change in behaviour helps officers to be accepted into the policing fold, although for officers regarded as different or diverse, the changes are likely to be far greater than those who are seen as the typical officer.

In New South Wales, the reasons for this change in behaviour have been explained through the culture of fear and obedience towards management in the New South Wales Police Service (now the NSWPF). As a result of this culture of fear and obedience, officers are reluctant to challenge the status quo. This means new recruits change their behaviour to ensure they are not subject to management action, making it difficult for change to be made when officers feel that management decisions have been inappropriate, or when they feel they are being treated unfairly (Gordon, Clegg & Kornberger 2009). It is also difficult for managers who are not equipped to challenge behaviours because they are unsure of how to do so (Marks 2008). This can be attributed to a numbers-based crime model rather than an ethics-based model (Chan & Dixon 2007; Gordon, Clegg & Kornberger 2009), meaning a focus on statistics rather than people has caused a
culture of fear. Regardless, it appears police culture tends to dominate any other cultural identity for officers who want to fit in to the organisation.

**Pulling it all apart: police diversity literature**
Across the globe, policing research has largely been conducted on employees who fit into one category of diversity, rather than experiences of diversity on a holistic level. In some cases, intersectionality has also been addressed (see Boogaard & Roggeband 2010; Dodge & Pogrebin 2001; Holder, Nee & Ellis 2000; Martin 1994). While it is maintained here that diversity is socially constructed and cannot be reduced to one particular category of person, the literature must be reviewed in categories, as this is how it is focussed. Diversity is generally not addressed as an overall fluid concept when looking at police officers’ experiences, and the New South Wales context has not been covered in this way in the literature. This study has attempted to address both of these gaps.

**Women police officers**
The experiences of women in the police have been studied widely around the globe, resulting in a vast amount of literature on the subject. This is perhaps due to this category of diversity having larger numbers than others, as well as being at odds with the masculine culture. These studies have given an overview of common themes that arise for women in the policing profession, including barriers to their employment and the ways in which this has manifested through the perceived masculine culture of the police. Over time, it appears that experiences for women in the police have changed, yet the overall structural factors and culture have been more difficult to shift (Fleming & Lafferty 2003). This may account for why the proportion of women in policing, and specifically policing management, is significantly less than men (Prenzler 2015; Prenzler, Fleming & King 2010). In the Australian context, studies on women in policing have confirmed these overall themes.

Historically in New South Wales, women have been part of the police for over one hundred years, with many changes in duties and entitlements over that period of time (Prenzler 2015). The first appointment of female police in New South Wales was in 1915, as a result of attrition of male police due to World War I (Tynan 1995). Between and after the world wars, there was resistance to women in the
police, as female police officers were seen to be taking men's jobs, doing men's work, and there were even concerns from policemen's wives that they would take away their husbands (Prenzler 2015). This resistance to women in policing was a recurring theme in an organisation with a 'strong anti-female bias' (Swanton cited in Tynan 1995, p. 21); nevertheless overall equal status in policy was eventually achieved in 1981 (Aspland 2012; Tynan 1995). In Queensland, where women were a later addition to policing than New South Wales, this resistance has continued, despite equal status and women proving themselves to be up to the task (Prenzler and Drew 2013). In the past, this has mainly been in relation to the physical requirements that were seen as a barrier for women.

Physical requirements are held to be a necessary part of police recruitment based on an argument that it ensures the safety of all officers (Prenzler & Drew 2013). Indeed, initial recruitment into the NSWPF requires a particular physical standard to join (New South Wales Police Force n.d.b). This police recruitment testing is generally directed towards a masculine physicality (Robinson 2013), making it a means of excluding women (Prenzler 1996). In the United States, while physical requirements are often a condition of entry into the police, there is no physical testing of officers once they are employed (Cordner & Cordner's 2011). As such, while these physical requirements are deemed necessary to do the job of policing only when recruiting but not when actually employed, the argument that female officers are not physically capable is dubious. This point is reinforced in light of the assertion that women have the same abilities to deal with aggressive offenders (Ffrench & Waugh 1998), meaning the argument of physical requirements being necessary to safely do police work is contentious. By not having ongoing testing, there is a question of whether physical capacity testing upon recruitment is necessary at all, or whether the importance of physical factors is downplayed once officers are recruited. The requirement for particular physical standards upon recruitment can be viewed as another way to continue the perceived masculine perceptions of policing as a profession, as it maintains the masculine discourse surrounding physicality.
As women have demonstrated their physical abilities, new resistance themes have emerged, contributing to the maintenance of a masculine structure and culture. Women are seen to be problematic because they have family and childcare requirements that do not allow them to be as committed to the job (Cockcroft 2013; Tynan 1995). This is exacerbated when women move to less operational or less masculine roles as their family commitments became more difficult to manage within the organisational structure. While women continue to be the primary care-givers at home, it is difficult for them to maintain rigid hours of shift work, meaning they are required to move away from operational police roles (Cockcroft 2013; Prenzler & Drew 2013; Rabe-Hemp 2008). Authors in this subject have voiced their views that more family friendly work environments would encourage women to stay longer in operational policing and move upwards in the ranks (see Cordner & Cordner 2011; Prenzler, Fleming & King 2010; Robinson 2013), but this has not addressed issues surrounding availability of part-time workers. Interestingly, as has already been noted, operational police work is also regarded as the more important part of policing, emphasising this masculine ideal in the profession. This appears to be a cycle whereby the masculinity of operational ideals continues to leave women out.

The theme of work-life balance also affects how and whether female police officers are promoted. While overall numbers of women in policing around the world have increased, numbers of women in higher ranks is still low (Dick & Cassell 2002; Irving 2009; Prenzler & Drew 2013; Prenzler, Fleming & King 2010; Robinson 2013). This may be due to the lack of flexible conditions to facilitate childcare (Irving 2009; Robinson 2013), but also because of the masculine selection criteria for promotion, which may discourage some women from applying (Reiner 2010; Robinson 2013). This includes a constant requirement for women to prove themselves in the workplace, while men are not subjected to the same requirements (Marks 2008; Robinson 2013). Again, the overall structure of the policing organisation means there are difficulties for women to progress.

Globally, another reported aspect of workplace experiences for women in the police has been the prevalence of sexual harassment and sexualised banter
(Brown, Gouseti & Fife-Schaw 2017; Dick & Cassell 2002; Hassell, Archbold & Schulz 2011; Morris 1996; Steinporsdottir & Petursdottir 2017), with an expectation that they will accept or conform to this behaviour in some way (Fielding 1999; Steinporsdottir & Petursdottir 2017). Supervisors often tolerate this sexual harassment (Hassell, Archbold & Schulz 2011), making it difficult for women to make complaints. However, this exposure to sexual harassment may decrease with time as female officers prove themselves (Rabe-Hemp 2008). When taking factors such as a low number of women being promoted and an acceptance of this side of masculine culture, it appears that sexual harassment and sexual banter are likely to continue to be a workplace norm without some form of serious intervention in this space.

Reiner (2010) suggested that women conduct their police work in the same way as male officers, but conceded this may change with greater numbers of women in the policing ranks. It has also been asserted that female police are more likely to conform to the prevailing culture than to attempt to change the culture themselves (Fleming & Lafferty 2003). Women in the police have also been found to deny they are treated any differently (Niland 1996), and have the same attitudes towards ethical issues as their male counterparts (Waugh, Ede & Alley 1998), supporting the claim they change themselves to fit in. However, gender dissimilarity can also cause some police women to disengage from the team, meaning a decrease in work standards for those individuals (Veldman et al. 2017). It is possible an increase in gender parity may change the overall masculine culture of the police, but until parity occurs, this will remain unknown.

In Australia, it has been argued that women are believed to have higher integrity making them less susceptible to corruption (Fleming & Lafferty 2003; Prenzler 2015); that they have a higher empathy for victims and less likelihood of using force, meaning a reduction in complaints (Porter & Prenzler 2017; Waugh, Ede & Alley 1998); and also that they are seen by male police as an ‘out-group’ (Melgoza & Cox 2009). McLeod and Herrington (2017, p. 182) asserted that ‘being there is not the same as being heard’, meaning that while increasing the numbers of women in the police appears to bring different ideas to the organisation, this can
only occur when the people in the organisation are willing to challenge and change the structures that prevent women from being fully included. Any commentary on whether increased numbers of women will effect change must factor in this important point – having women in the workplace does not mean women are accepted in the workplace, and without acceptance they will always be on the outer, making cultural change difficult. This relates to the difference between demographic diversity and inclusion, as previously discussed.

**Culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) police officers**

Research involving CALD police officers covers a broad range of experiences around the world, with the United States and Britain covered widely in the literature. It is noted that different historical factors often influence these experiences depending on the location of the policing agency. Having said this, there are some similarities across different countries and CALD backgrounds, making it helpful to look at an overview of what generally happens to CALD individuals in police organisations, rather than dividing the literature. Increased CALD diversity in police organisations is usually portrayed in positive ways for the community, by assuming that it will improve relations with the community (Fielding 1999; Jaeger & Vitalis 2005), and that it will increase organisational integrity resulting in decreased crime rates (Hong 2016). However, not all authors agree with these assumptions (see Hur 2012; McCluskey & McCluskey 2004), leaving the reality of an increase in numbers of CALD personnel unclear. The benefits for the community are also separate to the issues facing CALD police officers in the workplace.

The main issues covered in literature regarding CALD police officers relate to recruitment, retention and promotion (see Hong 2016; Hur 2012; Joyce 2011; Kringen 2016; McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010; Shepherd 2014; Waters et al. 2007; White 2009; White & Escobar 2008); using CALD officers to make the organisation look ‘diverse’ (Cashmore 2002); and issues surrounding trust (Cashmore 2001; Holdaway 2010; Holdaway 1997). The majority of literature on this topic relates to police relations with CALD communities, rather than looking specifically at CALD police officers’ experiences in the workplace, meaning that recruitment, retention and promotion are usually addressed within a community
relations context. This research specifically relates to the experiences of police officers themselves, including officers from CALD and other backgrounds.

Recruitment, retention and promotion are widely regarded as sticking points to achieving overall organisational diversity in the police. For potential recruits from CALD backgrounds, there are a number of reasons why policing is not considered a good career choice, some of which are similar to the reasons of women, and some which are unique. These include a perception of racist culture (Cashmore 2001; Kringen 2016; McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010; Shepherd 2014; Waters et al. 2007); tokenism (Cashmore 2001); and difficulties meeting recruitment criteria such as criminal background requirements (Kringen 2016). For some individuals, family and friends do not see policing as a profession, but rather a step down in social status (Ben-Porat, Yuval & Mizrahi 2012; Cashmore 2001; Chan 1997; Fielding 1999; Kringen 2016; Van Ewijk 2012; Waters et al. 2007). This means any recruitment advertising for CALD communities may be ineffective, as employment with the police is not perceived as a positive career path in the first place. It may be more helpful for recruitment strategies to address the ways in which policing is regarded as negative in different cultures.

**Racist culture preventing recruitment from culturally and linguistically diverse communities**

Across the globe, it has been found that CALD individuals are reluctant to join the police due to perceptions of a racist culture amongst police. This theme has been found in Australia (McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010; Shepherd 2014); the United States (Kringen 2016); Europe (Van Ewijk 2012); the United Kingdom (Waters et al. 2007) and Israel (Ben-Porat, Yuval & Mizrahi 2012); indicating its prevalence across different countries. Potential recruits may not wish to expose themselves to the racism that is generally regarded to be part of police organisations. This perception is reinforced by a high proportion of stop and search procedures being conducted on CALD communities, which are not seen as fair (Waters et al. 2007). In a study of Victoria Police in Australia, it was claimed that an environment where police understand the cultures of their community and vice versa will help to break down barriers to recruitment (McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010). There is a paradox here whereby enforcing the law reduces CALD
recruitment while having positive community relations is seen to assist it, meaning that the prioritisation of different policing goals must take these factors into account.

**Tokenism preventing recruitment from culturally and linguistically diverse communities**

Officers from CALD backgrounds are often seen as ‘token’, meaning it is perceived they were chosen for their background rather than their ability (Bolton 2003; Morris 1996). This is difficult to overcome, as communities are continually exposed to a predominantly white male police force, leaving a difficult cycle to break. The perception is exacerbated by the use of ‘window dressing’ (Cashmore 2002), when individuals are recruited for particular demographic characteristics, or when policies are put in place to make the organisation look like it is making progress, when in reality it is not. In Australia, Shepherd (2014) highlighted that recruiting CALD personnel requires the right organisational framework and structure before truly representative police organisations will eventuate. It is certainly the case that experiences where officers are seen as token are likely to exacerbate stereotypes that policing organisations are not serious about increasing diversity, thus fulfilling the beliefs of the community that it is not a worthwhile occupation.

**Other factors affecting recruitment from culturally and linguistically diverse communities**

As with women, it has been argued that recruitment requirements make it difficult for CALD individuals to join the police. In the United States, while women are excluded through physical requirements, criminal history requirements preclude individuals from CALD backgrounds from joining, where they may have been subject to over policing in the first place (Kringen 2016). As in the case for recruitment of women, there are structural impediments for CALD recruitment, although this particular finding demonstrates a far wider issue regarding perceptions for CALD individuals in society. Interestingly, in Victoria, members of the community do not see policing as a career of choice and regard police as racist, while members of police believe that the reasons why CALD individuals do not join include a lack of skills and poor knowledge of the English language (McMurray, Karim and Fisher’s 2010). This confirms the previous point that
perceptions by CALD individuals about police need to be looked at further to increase police recruitment, as there is a misunderstanding on the part of police that may affect how CALD officers are being recruited.

Trust issues relating to officers from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds
Studies in Britain and the United States relating to CALD officers’ experiences showed that trust was an issue between those from a typical background and those from different backgrounds (Cashmore 2001; Sklansky 2006). In Britain, CALD officers reported being ‘tested’ to see if or how much they would tolerate racial comments or abuse. When an officer tolerated this, they were seen to be ‘one of us’, allowing them to be part of the in-group (Cashmore 2001, p. 653). When they did not accept the racism, they were ostracised, or not trusted by colleagues. In similar ways to women being required to fit into the prevailing masculine culture, CALD police are required to fit into any racist culture. This concept of fitting in appears to be a recurring theme across diversity that is addressed in depth in Chapters Five and Eleven.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander police officers
The history of violent and heavy-handed relations between the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community and Australian police must be noted. It has been asserted that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should have the right to self-determine their own criminal justice, as there is such a lack of trust in the police to treat Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people appropriately within human rights guidelines (Cunneen 2001). Literature on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and police tends to focus on this history, as well as mending relations through community policing (Barcham 2011), including the use of self-policing (Blagg & Valuri 2004). This requires Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to work within their communities to assist police and prevent crime. Having said this, self-policing strategies work alongside traditional policing methods, meaning that these patrols are not necessarily sworn police (Barcham 2011; Blagg & Valuri 2004). As with other officers from CALD backgrounds, sworn Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander officers in Australia are expected to use their cultural knowledge in their workplace to assist in community relations (Cefai 2015), with officers in one Australian study being
largely positive about their experience (Fleming, Prenzler & Ransley 2013). This is in contrast to the accepted difficult relations between police and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. As the topic of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander police officers was not raised through the grounded theory methodology used in this study, experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander police officers will require further research. This could be achieved perhaps with an explicit study of how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sworn police officers experience inclusion in their workplaces.

**Muslim police officers**

Muslim communities in Britain and Europe have been described as ‘suspect’ communities (Awan 2012; Awan, Blakemore & Simpson 2013; Fekete 2004), and this has also been the case in Australia (Dunn et al. 2016). With an increased focus on Islamic terrorism in media and politics (Ewart, Cherney & Murphy 2017), Muslim individuals are perceived as engaged in terrorist or criminal activities, resulting in higher levels of policing of their communities (Awan, Blakemore & Simpson 2013). Consequently, some members of the Muslim community in Australia feel disconnected from society overall, not just from the police, meaning there may be an increase to the risk of conflict between groups (Cherney & Murphy 2017). This means relationships between Muslim communities and authority figures such as the police can be disconnected, especially when there are misunderstandings on both sides (Murphy, Madon & Cherney 2018). Further, it can be argued that being part of a suspect community may result in individuals engaging in suspect behaviour, thus continuing the cycle of suspicion.

Many of the points relevant to CALD police officers carry through to the experiences of Muslim police, especially relating to racist culture and perceptions. It is noted that literature regarding Muslims and the police invariably mentions the current political climate relating to counter-terrorism efforts whether in Britain (see Awan 2012; Awan, Blakemore & Simpson 2013); Europe (see Fekete 2004); or Australia (see Cherney & Murphy 2017; Dunn et al. 2016), with relationships between police and Muslim communities regarded as tense and tenuous. There is a dichotomy between community engagement policing practice
and more forceful counter-terrorism responses, with difficulties trying to bridge the two (Bjorgo 2015). While research on how Muslim police officers experience their workplace is scant, Muslims in Britain have been found to be reluctant to join the police in the first place due to the perceived racist culture, and in many cases, due to negative experiences in dealing with the police (Awan, Blakemore & Simpson 2013). These findings have parallels with CALD police officers, but terrorism adds an extra element to experiences relating to religion and ethnicity.

Muslims in Australia are more likely to be perceived as the ‘other’ due to their suspect status and the subsequent discourse that portrays Muslims as particularly susceptible to radicalisation, and therefore terrorism (Kolig & Kabir 2008). In other words, Muslims are constantly required to prove they are not terrorists, in contrast to other populations, who are assumed not to be so. This discourse is difficult to shift, with media messaging consistently affirming the perceived connection between Muslims and terrorism (Ewart, Cherney & Murphy 2017). While these perceptions continue, officers may question the motives of Muslims joining the police, a concern that is not raised for other demographics. In this regard, Muslim police officers are likely to find it more difficult to be accepted in their workplaces, due to their requirement to be seen to be on a particular side. Potentially, these concerns can be mitigated, as it has been demonstrated that members of the community with good factual knowledge about Islam and Muslim communities were less likely to be prejudiced (Mansouri & Vergani 2018). As such, a suggestion to assist might be further education in this area to increase police understandings of Muslim communities. However, using this suggestion requires some caution, as the nature of this education surrounding religion can also be viewed as a threat to an individual officer’s own religiosity (Prideaux & McFadyen 2013), meaning that education programs are often viewed as an attempt to convert officers to a different point of view. In addition to education, a positive way of learning about Islam might be for officers to actually meet Muslims and speak to them about their religion and culture.

It is also the case that where stigmatisation of Muslims is lower and there is a perception of procedural justice, Muslims are more likely to assist and cooperate
with the police (Murphy, Madon & Cherney 2018), which is likely to improve relations. In other words, where Muslims feel they are being treated fairly, they will respond in a more positive manner towards police, which could be said to be the case for any individual. This can be achieved to some extent through building relationships with Muslim communities, but often these relationships require police officers to be committed for a significant length of time, in order to build trust (Bullock & Johnson 2018), meaning a genuine commitment is needed. With improved knowledge on the part of police, along with a commitment to transparency and fairness, concerns regarding Muslim officers might be overcome to an extent, and relationships with Muslim communities might also be improved.

The number of Muslim officers in the NSWPF is unknown; however, there have been three out of seven Muslim officers in the Counter Terrorism Community Contacts Unit (Dunn et al. 2016), demonstrating a large proportion being used in this field. Given the links that are consistently drawn between Muslims and terrorism, this is perhaps not surprising, although it would be beneficial to have further data regarding their placement in other areas. Experiences of Muslim officers have not been widely documented, leaving a gap in the literature that this study starts to address.

**Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex (LGBTI) police officers**

For this study, the term lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex (LGBTI) has been used as per the Australian Human Rights Commission usage, although it is acknowledged there is varying terminology in this space. LGBTI identities have historically been invisible ones, which can create stress for the individual when they are navigating whether to disclose their identity in the policing workplace or not (Buhrke 1996; Leinen 1992). The process of disclosing identity can be complicated, with police officers having different ways of disclosing, including partial disclosure, where they tell a select group of colleagues (Galvin-White & O’Neal 2016). In recent times, the disclosure of sexual identity by LGBTI officers has been a more positive experience (Galvin-White & O’Neal 2016; Rumens & Broomfield 2012), in keeping with Reiner’s (2010) assertion that police culture changes with societal expectations. Overall attitudes may have changed due to a
shift in society's attitudes towards the LGBTI community, including recent legislation for marriage equality in Australia.

A shift in attitudes towards LGBTI police officers over the last few decades has been reported, yet there is not a large amount of research on the subject (Jones 2015; Jones & Williams 2015). Historically in most countries, including Australia, homosexuality was a criminal behaviour, resulting in adverse encounters being reported between police and the LGBTI community in the United States (Buhrke 1996; Colvin 2009) and Britain (Burke 1994). The legal system and these negative encounters resulted in police attitudes connecting homosexuality with deviant behaviour that was against their own conservative values (Burke 1994; Colvin 2009). As a result, LGBTI police officers were seen as part of an 'out-group' (Colvin 2009; Miles-Johnson 2016), with this out-group status meaning LGBTI officers had difficulties fitting in to the overall culture of the organisation.

Recent studies, including an Australian study by Miles-Johnson (2016) have found there has been greater acceptance of LGBTI individuals depending on whether the officer is seen to fit in with the masculine culture of the police (Jones 2015; Rumens & Broomfield 2012). The perception that masculine traits are important in police work has resulted in parts of the LGBTI community being deemed as competent while others are not. Depending on their relationship with masculinity, LGBTI officers may be viewed as either a good officer or 'too weak' to do the tough jobs in policing (Galvin-White & O'Neal 2016). It has been stated that lesbian officers fit in well to the masculine culture, while gay men and transgender people have more difficulties in the organisation (Burke 1994; Miles-Johnson 2016; Rumens & Broomfield 2012). Having said this, another common theme in the literature is that homosexuality tends not to be important when the officer is a 'good cop' in terms of professionalism, work ethic and respect (Belkin & McNichol 2002; Galvin-White & O’Neal 2016). In other words, officers who can show they are reliable and professional tend to be more widely accepted by their colleagues. This ideal is also elaborated on as part of this research. Research into the Australian Federal Police indicated that police culture is heavily masculinised, and while there is little direct hostility towards LGBTI officers, there is still a
boys’ club that encourages negative attitudes towards them (Cherney 1999). The Australian experience does not appear to have been addressed in academic literature in recent times, however the boys’ club culture is addressed in the current study.

**Intersectionality in the police**

In circumstances where an individual may fit into a number of categories of diversity, intersectionality assists scholars to analyse these complex issues in more depth. Collins and Bilge (2016, p. 11) described intersectionality as:

> a way of understanding and analysing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences... When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organisation of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other.

Intersectionality allows for the various aspects of power to be identified within an organisation, and using the concept in research allows for crossover between categories impacting on the experiences of the individual (Collins & Bilge 2016). For example, when individuals identify with multiple categories of diversity, this needs to be acknowledged in research, rather than assuming only one identity for that person. Further, when a person does not identify with one particular category, or one category is seen as the dominant one, intersectionality allows for this.

Globally, intersectionality research in the policing space has predominantly related to gender and CALD issues, with various findings. Essentially, an individual who may identify or be identified with numerous categories of diversity has an extra layer of difficulty to contend with, as they do not fit neatly into any category. In the Netherlands, it was found that individuals might use one identity to gain advantage, which can result in perpetuating disadvantage in another area for others (Boogaard & Roggeband 2010). In the United States, it was discovered they might not find an ally in any of their identities (Martin
In England and Wales, they might experience both racism and sexism (Holder, Nee & Ellis 2000), meaning they are battling discrimination on a number of fronts. Interestingly, a study of indigenous women police officers in Queensland found they were largely positive about their experiences within the organisation, but where they felt that race or gender impacted on their experience, gender played a slightly larger role in this (Fleming, Prenzler & Ransley 2013). Generally, an officer with multiple identities in this sense may find themselves left outside any in-group regardless. For example, a female CALD police officer will find it difficult to fit in with the masculine culture due to being a woman, and difficult to fit in with white culture due to being from a CALD background (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001). As a result, they may choose to focus on one dominant identity to increase their inclusion levels, usually the one with the most power (Boogaard & Roggeband 2010). This means that individuals with intersecting identities find it difficult to have their experiences heard in any meaningful way, as they do not necessarily identify with all the complexities surrounding their intersectionality.

**Putting it all back together**

If diversity and inclusion are to be viewed through a holistic lens, it must be accepted that everyone has their own particular needs, and those needs are not always the same, even when people belong to the same category. There are some general themes in the literature that relate to all individuals from different backgrounds. Overarching themes relate to recruitment issues (see Awan, Blakemore & Simpson 2013; Cashmore 2001; Cordner & Cordner 2011; Johnston 2006; McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010; Thornton 2003; Waters et al. 2007; White & Escobar 2008); diversity training (Cashmore 2002; Joyce 2011); and fitting into the prevailing culture (Cashmore 2002; Fielding 1999; Holdaway & O’Neill 2006b; Sklansky 2006). While in parts these have been discussed in their own sections, it is pertinent to mention them together, as they demonstrate the need for a more holistic view. Further, recent literature regarding diversity strategies for policing organisations has moved towards a holistic approach as well, making this an important way to view these concepts.
Over time, recruitment has been difficult for police organisations in their attempts to enhance and increase diversity levels (Awan, Blakemore & Simpson 2013; Cashmore 2001; Cordner & Cordner 2011; Waters et al. 2007). Globally, the two main reasons given for low diversity recruitment are difficulties meeting recruitment criteria (Ffrench & Waugh 1998; Kringen 2016) and poor perceptions of the police within the community targeted for recruitment (Ben-Porat, Yuval & Mizrahi 2012; Cashmore 2001; Chan 1997; Fielding 1999; Kringen 2016; McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010; Shepherd 2014; Van Ewijk 2012; Waters et al. 2007). Recruitment criteria can be seen as a structural issue that reinforces the difficulties for diverse groups to join the police. While aspects of recruitment criteria (such as physical requirements) could be revisited to ensure their necessity (Cordner & Cordner 2011), others (such as English language skills) can and have been addressed through programs to assist those who are not yet competent in that area. Workman-Stark (2015) asserted that these issues could be framed in a more positive way, by embracing an individual’s strengths and accepting their weaknesses. This means that rather than focusing on the areas where individuals from diverse backgrounds do not meet recruitment criteria, it may be more helpful to focus on the many extra skills they bring to the policing arena. Further, recruiting could focus on those with a service orientation and unprejudiced attitude, which would encourage these attributes within the organisation (Shepherd 2014). This would require a significant shift in the ways that recruitment of police is organised and achieved.

Another obstacle to overcome is poor perceptions of police amongst communities targeted for recruitment (Murphy & Cherney 2011). When police are viewed as masculine and racist or the profession is not seen as having any significant social status, marketing campaigns to join the police are unlikely to attract the numbers required to see a large increase in diversity (Cashmore 2001). An external perception that the policing profession is an inclusive one would be ideal, although it is acknowledged this will take time and effort to achieve. This means an overall desire to achieve this from all levels will be necessary to move forward.
Historically in the United Kingdom, increased diversity training was suggested by Lord Scarman as a way to improve experiences of community members and officers from different backgrounds, as well as providing a solution to racist police (Cashmore 2002; Joyce 2011). This has resulted in cultural diversity training becoming a part of overall police training strategies, including in Australia. While it is often put forward as the solution to issues between police and communities, there remains some resistance to cultural diversity training amongst police.

A review of cultural diversity training in the Victoria Police, found that cultural awareness often came from working with a community, rather than through education about that community, especially as the attitude towards this training appeared to be one of compliance rather than to change attitudes. Further, the policy and practice around cultural training did not match, possibly as police were not receptive to training by non-police (Grossman 2013). Conversely, it appears that communities would prefer that cultural training was not conducted by sworn police (Victorian Aboriginal Legal Service Co-operative Ltd 2011). As such, it might be said that diverse communities would prefer to be the ones to conduct cultural training of police, while police officers are more receptive to training conducted by other police, meaning that the cultural training message is not always received as intended. In fact, a study in Queensland tested police recruit attitudes to diversity following diversity training, finding that their tolerance declined (Platz, Sargent & Strang 2017). In addition, training has not been shown to significantly change attitudes towards out-groups when police are dealing with inequalities on the street daily (Wortley & Homel 1995), and training is not taken seriously by police officers anyway (Miles-Johnson 2016). This means a different way of conducting this training overall may be more appropriate.

Training for each category of diversity, including for each and every culture, is not viable due to the extra resources and time spent on this education in addition to other core policing business (Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith 2015). Another method has been proposed whereby all individuals are assumed to be
vulnerable, rather than assuming particular vulnerabilities based on a diversity category (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith 2015). This allows for police to cater to individual needs instead of assuming what is best for that person. While diversity training could be integrated across all aspects of police education, it would need to be monitored to ensure its effectiveness and relevance to the audience. In itself, cultural training is not enough to effect change, as officers are still embedded within their own police culture.

As with many organisations, there is a requirement to fit into the culture after joining the police (Van Ewijk 2012), with officers employing different ways to do this as described previously in this chapter. Police officers demand loyalty and trust amongst their colleagues (Cashmore 2001; Sklansky 2006), which is more easily demonstrated through fitting in to social norms in the organisation. As shown in the case of LGBTI officers, once the ability to fit in has been demonstrated, colleagues are less likely to notice aspects of diversity, instead focusing on how the individual performs in their role (Belkin & McNichol 2002; Galvin-White & O’Neal 2016). This may be more difficult for some than others, especially as an ability to perform well is a subjective test for each officer, meaning their ability may not be the only characteristic being tested. This is especially the case for Muslim officers, as they must prove they are not linked to terrorism while also fitting in and demonstrating their competence.

In recent times, ideas in the organisational diversity space have moved towards more inclusive frameworks that allow for all dimensions of diversity, rather than focusing on a particular category (Plaut 2010; Plaut et al. 2014). In Canada, Workman-Stark (2015) has advocated for a police culture where officers are encouraged to acknowledge and manage their weaknesses rather than hiding them or attempting to prove themselves as strong in masculine areas. This could create a workplace where there is less competition to be as good as or better than others, and allow colleagues to work together on tasks using the strengths of all. It would also assist in viewing organisational diversity as a whole without necessarily creating policy for specific needs, while also accepting each person might have different requirements. By looking at policy and organisation
structure through a holistic diversity lens, inclusion can be built in to the organisation, rather than seen as an add-on to the side. This also caters for individuals with multiple categories of diversity, or differences that do not fit into any category of diversity.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, a constructivist grounded theory approach requires the author to use literature in such a way as to add to the data obtained during research. While some literature can, and perhaps should, be read prior to undertaking the research, it should not be used as the primary source of information in relation to the study at hand. For this research, some literature was reviewed prior to the study being undertaken, however many of the sections in this chapter were reviewed after data collection to ensure the findings of the substantive grounded theory had been covered appropriately. This is in keeping with the point that the data should guide the literature review in grounded theory research. There is a separate chapter placed after the findings, where related theory is explored further (see Chapter Ten). It is also acknowledged that this is insider research, so using prior knowledge was unavoidable in relation to the research topic anyway.

As such, there is no claim to complete neutrality in this research, although a reflexive approach has been adopted as far as possible.

An increased focus on organisational diversity has led to arguments that it is positive from a business perspective and also a human rights perspective. For policing, both perspectives are relevant, as an increase in diversity should create better relationships between stakeholders and within the organisation, while adhering to principles of equality. Despite legislation in Australia that does not give guidance on what organisations should implement in their diversity management frameworks, anti-discrimination laws do prevent deliberate acts of discrimination in employment. An either/or proposal for any organisational diversity is not really helpful, as it creates exclusion somewhere, so multi-level approaches appear to be the best way forward.

Police culture has been described in multiple ways, with views divided on definitions of police culture. Authors discuss its aspects as masculine; racist;
monolithic or containing multiple cultures; enduring or changing; and overriding other cultures. Again, these should not be viewed in terms of one or the other, but rather as a complex web of many components that change and morph, or in some cases endure over time. Police culture can override other cultures or identities that an officer may bring with them, impacting on experiences for all officers, especially those from diverse backgrounds, but it can also change to accommodate them. Large amounts of literature contain negative overtones of police culture, but it should be understood that police culture also contains positive characteristics such as trust and loyalty. This research posits that police culture is far too complex to reduce to unchangeable descriptions that are not context specific.

Police diversity research has been quite specific around categories such as gender or CALD backgrounds, with experiences for each category often dependant on historical factors rather than taking an overall view of diversity. Large amounts of literature are available especially about women in policing, perhaps due to an increased focus in this area. For this research, this is an area that was significant for participants, although it is acknowledged that this may have been different had different case studies been used. In some cases, intersectionality within police organisations has been addressed, but for this research it is asserted that a holistic view of diversity experiences in policing organisations may be the key to future positive change.

Despite diversity categories being researched separately, there are similarities across them. Some common themes include recruitment, retention and promotion; poor perceptions of police organisations externally; diversity training issues and a requirement to fit into the prevailing police culture. This indicates that categorising diversity dilutes the broader structural issues that cause a lack of inclusion. By viewing these problems holistically with inclusion in mind, we are likely to facilitate change, hopefully in a shorter time frame.

While more recent scholarship has advocated for this wider approach to diversity, this appears to be in its early stages, and perhaps represents the way
that	  diversity	  and	  inclusion	  ideologies	  are	  evolving.	  Overall,	  it	  could	  be	  said	  that	  
moving	   forward	   in	   the	   diversity	   space	   required	   a	   level	   of	   fragmentation	   into	  
specific	   experiences	   before	   it	   could	   come	   together	   again	   as	   an	   overall	   concept.	   It	  
appears	   this	   coming	   together	   is	   yet	   to	   happen,	   but	   perhaps	   scholars	   are	   on	   a	  
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For	   this	   area	   of	   study,	   it	   could	   be	   argued	   that	   no	   amount	   of	   research	   would	   be	  
enough	  to	  give	  a	  comprehensive	  picture	  of	  how	  police	  experience	  and	  perceive	  
diversity.	   With	   policing	   organisations	   differing	   across	   the	   globe	   and	   so	   many	  
different	  historical	  contexts	  relating	  to	  them,	  any	  description	  can	  only	  provide	  a	  
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ongoing	  research	  would	  be	  required	  at	  different	  points	  over	  a	  period	  of	  time	  to	  
give	   a	   better	   overview.	   Perhaps	   a	   better	   way	   of	   looking	   at	   this	   is	   to	   see	   diversity	  
as	  an	  evolution	  with	  no	  end	  point,	  rather	  than	  a	  particular	  goal	  to	  strive	  for.	  
	  

	  

	  

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Chapter Four: New South Wales Police Force diversity policy and reports

Knowledge of the NSWPF equity and diversity policy is important for analysing and understanding the experiences of police officers in the organisation. It allows the researcher to ascertain different discourses that officers are operating in, and provides a good background to how they are likely to perceive diversity and difference. Rather than being part of the academic literature review chapter, policies and reports fall under the definition of grey literature. Grey literature has been defined as:

the term given to describe documents not published by commercial publishers... Grey literature includes academic theses, organisation reports, government papers, etc. and may prove highly influential in syntheses, despite not being formally published in the same way as traditional academic literature (Haddaway et al. 2015, p. 3).

In other words, grey literature includes documents produced outside published and peer reviewed academic work. This raises the issue of whether these documents contain inherent biases or hidden agendas. These hidden agendas could be that policies are written to demonstrate the appearance of doing something about the issue (Gurran & Phibbs 2015), or they may be seen to be favouring a particular party (McConnell 2018). For example, the NSWPF Women in Policing Strategic Plan 2015-2018 and the NSWPF Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Strategic Plan 2016-2018 contain almost identical points to address. It is possible the latter was modelled off the Women in Policing Strategic Plan to demonstrate a commitment to the issue, instead of to genuinely follow the points made. Rather than accepting the information in these policies at face value, this issue of bias should be kept in mind to ensure all possibilities are addressed.
It is noted there are large amounts of grey literature, including reports from other international police agencies and academic theses, in relation to this topic. In order to provide useful, relevant and specific information to further the discussion in this thesis, only policy from the NSWPF and its diversity practices will be outlined in this chapter, along with some relevant and recent reports on gender diversity in the Australian policing context. These reports have been included as they give a good understanding of the landscape in other Australian policing agencies, and are relatively recent. It is noted there have been many reports and reviews about diversity in policing organisations over the past few decades, especially relating to women. While there is historical value in these reports, only recent reports have been included to ensure relevance to the current situation with some exceptions directly relating to the NSWPF.

In this chapter, the NSWPF definition of workforce diversity will be analysed, followed by an outline of relevant NSWPF diversity policies. This gives some background to the discussion section of this research, where participant responses will be analysed against these policies, as per the research questions. Following this, some key reports regarding gender diversity in Australian policing agencies will be reviewed. It should be noted these reports relate only to gender diversity, as reports into other categories of diversity, or diversity in a more holistic sense, have not yet been generated.

**New South Wales Police Force documentation**

There is a plethora of NSWPF documents relating to workforce equity and diversity and expectations of workplace behaviour. In order to make this section relevant to the research findings, mainly policies that relate to issues mentioned by the research participants have been included, in keeping with grounded theory methods that encourage the use of literature directly relating to data that comes from the participants. As such, specific policies on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander employees and people with disabilities have not been included, as they were not discussed in participant interviews. This does not devalue their importance. The fact that research participants did not mention this category of diversity presents an opportunity to encourage future research in these areas; and indicates an area where the formulation of the case studies for this research
could have been improved. On the other hand, there were issues raised by participants that are not addressed in policies, such as the unfairness perceived by officers who were not entitled to particular types of leave. Information is also restricted to employment and workplace based policies, rather than policies relating to community engagement. In places, these overlap, so some sections have been included without summarising the entire policy document. It is recognised that in these cases the complete policy has not been explained in depth and this carries the risk of not seeing the document in the spirit in which it may have been written. Attempts have been made to be as close to the document as possible without outlining unnecessary information here.

**Defining diversity in the New South Wales Police Force**

As this research is being conducted into the NSWPF, it is appropriate to discuss the organisation’s definition of diversity. The New South Wales Police Force Handbook uses the following definition:

> Workforce diversity relates to gender, age, language, ethnicity, cultural background, disability, sexual orientation and religious belief. It also refers to the multitude of ways we are different in other respects such as personality, life experience, work style, socio-economic background and family and/or other personal commitments. Workforce diversity is also about recognising and respecting everyone’s unique attributes and providing a positive and respectful working environment for all (New South Wales Police Force 2017b, p. 170).

There are three distinct components to this definition, characterised by different points. The definition begins by categorising diversity into specific aspects – gender, age, language, ethnicity, cultural background, disability, sexual orientation and religious belief. This sentence immediately delimits those who may fit outside those categories, meaning anybody who does not fit into those categories is not included. Following this, the second sentence includes a number of other more fluid categories – personality, life experience, work style, socio-economic background and family and/or other personal commitments. By doing
this, the organisation is posed as an all-inclusive organisation, virtually negating the first sentence by allowing for any possible category of difference (Mor Barak 2011), although the probable intention is to emphasise the inclusion of all. In the third sentence, the definition shifts to incorporate a set of values and practices required within the working environment. So the definition, rather than defining diversity, allows the organisation to be placed within the diversity discourse in a positive manner, while also allowing for all personnel to feel included. Indeed, the New South Wales Police Force (2011, p. 5) used the phrase ‘Diversity includes all’ in its previous policy of ‘Priorities for Working in a Culturally, Linguistically and Religiously Diverse Society’ – an indication in itself of a reluctance to exclude. By analysing the definition in this manner, it can be seen that definitions are used to create and maintain a particular discourse within the organisation.

While this definition can be analysed in such a way from an academic perspective, it is noted that the definition should be taken in context. Policing requires officers to work with legal definitions on a daily basis, and while legal definitions are subject to debate, a fluid definition for the organisation might be difficult to manage. By providing a definition that specifically states categories, the organisation provides employees with a clear understanding of expectations and guidelines. It also affirms its own official discourse, an approach that is logical for most organisations.

**New South Wales Police Force plans, policies and reports**
As with many organisations, the NSWPF has many plans, policies and reports devised to give guidelines to its employees as well as messaging to the public about the overall values of the organisation. Generally, these documents provide an overview of an organisation where management is striving to be accepting and inclusive of diversity. Further, there is an open intention to increase levels of diversity in the organisation, although this is provided in a manner that categorises diversity, making the overall diversity picture appear a little fractured. Any overarching policy on diversity itself is unclear, meaning cohesion in this space is likely to be difficult.
When these policies are viewed together, it appears the NSWPF has looked at this topic with a view to providing guidelines and rules in relation to workplace behaviour both within the organisation and with members of the community. It was difficult to provide synthesis in this section due to the number of documents available and their overlap with other topics that are not necessarily relevant here. As such, this section provides a list of these documents with some commentary on each to provide the reader with context prior to the findings section. Issues relating to how these policy documents impact on police officers will be expanded upon in Chapters Eight and Eleven.

The NSW Police Force Corporate Plan 2016-2018 provides a vision for the organisation, containing a number of service delivery priorities and internal management priorities. While these priorities cover issues across the entire organisation, two of these internal management priorities are of particular interest to this research. The first of these priorities is to ‘foster a respectful, equitable, diverse and inclusive workforce reflective of our community’ (State of New South Wales (NSW Police Force) 2016, p. 3), indicating the intention to ensure the demographics of the organisation are in line with Peel’s principles as outlined in Chapter One. The Corporate Plan contains strategies to ‘reinforce expectations for a respectful, harassment free workplace’ (State of New South Wales (NSW Police Force) 2016, p. 3) and to ‘promote NSW Police Force as an employer of choice to actively drive workforce diversity’ (State of New South Wales (NSW Police Force) 2016, p. 3), indicating a clear direction the management of the organisation is trying to take. Of note, indicators of success relating to organisational diversity are listed as targets, with greater than forty per cent female staff, greater than twenty per cent staff from CALD backgrounds and greater than four per cent staff from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds being outlined as the targets. These figures do not differentiate between sworn and non-sworn staff. However, another indicator provided is that there should be greater than three per cent of unsworn staff with a disability. These priorities demonstrate an ambition to increase diversity levels across the organisation in all areas. More specific outlines of how this will be done are not indicated. It is argued that the ways in which these targets are
achieved is just as important as the final indicator of success, as aiming for these goals without analysing possible effects on other staff, especially if they inadvertently increase exclusion for any person, could be detrimental to the overall experiences of officers.

Another priority in the Corporate Plan is to ‘increase senior management diversity’ through the strategy of implementing ‘initiatives to develop women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and culturally and linguistically diverse staff in senior leadership roles’ (State of New South Wales (NSW Police Force) 2016, p. 3). Indicators of success for this priority are to have greater than twenty five per cent women in senior sworn officer positions by 2025 (Inspector or above), and a fifty per cent increase of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians in senior positions by 2020. It should be noted at this point that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian police officers did not emerge as a theme in this research, indicating more work to be done in this area. Overall, this priority indicates a desire to increase diversity at senior levels within the organisation. As stated above, this should be analysed in the context of how these goals are to be achieved, and the effects the process is likely to have on the experiences of all officers.

The Corporate Plan also states that emerging workforce issues are being looked at through the NSWPF Strategic Workforce Plan (State of New South Wales (NSW Police Force) 2016, p. 3). This plan was not located for this literature review. Requests for this document from the NSWPF found that the plan had been drafted but not yet published. As such, no comment can be made about this plan or the strategies it contains.

The NSWPF Women in Policing Strategic Plan 2015-2018 and the Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Strategic Plan 2016-2018 contain almost identical objectives relating to inclusive workplace culture; accessible training, networks, development programs for women and employees from cultural and linguistically diverse backgrounds; and barriers impacting on female and culturally and linguistically diverse employee retention (New South Wales
Government & New South Wales Police Force 2015; 2016). There are some additional objectives relating to mentoring women and increasing female representation across the organisation (New South Wales Government & New South Wales Police Force 2015). As these strategic plans are so similar, it appears that one is modelled from the other. While it is noted there are differences between these categories, the overarching approach to diversity is quite similar, meaning the processes and objectives could be simplified to be inclusive to all types of difference. These objectives are in keeping with the key intentions to increase diversity as listed in the Corporate Plan.

In his foreword for the NSW Police Force Multicultural Policies and Services Plan 2017-2020, Commissioner Fuller outlined a focus on ‘service delivery and strengthening positive relations with our diverse communities; embedding diversity in our planning processes; leadership at all levels of the NSW Police Force and the community and empowering police to engage with the community’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017d, p. 3). Again, this demonstrates a commitment to diversity, albeit with an external focus. In the section relating to a diverse workforce, the plan emphasises that ‘our employees are our greatest strength’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017d, p. 6), reiterating the point that increased diversity is a good business strategy.

The Multicultural Policies and Services Plan indicates that promotion of cultural diversity in the NSWPF is seen as a positive way forward for the organisation. Business and human rights arguments are given in the plan through mentioning a representative workforce and better productivity. There are also targets relating to CALD workplaces, including staff distribution and identifying barriers to retention. In the leadership focus area, targets are to ‘develop and maintain a workforce that reflects population diversity’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017d, p. 15) and to implement ‘policies and programs focussing on inclusion and building a positive workplace culture’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017d, p. 15). Again, these targets indicate a desire for the organisation to be inclusive and representative of the general population. Having said this, the NSW Government has announced a commitment to increase Aboriginal and Torres
 Strait Islanders and women in senior leadership roles within the public service (New South Wales Government 2018), meaning the NSWPF must demonstrate commitment to this. This makes it difficult to ascertain whether there is a focus from the NSWPF management on an increase in diversity, or whether this focus has been imposed upon them. Either way, it can be expected these targets will be acted upon in some way.

The NSWPF Strategy on Sexuality, Gender Diversity and Intersex 2016-2020 is written for NSW Police Force employees predominantly in relation to their interactions with the community. It also contains information on their membership of ‘Pride in Diversity’, an organisation assisting workplaces to be more inclusive of LGBTI employees (New South Wales Police Force 2016a). One of the objectives written in the document is to ‘provide an inclusive and supportive workplace for LGBTI employees and those performing GLLO [Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officer] and related duties’ (New South Wales Police Force 2016a, p. 32). This is in line with the previous information on women and people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, as the organisation has indicated a desire to be inclusive of employees from diverse backgrounds.

The NSWPF Statement of Values as legislated in section 7 of the Police Act 1990 states that ‘Each member of the NSW Police Force is to act in a manner which: ... (f) capitalises on the wealth of human resources’. This is not explained further, but it can be surmised that this includes using police officers effectively in their roles. As such, it can be said that different characteristics of police officers can and should be used in ways that benefit the organisation, individual officers and the community. This is in keeping with the business argument that having personnel from diverse backgrounds means increased diversity of thought in the workplace. It should be noted this is in contrast to standardised recruitment criteria, which are discussed later in the chapter.

The NSWPF Code of Conduct and Ethics is found in the Standards of Professional Conduct, and contains two points particularly relevant to this research. Firstly, that ‘an employee of the NSW Police Force must know and comply with all
policies, procedures and guidelines that relate to their duties’ (New South Wales Police Force n.d.c, p. 5). This point means each officer is responsible for their actions within the policy framework, so any claim of being unaware of guidelines is invalid. This is important, as sexual harassment and other poor workplace behaviour cannot be excused through a lack of knowledge of what is appropriate.

The second relevant point from the NSWPF Code of Conduct and Ethics is that ‘an employee of the NSW Police Force must treat everyone with respect, courtesy and fairness’ (New South Wales Police Force n.d.c, p. 6). This section means officers must be tolerant to all, regardless of circumstances. The section specifically includes the following categories of diversity, stating that it is unlawful to ‘harass, vilify, victimise or discriminate’ against them: age; sex; pregnancy; disability; race, colour, ethnic or ethno religious background, descent or nationality; marital status; carer’s responsibilities; homosexuality and transgender (New South Wales Police Force n.d.c, p. 6). It is noted this does not directly match with the definition of diversity stated in the NSWPF Handbook, demonstrating disconnect between policies, and indicating the difficulties of categorising diversity in practice. It is arguable whether a list is really necessary, as a general statement against harassment and vilification might be enough. As with other policies mentioned, the document shows willingness by the organisation’s management to make the workplace inclusive for all individuals from diverse backgrounds and with different needs, despite these difficulties. As with many codes of conduct, the NSWPF Standards of Professional Conduct state that management action will be taken for those who act in contravention of the Code of Conduct and Ethics (New South Wales Police Force n.d.c), indicating that employees are punished for poor behaviour rather than rewarded for good behaviour. This was also addressed in the academic literature as discussed in Chapter Three.

The Respectful Workplace Behaviours Policy Statement (New South Wales Police Force n.d.a) gives guidelines for the behaviours of police employees. Firstly, it states that ‘everyone is responsible for creating and maintaining a positive and supportive workplace free of harassment, discrimination, bullying, vilification
and victimisation’ (New South Wales Police Force n.d.a, p. 1). This puts the onus of any poor behaviour on all employees, rather than just the person behaving poorly, or the manager who is required to deal with it. This is in keeping with the Work Health and Safety Act 2011, where the responsibility is on all employees to maintain a safe workplace, including an onus on managers to ensure this actually occurs.

Secondly, the statement says that ‘all employees are respected and valued’, and that ‘leaders value and promote diversity and inclusion’ (New South Wales Police Force n.d.a, p. 1). This implies a top down approach to ensuring that diversity is embraced within the organisation, and is written more as a vision statement to demonstrate the ideals the organisation is aiming for. Lastly, 'behaviour that amounts to bullying, discrimination, harassment, vilification and victimisation will not be tolerated, will be taken seriously and may result in managerial or disciplinary action’ (New South Wales Police Force n.d.a, p. 1). This statement is in line with the Code of Conduct and Ethics, whereby employees are subject to disciplinary action for poor behaviour, indicating an approach of punishment rather than incentive to comply. This fits with academic literature on the subject (see Gordon, Clegg & Kornberger 2009) indicating that police officers are rarely rewarded for positive behaviour, but reprimanded for poor behaviour. All of these statements confirm the overall management position of the NSWPF that they are committed to diversity and inclusion in the workplace in principle.

These principles are followed on in the Respectful Workplace Behaviours Guidelines, which outline expectations of police officers towards each other while at work, including trips away from the normal work environment and social functions. The guidelines specifically state that the organisation is committed to diversity and inclusion beyond legal compliance (New South Wales Police Force 2016b). Where the benefits of a respectful workplace are outlined, these guidelines indicate a predominantly business case argument for diversity over a human rights argument.
The Respectful Workplace Behaviours Guidelines also cover instances of bullying and discrimination, including direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination is detailed as being ‘treated less favourably in the same, or similar circumstances than another person or group of people because of a particular characteristic’ (New South Wales Police Force 2016b, p. 13) whereas ‘indirect discrimination occurs where a condition or requirement is imposed which, although neutral on its face, has a disproportionate impact that is less favourable on people with a particular characteristic, and the condition or requirement is not reasonable in the circumstances’ (New South Wales Police Force 2016b, p. 13). Indirect discrimination appears to be more difficult to identify and resolve, as it is likely to relate to structural factors. The policy also allows for specific circumstances not deemed to be unlawful discrimination, such as rostering for carer’s responsibilities when it is ‘not operationally appropriate or possible’ (New South Wales Police Force 2016b, p. 14). This allows for flexible rostering practices to be overridden in particular scenarios, ultimately meaning any requests in this area are difficult to contest. In other words, while there is support for flexible work and part-time officers (usually female officers as stated in Chapter Three), this is dependent on the manager with responsibility approving the agreement. In practice, a manager does not need to support part-time work, as they can use operational reasons to justify their position.

The principles of the Part-Time Work for Police Officers Policy and Guidelines allow for all full-time officers to apply for part-time work provided the work ‘support(s) NSWPF goals and operational/business requirement in line with the Police Act 1990 requiring the effective, efficient and economical management of resources, balanced with the requirements of legislation...’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017f, p. 8). The policy also states that part-time officers are entitled to all the same opportunities as full-time officers. The overall intent of the document appears to be to comply with legislative requirements. While there are circumstances where officers are entitled to part-time work for a period (such as following maternity leave), the document is written in such a way that full-time work is clearly the preference of the organisation. Officers are required to apply for part-time work status every twelve months, which is then
considered by their commander. Any application that is ultimately declined is dealt with under grievance or dispute resolution procedures, indicating the officer must fight for this entitlement if their commander does not approve it. From this document, it would appear that part-time work (including job sharing) is available but not encouraged within the organisation. This is in contrast to documents mentioned previously, especially in relation to women, where these officers are encouraged to be part of the organisation.

The Parental leave for Police Officers – Policy and Procedures include a number of entitlements for male and female officers (New South Wales Police Force 2012). Of note, police officers returning from full-time maternity, adoption or parental leave can apply to return on a part-time basis until their child goes to school. This is still considered by their commander, who can refuse the application in some circumstances, such as 'cost, lack of adequate replacement staff, loss of efficiency and the impact on customer service' (New South Wales Police Force 2012, p. 11). This potentially means that officers using this policy may not have equal access to the same conditions, in a similar fashion outlined by Broderick and Co (2016) in regards to the Australian Federal Police as discussed later in this section. Again, where there is some discretion for commanders, conditions for the individual officer may depend on that commander’s attitude towards flexible workplaces.

While not specifically a plan or policy, the New South Wales Police Force recruitment website provides some insight into strategies to increase organisational diversity, as it contains a section on diversity and inclusion (NSW Police Recruitment n.d.). In relation to cultural diversity, the site contains a statement that the organisation is ‘committed to… building a committed and confident workforce by recruiting and retaining the right people, and fully developing the talents of people we have by providing career and development opportunities as well as reward and recognition for competent practices’ (NSW Police Recruitment n.d.). Women are also encouraged to apply, with the website containing a statement there are a number of flexible working arrangements available, predominantly relating to family arrangements. The site also indicates
that the NSWPF is an accredited Australian Breastfeeding Association 'Breastfeeding Friendly Workplace' (NSW Police Recruitment n.d.), and contains recruitment strategies for various categories of diversity. It appears from this site that the NSWPF management are attempting to make their workplaces more attractive to those who may not normally have decided on a policing career. While the site might achieve this, the above policies do not always allow for these flexible working arrangements in practice, potentially leaving new officers in a difficult position when they commence work in the organisation.

The NSW Police Force 2016-17 Annual Report gives some insight into whether the priorities for an increase in diversity have been successful so far (New South Wales Police Force 2017c). There has been an increase of 0.3 per cent for all female staff from 2015 to 2017, an increase of 0.4 per cent for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australian staff and a 0.1 per cent increase for all staff with a disability, with nil increase for people with a disability requiring work-related adjustment. There has been a decrease of 0.4 per cent in staff whose language spoken as a child was not English. Given the historical factors relating to the recruitment and retention of individuals from diverse backgrounds, it may be more prudent to analyse this over a much longer time period rather than commenting on this here.

The NSW Police Force Multicultural Policies and Services Program (MPSP) Implementation Report 2013-2016 predominantly reports on the outcomes of community engagement strategies within the organisation. Relevant to this study, Priority Four relates to ‘staff capacity building and support’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017e, p. 18), a term used for how the organisation helps its employees to meet its goals. Strategies mentioned in relation to CALD employees mainly relate to recruitment, such as community open days and volunteer policing programs. Part of this priority was also to ensure that ‘corporate and business plans demonstrate that NSW Police Force values the diverse backgrounds of its people, and is able to access and make use of their diverse skills and experience (New South Wales Police Force 2017e, p. 18), with a number of plans mentioned to highlight this. A further part of this priority is that
‘NSW Police Force employees from CALD backgrounds will be supported to meet their religious and cultural needs in the workplace’ (New South Wales Police Force 2017e, p. 21). The report states that the organisation has processes in place, although these are not outlined in the report. The Respectful Workplace Behaviours Policy is also mentioned as a way to support officers from CALD backgrounds.

In 2017, NSW Parliament convened the Inquiry into Emergency Services Agencies (Emergency services agencies, 2017). Relevant agencies were required to submit their own reports relating to bullying in their organisation, and the NSWPF submission was subsequently made public (New South Wales Police Force 2017a). The NSWPF provided a submission stating that the Workforce Relations and Equity Unit is responsible for workplace equity matters, including advice and strategy. It further stated that the NSWPF has a mandatory referral to the Internal Review Panel and Commissioner for sustained sexual harassment and discrimination matters (where complaint reports have been found to have occurred). There is also an Inter-Command Forum that monitors strategic approaches to discrimination, harassment and bullying, meaning these strategies are managed across the organisation rather than just in the unit where they occurred (New South Wales Police Force 2017a). This submission demonstrated the plans and strategies the NSWPF has in place to combat bullying, sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace. The existence of the Workplace Relations and Equity Unit shows a commitment to the findings of Ronalds (2006), which will be discussed in the next section.

The above documents appear to demonstrate an overall willingness by the organisation to embrace and increase numbers of personnel from diverse backgrounds, as well as to provide entitlements to these individuals when required. At face value, these documents indicate a positive attitude towards diversity within the organisation, although in part they leave open the ability to encourage and enforce full-time work on officers, leaving some potential difficulties for female officers. Investigative reports into the organisation have confirmed this, as per the following section.
Other relevant reports and studies
Despite all of the above overt indications by the organisation that there is a commitment to diversity and inclusion in the workplace, reviews into the NSWPF (and other Australian policing agencies) have supported the academic literature regarding the difficulty in implementing change within police culture. These reviews have predominantly related to women in the workforce, and have largely demonstrated that sexual harassment has been prevalent across all policing organisations, that promotions are difficult for women, and that these problems have not shifted significantly over time. Having said this, there are reports that discussed police interactions with the community that also discuss difficulties in cultural change. Many of these reports suggest similar strategies for change, yet the problems persist, indicating these strategies are either ineffective in themselves or have not been implemented effectively. Alternately, the strategies themselves may be effective yet they do not follow matching philosophies, resulting in one negating the other. While there is no overarching framework underpinning these strategies as a whole, it is likely these reviews will continue to occur until significant changes to workplace practices are made.

In 1996, Jeanna Sutton released her report titled 'Women in policing: a study of New South Wales Police', indicating issues that had arisen since the barriers to recruitment of women had been lifted. This report had a number of findings relating to female police officers, including issues with ‘the promotional system; childcare and family related concerns; availability of part-time work; male attitudes to female police; and the availability of and opportunity to undertake training courses’ (Sutton 1996, p. 18). A number of recommendations were made, including the establishment of ‘a “formal” structure for career guidance and planning for all officers’ (Sutton 1996, p. 19) and ‘greater availability of permanent part-time work, job sharing, flexible rosters and wherever possible, provision of childcare facilities’ (Sutton 1996, p. 20). It is noted that many of these issues have been mentioned subsequently (see Ronalds 2006), but it should also be noted this report found that both male and female officers believed women were not as physically capable as men. This latter finding is absent from later reports, showing that attitudes have changed over time.
In December 2006, Chris Ronalds SC released her ‘Report of the inquiry into sexual harassment and sex discrimination in the NSW Police’, which concluded that the organisational culture in the NSWPF was ‘not facilitating a working environment which is consistently safe and which fully conforms with discrimination and harassment laws and occupational health and safety law’ (Ronalds 2006, p. 18). It described a culture whereby women were not seen as “real” or “equal” officers (Ronalds 2006, p. 24), with bullying and harassment being prevalent. A large number of recommendations were made to improve this workplace culture, including that a specialist unit for discrimination and harassment be set up to conduct investigations and training in this area; and that a review of staffing arrangements be conducted, including suggestions that a relief pool be created to backfill positions where necessary (specifically part-time maternity leave); and addressing barriers to promotion and relieving opportunities. The Workplace Relations and Equity Unit was formed as a result of this report, although in recent times this has been reduced. The relief pool recommendation was not implemented, leaving a gap in staffing when female officers are on maternity leave, which has been a constant issue of discussion over time.

Robinson and Arentsen (2011) conducted a small study into the change in experiences of female NSWPF officers over a thirty-year time frame to 2008. The main findings were that there had been overall improvements in experiences for women, although there was still a perception of a boys’ club in specialist areas such as detectives (Robinson & Arentsen 2011). They also found that female police perceived difficulties surrounding maternity leave and childcare, which prevented them from applying for certain positions and was also a factor when leaving the organisation. Interestingly, they found that issues surrounding harassment were related to other women rather than men. While this was a small pilot study, it does give some indication of the changes in the NSWPF over a long period of time, and shows that while culture may be slow to change, there have still been improvements.
Interestingly, the issue of physical capability of women was raised by female officers in the Sutton Report (1996), but was absent from the Ronalds Report (2006) as well as Robinson and Arentsen's (2011) study, indicating that cultural change, while slow, has been successful in this regard. This was supported in the academic literature as discussed in Chapter Three, whereby it was asserted that there has been an attitude shift from women being incapable of police work towards women being unavailable for police work due to childcare needs or part-time arrangements.

In August 2016, Elizabeth Broderick and Co released a report titled ‘Cultural change: gender diversity and inclusion in the Australian Federal Police’. Findings from this report indicated that female officers were required to ‘fit in’ to the culture (Broderick & Co 2016, p. 43), as well as an extra requirement for female police to ‘prove’ themselves in the workplace environment by putting in more effort than their male counterparts to be accepted (Broderick & Co 2016, p. 44). Some work environments were found to have high rates of sexual harassment, but this was not across the organisation. One significant finding was that women felt there was a need to make a choice between work and family, especially if they were to be promoted. Participants in the study felt that quotas would lower standards and that merit based promotion should be used, yet ensuring a ‘gender balance’ was still one of the recommendations of the report (Broderick & Co 2016, p. 11), and was subsequently implemented in relation to recruitment (Australian Federal Police n.d.). While it relates to a different organisation, this report has some similarities with the current study, indicating that findings for this study may be relevant in this context. In the Broderick report, Australian Federal Police Commissioner Andrew Colvin stated that gender equity is a starting point to cultural diversity (Broderick & Co 2016). This is based on women being approximately half of the population and therefore the largest category of diversity that needs to be included. While it is acknowledged this is one argument whereby a start needs to be made somewhere, this implies that women are somehow more entitled to an inclusive workplace more quickly due to their sheer numbers. This downplays the challenges for personnel from other diverse backgrounds, and potentially leaves them excluded for decades to come.
before their voice is also heard. The complexities of workplace culture mean that a holistic view must be applied to this issue, rather than trying to tackle one category at a time.

Also in 2016, the South Australian Equal Opportunity Commission released its ‘Sex discrimination, sexual harassment and predatory behaviour in South Australia Police independent review’, finding that sexual harassment was still prevalent in the organisation, that promotions for women were still under the rates of promotion for men, and that flexible work arrangements were supported by policy but not by the culture (State of South Australia 2016). A number of recommendations were made in relation to cultural change, including repairing the damage done to victims of sexual harassment and flexible workplace practices. An audit of the outcomes of this review has not yet been completed. Having said this, a theme can be found across the jurisdictions indicating that while policy appears inclusive, the reality in practice is that this is not always the case.

In 2017, the Phase 2 audit of the ‘Independent review into sex discrimination and sexual harassment, including predatory behaviour in Victoria Police’ was published. This review found that policies relating to harassment and bullying were inconsistent and out-dated (State of Victoria 2017). In addition, there were barriers to the recruitment of women in the form of fitness requirements (State of Victoria 2017), meaning that recruitment criteria prevented some women from joining the organisation. Sex discrimination and sexual harassment was found to have an impact on levels of women in leadership roles and attrition rates (State of Victoria 2017). These issues were also significantly affected by a lack of workplace flexibility, with women suffering discrimination surrounding pregnancy, maternity leave and part-time work arrangements (State of Victoria 2017). The review gave detailed recommendations regarding all of these issues that could be carried across into other jurisdictions, including significant changes to the structures surrounding flexible work and the implementation of a backfill program for officers on maternity leave. While this has been suggested in other reviews, this is the first time it has been implemented in Australia. The outcomes
of this program will be of interest over coming years as it challenges the thinking that women are letting their team down when away from the workplace for childcare reasons.

These reports demonstrate some cohesiveness with the academic literature regarding sexual harassment, flexible workplace practices. On the surface, opportunities have been opened up for women in terms of policy, but there are still major structural issues preventing women from staying in the profession, or from rising through the ranks or moving into specialist positions. While these reports relate to gender issues, they indicate structural issues that could affect all levels of diversity, and it should be noted that policy alone does not lead to change.

This point was also made relevant by Grossman et al (2013), who conducted a study of Victoria Police cross-cultural training practices that outlined attitudes of police officers in relation to cultural diversity practices. While this study looked at attitudes between police and CALD communities rather than between police officers in the workplace, it did address strategies for possible police cultural change. Of note, participants indicated that any change in culture would require both theoretical and practical education, with this education being ongoing and assessment-based to some extent. As such, the distinctions between policy and practice still need to be addressed to ensure they match.

It is noted that at the time of writing, the NSWPF has commissioned another review to be conducted by Elizabeth Broderick & Co looking at barriers to promotions for women (Benny-Morrison 2018), over ten years after Ronalds’ (2006) report. It can be expected that some of the recommendations made in Ronalds’ (2006) report are likely to be made again in this report. While it is noted there has been cultural change over time, some of the findings from Sutton (1996) and Ronalds (2006) were similar, especially in relation to promotions and sexual harassment.
Without a significant framework underpinning the reasons why and how strategies should be implemented for cultural change, and why some strategies might work against this change, there is a good chance there will be further reviews in the future, with similar findings, similar recommendations, and similar limited outcomes. This framework needs to incorporate strategies not just for women, but for all personnel, to ensure fairness and a greater likelihood of acceptance amongst the workforce. Targeting women, or any other category of diversity, for specific policies can create disharmony within the workforce rather than driving meaningful and positive change. The reasons for this standpoint will be outlined in Chapter Eleven, as part of the substantive grounded theory.

**Conclusion**

The plans, policies and reports of the NSWPF indicate a desire to demonstrate engagement with equity and diversity issues, with these policies generally being supportive of workplace diversity. However, external reviews regarding gender and cultural issues that have been conducted on the NSWPF and other Australian police agencies show these policies may not be indicative of the daily reality for police officers. Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain this given that external reviews only relate to women. At present, given the propensity for analysing issues only relating to women in policing agencies, it appears that gender diversity has been given priority over any other type of diversity, including a more holistic view of diversity. Without an overall view of how diversity as a whole is experienced in the organisation, cultural change will be difficult and piecemeal, potentially creating or enhancing an ‘us versus them’ mentality amongst officers. This will be explained and expanded upon further in Chapter Eleven, following the findings and theory chapters.
Chapter Five: Ways police are included in the workplace

Hypothesis One: Police officers are accepted by their colleagues through fitting into the culture or through a perception of competence or both.

The findings relating to the first hypothesis gave a good understanding of how police officers are accepted by their colleagues in the workplace. Overall, these findings demonstrated that the hypothesis required a more fluid response, with an either/or proposition being far too simple. The key concepts of fitting in to culture and being perceived as competent were found to be very important, but there is also another concept known as the ‘team player’. Importantly, like many concepts, they must be explained separately from a theoretical perspective, but in practice they are overlapping and complex. As such, while they are explained as separate concepts, they are inherently linked in many places. This means that while some points might be discussed in one section here, they could just as easily have been placed in a different section. Another possibility might have been to create separate hypotheses for each concept, but this was unlikely to demonstrate the subtle overlaps that occur in practice.

In this chapter, the concept of fitting in to culture will be explored in depth, especially in terms of the ‘boys’ club’ and drinking culture; the ‘attitude test’ that officers are subjected to; and how officers change themselves to fit in. The concept of competence will also be explained in relation to having the same skills at the same levels as everyone else, and being able to keep up with others in terms of work and ability. The ‘good bloke’ persona will be addressed in relation to an individual who lacks competence. The meanings of being a team player will also be addressed including making a positive contribution, being available and reliable, and being likeable. The findings in this chapter are particularly relevant to the substantive grounded theory outlined in Chapter Eleven. It should be noted that many of the quotes in this chapter relate to the case studies used in the first interview phase. These case studies are located at Annexure D.
Fitting in to culture (having cultural congruence)
For participants, fitting in to the prevailing culture was an easy way to be accepted by colleagues. It required a number of behaviours, including adherence to the ‘attitude test’, participating in the ‘boys’ club’ culture, and changing to conform. These behaviours relate to the police culture as described by the participants, but it should be noted that participants did describe other behaviours in their own workplaces. The notion of ‘police culture’ was described in broader terms when participants were explicitly asked about it, but they did not always recognise when the culture had changed over time in their own workplaces, despite describing this. This section will explain how the overall larger notion of police culture is something that police officers must be able to navigate in order to be accepted by their colleagues.

The boys’ club and their drinking culture

*I think my initial response to fit into the cops, I think male, I think young, I think gym junkie, I think a bit of a boys’ club, bit of a drinker, grub I think, you know, all these, you know a bit of a player…*’ Participant 2(A) (Female)

It is accepted there are multiple facets to police culture, and that these will vary from workplace to workplace. One facet of police culture described was an ability to socialise as part of the team. This was also referred to as being part of the boys’ club, and included drinking alcohol and talking about football and women – actions that are generally regarded as part of masculine culture. Participants who were uncomfortable in this culture, especially Muslim participants, mentioned this more than those who were comfortable with it.

A further part of police culture was described as a willingness to participate in misogynistic behaviour or conversation, as this would also assist an officer to ‘fit in’. It should be noted that in places, comments related to participants’ perception of the culture of a tactical operations unit, rather than their own workplace. This section will describe some of the findings surrounding the boys’ club and drinking, with quotes from the participants to demonstrate these findings.
When questioned directly about police culture, some participants immediately identified this with drinking alcohol. There was a perceived requirement for officers to go out drinking with colleagues in order to be seen as part of the team:

‘Drinking is number one ... that is by far hands down the most, other than locking up criminals ... people love drinking and getting together you know.’ Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘Fitting in ... unfortunately when you say fitting in, for me alcohol and socialising is a big thing that comes up and being one of the boys if you like, means fitting in.’ Participant 18(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘We have a lot of non-drinkers in our section, in our squad, and it’s not frowned upon but it’s not ... you know, function time comes around and ... it’s like "Oh, they don’t drink".’ Participant 7(A) (Part-time female, CALD background)

One participant analysed police culture as a large entity that could incorporate a number of things, including being a team player, but still mentioned that culture might entail drinking:

‘You know there’s lot of things that could be culture, it’s not just gonna be confined to religion, it’s not gonna be confined to being a drinker, it’s not gonna be confined to being a team player, this culture is a huge thing.’ Participant 8(A) (male)

One participant who did not take part in the drinking culture acknowledged that it was important for their workplace. They stated it was part of being Australian, even while admitting they were not part of it and therefore did not fit in:

‘It’s part of our Australian culture ... it’s a huge part of our culture, if there’s a death they have a drink, if a baby’s born they have a drink, if you get promoted you have a drink... in the drinking, no, I don’t [fit in].’ Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)
In addition to the drinking culture, participants described a boys’ club, where officers are required to be masculine, misogynistic, football playing types. Participants identified strongly with this in relation to the tactical unit mentioned in Case Study Three, and in some cases they spoke about this in relation to their own workplace. Again, participants discussing this culture generally did not feel they were part of this culture.

‘That I would call the boys’ club, if they don’t want you in they don’t want you in, and sort of say, hey, you’re out.’ Participant 2(A) (female)

‘Culture could either be what I’m talking about like ... the football team culture and boofy blokey type blokes wrestling in their underwear...’ Participant 3(A) (male)

One female participant was clear that she was unable to fit in to the boys’ club:

‘If you’re one of the boys apparently that gets you pretty far too, but I’m not privy to that.’ Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)

While drinking, football and talking about women was mentioned strongly as part of the police culture, there was evidence of a cultural shift away from this:

‘There is no police culture anymore ... the environment you used to work in prior to Royal Commission of the camaraderie and the police family and all that sort of stuff died after the Royal Commission in my view ... got smashed apart with the advent of 12 hour shifts, people turn up, go to work, and go home, they don’t care to stay around, they don’t care to socialise as much...’ Participant 13(B) (male)

The existence of a boys’ club drinking culture indicates that some personnel are not in a position to break into this without some kind of change to fit in, especially Muslim and female officers. Essentially, officers on the outer of this boys’ club culture may be accepted, but their ability to ‘fit in’ will be constantly under scrutiny, meaning they must at the very least pass the ‘attitude test’.
The attitude test

‘They don’t normally call it a culture, they more call it the attitude test’ Participant 8(A) (Male)

The ‘attitude test’ applies to an officer’s attitude surrounding culture and their willingness to comply with prevailing cultural values. This may include accepting the status quo, and not complaining about any cultural issues they have, with participants indicating that a colleague would be more likely to ‘fit in’ if they passed the attitude test. In other words, those who accept prevailing values in the workplace will be accepted more readily than those who question or challenge cultural norms. Further, if they had failed the attitude test at a previous location, their reputation may follow them and potentially preclude them from acceptance in their new location. This section will provide a description of the ‘attitude test’ as it relates to police culture.

Accepting the status quo in terms of workplace culture is a mechanism used to prevent conflict in the workplace. While some participants admitted they did not always agree with what was happening in the workplace, they were limited in being able to voice those opinions, as this meant being left on the outer. In other words, a differing opinion or point of view is likely to be a problem rather than a benefit overall.

‘Being part of the norm, not upsetting anyone, just being willing to relinquish your views for the good of the team.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

‘Coming here I made sure that I tried my best to kind of just be the grey person, just not too loud, not too quiet but just you know, middle of the road kind of person…’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

This indicates that officers who do not naturally fit in to this middle ground might need to work on how they are perceived, meaning a person who is naturally loud or shy will have to change their behaviour. This might present difficulties for a person with a behavioural condition, or who is not as good at
reading social situations. One participant disagreed that it was necessary to fit the norm, stating that a difference in opinion could be positive, but they still preferred a loud personality over a shy one:

‘So I like to have a mix ... I don’t mind the odd occasional bold personality there, it’s good... On the same token, I don’t want someone who’s totally submissive...’ Participant 17(B) (Male)

While some participants indicated they did not necessarily like the culture, they accepted that challenging it may mean they were left on the outer:

‘It’s not about hiding, it’s like your belief system... you sit in there with someone in the car and then you see them say Leb this, Leb that, wog this, go back to your country, fuck off you fool, all this sort of stuff. Now you know all this stuff is wrong and they shouldn’t be saying it, but if you mention your belief that you don’t agree with what they’re saying then you’re going to ostracise yourself...’ Participant 19(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

When an officer does not accept the status quo, they may complain or challenge it. This can result in a lack of acceptance by other officers, or with being left out socially. Participants indicated:

‘If she had a history of just making complaints about it then yeah, I’d go alright you know, I can see why her colleagues would be avoiding her.’ (Case Study Two - Sarah) Participant 10(A) (Male, CALD background)

‘People become cautious about interacting with somebody who’s potentially likely to use things they say or use things that they do against them, it’s a self defence mechanism that people utilise to avoid coming under scrutiny themselves...’ Participant 13(A) (Male)

By passing the ‘attitude test’ through accepting the status quo without complaint, officers put themselves in a better position to fit into workplace culture. Officers
who complain or challenge the status quo can be left ostracised or regarded as problematic in the workplace, even when these challenges are raised in order to benefit that workplace. If an officer is not predisposed to accept the prevailing culture, they may change their behaviour and attitude to increase their likelihood of being accepted.

**Changing behaviour to fit the norm**

*I used to drink before and although I never enjoyed it I did it because of other people ... because I wanted to fit in that group and you know what, to be honest it served me really well because I made a lot of friends ... and a lot of people you know respected me...’* Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

For participants who did not regard themselves as part of the prevailing culture, one of the strategies used was to change themselves to fit in. This generally meant conforming to the attitude test by accepting the status quo regardless of whether they agree, but also taking part in boy’s club behaviour. The most obvious example, as per the quote above, was a Muslim participant who chose to drink to fit in, even when they normally would not have done so. Changing to fit in to the culture enables officers to build trust by demonstrating they are not really different, especially when they first start at a workplace. Once they have demonstrated they can fit in, they can change back to their normal behaviour over time.

Participants believed that fitting in at first had set them up to have greater respect later in their career. By proving they could be part of the culture, their ideas outside this culture were more accepted as they became more senior:

*I can see it's two pronged, I think beginning you were hammered in to be a submissive... but I think now especially... further on in my career, I can see where you need to be a little bit more dynamic... you need to be able to think ... outside the square...’* Participant 10(A) (Male, CALD background)
Participants who did regard themselves as part of the culture expected others to make the effort to fit in, as this was a necessary component to being part of the team:

‘Just because he doesn’t drink doesn’t mean he can’t go out...’ (Case Study Three – Mohamed) Participant 15(A) (Male)

‘It depends how he is too, how he interacts with them because he’s gonna have to... lean towards... more the Australian culture if you know what I mean, as opposed to wherever he’s come from, having a name like Mohamed.’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 1(A) (Male)

There is no expectation that those who regard themselves as part of the prevailing culture should change to accommodate others or learn about difference in a reciprocal fashion:

‘Any type of tactical operations unit is going to be very, very blokey... that type of loyalty and camaraderie and unfortunately round peg square hole...’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 20(A) (Male, CALD background)

‘When I first started people would always be making... Asian jokes to me ... people wouldn’t know what frigging language I was speaking ... and assumed that all of Asia spoke one language ...’ Participant 10(A) (Male, CALD background)

Further, an officer who is not willing to fit into the culture is perceived to have detrimental effects on a unit:

‘You have to be able to trust the person next to you 110 per cent and if you don’t fit into that culture, that could ... ruin the whole unit...’ (Case Study Three – Mohamed) Participant 10(A) (Male, CALD background)

Having said this, a number of participants discussed how fitting in was important, but with the passage of time, they no longer regarded it this way.
Some of these participants described how they had started off by showing they could be part of the prevailing culture, but slowly allowed themselves to demonstrate their difference once they had achieved this:

'I don't have to fit in personally, that's one of the benefits of working in a workplace like this ... but I think that has come from being in the job for as long as I have, as a younger person I think there's probably more pressure to ... conform to certain norms or social norms as part of the workplace, but as you get older and been in the job longer you realise that that's just perception more than reality.' Participant 13(B) (Male)

Changing to fit in to the culture is a mechanism used by officers to ensure their colleagues accept them. For those that already fit into the boys’ club and pass the attitude test, there is no requirement to learn new things or change. For those outside the prevailing culture, they modify behaviour to increase their likelihood of being accepted. This raises the question of how those who are unable to read the social situation are ever accepted. As time goes on, those who are able to read the situation become more comfortable in reverting to themselves, sometimes meaning they step away from the boys’ club and the attitude test. This indicates that fitting in is important at the beginning of a police officer’s career, but becomes less important as they spend more time on the job.

**Being competent**

'Doesn't matter whether they’re twenty or whether they’re fifty, they've still gotta pass.' Participant 1(A) (Male)

'The main point was if you're competent you're going to have, you would likely have less issues arise in regards to not just equality but other things as well than if you're incompetent. If you're incompetent you're going to be more, if you're incompetent there's more opportunity for people to have a shot at you...' Participant 9(B) (Male)

Being seen to be competent is an important attribute contributing to an officer's acceptance in the workplace. Competency for police officers, both formally and
informally, is based on the same characteristics and skills, meaning that individuals who do not have those characteristics and skills may find it more difficult to be accepted. Officers are expected to keep up with everyone else in terms of their skills and knowledge, as well as being able to perform the same work to the same standard. There was no discussion of competence relating to skills and attributes that officers may have outside these standards, such as speaking a second language or knowledge of a particular cultural background. This means officers from different backgrounds, along with fitting in to the culture, also must meet the same working standards, with extra skills not acknowledged in terms of competence. Interestingly, while being competent was clearly of great importance to participants, it was found that it is also possible to be accepted without this, by being a ‘good bloke’. These concepts will be discussed further in this section.

One way officers are assessed on competence is their ability to keep up with their workload at the same level as everyone else. Questions of competence tend to arise automatically when an officer has a characteristic of difference:

‘If she’s not doing her job, if she’s coming to work and the stress disorder is so bad at work that she’s not working ... she’s not doing her job as expected, then that would give everybody in the team, would annoy everybody.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 1(A) (Male)

‘Where I work ... there is an individual who doesn’t have the best speaking skills... or best English, and that hinders that individual a little bit and ... there are other individuals that speak perfectly and do everything but they’re just dickheads you know...’ Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Participants also questioned whether officers who were unable to keep up were legitimately having difficulties, or if they were aiming for some kind of personal gain through their difference:
‘If it is legitimate that she’s suffering from this then she shouldn’t return to work ... is she suffering from it legitimately or is she using it not to return to work, because they can’t accommodate the shifts she wants to do?’ (Case Study One – Amy)

Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘To me gender doesn’t really come into it, or their sexuality, but their competence, if they’re good at what they do. However, I don’t like anyone hiding behind their incompetence, hiding it behind the banner of being a female or being of a religious denomination or of a sexual denomination, no and I won’t tolerate that.’

Participant 17(B) (Male)

When an officer is ‘different’, they are expected to make a greater effort to keep up. Participants who worked part-time or stated they were from a CALD background felt they were required to do more than officers who fit the norm:

‘You put a lot of pressure on yourself... you probably work harder than the full-time workers because you’re trying to prove the point that you can fulfil the role that you’re currently doing.’ Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)

‘Certain parts of the police are very cliquey, certain squads, certain units and if you don’t fit a specific view or what they have in mind or what’s been the norm for many years, you’re kind of an outcast and you have to actually work double as hard to achieve something...’ Participant 19(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

In addition to this, officers from a different background carry the burden to show they are capable in order to pave the way for other officers from that background. If they are unable to keep up, it can have detrimental effects for those coming after them. One participant explicitly stated the difficulties for officers from different backgrounds when they followed an ‘incompetent’ person from the same background into a workplace. They asserted that each person from a different background must strive to be as competent as possible to help those coming after them:
'That's harder ... having a guy from Zambia you know, no, they weren't good. Another EOI [Expression of Interest] comes in from a bloke from Zambia and then ... he's behind the eight ball already kind of thing, he could have cured cancer and they still wouldn't like him...' Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

'I think it's anyone who isn't from the mainstream background ... it's on them to make it as easy as it is for other people, later on, to come in ... try to set a good example ... be known as a worker ... get amongst it...' Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

Being competent requires officers to meet benchmarks that are the same for everyone, regardless of background. This means that officers who are ‘different’ need to strive harder to ensure they meet these benchmarks, whether this is for reasons of cultural background, illness or part-time work. In cases where these benchmarks cannot be met, questions arise over their competence, even when they may have other attributes that contribute positively to the workplace and workload. However, incompetence does not always result in a lack of acceptance amongst colleagues. By being a ‘good bloke’, an officer can be accepted even when their competence is questionable.

**The good bloke**

'It's almost like there's an inverse relationship ... if you get called a good bloke, chances are you're actually not a very good operator, it's just that you're a social animal who gets along with everybody...' Participant 3(B) (Male)

The ‘good bloke’ is an officer who gets along well with everyone and is part of the social culture, but is regarded as lazy or incompetent. They contribute to camaraderie in the workplace, and may be regarded as a ‘team player’, but not always. Colleagues accept them for a time, although a prolonged period of working with a ‘good bloke’ produces a level of frustration amongst colleagues, meaning this acceptance might not last. However, by virtue of being a ‘good bloke’, they often manage to get away with incompetence and poor work ethic:
'I think it's more easy to slip under the radar if you're not competent to be honest... I think you overlook that they're not competent if they're a good bloke.' Participant 2(B) (Female)

'I think the difference is if you get along with your colleagues you'll be known as that good bloke, and maybe your deficiencies won't be as glaring or they won't be announced to everyone or be singled out because you are the good bloke. However, you'll be known as that good bloke however we can't rely on you, but then if you are not accepted by your group and you're incompetent that's double, so that all your deficiencies are going to be glaring and they're going to be highlighted more so than others.' Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

While being a ‘good bloke’ can mean an officer will have less chance of being ostracised, they can still be regarded as lazy and incompetent in relation to workload:

‘They’re a waste of space you know, they’re not doing their job properly, you get annoyed with them ... we often say that you know, he’s a really good bloke but or he’s a really good girl but... yeah doesn’t do any work...’ Participant 14(B) (Male)

‘Everyone goes oh yeah, nice bloke, but at the bottom of the day everyone talks behind his back and says “well we can’t trust him doing this because he’s not capable of doing it so they just sort of keep him at arm’s length when working”’
Participant 15(B) (Male)

Being a ‘good bloke’ can result in colleagues taking on this person’s workload, as they do not feel they can address laziness or incompetence if the person is too nice. Essentially, colleagues are willing to allow for incompetence if the person is a good bloke:

‘They seem to look after each other, and that person ... might not be very good at what it is that they’re supposed to be doing but the others seem to ignore that.’ Participant 1(B) (Male)
‘You’re more inclined to carry that person, like you’ll put up with them more a little bit I think... I have done that before, purely for the fact that you know, they’re good to have around for morale...’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

This willingness to ‘carry’ others may not always work, as colleagues have an expectation that officers will at some stage keep up with workload:

‘Everyone thinks it’s good and fun at the start but eventually it’s like well hang on, he’s getting paid the same as us, he’s taking a car the same as us, he’s getting the same benefits as us but he does nothing, why? And the team will... quickly shift and they will knife him in the back eventually... but if he’s a good bloke they won’t do it to his face...’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

‘People will probably be more prepared to go he or she, they’re good, they’re funny, they’re this, you know he’s a good bloke, she’s a good girl, whatever, and they’ll be more prepared in the short term, I won’t say in the long term but in the short term they’ll forgive shortcomings in work if they’re a nice person...’ Participant 9(B) (Male)

There was also a perception that those who are incompetent are not managed properly, especially if they are a ‘good bloke’:

‘I’m thinking of someone who I know who’s in my team environment who is that “good bloke”, one of the nicest men I’ve ever met but I just don’t think he’s competent ... I think police are really poor managers and therefore nothing will happen to this bloke even though he’s been spoken to a number of times, nothing will happen to him because he’s a really nice bloke.’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

‘We’ve got one at the moment that ... it’s gotten to that point where he was on the floor and he’s come over to us as a problem but he’s a top bloke and everyone fucking likes him, everyone likes him ... and he’s been let go for a couple of years and it’s gotten to a point we want to do something ... we’re looking at trying to do a
forced transfer on him, but you go to his CMS [Career Management System], he’s not a problem!’ Participant 7(B) (Part-time female, CALD background)

A ‘good bloke’ therefore may not always contribute positively in terms of competence, but other officers feel bad for them so ignore their shortcomings. This results in a higher workload for others, and often disharmony in the team.

**Being a team player**

| ‘It’s a team sport, policing’ Participant 3(B) (Male) |

The concept of ‘team’ came through strongly in participant responses, indicating it is a widely held part of the organisational culture. Many participants described policing in terms of a ‘team sport’, with everyone needing to be a ‘team player’ to meet expectations. The ‘team player’ is an officer who contributes positively to the team, and is available and reliable because they put the team first. Contributing to the team can be done by taking on a fair share of the team’s workload or in a social sense by keeping up morale. Being available and reliable means the team player ensures they do not leave work for other officers to do, and they make sure they look after their colleagues.

For those that are not ‘team players’, it can be difficult to fit in, as they are seen to be looking out for themselves. To be regarded as not being a team player, an officer might question the status quo, or have competing personal needs such as childcare requirements that make them unavailable. Being a team player is another important factor contributing to whether an officer is accepted easily by colleagues.
Participants discussed a positive contribution to the team being possible through officers doing their fair share of the workload. This can include volunteering to do extra work, rather than having it passively allocated to them:

‘I think being a team player, so people who will take on their fair share of the work...’ Participant 9(A) (Male)

‘Just basically being a team player, simple as that and being a team leader, also trying to make sure that the whole, that your team’s actually running properly and they actually sort of volunteer themselves ... to help others and stuff like that when required, I think that sort of makes the office environment fairly comfortable.’ Participant 15(B) (Male)

‘Someone could be a great guy, or a great girl but they might not necessarily hold their weight team wise and workload wise, so I don’t think they’re the same thing.’ Participant 11(B) (Female)

An officer does not necessarily need to be highly competent to be perceived as making a positive contribution. Participants intimated that being part of the team was actually more important than being competent, as it meant more harmony in the workplace:

‘Because in a team environment ... in a sporting team you could have a really good player but if he doesn’t get along with the team it sort of disrupts the whole team at the end of the day...’ Participant 15(B) (Male)
‘The things I’m looking at - will they be a fit to the team? They don’t necessarily have to be a world beater, because you’ve got that much knowledge within the team.’ Participant 17(B) (Male)

One participant indicated that lack of competence could be improved upon, providing the person passed the ‘attitude test’ as discussed previously:

‘That person could be developed and up-skilled or improved, or, as long as they’ve got the right attitude, I mean certainly there’s obviously people that are more competent than others, but they may not be as competent but can still get the work done or achieve the goals, but is a very good team player, that’s another good quality that can motivate a team as well.’ Participant 12(B) (Male)

Other participants confirmed this, stating that it was important for morale to be good for the team, therefore getting along in the workplace and contributing to this harmony was very important:

‘If you can’t get along, it’s a team sport policing, if you can’t get along with people you’re going to have some problems, you need to find that happy medium.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

‘You need morale, you can be the world’s best detective but you can be effectively inept in social skills which means no-one will work with you and no-one will back you which means you’re taking on a much more high workload because no-one wants to help you and you can’t effectively do your work as an individual. What we do is a team sport and you can’t do it on your own. So if you don’t have the backing of a team then it just doesn’t work.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

One participant mentioned that lack of attendance at social functions could mean an officer is not regarded as a team player:

‘If you’re not a mad drinker and you don’t feel like going out every Monday to Friday, when I first joined you were out drinking Monday, Tuesday nights you
know, and if you didn’t go you weren’t the team player… you sort of had to fit in, the police had its own culture.’ Participant 2(A) (Female)

Ideally to be a team player, an officer will have a good work ethic and do their fair share of work, but also contribute socially to the harmony of the team. It also means the officer looks out for team goals, rather than looking after their own interests:

‘Being part of a team, being in the team environment trying to achieve team goals and that could mean work wise, it could also be fitting in socially. Not being selfish. I suppose to the culture of the work environment, being a team player.’ Participant 12(B) (Male)

‘In relation to fitting in I think my understanding is being part of a team, understanding what needs to be done and just doing it, I think these days … fitting in a team has also got to do with some social aspects of fitting into a team, be it drinking or going out to a pub and stuff like that...’ Participant 16(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

As such, a positive contribution to the team is a major factor in being perceived as a team player. This can be in terms of taking on a fair share of the workload, but also contributing to team harmony. There is also a sense that the officer must put the team first above any personal goals or interests, which relates to their ability to be available and reliable.

**Being available and reliable**

‘You’ve got to be able to rely on people when the shit’s hitting the fan...’ Participant 11(B) (Female)

Further to the idea that a team player does not put their own interests first, another factor contributing to an officer’s likelihood of being a team player is their availability and reliability. Availability and reliability also have a correlation with the perceived work ethic of the individual. This has an effect on officers who are part-time or have other issues they need to deal with such as
post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). In this way, it can be argued that being a team player may be out of the individual's control if they have external factors (such as childcare requirements) at play, although this was not specifically identified by participants.

'Being good in a team environment I think is the most important, working well in a team. Reliable, being reliable.' Participant 12(A) (Male)

'Look, honesty, loyalty, work ethic and being prepared to sometimes put your personal issues aside for the goals of the team...' Participant 13(A) (Male)

Some participants asserted that being reliable was more important than fitting in socially, which opposes the description of the attitude test outlined in a previous section. They felt that a competent person is more reliable to ensure that tasks are completed:

'If I had a choice of choosing someone as competent over someone less competent but really socially is a team player, the reliability of someone competent who you can rely on, knows it's going to do that job...' Participant 12(B) (Male)

'There's no competence factor in respect to personality in our work environment, you're competent based on your performance, it doesn't matter whether you get on or you don't get on, you may not be liked or you may not fit in if you don't get on but you can still be competent.' Participant 13(B) (Male)

The other factor that is affected by availability and reliability is the perception of having a strong work ethic. A strong work ethic requires the officer to be available, honest and reliable. This relates to both the team player and competence, and can have an effect on perceptions of both. As such, when an officer is 'unavailable', they may be perceived as having a poor work ethic, which can also affect perceptions of their competence. All of these factors impact on their levels of acceptance by colleagues. Case Study One (Amy) prompted some participants to acknowledge that a strong work ethic would affect acceptance,
but that this work ethic needed to be sustained, looping back to reliability and availability:

‘If she’s a good worker and the team likes her... a bit more accepting than if it’s a person that’s just been put in the team and they don’t really like the person, the person’s a shonk², they would get more of a dislike.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 1(A) (Male)

‘I dunno what her work ethic was like before she went off - did we break her? Everyone has nightmares and has issues when they see things that we see but ... to be honest, would I want her on my team as a supervisor? Probably not.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 8(A) (Male)

Overall, an officer who puts the team first by being available and reliable will have a higher likelihood of being accepted as a team player. This means officers who are unavailable due to other factors beyond their control will have more difficulties being accepted.

**Being likeable**

‘They probably won’t be accepted and won’t be included in jobs.’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

Not only do they need to make a positive contribution and be available and reliable, the team player also needs to have likeable qualities. This relates closely to reliability and making a positive contribution to the team socially, but can also be affected by perceived competence. While participants varied on whether it was necessary to like the person they were working with, it was clear they preferred to work with those they got along with on a personal level. This manifested in issues surrounding trust and workload, with those who are not liked potentially finding they have a higher workload as others are less likely to assist them, or that they are simply left out of team jobs.

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² A person who tries to get out of doing work
Participants highlighted the need to be able to trust their colleagues and rely on them whenever necessary:

‘Fitting in, my understanding is you’ve got to get along with your colleagues because you deal with them, you rely on them on a daily basis to help achieve your objectives...’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

‘I think that personality is really, really important because you’ve got to be able to rely on people when the shit’s hitting the fan ... and know a little bit about them but you also want them to get their work done as well...' Participant 11(B) (Female)

Some participants were clear they did not wish to work with people they did not have anything in common with. This also affected whether that person would be regarded as competent:

‘There have been times where I have honestly reflected on my views of someone and I have let the fact that I don’t like them colour my judgment of their competency. Because I don’t like them I write them off as incompetent, whereas really it’s more just a personal dislike of them.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

A: ‘People have less tolerances for people’s mistakes if they don’t get along with them and they’re immediately branded a DC.’
Q: ‘Which is?’
A: ‘A dumb cunt!’ Participant 6(B) (Male)

An inability to get along with colleagues can be a problem when being tasked to do work. An officer who has difficulty with colleagues on a social level may find they are less likely to be given tasks:

‘I used to work with a girl that was on the outer and she was a very good worker but she didn’t have the same personality and she didn’t fit into the team, so she wasn’t included in jobs as much, and I know that sounds really mean but it’s true,
she wasn’t included in jobs as much because of her personality...’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

Alternatively, they may be given work, but others are reluctant to assist them with it:

‘So if you’re competent and you’re not liked, people will do what’s required, they’ll be given respect. If you’re competent and you are liked then you don’t have to ask it, people actually volunteer to be worked with, that’s the difference.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Trust can relate to issues of competency as well. When a person is not regarded as competent, they may miss out on work, or be left out of investigations:

‘I guess trust would be one thing, I think sometimes if you think people aren’t making the right decisions or making lazy decisions you tend to tar them with a brush and go well, they’re shit, we can’t trust them, they’re not even thinking of the easiest, simplest, common sense thing, so they seem to get pushed to the side.’ Participant 2(A) (Female)

‘You need a lot of trust in this job and if someone’s making poor decisions it affects the way the job runs... so I think if people aren’t confident ... with someone in a leadership role, you’re not gonna get the most, the best out of them...’ Participant 11(A) (Female)

A lack of trust and bad reputation can also lead to an ‘incompetent’ officer being left aside socially:

‘Sounds like she’s a bit of an idiot and so people don’t want to associate or socialise with her I guess.’ (Case Study Two – Sarah) Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)
It was also observed that regardless of personality and whether they liked the person they were working with, at times it was necessary to just get on with the job:

‘I think it's just you've got to be able to work together and respect the differences, because you can't like everybody, but you've got to work with everybody.’ Participant 11(B) (Female)

In essence, officers who are not liked by colleagues due to social or incompetence issues can be ostracised through a lack of trust as well as a change in workload. This may mean the individual is excluded from particular jobs because colleagues do not trust them, or they are left with a higher workload because others are reluctant to assist them. This, in turn, affects their ability to be or become a team player, because they have limited opportunity to demonstrate themselves as such.

**Conclusion**

Ultimately, the officer who is easily accepted by colleagues is one who fits into the culture, is highly competent, and is a team player. These concepts are fluid, with ideas surrounding their definitions depending on circumstances. Fitting into the culture requires an officer to be part of the boys’ club including its drinking culture, pass the attitude test, and potentially change themselves to fit in. A competent officer has the same work skills and standards, and is able to keep up with everyone else in relation to their work and ability. The team player in particular is interwoven with the other two factors, but can also be seen as a separate entity. Being a team player requires the individual to put the team first, while also being reliable, available, and likeable.

In analysing Hypothesis One, it is important to note there is no either/or proposition as initially thought. Acceptance in the policing workplace is complex, requiring an officer to strive at all times towards the three main themes addressed here. While officers might be accepted for any of these reasons in themselves, if there is an element missing they may not fit in as easily. For those that have two or three of these attributes, they are able to fit in. These three
elements are the foundation of the substantive grounded theory for this research, although the idea of fitting in to culture will be discussed in terms of cultural congruence. The ways these elements interact will be explained in more depth in Chapter Eleven in relation to inclusion capital theory.
Chapter Six: Diversity and difference as viewed by police

**Hypothesis Two: Police officers perceive difference and diversity as a problem to be solved, rather than a benefit to the organisation.**

Some concepts discussed in the previous chapter are also relevant to Hypothesis Two. Firstly, the concept of being a team player is significant, as officers who are different or diverse are seen to need extra entitlements than the rest of the team. Secondly, perceptions of competence can be affected when diverse officers are not regarded as capable of doing their job to a similar level as others. Fitting in to culture, or cultural congruence, also appeared in the findings for Hypothesis Two, although this element did not feature as strongly.

This section will discuss how police officers who have different needs are not regarded as being as useful as those who fit the norm; how there are cases when those who take their entitlements are seen as ‘rorting’ the system; how diverse personnel are regarded as ‘helpers’, meaning there is a perceived limit on how many should be located in one workplace; and how structural factors are generally not widely understood as affecting the acceptance of police from diverse backgrounds in the workplace. On a positive note, there were some participants who, while still viewing diversity as a problem to be solved, could see that diversity and difference in the workplace is a benefit to the organisation.

**Officers with ‘different’ needs do not contribute as much**

"From a local detectives office, I remember it affected the running of the office in that they couldn't be on call as often, they ... got pregnant so then they're out of the office ... they're sort of restricted for a year and they're off for a year and ... say there's three kids in a row, that's six years worth...’ Participant 14(B) (Male)

There was an overwhelming sense amongst participants that those who had different personal needs did not contribute to the team as much. This included part-time officers; officers on sick leave or restricted duties; and officers from religious backgrounds who needed extra time to for religious requirements. By taking time away from the workplace for childcare, sick leave, or prayer, officers
were regarded as letting the team down, meaning they were not perceived as a team player. As such, their workplace contribution was regarded as less useful than those who were at work on a full-time basis with no restrictions.

When an officer does not fit the norm for another reason, such as being from a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background, their usefulness was questioned in relation to competence. If their cultural understandings were different to the norm, this was regarded as incompetence, while any lack of English was regarded as a safety issue, making them less useful or competent than a person who is regarded as speaking English fluently.

Women especially were seen to be less useful, primarily as they were likely to go on maternity leave and come back to work in a part-time capacity:

‘I watched a D’s office\(^3\) be decimated by maternity leave arrangements and we suddenly had half of the office on part-time or on maternity leave and all the rest of it, the cases were falling by the way side...’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

‘In my workplace I understand that they aren’t keen to take any more part-timers in my particular area and part-timers are generally women... so that would mean that there’s probably a more, a less chance of a female getting a new position in our job unless she’s full-time...’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

Participants mentioned that some workplaces would no longer accept part-time workers, as they were unable to cope with the extra workload. This especially affected female officers, who were seen to be the problem:

‘Females I know have already caused issues in the *** Squad for example. They cause issues in most probably detectives offices, just work part-time, I know it’s sexist but it does affect the running of an office and I know in *** Squad I think they’ve even been stopped, no more part-timers... like they can’t cope with any more.’ Participant 14(B) (Male)

\(^3\) Detective's office
There was a perception that women were not as dedicated to their work as others who were available on a full-time basis:

‘If you were to say investigation teams are going 50/50, it would be a massive issue for a manager of investigation teams, if you then had fifty percent of your workforce only there part-time or casually or not committed to being available, being prepared to travel, being prepared to work overtime, being flexible in respect to the workplace and being committed to being at the workplace as opposed to being at the home, that would be very detrimental as far as managing a team goes...’ Participant 13(B) (Male)

This was expanded on by one participant who mentioned that women are now seen as competent, but unavailable for work at the same level as others:

‘Women ... it’s not about competence anymore and it’s not about whether they can do the job, it's about performance more in relation to women would have to go on maternity leave, they will require part-time agreements, they will have to work certain shifts which creates a chain reaction of workload amongst everybody in the office...’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

One participant confirmed this in relation to her own experience, and clearly saw her own part-time status as a problem for others:

‘They wouldn’t allow it because you ... do a week of on call, and I’ve helped out on call with on the floor **** before, but it’s very hard for them because I say well I can’t do this day but I can do this day...’ Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)

‘I wouldn’t be able to go on the floor at **** ... because I’m a part-timer.’ Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)
One issue raised was that it was unlikely any meaningful work could be conducted when an officer is only there for a short period of time. Interestingly, part-time officers raised this point, indicating they also believed officers should be at work for a greater amount of time to be seen as useful:

‘One day a week ... why are you bothering coming back to work? I used to work with a lady that came back one day a week and ... by the time you clear your emails and you had a chit chat in the corridor, I don't see why you're bothering being at work.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)

‘What is the benefit of having her hold up a full-time position if you're gonna do eight hours or ten hours or whatever they do?’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 7(A) (Part-time female, CALD background)

Overall, the difficulties of being a police officer on a part-time basis was described in terms of the individual officer not being dedicated enough to do the role, rather than due to structural factors making their role difficult. As well as these perceived problems associated with women taking maternity leave, having children, and working part-time, participants also discussed officers who were on restricted duties or sick leave. These officers were seen to create work for others, as there is more paperwork and reshuffling of rosters required, meaning they are a drain on the team:

‘There's an impost to supporting someone on sick leave that you don't have when they're at work, aside from the fact that you don't have to replace a person to get a roster done and all that sort of stuff, the impact is you've got to document things that have been done, you've gotta make sure that they're getting support if it's a claim...' Participant 9(A) (Male)

‘Her sick leave is ... her capacity is only limited to what she can do ... I don't see her honestly coming back straight into it and back on the road again...' (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)
This idea that catering to diversity entitlements was draining for the team was also mentioned in relation to officers from religious backgrounds (especially relating to Case Study Three – Mohamed). That is, officers who take time out of their day to pray would not be able to keep up with everyone else as they were not completely committed to their work:

‘You’ve got issues with non-English speaking background if there’s customs and things that people want to observe and there’s legislation and stuff to support that they should be given their right to do whatever, and impacts then on rostering, organisation has got to be prepared for it, but in terms of individuals, individual people, everything else, doesn’t worry me either way.’ Participant 9(B) (Male)

‘If they’re strictly adhering to religious guidelines and religious views and religious commitments, it might impact negatively on how the workplace is done, when I say negatively it would have to be managed, it wouldn’t just flow, there’d have to be things put in place to manage their commitments to religion...’ Participant 13(B) (Male)

While the above issues relate to the availability of staff and a requirement to work full-time in order to be seen as a team player, participants also discussed the ‘problem’ of officers from CALD backgrounds in terms of their competence. There was a general feeling that CALD officers were not as able to meet ‘standards’, including understanding perceived cultural norms in the community:

‘I think if you were a Chinese young bloke coming into the police force and ... you had been raised in a very Chinese family, I’ve worked with guys like that, they’re very nice guys, well intentioned and all the rest of it but ... you need to explain things to them because they just don’t get it sometimes...’ Participant 3(A) (Male)

These standards especially related to the importance of a CALD officer’s ability to speak and understand English:
'But with the non-English speaking, yeah, I shake my head when people aren't competent in speaking a fluent English language, like happy days, have the skills to speak in another language but be proficient in ours as well.' Participant 2(B) (Female)

'It could be a disadvantage because ... if you've got people that come from non-English speaking background and they have a communication barrier, it makes it a little bit difficult to work in certain parts of the police... because I've experienced it first hand with people that are like that, not to say they can't do the job, it just makes it that little bit harder for them...' Participant 16(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Officers with different needs are seen as less useful than officers who fit the prevailing norm. If they required time away from the workplace in any capacity, this impacted on their ability to be reliable and available to the team. If they did not have the same understandings surrounding culture and their knowledge of the English language, their competence was questioned. As such, any other skills they might bring to the organisation were still viewed through the lens of solving the ‘problem’ of diversity.

'**Rorting the system**'

'It would be seen to be that she hasn’t got her own way and therefore she’s rorting the system' (Case Study One - Amy) Participant 3(A) (Male)

The phrase ‘rorting the system’ was used regarding an officer who was believed to be using policy to their own advantage, with an inference they were not entitled to do so. The concept of ‘rorting the system’ was especially mentioned in relation to Case Study One (Amy), where the officer was on maternity leave and had also been diagnosed with PTSD, requiring more time away from work on sick leave. Again, questions arose predominantly regarding their reliability and availability, although this was slightly different to the previous section. Rorting the system implies the officer is deliberately taking advantage of entitlements to the detriment of their colleagues. That is, while an officer from a diverse background might be less useful, this is not their fault, but an officer who is
rorting the system is deliberately being less useful and leaving work for their colleagues to do. From a team player perspective, this is much worse.

When there is an issue surrounding competence and the officer uses their difference as a potential reason why they are not accepted in the workplace, the officer is also viewed as using the system to their own advantage. This is an issue for the individual, as they would not only be seen as incompetent, but also not a team player.

In relation to Case Study One (Amy), participants believed that Amy was pretending to have PTSD so she did not have to go back to work, indicating a presumption that she was claiming to be sick so she could continue her lifestyle at home:

'I would not have a lot of sympathy for Amy, I think she’s pulling the leg, pulling the police’s legs.' (Case Study One - Amy) Participant 14(A) (Male)

'Whether rightly or wrongly and a lot of times they’ll just ... unfortunately say she’s ... playing the head noises card⁴...’ (Case Study One - Amy) Participant 20(A) (Male, CALD background)

It is worth noting that the case study did not indicate Amy was likely to be rorting the system in any way. Participants felt that colleagues who do not get what they want will pretend to have issues so they can look after their own self-interest, taking away from their ability to be seen as a team player:

'If she’s trying to use the part-time return to work agreement to not come back to work and do what she joined to do but to come back to work on something that’s a little bit easier and more of a lifestyle for her, a little bit selfish.’ (Case Study One - Amy) Participant 8(A) (Male)

⁴ A person who claims to have mental illness is known as playing the head noises card. It is generally thought not to be a legitimate claim.
'It's typical of people in the police force these days, they have a higher expectation on their own personal benefits as opposed to the organisation.' (Case Study One - Amy) Participant 13(A) (Male)

One participant believed this self-interest was often the trigger for someone taking sick leave for stress or PTSD after they did not get what they wanted in the workplace:

‘There's always a catalyst that brings out this stress disorder and it's usually someone not getting their way.' Participant 15(A) (Male)

Another participant mentioned that when colleagues did ‘rort the system’, they were ruining it for other officers who might need it, meaning an officer rorting the system was letting the team down. This related to the Death and Disability Scheme, which provided officers with a large payout when they were found to have a workplace injury:

‘It’s so difficult in this organisation because so many people rort it if you like and stuff it up for everyone else...’ (Case Study One - Amy) Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

For Case Study Two (Sarah), participants were concerned that Sarah was using her sexuality in order to hide her incompetence. In other words, she was regarded as incompetent; therefore any claims she might have been discriminated against were more likely to be related to this incompetence. Expressions such as ‘playing the gay card’ were used in participant responses:

‘Throwing the gay card on the table ... she's obviously gonna complain about her sexuality’ (Case Study Two - Sarah) Participant 2(A) (Female)

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5 Under the Death and Disability Scheme, officers leaving the NSWPF with a workplace injury such as PTSD received large payouts. The scheme was eventually cancelled, as it could not sustain the payments for all claims.
'Sarah’s playing the gay card if I can put it that way.' (Case Study Two - Sarah)
Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

There was also a sense that participants felt Sarah would be ‘hiding behind’ her difference and blaming this for why she was treated differently, even if they believed the real reason was incompetence:

'People will write her off for that ... well you've got the shits because you're not getting what you want and ... you're pushing a hot button being the homophobia type stuff to get what you want.' (Case Study Two - Sarah) Participant 3(A) (Male)

'They would probably say ... she thinks we don’t like her because she's gay but really it's because she's incompetent.' (Case Study Two - Sarah) Participant 6(A) (Male)

Rorting the system by taking policy entitlements for things that colleagues do not believe are legitimate impacts on how an officer is viewed as a team player. This is especially so in the case of an officer claiming harassment or bullying regarding their diversity status when they are also viewed as incompetent. This could be linked back to their ability to be perceived as competent, and also whether they are seen to accept the status quo, with the result being they would not fit in to the culture.

**Helping the workers because they can’t do the job themselves?**

'I used to say at *** we have to get more, I thought it was a positive, there's ... a lot of Chinese descent and Asian descent officers working at *** and they were such a help ...’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

'If you change it from not being diverse, if you start to ... go ... these are the needs and beliefs of these officers and to do that they need certain times and it's going to affect things, if it's a small percentage in any location it's not a problem. If it's a massive percentage in a location and then that stops the service ... then that's an issue, but generally ... I don't think it affects the business too much...' Participant 9(B) (Male)
When participants discussed the benefits of diversity, it was often in the context of specific skills that might be ‘helpful’ to them, such as knowledge of a second language. This was described in ways that presented the main or ‘real’ workers as coming from the norm, and diverse personnel helping these main workers, rather than diverse personnel being main workers themselves. Further to this, some participants felt that having too many colleagues of a particular category of diversity created problems in the workplace, as workload expectations might not be achieved, or standards would not be met. This implies that while diverse personnel can help or assist the main workers, they are not capable of doing the work without these main workers. Again, this relates to whether an officer is seen as a team player or whether their diversity plays a part in others perceiving them as competent. Having said this, some participants mentioned a benefit in having different life outlooks and experiences, even when they described this in terms of being a help:

‘If they can speak multiple languages, helps with interpreting things, because the crooks can only get smarter...’ Participant 1(B) (Male)

‘They can improve it, certainly having people from different backgrounds can give you different perspectives, different skills, which can definitely help in investigations.’ Participant 12(B) (Male)

This viewpoint indicates an attitude that diversity should be embraced where it is beneficial for the largest number of officers, but not necessarily because the organisation should be representative of the community. In other words, having more people with different skill sets will help the organisation as a whole. This utilitarian perspective is a different approach to the human rights argument, whereby officers from diverse backgrounds have the same entitlements and responsibilities as all other officers. In themselves, both of these approaches are inadequate to implement serious change, but they could be used together in a more holistic way to improve officers’ experiences in the workplace.

Having too many officers of the same strand of diversity in one workplace was
seen as problematic, especially in relation to women, who were seen to be likely to work part-time or take maternity leave, leaving other workers to pick up the workload:

'If it becomes an issue where you got ... eighty percent of the police force is ... female and there's a lot of young females who then need to go off ... it'd become a sizeable problem in terms of maintaining positions for people and getting the work done...' Participant 9(B) (Male)

'The problems with part-timers if there's only a certain availability for people to come back to work, that they are hard to fit in the command...' Participant 15(A) (Male)

This problem was also mentioned in relation to having too many Muslim officers, especially in relation to taking time away from work to pray and safety during Ramadan because they might be hungry or tired:

'I suppose it comes back to how many Mohameds, and I'm presuming he's of ... Middle Eastern background, comparing how many, or even any race I suppose, how many the percentage of that race...' (Case Study Three – Mohamed) Participant 7(A) (Part-time female, CALD background)

'Fasting and stuff like that, it is an issue because... a lot of Muslim people are doing it as well, they're very tired during that period ... so there's all those little bits of safety aspects then that come into it for the individual and for others ... but again it goes on numbers as well ... if all of a sudden we've got ... a much higher percentage of people with a certain need then the organisation has got to look at it and go okay, how do we address it.' Participant 9(B) (Male)
One participant stated that diversity should be shared throughout the organisation, rather than having the same categories of diversity all in one place. This was said from the perspective that every police station would benefit from having officers from all different backgrounds, rather than stating that too many would be detrimental:

’Soo you over saturate the Muslim cops at one station because they all know that they’re accepted there, there’s no dramas, there’s no racism, and then you go to other police stations which will have none and really, if you want to capitalise on the Muslim cops you need to spread them around and don’t make them band together in one station, because you over saturate and the benefits that you can achieve from them diminishes.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

When viewed as helpers who are not able to do the main work, officers from different or diverse backgrounds are not seen as a benefit to the organisation in their own right. While participants clearly stated there were skills that diverse personnel could bring to the organisation, these were seen as useful only in terms of an ‘add-on’ competency. The perception that too many colleagues from one strand of diversity is a hindrance also supports the notion that diverse colleagues are perceived as a help to officers who are part of the norm, and that they are not capable of mainstream police work by themselves. This suggests officers believe that those from the norm are the ones who take on the majority of the workload and are the most capable of getting the job done, with different and diverse personnel not being perceived to do this. Interestingly, it is not seen as a hindrance to have white, heterosexual males as the majority of workers in any workplace.

**Structural factors are not seen as a problem**

‘I guess if it’s made clear from the start that basically this is the framework that you’ll be employed under then, yeah.’ Participant 4(B) (Male)

No participants displayed an understanding or belief that structural factors prevented officers from diverse backgrounds from progressing or flourishing in
the organisation. There was some reluctance to changing existing structures to accommodate diversity especially in relation to Muslim officers, and an overwhelming attitude that those joining the organisation needed to conform to existing structures. In fact, these structures were largely framed in terms of static, pre-existing entities that everyone needed to fit into. Safety was brought up as an issue when new colleagues were not seen to be conforming to existing norms, although there was no mention of safety issues where they may have been structurally embedded. This supports the view that officers are required to fit in to the existing structure, as discussed in relation to Hypothesis One.

The reluctance to change was predominantly discussed around whether Muslim officers should be entitled to dedicated prayer rooms:

‘If they want a quiet prayer area, we've always had quiet rooms or time out areas where people can go just to take that breath and put things into perspective ... we've already got those areas, they can go and use that for their prayer room or whatever, like I don't think anything needs to change.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

‘My personal view, I don't agree with prayer rooms, I don't agree with all of this shit either okay...' Participant 17(B) (Male)

One participant brought up safety as an issue that needs to be addressed when catering to other backgrounds, mainly in relation to Muslims taking part in Ramadan:

‘I have to consider as in my position, their safety and ... if you're fasting ... and I know it can be difficult for some people, I don't want them out there on the road...' Participant 17(B) (Male)

Interestingly, participants did not mention or perceive workplace safety issues in relation to the drinking culture outlined in the previous chapter.
Aside from Muslim officers, other structural factors were mentioned, with expectations that officers will fit into these structures. While there is no expectation of change by officers already in the organisation to cater for others’ needs, new colleagues are required to change their outlook to fit the existing structures. Again, this is closely related to the outcomes of Hypothesis One:

‘In my workplace where I am, the opportunity is there for women to join our section the same as it is for men and it’s fairly indicative by the numbers of women in our department that the work style doesn’t suit women, we work long hours, we work irregular hours, we work a lot of overtime, we work away from the home a lot so for women who choose a work life balance with children, family and that type of thing our work environment doesn’t suit that and if you’re in a position where you are trying to achieve that balance our work style doesn’t cater for that as much as other work environments do I don’t think.’ Participant 13(B) (Male)

‘All these new police should be told what our culture is, what is expected of them...’ Participant 17(B) (Male)

Overall, when participants mentioned structural factors, it was in the context that officers from diverse backgrounds needed to fit into existing structures, rather than that structures made it difficult for them to be accepted. Participants clearly felt the status quo should be maintained, and diverse officers were welcome provided they accepted the structure and did not try to make changes to it.

**When diversity is important**

‘You’ve got different life experiences to me, you’ve come from a different background ... you can bring something else to the table rather than just your cookie cutter we’re all robots and this is what we do ... so I think it’s a great thing you know...’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

While diversity generally was perceived as a problem for the organisation to manage, there were participants who stated they felt it would bring positive outcomes in the workplace, and for their investigations generally. Overall, it appears participants are happy to have anyone in the workplace provided they
have cultural congruence, are competent in what they do, and work for the good of the team. Some participants stated they regarded a diverse workforce as necessary to ensure the organisation reflects the community it serves:

'Effectively the police seeks to have representation of the community...we need to ensure that we adequately reflect the community to a degree otherwise our policing function, which relies on the community engagement, is going to suffer.' Participant 3(B) (Male)

'I think as a police force we should reflect, we should be a reflection of the community...' Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

There were also a number of occasions when participants acknowledged the benefits of a diverse workforce. For some, these benefits included bringing a balance to the workplace, as well as different opinions and viewpoints making their work easier:

'The last three people that have come in our office have been female, it's been good because it's brought a balance around ... but ... I guess that's just me.' Participant 4(B) (Male)

'Women are the same, they bring a women's perspective, a different view on things, different personalities, I think it balances the team than just having ... Aussie guys in the team ... so I think it is of benefit...' Participant 12(B) (Male)

In some cases, participants made a point of stating that some different officers were better than officers regarded as the norm:

'I have worked with police officers in the ... same sex angle, I wouldn't say they're different at all you know, they have a different view but overall ... some of them are better police officers than people that aren't gay...' Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)
'There are jobs that without being sexist ... we have a lady on our team, there are certain things that the five boys on our team can't do that she will do every time because she's just good at them ... we've all got different skills and different strengths and weaknesses and as long as women can meet the requirements then they're just as good if not better than men.' Participant 18(B) (Male)

This indicates that some officers are open to the notion of a more diverse workplace, provided officers from diverse backgrounds are seen to be of the same or of a better standard than all other officers and they culturally fit as a team player. It also demonstrates an understanding that the community requires the organisation to have a diverse work environment in order to serve it effectively.

**Conclusion**

Overall, participants generally see diversity as a problem for the organisation to manage. Officers with different needs are regarded as less useful than those believed to be the norm, with female officers especially seen to be less available and less likely to be committed to the team due to childcare needs and maternity leave. Officers who take their policy entitlements are seen to be ‘rorting’ the system, to the detriment of the team. Officers who do not fit the norm are seen to be ‘helpers’ rather than workers in their own right, meaning a large proportion of diversity in any one workplace is seen as problematic. There is little to no understanding of how structures within the organisation might prevent some officers from meeting their full potential, as they are expected to conform with existing structures in order to fulfill their careers. Having said all of this, there was a belief among many participants that having a diverse workforce would be of benefit to the organisation, as it would represent the community and bring new ideas to the workplace. This indicates that officers at this level, while apparently lacking knowledge of structure and policy, shape their views of diversity in line with these policies. As such, there are similarities between managerial ideals and rank and file police, but they differ in the ways they believe these ideals should be implemented.
All of these factors can be related back to the three central themes of the previous chapter – cultural congruence (or fitting in to culture), being competent and being a team player. Officers who are from diverse backgrounds and with different needs can struggle to prove themselves as a result of these three elements, mainly due to structures that prevent them from doing so. These structures mean a situation is created whereby diversity is seen to be a problem to be solved.
Chapter Seven: Perceptions of Muslim officers

**Hypothesis Three:** Muslim officers are regarded with a greater level of suspicion than other officers.

Case Study Three described an officer called Mohamed, prompting participant discussions about Muslim officers. Given the media environment surrounding Islamic terrorism issues over the course of this study, it is perhaps not surprising that officers were found to be more suspicious of Muslim officers. However, there were a number of assumptions made about Mohamed just based on his name. The case study did not specifically mention Mohamed's religious or cultural background, as it was intended to prompt discussion through the use of a Muslim name. Some of the assumptions made are not necessarily problematic in themselves, but they do highlight an overall lack of understanding of Islam, leading to some outright discriminatory comments and dislike towards Muslims.

Overall, it was found that officers had a lack of factual knowledge about Islam. This lack of knowledge, coupled with a heightened sense of the terrorist threat levels, has resulted in a dislike of Islam and the Muslim community. The differences in beliefs between Muslims who endorse terrorism and Muslims who do not endorse terrorism appeared to be unclear to participants. Muslim officers were discussed as being useful to fight the terrorist threat providing they did not become part of that threat. Unfortunately, this threat was realised around the same time the interviews were commenced, when a police employee was tragically murdered in a terrorist attack outside Police Headquarters, where most of the participants work. While this attack was not mentioned in the interviews, it is hard to imagine that it did not have an impact on the mindsets of participants.

There was evidence that officers also deny the possibility of discrimination, mainly from the standpoint that everyone is assessed on their own merit. Having said all of this, participants who had worked with Muslim police were very positive about them. When participants discussed Muslim officers, they
mentioned them being team players, being highly competent and having cultural congruence. This indicates that an increase in the number of Muslim police would probably have a positive effect on perceptions of them in the workplace.

**Lack of understanding**

'Well obviously the name’s Mohamed … if you wanna be tunnel visioned you’re saying that he’s … Arabic descent you know, Caucasian people can change their names as well so I won’t go too far into that.' (Case Study Three - Mohamed)

Participant 8(A) (Male)

Muslim participants in the study highlighted how non-Muslim officers generally did not have an understanding of Islam, and how this could be detrimental to community relations especially with the heightened terrorist threat. It was clear from participants’ responses that any knowledge of Islam was quite superficial, meaning low-level understandings of Muslims were quite prominent in responses. Any deeper understanding of reasons behind Islamic customs was not demonstrated. Further, there is an overall assumption that all Muslims are devout, following Islamic traditions such as abstaining from alcohol and not eating pork at all times, which for some translated to links to terrorism. Muslim participants indicated they would drink alcohol to fit into the policing culture, as stated previously, showing the contrast between the beliefs of non-Muslim participants and the reality of their Muslim colleagues. Muslim officers were seen in terms of either being devout with possible links to terrorism or having cultural congruence, while Muslim officers appear to see themselves somewhere on a continuum.

A non-Muslim participant gave an example in the workplace where a minor lack of understanding was shown in the workplace with a Muslim officer. In comparison to the issues brought up by Muslim participants, this example would appear to demonstrate the low level of understanding surrounding issues relating to the Islamic community:
‘Just an example with this guy I’m talking about ... this bloke was making his sandwich with whatever and he said "what have you got?" and I said "roast pork" and he goes "oh gee", he turns to the Muslim bloke, just completely innocently, he said, "mate, nothing like a roast pork sandwich”, but it was completely innocent... and this bloke just goes "ah, no yeah, it does look good", that was sort of the end of it. He knew there was no offence intended.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

Muslim participants were quite insightful about these issues, with one describing his attempts to educate colleagues about his culture and religion:

‘I still explain the concept of ... why we’re fasting, why I’m Muslim ... some blokes ... can’t get the concept as to ... why I don’t drink alcohol ... I can see myself as being a little bit different in that way, but ... it is what it is you know.’ Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

This participant discussed how having more Muslims in the organisation can assist in breaking down misconceptions about Islamic beliefs, stating it can help with giving an understanding to officers who may not otherwise be aware of problems in the community:

‘I think it can definitely help, especially because there is ... a misconception about what’s going on and how some of these radical groups are infiltrating and carrying on. I think it can help break down barriers and give the NSWPF a better understanding of why certain things happen and how certain things happen.’ Participant 18(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

A lack of understanding was seen by one Muslim officer to be detrimental to the organisation, as they were concerned about the use of terrorism stereotypes when dealing with members of the public:

‘The worst part of this ignorance and going in blind and not understanding ... Islam ... for example people don’t know that the word Allah Akbar ... is 'God is great' and it could be said in many contexts right. Your average cop will think that it’s the
statement that you say before you blow yourself up which is totally incorrect.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

This is problematic when assumptions are made about members of the public especially in relation to terrorism issues. This same participant indicated that without some level of knowledge by police officers, members of the public might be labelled as terrorists when they are not:

‘You have a look at inteli⁶ reports, and people put it on as terrorism related and then you start reading ... and the cops that stopped them, the guy looks like what people perceive a terrorist to be, wearing traditional clothing and they’ll have maybe a couple of CDs in Arabic, a couple of books, maybe a Quranic interpretation and then bang, just because they’re hanging around Botany where you can see a flight path and they’ve got the beard, they’ve got a couple of CDs and a couple of books, they’ve straight away labelled them as terrorists.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Interestingly, this participant also discussed issues with Muslim officers coming into the workplace with negative attitudes and ignorance of issues in the Muslim community, indicating that increasing numbers of Muslims is problematic if they are recruited solely on a quota or target based system. This participant questioned the motives of officers who were trying too hard to fit into the policing workplace rather than using their cultural understandings to benefit the community:

‘They come in, hung up with other baggage and more determined to fit in than concentrate on the community that it does the opposite effect, they polarise communities, but in general if you get the good ones that are a little bit open-minded and they’re happy to help and they look at it from a community policing point of view, then that can be very beneficial, for jobs, and especially front line policing.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

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⁶ Intelligence
This means that simply increasing numbers of Muslim officers without considering other factors may exacerbate the problem of ignorance and be detrimental to community relations. This links directly back to the concept of cultural congruence, as discussed in a previous chapter.

**Assumptions and discrimination about Muslims**

*I personally straight away think, oh Christ, here we go, you know, we’re going to have prayer mats in police stations and ... we’ve got to make sure we’re facing west and whatever else and people are on Ramadan and that’s awful of me to think that.* (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 2(B) (Female)

It is reasonable to assume that a male named Mohamed is likely to be a Muslim. However, participants made other assumptions based on this name, such as that Mohamed would be of Middle Eastern background, or that he would not drink alcohol, limiting his ability to fit into the culture of the workplace. Participants were aware that some of these assumptions were not necessarily based on fact, and were careful with the framing of their words, indicating a reluctance to be seen as discriminatory. No participants indicated any inclination to check this point with Mohamed if they worked with him. Others were openly discriminatory about Mohamed, stating he would not be a person they would like to work with, despite the case study explicitly stating his high levels of competence.

While assumptions were made regarding Mohamed’s religion, some participants also assumed Mohamed was from a Middle Eastern background because of his name:

*Mohamed, that’s a Muslim name, Middle Eastern, so I guess they’re just saying that they don’t want a Muslim or Middle Eastern in their team.* (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 6(A) (Male)

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7 The term ‘Middle Eastern background’ is accepted and commonly used by the NSWPF as a descriptor for a person’s appearance.
‘*His background being Middle Eastern, it’s quite topical at the moment...*’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 12(A) (Male)

Further, assumptions were made regarding Mohamed’s adherence to the Islamic faith. It was expected that Mohamed did not drink alcohol:

‘*Mohamed is I’m suggesting of Middle Eastern appearance, so whether that means that he doesn’t drink or maybe he’s religious...*’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)

These assumptions led to beliefs Mohamed would have a limited ability to fit into the culture, especially in a tactical unit:

‘*Maybe because of his background, I’m presuming by the name and the fact that he’s older ...they say that he might not fit well into the culture of where he’s applying for, that in itself is probably a problem too. Yeah, his background’s a problem...*’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 7(A) (Part-time female, CALD background)

Another participant assumed Mohamed had a beard, in keeping with Islamic tradition, even though this was not mentioned in the case study at all:

‘*There’s talk about him having a beard and stuff but I don’t know what that means because everyone wears a beard these days, he must not have this short hipster hair.*’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 15(A) (Male)

Another assumption made about Mohamed was that he might not speak English:

‘*I honestly thought when I was reading it ... he doesn’t speak English.*’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 2(A) (Female)
'The name is Mohamed so it's alluding to his background being from ... say non-English speaking, overseas whatever.' (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 9(A) (Male)

While most participants made fairly innocuous assumptions about Mohamed’s background, Islamic culture and faith, as well as the way they would prevent him from fitting in, these were generally in the context of a tactical unit being more difficult to fit into. Other participants denied the existence of discrimination:

‘I don’t feel that someone from a different culture is discriminated against like that.’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 6(A) (Male)

Others stated they did not believe Mohamed would be left out due to his background, but if he was then this was wrong, or that it would be an isolated incident:

‘I don’t think it’s necessarily just because of culture, religion, background, but if it is culture and religion then it shouldn’t be.’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 14(A) (Male)

‘I think there’s a slim possibility that some isolated member there possibly has a thing where they’re against the Mohameds compared to the Jeffs or whatever else ... I don’t really think that that is a big thing these days.’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 9(A) (Male)

These responses indicate that some participants were either uncomfortable admitting that discrimination occurred in the workplace, or that they were unaware of it. It is possible they did not acknowledge discrimination because they did not actually see it as such. Despite some participants denying the existence of discrimination, there was clear evidence of discrimination and racism by one participant in particular. This participant stated:
'I immediately think you've got typical Leb back\footnote{A term used to describe an injury claim by a person who has not actually been injured. It is usually ascribed to those from Middle Eastern backgrounds.} ... We've got the Middle Eastern male that wants to claim an injury' (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 2(A) (Female)

‘All those blokes who live and drink together, then go to the gym together, do you think they’re gonna have Mohamed in their group? I don’t want Mohamed in my group. That makes me racist.’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 2(A) (Female)

A further participant admitted to racist comments being made in the workplace, but justified their position by saying they did not really believe in what they said:

‘Probably we would often say racist comments, not necessarily meaning it but we might make them...’ Participant 14(A) (Male)

Other participants confirmed this discrimination, stating that if Mohamed had a different name, he would have been accepted and encouraged, or that the idea of having a Muslim in the workplace does not sit well:

‘I’d probably think that if ... his name wasn’t Mohamed, if his name was Johnny Smith and he was still forty-six, I’d still think that he’d be able to get through or he’d be encouraged to get through...’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 10(A) (Male, CALD background)

'I think it's more the case that they just don't like the idea of a bloke who's possibly Muslim.' (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 15(A) (Male)

From these findings, it has been found that officers make assumptions about Islamic culture and faith, leading to assumptions regarding behaviours of their Muslim colleagues. While they are aware of these assumptions, this has still led to discriminatory, and in some cases, racist attitudes towards Muslim officers.
Despite this, there is evidence of either a denial of these discriminatory attitudes, or a lack of understanding of how they are discriminatory.

**The terrorist threat**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>'You think ISIS and ... maybe, you've got Mohamed ... what's he doing there you know, is he the next Man Monis⁹, you don't know...' (Case Study Three - Mohamed)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Participant 2(A) (Female)</td>
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Further to the assumptions about and discrimination towards Muslim officers, the added layer of Islamic terrorism contributed to levels of suspicion about working with them. It was clear that participants had difficulties making a distinction between ordinary Muslims and those with radical tendencies that could lead to a terrorist threat. Participants discussed a need for higher levels of vetting before Muslim officers should be accepted into the police; made positive remarks that Muslim officers could assist in investigating crimes (including terrorism) in particular communities but were still wary they could be a threat; and commented that Muslim officers could ‘turn’ on other officers once they had joined the police. Other participants described why they were not worried about Muslim police in the context of Islamic terrorism. Many of these comments contained information that was uninformed about Islam, confirming comments made by Muslim participants. Overall, while many participants acknowledged their bias or tried to explain they would only be suspicious under particular circumstances, there is still suspicion towards Muslim officers that makes their acceptance in the workplace difficult.

Participants were generally positive about Muslims joining the police, especially in the context of them being helpers, as previously stated. However, this positivity often came with the caveat that the officer needed to be of a particular mindset, and that they were not fundamentalist, extremist or radical¹⁰:

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⁹ Man Monis was the gunman at the terrorist siege at the Lindt Café in Sydney in December 2014.

¹⁰ It should be noted these terms were often used interchangeably, despite there being distinct differences between the three. This further indicates a lack of understanding surrounding the religion, but also terrorism generally.
‘I don’t think there’s a problem with the Muslims, it’s just the extreme radicals that we’re getting, the ideology of killing everybody, if they come to work and they’re not interested in killing their workmates then I think that’s pretty alright!’
Participant 1(B) (Male)

‘Could be a good thing … as long as they’re reasonable…’
Q: Reasonable being…?
A: ‘As long as they’re not … what’s the word, as long as they’re not radical, you know, fundamentalist Muslims…’ Participant 14(B) (Male)

Despite the acknowledgement that more Muslim officers would be beneficial, this indicates they are still required to be culturally congruent, but also that they will have greater difficulty doing so due to the level of suspicion colleagues have of their religion. This suspicion led to participants outlining how they think Muslim applicants should have more stringent checks conducted on them when they join the police. This was stated in the context of the heightened terrorist threat:

‘I think any Muslim who joined, in theory they should have, there would have been a lot of checks done and maybe more than would happen with some other people…’
Participant 9(B) (Male)

‘It’s just a screening process that’s going to have to take place before they recruit them … Might have to unfortunately do a bit more background checks, and that sort of thing, but again it has to be done appropriately and so they’re not being victimised …’ Participant 15(B) (Male)

This included one Muslim participant who accepted and agreed that Muslim applicants should be subject to more checks. They stated:

‘We’re living in a stage where terrorism is a daily occurrence, it’s part of life now, if it requires more checks … if it requires more work to be done to satisfy people … I
personally don't see an issue with it right...’ Participant 16(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

These responses also demonstrate an attitude of being ‘with us or against us’. This was discussed in terms of terrorists who may attempt to infiltrate the police, and while participants were of the opinion that infiltration was unlikely, they still brought it up as a potential issue:

‘This idea of infiltrating I know it was big with the IRA and all that sort of stuff but ... the way that the current terrorist threat environment I don’t think they are cohesive enough to be doing organisational type stuff like infiltrating the cops and all that sort of thing.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

‘There’s always going to be bad people out there, there’s always going to be people trying to infiltrate sort of organisations like ours, it’s Muslims today and terrorism, bikies yesterday, you know, who knows. You know, Germans back in the 40s...’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

Muslim police officers are therefore placed in a situation where they must decide whether they are seen to be loyal to their colleagues or to their religion. This idea that Muslim officers need to pick a side between police or their religion was expanded upon when participants described the possibility of them turning on their colleagues:

‘If you’re ... a team member with Mohamed in the current climate you would think that, particularly if you’re aware that in the Army overseas where they’ve turned on their own soldiers and just blown them up, you’d have that in the back of your mind, however if he’s forty-six years of age and he’s been in Australia all his life and he’s very Australian, you won’t have any problems.’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 1(A) (Male)

‘Can they rely on him because of his background, you know is he gonna turn on us, I suppose it’s just that unknown of him being so different to what the group is, the
Of particular interest, one Muslim participant indicated they believed officers having an Islamic background could pose a threat to police. Having said this, they also expressed a level of respect for the organisation by stating they had been trusted throughout their own career:

'We’re at the stage where the Police Force knows there’s a lot of Muslims in here, they still give them all the necessary training, they expose us to all, like we’ve got active offender training\textsuperscript{11} ... we’re exposed to all that and we’re given firearms and stuff like that and ... there’s still that trust in us ... to go out and do ... our job ... regardless of where we come from and our background...' Participant 16(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

It was clear from these statements that participants were concerned that Muslim officers may increase threats within the organisation. This was despite their tendency to play down their comments, or to acknowledge their comments were controversial and not necessarily based on any particular knowledge. As such, it can be stated that Muslim officers are viewed with a higher level of suspicion than other officers.

**Having interactions with Muslim people breaks down barriers**

'I'll often tell my wife how good that bloke is and you know... because I don’t know that many Muslim people, or that I’m aware of that I know and so this reminds me of how good they are...' Participant 14(B) (Male)

There was evidence to show that when participants had been exposed to Muslims, whether as colleagues or friends, they were less likely to be concerned about having them as colleagues in the organisation. Participants discussed how they had found Muslim colleagues to be especially hard working, and that they had not noticed any major differences between Muslim colleagues and

\textsuperscript{11} Training for situations when an offender is actively shooting members of the public.
themselves. Despite this, there was a sense that every Muslim officer must prove himself or herself individually in this context, meaning the suspicion was something they needed to disprove in order to be trusted.

Having said this, it was the case that Muslim officers, upon disproving any need for suspicion, were accepted by their colleagues:

‘The Muslims I’ve worked with I haven’t, I must admit nothing stands out about their behaviour that I think to myself, oh mate... you won’t cut it here you know.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

‘We work with what two, in our office that have been there for a thousand years and they fit in because they’re top blokes, which they are, they’re sociable, there’s no issues with their work and stuff like that...’ Participant 7(B) (Part-time female, CALD background)

These officers were described almost as anomalies though, indicating an expectation they should actually be more difficult to work with:

‘I think just the mere fact that for example we’ve got one in our office and it makes you think, you think about them and suddenly you realise that they’re not all like the ones that you deal with on the street... there are good Muslim people out there and there are you know, fantastic examples of humanity that you sometimes forget...’ Participant 14(B) (Male)

‘We only have two in our squad, and you wouldn’t even pick them, the fact that they just go about their business and that type of stuff, and I think the only reason we know that they may, they don’t eat pork or that’s about it so, don’t get a bacon and egg roll for these guys...’ Participant 20(B) (Male, CALD background)

This can be linked to the concepts of having cultural congruence, being competent and being a team player, as outlined previously, demonstrating that Muslim officers may need to demonstrate these characteristics at a higher level,
but that they can be accepted in the workplace once they have shown they can be trusted. This was especially shown by one participant, who was particularly vocal in their first interview about their concerns of Muslim colleagues being linked to terrorism. They worked with a Muslim officer between the first and second interview phases, acknowledging this officer in the second interview. Having said this, they still perceived some unfairness around his prayer times and concerns about terrorist infiltration:

‘I'm missing out on all these breaks, but he was a good bloke, it had no effect on our office whatsoever, he'd go missing for his ten minutes to pray and you wouldn't even know that he was gone, but I think initially when we're trying to promote that, in the current environment you start thinking terrorist...' Participant 2(B) (Female)

Other participants were clear that having Muslim colleagues or friends made them less wary and more positive about working with them.

‘They don't know ... this doesn't represent the community ... and whereas if you've got a bloke ... or a female that's next to you that is of Muslim faith then you know, they're on the same battle as me, they're trying to fight the good fight too you know, not all of them are bad so I think it breaks down those barriers...' Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

One Muslim participant confirmed this when discussing how a colleague had changed their view based on their friendship with him:

‘One of my colleagues who is ... Caucasian background who I am very good friends with now, said to me that prior to me working with him he'd never, ever met a Muslim bloke, had never been mates with a Muslim bloke, and ... he says to me all the time that, when he's with his mates at the pub having a drink and what have you and then talking about all this terrorism stuff and ... how crazy Muslims are and how they're going to kill us all, he now finds himself in a position where he's arguing with his mates, whereas five or six years ago he was part of that
conversation, and he said to me that ... none of these guys have ever met a Muslim bloke or been mates with one.’ Participant 18(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

It is likely that greater exposure to Muslim colleagues would reduce the levels of suspicion placed on them, although at present it appears each individual Muslim officer still needs to prove themselves to a higher level in order to be accepted. This indicates this suspicion placed on Muslim officers is an attitude that is unlikely to shift easily, especially with external factors such as the terrorism threat levels meaning officers are required to be more vigilant in this area as part of their job.

**Why having Muslim officers is positive**

*‘I think it ... is only of benefit to have people from that background, their understanding that culture, ... they've got the skills ... whether they'd want to go in that line of work but my experience that would only help in tackling that problem.’*

Participant 12(B) (Male)

While participants demonstrated a lack of understanding of Islam, along with concerns over the threat of terrorism that Muslim colleagues may pose, there were also a number of positive comments about increasing the number of Muslim officers in the organisation. Benefits expressed included a better knowledge of the community they were serving and having an organisation that represents the community. They also expressed sympathy for Mohamed, as he was unfairly treated in the case study.

By having a greater knowledge of the community, participants stated that having more Muslim colleagues might make their work easier, although this was still framed in terms of the ‘helper’ discussed in a previous chapter:

*I think the greater advantage would be us developing a more in depth knowledge of Islam itself and how to engage with Islamic people and basically the Islamic community and how to run those investigations and how to understand them... because I think right now if I was asked to do a Muslim job I’d treat it pretty much...*
similar to how I treat every other job...’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

‘I think it would help, definitely considering it’s quite topical at the moment, be able to connect better with them at community and have better relationships, understand them more...’Participant 12(B) (Male)

It should be noted this was also said in the context of Muslim officers being on the police side rather than the community, as mentioned previously. On the other hand, it was identified that the organisation should represent the community, making an increase in the number of Muslim police officers positive:

‘I think that anything that would show ... that police are diverse ... I think it would be really hard to be particularly a Muslim at the moment just with the current climate in the world, so I think it would be great if there was more of them...’Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

‘Increasing Muslims? ... I can see that as an advantage for, especially for the uniform guys because those officers would be out there, we’re all the same kind of thing, we’re doing the same job and protecting New South Wales and all the rest of the stuff, so I can see that as a media thing that they’d be jumping over...’Participant 7(B) (Part-time female, CALD background)

The positives of a diverse workplace with Muslim officers appear to be understood in terms of ‘helping’ and a need to represent the community. This is despite beliefs that Muslim officers may present a higher level of risk in the current terrorism environment. It should be noted here that officers have an understanding that increased diversity in this space will be of benefit to the organisation, but they are vigilant as well, possibly due to their training and other external factors such as the media.
Experiences of Muslim officers

‘I’ve never seen any discrimination from my experience, but I know people don’t like Islam, they don’t like Muslims...’ Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Muslim participants in the study outlined points that affected them in the workplace, including issues of their own identity and how colleagues respond to them. One factor mentioned consistently was drinking alcohol, and the need to fit in through doing this, as mentioned previously. Muslim participants stated they enjoyed their work, but there was a level of frustration at being seen to be different.

For one Muslim participant, their identity came from their background and their religion, but also from being a member of the police and a proud Australian. This participant went to great lengths to explain themselves as fitting in to the culture:

‘I feel, it’s upsetting you know, and I’ve been in the police for about ten years, I would dedicate, I would put my life on the line for a Christian, an atheist, it doesn’t matter you know...’ Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘I’m Australian too, you know I’ve got a Turkish background but I identify myself as Australian before I identify myself as Turkish...’ Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘I don’t have an accent, so when you talk to me, I almost ... although I look Middle Eastern but, I have sort of the Australian ... I can fit into a conversation very easily.’ Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Rather than this being an either/or proposition, they also explained how they were proud of their Muslim identity:
‘I’m proud of being Muslim, I tell people I am, I don’t hide it, and no-one has ever said anything to me so, definitely can’t say anything negative there…’ Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Another Muslim participant described how they fitted in with the culture when they first joined the police:

‘When I first started, I started playing football and again every Wednesday you’d play football, they’d want to drink … you’d finish your block … they’d want to go and have a drink and a lot of the culture was based around alcohol and being younger it was a bit uncomfortable you know. Fifteen years on I’m a lot more comfortable and I can say no.’ Participant 18(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Another Muslim participant analysed his own difference, indicating that a level of equality is not necessarily possible:

‘My belief system is different, my first language is different … they say you’ve got to treat everybody equally, that’s totally wrong because we’re not equal and you can’t treat everybody equal. Yeah, maybe in an idealistic world if we’re all the same you can treat them equal but we’re not, so you don’t treat the person that’s blind the same as the guy that sees, this is what I mean by you can’t have it equally, you’ve got to treat it differently.’ Participant 19(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

This participant discussed their own strategies used to fit in with other colleagues to ensure they did not stand out in comparison to other police:

‘It took a lot of work … Different background, different religion, different belief system … you go in, you’ve seen the looks, you know what they’re thinking so you’ve got to, not dumb it down, but hide what you really are till you gain the trust, and then you can pull it out later, once you’ve established yourself and you’re kind of safe and found out, identified the bias in each one of them and what would work on who.’ Participant 19(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)
Muslim participants outlined issues surrounding their identity within the police workplace, mainly whether they were seen from an ‘other’ perspective. They demonstrated ways in which they attempted to be accepted by colleagues, with an understanding that these colleagues viewed them with suspicion in the current terrorism environment. Embracing their Australian identity or hiding aspects of their identity were two of the strategies used. They were generally positive about their experiences in the organisation, despite some frustrations at being treated differently due to their religion.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, individual Muslim police officers perhaps have the most difficult path to acceptance amongst their colleagues, due to high levels of suspicion surrounding their religion. This was demonstrated through a lack of understanding about Islam leading to assumptions and discrimination. Further, the high terrorist threat level has exacerbated this issue, as officers are wary of Muslim police who may ‘turn’ on them. Having said this, interactions with Muslim colleagues have been shown to be positive, although this appears to be on an individual basis. Participants described positive reasons for increasing the numbers of Muslim officers in the organisation, demonstrating that despite their suspicions, they understood that greater diversity was likely to lead to positive outcomes. Muslim participants highlighted their own experiences, showing they needed to be strategic about their own acceptance, rather than being accepted naturally by their colleagues.
Chapter Eight: The effect of policy on practice

Hypothesis Four: A disconnect exists between officers’ understandings of New South Wales Police Force official policy on diversity and the belief systems and practice displayed by those officers.

Policies relating to diversity in the NSWPF demonstrate an intention by management in the organisation that all employees be treated fairly and equitably in the workplace. These policies, while appearing to be well intentioned, do not provide a holistic view of any diversity strategy in the organisation, mainly due to their piecemeal nature. Each is written with a particular category of diversity in mind, meaning they each impact on specific personnel. This includes policies and strategic plans for women, CALD and LGBTI personnel, as well as sexual harassment and bullying policies. Under the NSWPF Code of Conduct and Ethics contained in the Standards of Professional Conduct (New South Wales Police Force n.d.c), employees are required to be aware of all policies, meaning any breach of policy ultimately comes back to them, whether they are aware of all of these policies or not.

This is problematic for officers due to the volume of policies they are required to know, and it is fair to say that diversity issues, while important to some, are not at the forefront of an operational police officer’s mind. It was clear that most participants had a general understanding of behavioural expectations in the workplace, especially relating to discrimination and harassment, but no participant demonstrated a thorough understanding of how all the NSWPF policies relating to diversity worked. It can be surmised that personnel who these policies do not directly affect would be aware of the overall premise behind them, but not of the specific details. This is perhaps not surprising, as policies that are being used in the day-to-day work of officers would be more likely to be remembered easily.

Despite not having the specifics of these policies readily in their knowledge, participants still had clear opinions on what these policies should look like, with
fairness being a key element they felt strongly about (this will be discussed further in Chapter Nine). This meant that opinions ranged from agreement with an increase in diversity to disagreeing with strategies designed to do this.

There was significant evidence that having diversity policies and initiatives in place did not affect participants’ attitudes, nor did they greatly affect overall practice. Participants described how officers changed their behaviour around colleagues who reported (or were seen as likely to report) an incident of sexual harassment or discriminatory conduct, mainly to ensure they did not get into trouble, rather than because it was the right thing to do. When those colleagues were not present, the behaviour continued, indicating that policies are ineffective for real cultural change. This hidden behaviour could be described as ‘underground’ behaviour, whereby officers continue to keep the cultural status quo while maintaining a façade of complying with policy when necessary.

The difficulty of knowing every policy

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<th>‘Is there an official diversity policy is there? Okay, I didn’t know that!’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)</th>
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With so many policies relating to diversity, participants displayed apathy in knowing the actual content of them all. In response to explicit questions on their understanding of diversity policy, all participants indicated they were not aware of any specifics of the policies, with some even acknowledging they were required to know:

‘I don’t know, I haven’t read it, I know it’s probably one of those mandatory things.’ Participant 4(B) (Male)

‘To be honest I don’t even know what the diversity policy is.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

Having said this, participants still showed an overall understanding of the organisation’s expectations in this area, especially regarding harassment and discrimination. Generally, they were aware that they were required to treat
colleagues in a professional and respectful manner, and that there was an emphasis on having a more diverse workplace:

A: 'I'm not one hundred per cent sure what it is.'
Q: 'Okay, what's your understanding of it?'
A: 'I can assume what it is.'
Q: 'What do you assume it is?'
A: 'That they want more diversity in the police, as in people work from different backgrounds and genders, higher ratio of different people working in the cops.'
Participant 6(B) (Male)

'I suppose it's just you know, all views, or sexualities or women, men ... all, that we're accepted ... that we should accept everyone the way they are as long as they're law abiding and it doesn't affect other people's views too much I suppose.'
Participant 14(B) (Male)

One participant stated they did not know about the policy, but that it was likely to be out of date anyway:

'I really don't have knowledge on what the policy would be and are we meeting it, are we falling short, how old is it, it's probably so out-dated, actually I'll be pretty confident in saying it's probably very out-dated...'
Participant 2(B) (Female)

This highlights one of the difficulties with officers knowing these policies, as they are subject to change over time. Another participant did not believe they needed to know, as they would be informed if they breached the policy, indicating an attitude that they should continue as they are until they were told something different:

'To be honest with you I know some of the principles of the policy, I don't know it inside out and back to front and I'm not expected to ... it would be brought to my attention in no uncertain terms if I did step outside of that and was acting in an inappropriate way...'
Participant 17(B) (Male)
This displays some apathy towards learning policy, although it should be noted with the number of policies required, officers would find it difficult to be cognisant of all the detail. It also demonstrates how officers may read policies as they become relevant to them, perhaps making this a practical choice rather than apathy towards diversity policy in itself. Another participant indicated they did not care if they knew about it, although if they did they may say something different:

‘As I say there may be things in it which I don’t know about and don’t care about so it doesn’t worry me, but if I really knew about it I may say something different, but I don’t think the diversity policy stops me from doing my job in any way…’
Participant 13(B) (Male)

While these responses indicate that participants are not aware of the specific details of any diversity policy, they also indicate participants know there are boundaries placed on their behaviour. There is a general understanding that they are required to be respectful, and that diversity is a general goal of the organisation. This is important, as it indicates a level of common sense that needs to be followed, rather than a policy. Given the specifics of diversity policy is largely unknown, these principles still influence officers in their behaviour to some extent. It may be that a better way of embedding these principles in culture would be to encourage rather than enforce them.

**Agreeing with the intentions of diversity initiatives**

‘He’s been in the Army Reserve so he’s been in a team environment, he’s done tactical ops in his training, he passes the assessment and does all the things that is asked of him, so there’s nothing to suggest that he couldn’t fit into the culture that is expected in a tactical section...’ (Case Study Three – Mohamed) Participant 13(A) (Male)

There was an indication that some participants were open to and positive about intentions to increase diversity in their workplaces, despite a backdrop of behaviour that would not necessarily be deemed appropriate under the policy. Participants expressed doubt relating to policies that required particular
behaviours or did not appear to encourage equality for all, with equality being understood to mean that everyone is treated the same. Essentially, participants agreed everyone should be treated fairly, meaning no category of diversity should have more entitlements than another.

Some participants believed the underlying feeling towards diversity was generally positive, even if it was not always expressed in an appropriate way:

‘I think it’s really interesting with this day and age making comments … in my office, it’s quite diverse, we’ve got a lot of different nationalities, and we’ve got … lots of different people with different types of religion and they’re quite vocal … and there’s a lot of banter around…’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

‘People say stuff but when it comes to … harsh comments … stuff in jest, even talking and meaning it when they talk about colleagues but … when you really sit down and think about it, you probably agree with the policies and things.’ Participant 6(B) (Male)

One participant discussed goals to increase the number of women and non-English speakers in a positive light, but required their own values to be respected at the same time:

‘Please, have some respect for my western cultural background because I have nothing but the utmost respect for other cultural backgrounds, please show me that in my workplace, within my own, within the police as well you know.’ Participant 17(B) (Male)

Participants showed belief systems that firmly agreed with fairness for their colleagues. This was shown in relation to Case Study Three (Mohamed), where participants stated that he should be able to continue in his training:
'It doesn’t matter if they’re from Mars, if they’ve got the right attitude and the right physical ability and everything else, they’re in the mix for selection...’ (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 9(A) (Male)

'I guess at the end of the day it's his decision if he wants to keep going for it ... everyone should have the opportunity to do what they want to do...' (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 11(A) (Female)

One participant also believed that colleagues would be angry about the treatment of Mohamed:

'This will be very frustrating, it'll make any police very very angry and I think that just purely based on religious or cultural background of Mohamed is determining what he can and can’t do within the police.' (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Another believed Mohamed had been the victim of discrimination, and that he could take it further:

'This here, well it's up to Mohamed whether he takes the grievance further because ... it's discrimination, his age, it's in the Act! It's in the description!' (Case Study Three - Mohamed) Participant 17(A) (Male)

While their understandings of the specifics of diversity policy might be limited, participants still gave a sense that everyone should be given equal opportunities in the workplace, especially when their level of competency is the same. This was demonstrated mainly through Case Study Three (Mohamed), where Mohamed clearly had the skills required for a tactical unit officer. Having said this, the idea that everyone should be treated fairly and equally was maintained through an understanding that the prevailing structures were already fair for all, while policies allowing for specific entitlements for particular categories of diversity were not seen as fair.
A lack of value placed in diversity policies

‘I know it’s there in writing … if you feel like you’ve been bullied or if you feel like comments are made about your gender or stuff like that, feel free to report it but you wouldn’t because you’d be … worse off for reporting it unfortunately…’
Participant 2(B) (Female)

There was a significant amount of criticism by participants in relation to the different diversity policies. One of the key issues identified was a sense of unfairness around some of these policies, which will be addressed in a later chapter. Aside from this, it was found that asking for something they were entitled to in a policy tended to result in other officers being negative towards an officer; that the skills that come with a diverse workforce are not embraced by the organisation; and that policies did not reflect the reality of policing.

Using a policy
Participants indicated that when an officer requested an entitlement or used a policy on an individual level, colleagues viewed them in a negative way. Different policies evoked different responses, but the overall negative attitude towards taking an entitlement was quite strong. This included officers taking maternity leave, sick leave and making complaints under the sexual harassment or bullying policies. These officers often had their legitimacy questioned:

‘I think having friends go through maternity, seeing people with legitimate injuries … I’ve seen people with injuries that I have doubted myself so … people will talk and people wanting something … and asking for something always creates a bit of office politics.’Participant 2(A) (Female)

‘If someone is perceived to have some type of advantage, whether it be through their job or whether it be through their sexual orientation or one of those sort of things they will jump on it …’Participant 20(A) (Male, CALD background)

Further, it was asserted that officers who used these policies were often left worse off as far as their acceptance by colleagues was concerned:
'I don’t think it’s dealt with well and as soon as you put your hand up and say well I feel bullied, everyone’s laughing at you, the entire station knows he put his hand up and said he’s feeling bullied and you’d probably get bullied ten times more…' Participant 2(B) (Female)

‘In the police, you mention you’re stressed or you mention you’ve got depression or whatever the case would be you’re instantly restricted\(^\text{12}\), so it’s compounding the situation where it’s not really helping to deal with it…’ Participant 11(A) (Female)

It appears the use of policy exacerbates the exclusion officers already feel when they need to use it. By reporting bullying, sexual harassment or discrimination, officers feel they will be further ostracised, leaving them to choose between not reporting the behaviour and being left on the outer.

**Diverse skills are not embraced by the organisation**

While the strategic plans for women and people from CALD backgrounds in the NSWPF identify that the organisation intends to increase levels of diversity, one participant stated this was all for show, or what Cashmore (2002) described as ‘window dressing’. This participant intimated that these officers are not targeted for skills, and where these skills are present, they are not embraced and used appropriately:

’I think diversity in the police service is just a label, and they just grab numbers from wherever, it’s not targeted, it’s not skill based, it needs to be more educated than that.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘So we’re diverse but we don’t dig deep enough in our diversity, we don’t use it to our advantage, we just throw numbers. For paper … so we can say “hey, we’re a very diverse organisation look, we’ve got fifty Muslim cops” for example. But are these fifty Muslim cops in the right space and utilised to the best they could in New South Wales? No way.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

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\(^{12}\) Placed on restricted duties, where the officer is no longer allowed to do operational tasks.
If a business case is used to argue for an increase in diversity, it makes sense that these officers are placed in positions where their skills are used properly. These skills need to be seen as a competency, rather than something officers can use to ‘help’ other officers. By not placing officers from diverse backgrounds where they can do the most good, the true value these officers might have for the organisation cannot be realised.

**Policies relating to diversity do not reflect the reality of policing**

While some participants were positive about an increase in diversity, the strategies used were often at the heart of participants’ negativity towards them. It is acknowledged that this is potentially an acceptable way of challenging the merits of diversity without being seen to be discriminatory. Participants discussed the disconnect between the ‘reality’ of police work and the ways in which the policies mean expectations are placed on officers in their workplaces. This means there are two systems for police: the one that is asserted in policy, and the one that actually happens.

It was stated by one participant that often the policies were unworkable or do not reflect what they actually do in their day to day roles:

‘*I think … people see the policy as “well this is how you want me to be and this is how we should be in a perfect world but I work in reality and the two are not compatible”*’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

This was attributed to policy makers who were not in touch with the reality of what happens in operational policing:

‘*I think a lot of people see it that way, the policy is drawn up in rooms out at the Commissioner’s office … where people see these officers … policy people … I think it is how a lot of people see it and that … it’s not applicable to everyday policing.*’

Participant 3(B) (Male)
Others confirmed this participant’s view, stating that while policy might mean an individual is entitled to one thing, the organisation still requires officers to be available to do their job:

‘He’s gotta meet his command’s demands and obviously the more part-timers makes it difficult…’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 14(A) (Male)

‘Quite honestly, the organisation has done things ... where ... I think, if you feel the need to pray five times a day I don’t think you’d be able to get through the college.’ Participant 20(B) (Male, CALD background)

Despite indications of participants being positive about increased diversity in the organisation, there were still a large number of negative comments relating to policy and diversity initiatives. While a lot of these comments indicated a perceived lack of fairness, it was also found that officers who asked for an entitlement were often subject to negativity from colleagues. Further, these initiatives were seen as ‘window dressing’ by the organisation, meaning diverse skills were not used or embraced. Further it was assumed that policies were written without consideration being given to the reality of policing. This is problematic for the organisation in trying to effect change. If policies do not align with practice, it is difficult to say they have any effect.

**Policies are ineffective for change in their current form**

‘People baulk at the policy because they see it as a way of pushing them into a certain way of thinking or behaviour and some people will go along with that and other people will buck that...’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

As seen above, some participants believed there should be an increase in organisational diversity in the police, while others disagreed with the ways in which this was being addressed. Despite comments being made about the reluctance to work with Muslim officers (see Chapter Seven), participants still felt that Mohamed from Case Study Three should be treated fairly in the workplace. This indicates that regardless of initial stereotypes relating to colleagues from diverse backgrounds, participants are prepared to work with
colleagues who are culturally congruent, competent and a team player (as per Chapter Five).

Having said this, there was a strong indication that participants did not believe that current policies around diversity were effective. There were a number of participants who felt changes were needed in the ways in which diversity initiatives were implemented to gain maximum benefit for the organisation and its employees. This included an understanding that the concept of diversity is constantly changing, and that policies designed to give entitlements to one category of diversity tend to leave others out. There was a sense that as a whole, policies were not broad enough to cater for different skill sets, but also that policies were limiting freedom of expression to the point where it was not possible to have a robust discussion around the issues being faced.

One participant acknowledged that any policy relating to diversity needed to change constantly to keep up with the way society changes:

'I think cultural diversity is continually changing anyway ... you just can't be set in stone and get addressed another ten years down the track and we'll change our policy to this, it's a work in progress...' Participant 17(B) (Male)

This would mean constantly changing the policy as it stands, or re-working a policy to allow for changes over time. Continually changing policy would exacerbate the problems surrounding officers being aware of and understanding its contents, as previously discussed.

Another participant discussed how policies should be flexible to ensure that all people are included. This related to all policies, not just those addressing diversity:

'It can't be a one policy fits all ... look at leave ... transfers, every policy we've got ... the organisation has a particular area and an individual or a group of people have
a particular area, it's never going to be a perfect fit, it's all about compromise.' Participant 11(B) (Female)

Another participant expanded this further by stating that diversity initiatives were too superficial. They advocated for organisational change designed to use people in their best capacity based on their skills and life experience:

‘Diversity needs to be looked deeper, and it's not just about background, it's about religion, it's about language skills, like I said we just throw numbers on paper but we don’t use them properly.’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

‘We just do it randomly, it’s not calculated, it’s not organised ... and this is not just about diversity, it’s about everything here ... you always find the wrong people in the wrong spots. You see they have great skills and ... if you put them in there they’ll be very effective, however, we ignore all that and ... fill in the spots ... based on a very superficial promotion system ... it's restricted by tenures, by numbers ... and then you've got a little bit of who do you know, to get to the places you want...’ Participant 19(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

This participant’s views would appear to be a good way to ensure the business case for diversity is actually met, as personnel would be placed in positions that are appropriate for their skills. It may also assist with retention of staff, increasing satisfaction with the work they are doing.

On a different note, diversity initiatives were seen by another participant to stifle their freedom of expression and push them into thinking a particular way. This included initiatives designed to implement respectful workplace behaviour. They felt that policy was designed to tell people what to think, or at the very least stop them from saying what they actually thought. This participant did not agree with policy stifling their freedom of speech:

‘How many times do you hear people say "oh mate you can’t say that". When you examine what that statement means – “you can’t say that” – bullshit! I can say
what I want really, not acting in an official capacity of the police but as an individual, an expression ... when you're in the meal room, you're no longer acting as police, you're amongst colleagues... there's been heaps of times where I've thought to myself, “I'm going to walk away from this because I'm going to end up saying something that you are going to consider to be offensive and it's going to cause a massive problem” ... when actually it's just my viewpoint or it's part of what I see as the debate.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

‘I think people sort of feel like the policy is ... pushing them where they don't want to be and their backs are against the wall so there's a rejection of it...’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

This participant gave an example where they felt their freedom of speech was stifled by the policy:

‘There was a GLLO [Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officer] for a time there where I was working and she was militant in every sense of the word and was trying to shove it down your throat and all the rest of it and it's not because the issue was homosexuality but it was just ... I don't like Mormons knocking on my door and trying to shove a Bible in my face ... I felt that she was hiding behind the policy a bit in that we couldn't really have open discussion about it and ... because of fear of transgression against what we're supposed to be saying.’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

Other participants agreed that political correctness had been taken too far within the police generally, but this appeared to relate to policy rather than practice, with no specific examples actually given:

‘We can't call it EEO [Equal Employment Opportunity] anymore because then they think they're being left out.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

‘The political correctness that we have within the police these days is outrageous ... I don't care if you're gay, bisexual or heterosexual.’ Participant 17(A) (Male)
‘The police ... we are risk adverse, we are politically correct, probably at times too politically correct in certain areas...’ Participant 17(B) (Male)

Overall, participants felt that current diversity policies were ineffective in their current form. There were a couple of reasons for this. Firstly, diversity is a constantly changing concept that current policy cannot keep up with. Secondly, any increase in diversity needs initiatives that use diversity to the organisation’s advantage, especially when people are being left out. There was also discussion that policies inhibit freedom of speech, meaning conversations around the issues raised by implementing diversity were not allowed. This potentially contributes to these issues being discussed in private with trusted colleagues and therefore never being addressed properly, preventing real change from occurring.

Policy does not equal practice

‘There's always a line of you know, general sort of piss take to outright people just being discriminatory I guess...’ Participant 4(B) (Male)

When discussing workplace behaviour, participants mentioned a number of times when policy was not strictly adhered to, confirming that real change is difficult and not entirely affected by these policies. This behaviour included joking about those who are seen as ‘different’, stereotyping, and management practices that were not in line with diversity initiatives. Where change has occurred, this is not attitudinal change, but rather behavioural change to appear to be adhering to policy.

Comments about inappropriate behaviour generally related to practices amongst individual officers, meaning individual officers still took part in workplace banter regardless of whether it was appropriate under the policy:

‘There'll be jokes and banters about the black people in the office and you know, against the white people and it can be quite racist towards the Anglo-Saxon people in the office...’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)
'It's like there's no filter, it's like we just talk about anything, whatever comes into your head...and they forget a woman's there...it's not offensive ... there's no filter, you hear things and you're just thinking, are you really saying that in front of me...'
Participant 11(A) (Female)

Stereotyping of others was also mentioned:

'I used to work with this lady, she was in uniform and she was from a south east Asian country and I think she was borderline dangerous about how incompetent she was at her job ... big problem with her was her language difficulties ... people would still speak to her like they were putting on a racist character and stuff like that and that's something I didn't agree with...’ Participant 4(B) (Male)

'I'm not saying that it's right but I'm saying there is the possibility that even people who generally would be ... fair minded with things in their expression of stuff can rip something out that's completely against the whole policy through I don't know the means, whether it's emotion, whether it's tying some attributes to a failure that shouldn't be tied to it but it's quite easily done...’ Participant 9(B) (Male)

One participant mentioned that at times those being stereotyped were included in the conversation, such as gay colleagues who then contributed to the stereotypes:

'Whereas if two straight guys say hey, so and so, you know this conversation will make you want to get your high heels on, you can imagine someone gay finding that offensive or whatever.' Participant 6(A) (Male)

This indicates the policy has made officers more aware of who is present when inappropriate comments are made, so they are careful not to do this when those officers are around. There was an indication that officers did not want anyone to be offended, but that they still wanted to have banter with each other. Rather than stopping the behaviour as the policy dictates, this has created an environment where those who are offended are simply left out:
'It could also be because they're talking about gay stuff or being ... discriminatory towards that group, saying jokes or whatever, and they're like “okay it's time to be PC now, we don't want to offend her”.' (Case Study Two – Sarah) Participant 6(A) (Male)

'People wouldn't want to get caught talking about her ... if they're being inappropriate as police are, they wouldn't want to offend anybody...' (Case Study Two – Sarah) Participant 11(A) (Female)

One officer confirmed they had found they were on the outer when colleagues accidentally said what they really thought while drinking:

'I think it's all different now because ... there's all this discrimination and anti-bullying and all that sort of stuff, so people tread carefully, so people don't really tell you what they're really thinking or how they're really feeling, they pretend to like you, they pretend to be nice to you but really, some day it will come out ... it's usually when they're pissed, drunk, their true colours will come, or when those opportunities come and you find out yourself you've been left behind and you go okay, I know what you really think of me based on what you just did and you pretending to be nice is just so you don't get into trouble.' Participant 19(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

As such, those who the joke is being made about have to make a choice between whether they want to fit in to the culture or not. This means the policy has changed behaviour in a way that continues to exclude officers who are seen as different unless they accept the status quo. These changes are still made at an individual level.

On a management level, despite these policies being designed to allow for equitable workplaces, a workplace was described where officers were required to sign a document stating they would not elect to become a part-time worker if they had children. This informal policy had been implemented due to a large
number of part-time workers already in this workplace, which had apparently created rostering issues:

‘People now have to sign something to say that they understand that if they have a baby, that they won’t be able to come back part-time...’ Participant 5(A) (Part-time female)

This participant also discussed their own workplace, where they felt they would not be welcomed in particular roles due to their part-time status:

‘I’m stereotyping because women are ... mainly the part-timers, part-timers aren’t going to get into my office anymore, unless something changes.’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

This relates to part-time officers being seen to leave their workload for others to do, but does not allow for structural factors that could be moulded to allow for part-time personnel to do their role more effectively. This indicates that the policy, in this instance, is ineffective for enhancing inclusion and fairness, as it is designed to do.

Overall, it was found that practice does not fit policy at both the individual level and management level, despite good intentions. Individual officers are conscious not to offend colleagues as they are concerned about breaching the policy, but this has not prevented them from partaking in workplace banter when those personnel are not present, leaving them on the outer. In other words, while policy has impacted to some extent on officers who now hide poor behaviour, it has not had an effect on overall attitudes. At a management level, practices do not encourage part-time personnel in particular areas, meaning these officers are also left on the outer.

Conclusion
Officers trying to navigate the many policies relating to diversity find it difficult to be aware of everything they are required to know. Having said this, participants still displayed an understanding that there were certain behaviours
expected of them in the workplace. It was found that participants understood, and in some cases agreed, with arguments to increase diversity, but there was also disagreement about how this was to be implemented. Officers perceived as taking individual entitlements or using a policy that has an effect on another person, such as bullying, harassment or part-time policies, were left on the outer. It was questioned whether the diverse skills gained through recruiting for diversity were used properly for the benefit of the organisation, and some felt the policies were out of touch with the realities of policing.

Overall, participants felt that diversity policies are ineffective in their current form, and this was found to be the case through the examples given. These examples demonstrated circumstances where practice was not consistent with policy, including at an individual level, such as racist or sexist jokes in the workplace; and management practices that required officers to sign documents stating they would not come back to work part-time after maternity leave, despite being entitled to do so. In all, the policy structure appears to be an effort to enforce fairness, rather than attempting to drive cultural change through fairness. The principle of fairness was a key point for participants, as they wanted to feel that everyone was being treated fairly. This point will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter Nine: Perceived unfairness in diversity initiatives

Hypothesis Five: Police officers perceive diversity initiatives in the organisation to be somewhat unfair.

Overwhelmingly, participants perceived unfairness in relation to diversity initiatives in the organisation, albeit for different reasons. This unfairness was especially aligned to using targets or quotas to increase levels of diversity across the organisation. This was felt across all categories of diversity – quotas were questioned regardless of whether participants agreed that an increase in diversity would be beneficial, with the main reason being related to the concept of merit. Participants argued that the ‘best person for the job’ should be selected and that quotas meant there was ‘reverse discrimination’ occurring against those who were not selected. Another significant point relating to unfairness was that flexible workplace agreements for part-time officers meant others were left to pick up the slack. In other words, diversity initiatives are practically viewed as a ‘zero sum game’, meaning one person’s gain is another person’s loss.

It should be noted that this sense of unfairness is against a backdrop where most participants were not fully aware of the diversity policies and initiatives in place, although they were acutely aware of how these policies impacted on them.

Targets and quotas

‘Why should we take more females, why should we take non-English speaking? … I disagree with that, it is discrimination and I don’t answer that as being discriminatory. Everyone is equal. If you are the best person for the job, you get the job, I don’t care if you’re what you are, if you’re the best person then that’s the person we take … there shouldn’t be a quota, why should we settle just to fill numbers and say that we’ve done the right thing and we’ve got the right percentages. So it should just be even.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

Participants were especially against quotas as part of diversity initiatives, despite not having any quotas officially in place in the NSWPF. There are
diversity targets listed in strategic planning documents, but specific numbers or ratios of personnel to be promoted are not mentioned. For participants, it appears targets and quotas are essentially the same thing, despite their clear differences. Unfortunately, this means they have the same effect on those who are recruited and promoted as part of a target system. Participants gave a number of reasons for disagreeing with targets and quota systems to increase diversity, including that increasing a particular demographic means the best person for the job might be overlooked, and that this was a form of ‘reverse discrimination’. In addition, participants felt that fair systems were already in place, and that often entitlements, especially for women were better than for the rest of the officers in the organisation:

‘I guess that's different because within the police ... it's always been ... girls can go wherever they can go to and there's never been that ... barrier... over here you've got a female who’s a Deputy Commissioner, no-one bats an eyelid.’ Participant 20(B) (Male, CALD background)

This is an interesting point, as it is certainly not the case that women have always had entitlements, as one participant pointed out:

‘It’s easier to criticise than to ... stop and think, because it’s something that they’ve just never had to deal with ... they were never told that they can't have a gun and they can’t get married and if they get married they’ve got to leave the cops, and were issued with a 'police issue hand bag', that was never... an issue for them.’ Participant 11(B) (Female)

There are still barriers for part-time officers, who are usually women, in promotion. However, the merit argument and the negative perception of reverse discrimination mean that officers who are appointed as the result of a quota system will inevitably be seen as less competent, and therefore be less included in their workplace.
The merit argument

‘If two people are going for the same position that it’s based on their ability to fulfill that position and not just because one happens to be female or one happens to be from a different cultural background, so I think it’s just the right person for the job no matter what.’ Participant 4(B) (Male)

The argument that merit was the only way people should be recruited or promoted within the organisation was strongly felt amongst participants, with a common theme being the ‘best’ or ‘right’ person for the job. The idea of employing the best person for the job involves each person being treated on their individual merits, rather than a broader view of increasing diversity in the organisation. This came through very strongly in the interviews and was felt by participants even when they asserted that the organisation should have an increase in diversity. Also of particular concern was whether those promoted through quota systems were as competent as those who were not, and whether this would mean standards in the organisation would be lowered. Interestingly, overall understandings of merit were not raised, meaning the concept of ‘competence’ is not under scrutiny. That is, while participants questioned the utility of the quota system, they did not question the structures that surround the merit-based system.

Best person for the job

Participants were clear that they felt people selected for recruitment and promotion should be the ‘best’ person for the job, although this particular concept was not expanded on. Interestingly, no participants challenged how the best people for the job tend to be white heterosexual males. There was an overall sense that the ‘best’ person for the job would have a high level of competency, with a presumption that someone promoted on a quota system would not meet this level of competency at the same level required:

‘I've heard now that there's going to be five deputies, they've opened up two more deputy spots and they've said that two or three of them have to be women. I don't know if it's true, let's assume that it is ... then that concerns me because I'd like to see the best person for the job...’ Participant 3(B) (Male)
‘I think it’s whoever is the right person for the job, I think it’d be unfair if another person got it based on gender or based on religion or race and all the rest of it …’
Participant 7(B) (Part-time female)

Further, it was felt the best person for the job was necessary to give the best service to the public as well:

‘You are settling just merely to appease the political correctness and it shouldn’t be the case, if you’re doing a job … a victim of crime doesn’t give a rats whether or not the person’s female or non-English speaking just to meet some quota, the victim of a crime wants their crime solved and they want the best person working on the job, not somebody that was hired just because they’re from a particular background and they tick a box.’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

This is interesting, as there is an assumption here that a victim only wants a police officer who will solve their crime, rather than entertaining the possibility that members of the public might want an officer with a different characteristic, such as an officer who speaks the same language as them or who demonstrates a high level of empathy. The wider roles and responsibilities of police officers or policing organisations are also not considered. The fact that these assumptions mean that white heterosexual males are the most likely to be recruited and promoted was also not considered, especially in relation to merit. This feeds into assumptions about what competency is and what it should be.

**Competence**
The issue of competence, as discussed in Chapter Five, was a crucial one for participants. A perceived lack of competence means an officer will have difficulties being accepted by their colleagues. This idea of competence means officers are required to have the same skills and attributes as each other, with little variance on this. Participants regarded an increase in diversity based on quotas for a particular demographic as questionable due to concerns about competence. Further, with competence meaning that all officers need to have the same skills, additional skills such as a second language or particular personality characteristics are not regarded as adding to competence. This means the
business argument for increasing diversity, whereby increased diversity will make the organisation more effective, does not resonate with officers in practice.

Participants consistently raised competency as a reason not to have quotas to increase diversity. There was a sense that quotas were used to get otherwise incompetent people into the organisation, meaning they then had to work to prove their competence:

*If they're not competent they shouldn't be in the police ... if they're just there because ... they're another ethnicity and got no ... policing idea whatsoever then that's no good for anyone, no good for them either...’ Participant 14(B) (Male)

*’Well if they're going to be increased for the sake of gender or background ... I think that would be just leaving the department in a bad position ... you need competent people everywhere, so if they're competent then all well and good.’ Participant 15(B) (Male)

There also appeared to be an underlying assumption that officers being selected on a quota system, especially women, may not be able to keep up with the standards and competencies required:

*’Women, I’m all for it, but every one person needs to be assessed on their own merits so if for whatever reason a woman falls short she’s fallen short and these are the reasons why, she hasn’t ticked the benchmark, obviously we need more police in general be it male or female...’ Participant 2(B) (Female)

*I don’t have any problem with women in the police. I’m happy that you know we’re an equal opportunity employer and women get as much of a go as men. I see a problem if they purely seek to increase numbers of women just for the sake of saying we’re a 50/50 organisation, and if women are invited into positions based on numerical balance and their performance is less than a male counterpart I think that’s inappropriate.’ Participant 13(B) (Male)
Lowering standards was also provided as a reason that quotas were a poor idea:

‘Are we then dropping the benchmark to meet those standards, that’s my concern, then if we’re seeing a goal that we want a certain percentage, like why are we setting the goal, why isn’t it just people that are interested and want to join, let them join, if you’re not passing your communication skills for whatever reason then it’s a fail, so I think if we’re pushing numbers through because we want to achieve a number figure, are we lowering our standards, that would concern me that we’re lowering the standards of what’s a pass and what’s a fail.’ Participant 2(B) (Female)

As stated previously, the idea of competence means everyone has the same skills and ability as everyone else in the organisation, again meaning that extra skills are not seen as important:

‘I think it's a really good idea [to increase the number of women] but just because you are a particular race or a particular gender you've got to be good at what you do. If you can't communicate, if you don’t have communication, whether it be verbal or written skills, if you’re not interested in the job, you’ve got to have certain traits I think to be a police officer and if you don’t have them it doesn’t matter what sex or race you are then I don’t think you should be accepted into the police.’ Participant 5(B) (Part-time female)

The merit argument, based on recruiting or promoting the best person for the job based on similar competencies, weighed heavily against any implementation of quotas or targets in the organisation. Participants perceived any strategy to elevate individuals due to a demographic characteristic as inherently unfair. The merit argument is premised on the idea that each individual should be judged on their own merits, which is in contrast to the ideal of being part of a team and putting this team first. Having said this, when viewed through the lens that competency should be the same for everyone, it is perhaps not surprising this argument is used. Either way, those who are promoted through a quota system are likely to find it difficult to feel included and respected in their workplace.
Reverse discrimination was brought up as an unfair result of using a quota system to increase diversity in the organisation. Participants felt that those who were not ‘different’ were being discriminated against, meaning they were being left out of possible recruitment or promotion in the organisation, or to particular areas. Concerns were also expressed that it was difficult to know where this type of discrimination would stop.

The idea that fairness means all applicants for a position are treated the same appears to be common amongst participants. When there was a perception that officers were given extra assistance in gaining a particular position, this was regarded as reverse discrimination, as not all officers were given this benefit:

‘If we treat everyone equally, true equality... I would argue a lot of people don’t want equality they want preferential treatment for certain people that they’ve decided that are in need of that preferential treatment so that's fine but at least label it correctly. They’re saying equality, it's not equality, equality is treating everyone equally and at the moment there is a campaign on for certain groups of society to have preferential treatment and that’s not equality. Now they would argue that preferential treatment is to bring people up to the level where there is the equality, I don’t subscribe to that, I don’t believe it’s the case.' Participant 3(B) (Male)

Some participants understood the reasoning behind quotas or making changes to the workplace to increase diversity levels. However, they still felt it contributed to a different type of discrimination:

‘I suppose it can be unfair, so what is it, can’t think of the term, what’s the term that would reverse it...’ Participant 7(B) (Part-time female)
‘They always talk about when they do recruiting, even at a probationary level that if they have a certain intake of certain ethnic backgrounds they’ll take more from that pool of those people than this pool, then isn’t it … reverse discrimination…’
Participant 15(B) (Male)

One participant believed being a white male meant they had been discriminated against when they applied to join the police:

‘For me it took years and years to get in and maybe that was an aspect, because I’m just another … white Caucasian … male of that young age…and if they’ve got goals, sorry targets for other minorities… they’d probably take them before me.’
Participant 6(B) (Male)

This participant also mentioned that particular units within the police were unlikely to take him due to his background:

‘Getting into specialist units as well, like the UC [Undercover] branch, they’d probably target the non-majority type police officer … To target the criminals in, with that sort of background…’
Participant 6(B) (Male)

There was also discussion in relation to how an increase of diversity may have other detrimental effects on the organisation. Participants discussed having entitlements for some officers and not others, and how this was unfair. They also felt it was not possible to keep writing policy as different entitlements arose, as this would ultimately result in discrimination:

‘I suppose as a whole organisation … say you increase numbers can you cater for that, but then do you cater for other religious needs of other people, because then if you do that then you know that’s a lot of people wanting all different needs and you might work in some places where you can do it but then, I can imagine being in a LAC [Local Area Command] you couldn’t do stuff like that when you’re responding to jobs and you’re down a car crew because they’re off at a prang or something … l
don’t think you could as a whole because then you’ll discriminate against the other people.’ Participant 7(B) (Part-time female)

Participants gave reverse discrimination as a key reason why quotas or targets should not form part of policy for the NSWPF. While this may not be regarded as important for those advocating for quota systems to increase diversity through policy, it is important for those who are being recruited or promoted under these systems. Failure to acknowledge the sense of unfairness surrounding these initiatives will create further division in the workplace, and ultimately greater exclusion for the people these policies are meant to benefit.

**The flexible workplace as an unfair workplace**

> ‘As a head of the organisation he needs to sort of do the best for his organisation, sometimes at the detriment to the individual.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 20(A) (Male, CALD background)

Flexibility in the workplace should, in theory, allow officers to be more available and therefore work as part of the team. However, it became clear from the interviews that those working on flexible workplace agreements, generally as part-time officers, were viewed as putting themselves before the team. Overall, participants viewed those who were not available firstly to the organisation were unlikely to be doing their ‘fair share’ of the work. This meant these officers were creating an environment of unfairness for the other officers in their workplace.

Case Study One (Amy) was a catalyst for discussions about flexible workplaces, with participants indicating that the team should come before individual needs:

> ‘You’re balancing the needs and wants of an individual versus the needs and wants of the team, and the responsibilities that team has to the command, and what the responsibilities the command has to the public’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 3(A) (Male)
'The primary objective I think for every shift is general duties in the sense that they've gotta meet first response and everyone's gotta be ... ready and there can't be any problems with them because it's just gonna create heaps more...’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

In workplaces where there were already a number of part-time officers, participants felt this meant a heavy burden was placed on other officers. They sympathised with the commander in Case Study One (Amy), who already had part-time officers on shift, as they did not believe the command could cater for any more:

'Realistically there's only so many spots and rostered positions available...and if he's already got part-timers, you know he's got responsibilities as well.' (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 11(A) (Female)

'He does seem like he wants to fit her in but... he has to sacrifice other people working additional duties...’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 16(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Participants also believed that many part-time officers were not flexible enough in their attitudes to work, meaning they were creating unfairness in the workplace:

‘In the local detectives I remember we had a few part-timers and they would only work certain shifts and ... we’d have to take it in turns to work weekends and they’d say well we’re not working weekends because we’ve gotta be at home ... and I go “well what about the rest of us, we’re in the same boat”...’ Participant 14(A) (Male)

‘She wants to do day shift out on the truck ... it can’t happen, not everyone does days, you gotta do them all, you’ve gotta be fair.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 8(A) (Male)
It was also believed that those who were asking for flexible workplace agreements or part-time work were taking it away from someone else who might need it. As such, it was described in a way that there was a finite amount of flexible work that the organisation could accommodate, meaning not every person can have it:

'The roster's a jigsaw puzzle, there's only so many pieces will fit in the slots, and at the moment there are other people that have already filled those slots, what does she want, does she want one of those people punted you know.' (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 8(A) (Male)

This places the onus on the individual to ensure the workplace is fair, rather than placing it on the organisation. This participant also felt that flexible workplace policies were too accommodating for part-time officers, as they should be required to prioritise their work before their personal lives:

'The job in my opinion is exceptionally too accommodating once you're in.' Participant 8(A) (Male)

‘At what point do we draw a line in the sand and make people have to come back to work full-time...’ Participant 8(A) (Male)

This relates to the attitude that officers are only competent and useful when they work full-time. While this is especially the case for part-time officers, Muslims taking time off to pray was also mentioned by one participant, although this was in the context that it was taken as an entitlement. This participant saw the irony in colleagues complaining about Muslim officers taking prayer breaks while they themselves were taking breaks that were not in their own specified entitlements:

‘Because it’s set breaks for praying it might come across as being “well ... they’re entitled to do that so I’m entitled to go for my five walks a day or my five, fifteen coffees a day” ... I perceive that would be a bit of a problem if people start arcing up
about it, but in reality it’s not, as I said before, people will have their breaks, all the time.’ Participant 1(B) (Male)

The flexible workplace predominantly relates to part-time agreements for officers. For participants, the current system of part-time agreements contributes to a sense of unfairness in the workplace, as full-time officers are required to pick up the workload. This results in part-time officers not being seen as part of the team, especially as they are deemed as inflexible in their working hours.

**Conclusion**

Participants had a number of viewpoints about diversity initiatives, and they overwhelmingly indicated their beliefs that they were unfair. Targets and quotas were especially viewed negatively, as there were concerns regarding merit, employing the ‘best’ person for the job and reverse discrimination. Interestingly, employing the ‘best’ person for the job was discussed in relation to individual merits, while there was also an expectation that officers put the team before themselves. This creates a conflict in arguments, as those who are the best based on individual merits may not be the overall best person for that role within the team. Individual merits were understood through the lens that all officers must have the same skills at the same levels to be seen as competent, rather than acknowledging different skills as an asset. This indicates an understanding of equality in terms of all individuals starting at the same level, which, in theory, would mean that all individuals have the same opportunities, despite this clearly not being the case. There appeared to be little understanding amongst participants that diversity initiatives are usually designed to make this starting level fair for all.

Further, the availability of flexible rostering for some and not others was perceived as unfair. For some, it was clear they expected all officers to place their work as their first priority, with any personal priorities behind this. As such, officers who did not do this were not as committed to their role. This places those with competing priorities in a difficult position, as they may not be able to commit to full time work, or to a roster that is imposed on them. It also means
officers who are able to commit to these requirements are placed in a position where they must ‘pick up the slack’, meaning there is unfairness for them as well. It is likely that while this unfairness is perceived, it will be difficult to implement diversity initiatives across the organisation in a way that is embraced by officers.
Chapter Ten: Social theory

Constructivist grounded theory requires the researcher to use their own data to present either a new theory, or a theory building on other theory. As such, it can be advantageous to use pre-existing social theories in describing, analysing and theorising the results of the research (Charmaz 2014a). Following on from the literature review and policy document chapters, this chapter will outline pertinent social theories that have contributed to inclusion capital theory, the substantive grounded theory derived from this research. While a traditionally formatted thesis would place this chapter prior to the findings of the research, it is placed here in keeping with the view that the literature review should be left to the final analysis in grounded theory research (Charmaz 2014a). It is important to note that the information outlined here did not contribute to the data collection or analysis, rather it became relevant as the analysis was conducted and finalised. It was therefore included following the analysis as a contributor to the overall discussion.

The two main theories used for the substantive grounded theory are Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of capital and social identity theory. The use of Bourdieu’s theory is crucial to inclusion capital theory, as it lays the foundation to an explanation of how and why difference and diversity are perceived and experienced in particular ways within the NSWPF, as well as why some individuals are included more than others. Social identity theory has also contributed regarding the ways in which inclusion capital theory can be used to encourage and implement positive change for diversity and difference within the NSWPF, as well as providing an explanation as to why some officers find it more difficult than others to be included. It also provides a level of explanation as to why it is important to have an inclusive, holistic framework underpinning any policy in this area, as categorising diversity can mean increasing levels of exclusion. These theories will be explained here, and expanded on to reach new understandings in Chapter Eleven.
Bourdieu: field, habitus and capital
As per constructivist grounded theory methods, the substantive grounded theory presented for this research came directly from the data, but on further review it was found to be closely aligned with Bourdieu’s work around habitus, field, and most significantly, capital. Bourdieu (1977; 1990) described these three concepts as theoretical tools that can be used to understand and describe social interactions, as well as how social space is constructed, including through the use of power. These three concepts cannot operate individually. One does not operate without the others, and none is more important than the others (Thomson 2012). This means they are interrelated and at times overlapping, making any understanding of them fluid. Despite this, they are described separately.

While the three concepts are outlined individually here, it must be stated that their complexity cannot be underestimated. Rather, they should be viewed as interacting with each other to make up the social world, as this equation by Bourdieu (1984, p. 101) demonstrates: ‘[(habitus)(capital) + field = practice’. It is clear from this equation that Bourdieu posited that practice could not exist without the three concepts described. In other words, they are each crucial to understanding the practices of the social world. For this study, this equation relates to inclusion practices within the NSWPF, demonstrating what actually happens in the workplace.

Habitus, field and capital are reproduced over time, meaning those with power are able to replicate the structures that allowed them to gain power (or capital) in the first place (Branson & Miller 1992). For example, organisational resistance to women joining or being promoted in the NSWPF has been reproduced over time, making it more difficult for women than men to be part of the organisation (Joyce 2011). This resistance tends to focus on women’s ability to perform the same duties at the same levels as white heterosexual men, who have historically had the highest levels of power (capital) in the organisation. In other words, the structures in the organisation (such as physical requirements in recruitment) have been defined and implemented by male officers in management, who are
more likely to fit within those structures. While Bourdieu has been criticised for not providing ways to use his framework for change, Yang (2014) described the conditions when capital theory could be used to implement change. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

**Habitus**

‘Habitus’ refers to an individual’s understandings of the way the social world works (Bourdieu 1984; 1990). It is developed from childhood and shaped through our unique experiences and perceptions of the external structures and systems (known as ‘fields’) that are in place. Maton (2012, p. 51) described habitus as:

> our ways of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not others.

In other words, habitus resides in the individual, with each person’s habitus depending on their own individual circumstances and experiences. It can be influenced by external factors such as the way an individual was brought up, where they went to school, and the cultures they have been exposed to. Habitus tends to come most strongly from our earliest experiences and upbringing, and is maintained as long as the individual accepts internal and external structures as they are (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002). When the habitus is not challenged, the person accepts rules and structures (the field) as the natural way of the world, meaning they think the social world is as it should be and therefore continue to reproduce it (Bourdieu 1990; 2018). This is exacerbated when an individual cannot see the informal ways these rules and structures affect aspects of their habitus (Akram & Hogan 2015; Branson & Miller 1992). In other words, while an individual accepts their habitus as the way the world is supposed to be, change is difficult to implement both in habitus and in field.

Having said this, changes in the habitus through exposure to other experiences are possible (Schirato & Roberts 2018). These changes are often slow, unless
there is an event (referred to as a ‘breach’ by Akram & Hogan 2015) that causes the individual to question their habitus in a reflexive manner. If this event occurs, this can mean a person's habitus will undertake a larger change, allowing them to see that it is possible to change, rather than reproduce, structures. Therefore, challenging and change in a person’s habitus can potentially change the field surrounding that person.

For new police, accepting the status quo upon entry into the organisation requires acceptance of new information into their habitus. Some may embrace this information, while others question it. Those who embrace the information as ‘the way things are done’ are likely to confirm and reproduce the field as it is. Those who are more questioning of structures may find it more difficult to be included within the workplace, as they challenge whether the structures are as they should be.

Field
A cultural ‘field’ refers to the structures surrounding and making up institutions and hierarchies (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002). Along with habitus, field and capital are interlinked, meaning that capital contributes to the field, and is also a result of the processes within that field (Thomson 2012). The field is organised around capital, meaning an individual with a high amount of capital (as described in the following section) will take a higher position in the field (Power 1999). Bourdieu (1986) asserted that capital is unequally distributed amongst individuals in the field, meaning those with higher amounts of capital have more power to reproduce the structure of that field.

In this research, the field is located in the various structures of the NSWPF. There are rules and conventions that, at face value, individuals within the field are required to conform to. This includes policies and practices that are clear both to the outsider and to those within the organisation. At first glance, these policies make the field appear fair and equitable, meaning that any person who strives to achieve within the field should be able to increase their levels of capital. An example of policy here is police recruitment policy, as mentioned previously. While the recruitment requirements are the same for everyone, they can actually
exclude women or those from CALD backgrounds, due to their structure. However, field can also change as a result of conflict, mainly when individuals try to manage the definitions and understandings of capital, or how power is used to reproduce the field (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002). As such, by re-thinking and re-defining understandings of capital within a given field, the field itself can be changed. This is crucial for inclusion capital theory.

**Capital**

Capital is anything an individual possesses that is valuable within the field, and directly contributes to how much power that individual has. In fact, Bourdieu (1986) asserted that capital and power amount to the same thing. Higher levels of cultural and social capital help us to fit within the social world, and mean we are likely to be in a higher position of power. Those in these higher positions have the power to determine what type of capital is important, meaning a person with large amounts of capital is able to maintain the status quo or change it if they wish to do so. By reproducing the structures in the field that confirm which types of capital are important, those in power are able to maintain their own power (Bennett & Silva 2011). This is again confirmed by the example of physical requirements for recruitment, as described above. In this case, capital relates to the physical traits themselves, whereby a male officer has these physical traits that are seen to be required to do the job well.

Bourdieu (1986) described three main types of capital: economic, cultural and social, but maintained there were multiple other types. It was asserted by Bourdieu that almost anything that has value to others within a field can be described as a type of capital, with all types of capital then being reduced to economic capital (Bennett & Silva 2011; Moore 2012). For this study, cultural and social capital are the most relevant, as they are built upon to generate inclusion capital theory.

Cultural capital refers to cultural elements with value within the field. It may come in the form of dispositions (known as the embodied state), such as the way we speak; objects (known as the objectified state) such as artworks; and things that can be bestowed upon us (known as the institutionalised state) such as
Inclusion capital
For this thesis, the term ‘inclusion capital’ has been adopted to outline the elements of capital an individual officer needs to be accepted by their colleagues in the workplace. The details of this concept are explained in Chapter Eleven. It is acknowledged this is not a new term. Sathe and Jager (2015, p. 170) used the term ‘inclusion capital’ in relation to the informal economy, referring to ‘different modes of support that market actors in the informal economy have at their disposal to get access to formal markets’. In other words, Sathe and Jager (2015)
asserted that individuals who wish to become part of the formal economy are able to use informal forms of capital (such as social and cultural) to increase their likelihood of inclusion in the formal economy. In this research, 'inclusion capital' has a different meaning, related more to social rather than economic inclusion.

**Doxa**
According to Bourdieu (1977, p. 164), doxa refers to the ‘world of tradition experienced as a “natural world” and taken for granted’, meaning we accept the way of the social world as the obvious way it should be. Doxa allows individuals to believe that their practice is logical because it is the way it is always done, even when presented with an argument for doing things differently (Thomson 2012). In keeping with the reproduction of habitus, field and capital, doxa allows for the field to be reproduced as we accept its understandings as fact within the social world. While these assumptions are generally unquestioned, they continue to be seen as ‘the way things are’.

Deer (2012, p. 115) highlighted that doxa occurs within the ‘pre-reflexive’ understandings that people have about their social surroundings. Reflexivity was described and discussed in relation to research in Chapter Two, and it is also relevant to implementing change within Bourdieu’s framework. Akram and Hogan (2015) asserted that reflexivity is necessary for an individual to change their habitus, and thus the field. Therefore, doxa relates to the assumptions that are made as natural in the world, prior to analysing the assumptions of the habitus.

Without reflexivity, these assumptions are accepted as unchanging, meaning the structures around them are also accepted (Deer 2012). For example, there is doxa surrounding the police that the main component of being a good police officer relates to the individual’s abilities to manage violent offenders during physical altercations. The unquestioned acceptance of this premise means that structures preclude individuals who are unable to do this in some way. In fact, not all sworn police roles require this attribute in their role, but the doxa continues that they do. With further challenge to this doxa (and therefore each
officer’s habitus) through reflexivity, this understanding within the field could potentially be changed.

**Hysteresis**

Hysteresis refers to the time lag between a change in field and the subsequent change in habitus (Hardy 2012). The concept is used to understand how changes take place in field and habitus, with a change in field meaning a change in habitus, and vice versa. When either field or habitus changes, it takes time for this to change the other, with the time taken being hysteresis. This might be used to explain why policy changes in an organisation are not always well received by employees, or why it takes a number of individuals who change their outlook on the world (such as with the legalisation of gay marriage) to change policy. As such, changes in either field or habitus can create change, but it is likely to take time for the changes to become institutionalised in both (Bourdieu 1977). For policing organisations, a change in policy or structure (field) should result in a change in habitus, although this will take time. As such, hysteresis should be taken into account when reviewing policy and structural changes, or expecting behavioural changes amongst officers.

**Using Bourdieu’s theory of capital for implementing change**

Yang (2014) described how Bourdieu’s theory could be used to facilitate change, rather than seeing the theory as a structural deterministic one. Change would be achieved when four main conditions were present: a ‘mismatch between habitus and field’, ‘explicit pedagogy’, ‘reflexivity’ and ‘an open system’ (Yang 2014, p. 1538). Essentially, for a police organisation to change, individuals would require a habitus that is removed from the requirements of the current field, there would need to be overt education in the area of habitus, the individual would require the ability to be reflexive about their habitus, and the system itself would need to be ready for change to be made. These four conditions focus predominantly on an individual’s habitus, meaning that to a large extent, the individual needs to be open to the idea of change within their field. This is necessary, but there are perhaps also ways in which the field itself could be changed to encourage individuals who are open to change to become part of it.
Using this theory for change is crucial for this study, as when police officers accept the status quo in relation to diversity, attempts to increase diversity are very difficult. Alternatively, officers who can see that structural changes are required may be able to increase inclusion levels by changing those structures (or fields), thereby challenging the habitus of others. When officers perceive fairness in doxic practices (such as policies or structures) that are not necessarily fair, they may fail to notice this, meaning their habitus does not change. This means the overarching unfairness is reproduced, continuing a cycle of exclusion. If doxic practices can be changed through reflexivity with fairness for all in mind, it is possible both the field and habitus can also be changed. Using this theory for change will be expanded upon in Chapter Eleven as part of inclusion capital theory.

**Social identity theory**

From a different perspective, Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) description of in-group and out-group behaviour provides another avenue to analyse experiences in policing organisations. By using continuums that describe extremes of behaviour and individual belief systems, social identity theory can be used to analyse the ways in which individuals and groups attempt to fit into the organisational structure or field. It can also demonstrate how individuals can move between groups or compete for scarce resources within the social structure. The theory is essentially neutral in how it allows for each individual to identify with different groups. In other words, it is natural for a person to identify with a group they belong to.

A person’s social identity involves which categories they feel they belong to. It does not necessarily contain categories that others give to them, but this may create a space where they take it on as part of their identity (Ashforth & Mael 1989; Tajfel & Turner 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) described three ideas that contribute to social identity. Firstly, everyone tries to keep a positive social identity. Secondly, positive social identity is based on comparisons between in-groups and out-groups. When a person sees their in-group in a positive manner compared with the out-group, this contributes to a positive social identity. Thirdly, when social identity is not felt to be positive, the individual will try to
find ways to change this by leaving their group or changing it. By putting themselves in a social classification, individuals find it easier to define and locate themselves and others in their social environment (Ashforth & Mael 1989; Scott 2007). Essentially, an individual will constantly strive for a positive social identity, and there are different ways they will do this, whether it involves action for them as an individual, or they do it on behalf of or part of their own group.

The interpersonal-intergroup continuum allows for two extremes of behaviour. Firstly, at the interpersonal extreme, individuals behave according to the individual they are speaking to, rather than any other aspects of identity that can be ascribed to them (Tajfel & Turner 1979). On the intergroup extreme, the individual responds to the other person according to their own social identity and the other person’s social identity, that is, which groups they might belong to, or be seen to belong to (Tajfel & Turner 1979). In the case of policing, police officers may place their own personal social identity mainly within the policing organisation (their in-group). An out-group could include those who engage in criminal behaviour, or members of the public. When there is an intense conflict between the groups, such as between terrorist groups and police, behaviour is likely to be more at the intergroup end of the continuum. When the police officer and the members of the out-group have a more personal relationship, such as when a member of the group gives information to police on an ongoing basis, this is on the interpersonal side of the continuum. There are further complexities relating to this continuum, as individuals are able to have more than one social identity, meaning they may have a variety of ways of feeling different or similar to those they encounter. For example, a person may identify as a police officer, a female, and a Muslim, meaning their social identity is complex and can leave them identifying with or feeling left out of multiple groups.

Proponents of social identity theory also posit that there is a social mobility–social change continuum, which explains belief systems surrounding the possibility of moving out of an individual’s in-group into the out-group, or whether it is impossible for them to get out (Tajfel & Turner 1979). At the social mobility end of the continuum, the person is able to move out of their current
status because of the ways that society can change. At the social change end of the continuum, it is believed that it would be impossible for an individual to move, possibly due to social structures preventing the individual from making changes. It is accepted that the two extremes are probably not possible in reality, especially in the case of complete mobility, but they do provide a theoretical basis for the various places in between on the continuum. An individual who moved out of their in-group might be seen to be a traitor, as they have changed across to an out-group. An example of this is a CALD individual who joins the police and is seen as a traitor because they are policing members of their own group (Dodge & Pogrebin 2001). Alternately, some out-group members may never be able to become part of the in-group, such as a police officer who does not have the same language skills as the majority. While they might be seen from outside as a member of the police, they are not completely accepted amongst their colleagues.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), there are three ways for social mobility to occur: leaving the group; being creative; and competing with the other group. The individual may leave their own group, such as when a CALD individual joins the police and takes on a disposition that is negative towards their background. Despite this explanation, it is quite difficult to completely leave a group. The second way is for members of the group to be creative through changing the way they see the situation by comparing to the out-group on a different level, changing their values or changing whom they compare themselves to. Lastly, they may compete directly with the group for their own positive distinctiveness. This all means that the individual has the ability to leave their current group in some way or to shape the ways their group is viewed, so that they will have a positive social identity. They could also be seen as increasing or decreasing capital in these groups in a fluid manner.

Ethnocentrism has also been used as an explanation of group behaviour relevant to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner 1979). It means that each individual absorbs their beliefs from their own culture and subsequently comes to see their own culture as the norm, with other cultures being inferior (Perrott & Taylor
1994). It has been found that police have a level of ethnocentrism towards the community, perceiving the community as more responsible for community tensions than themselves (Perrott & Taylor 1994). This fits with perceptions relating to recruitment of CALD individuals as stated earlier, as police regard the lack of skills of CALD individuals as a reason for not joining the police (McMurray, Karim & Fisher 2010). Ethnocentrism in itself is a neutral concept, although its use can impact on this neutrality. Within police organisations, ethnocentrism might translate to the white, heterosexual male feeling that individuals from different backgrounds are inferior in their policing roles.

In circumstances where different groups are competing for the same ‘scarce resources’ such as power, prestige and wealth, there is likely to be more ethnocentrism and antagonism between the groups (Tajfel & Turner 1979, p. 33). Conflict may arise between the groups as they compete for these scarce resources. The dominant group will attempt to keep any resources they already hold, while the subordinate group will attempt to obtain them. An example here might relate to affirmative action or quotas in policing organisations. Employment and promotion might be described as scarce resources, meaning any policy that appears to take them from the dominant group (white, heterosexual males) will be disputed. Meanwhile, the subordinate group (for example women or CALD groups) will fight for more access to employment and promotion. This concept of power is very important, especially in the context of policing. Power is implicit to the role of police officers, and in the case of this research, to the dominant group of white heterosexual males. Any attempt to make cultural change within a policing organisation must take the concept of power into account.

For the current study, social identity theory has relevance to the different groups mentioned, but also for each interview participant. For instance, police officers as a group may identify as an in-group when dealing with members of the public, or more so when they are dealing with offenders or criminal groups. However, within the organisation, in-group status can take on other forms, and different individuals could be part of many different in-groups or out-groups. Women may
be part of an out-group when compared with men, but they may be part of an in-group if they are white and compared with CALD groups. When diversity and inclusion policies contribute to placing individuals into in-groups or out-groups, they contribute to behaviour that reinforces out-group status. As such, the reality of the lived experience is more complicated than enforcing policies that assist particular categories of diversity. Officers must navigate their different social identities depending on whether they are speaking amongst themselves, with management or with members of the community. Ultimately, any policy striving for greater inclusion amongst officers must make an attempt to decrease out-group status as much as possible. This can also be related to Yang's (2014) ideas for implementing change using Bourdieu's (1977) theory, allowing us to see different ways of decreasing out-group status for many individuals in the police.

**Conclusion**

In keeping with a constructivist grounded theory approach where the researcher uses their own data to present a theory building on other theory, this chapter has outlined Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of capital and social identity theory. Bourdieu's body of work is especially pertinent to this study, as it provides the building blocks to explain the perceptions and experiences of the participants who were interviewed in this study. It also gave the basis to explain how individual officers are included amongst their colleagues, and how this information can be used to guide structural change within the organisation.

Social identity theory is also a useful framework when looking at the ways in which individuals navigate police culture and diversity continuums. Within the organisation, employees may find themselves as part of an out-group, although this can depend on their own identity. Social mobility can occur through leaving their own group, being creative in their own group or directly competing with the in-group. This relates back to Bourdieu's theory of capital, as individuals choose where they will invest their time and effort to maintain or gain power in the organisational setting. Both of these theories have guided the substantive grounded theory in this research, called inclusion capital theory. Inclusion capital theory will be explained in depth in the following chapter.
Chapter Eleven: Inclusion capital theory

Constructivist grounded theory requires the researcher to use their data to present a new theory, or to build on previous theory. For this study, it is not claimed that the resulting theory is a ‘grand theory’ as Mills (1959) described, but rather a theory that uses a different lens to explain and use the data collected. As per constructivist grounded theory methods discussed in Chapter Two, the theory presented here was derived directly from the data. It also draws substantially on Bourdieu’s (1977) work on field, habitus and more significantly, capital, as discussed in Chapter Ten. The data obtained from participants outlined an overall workplace environment where capital is made up of three main elements the officer needs to work on to maintain their inclusion in the workplace. It is acknowledged that the sample size is small, meaning this theory should be tested in other situations to confirm its validity.

In this chapter, the substantive grounded theory, known as inclusion capital theory, will be explained in depth. The three elements of inclusion capital - having cultural congruence; being competent; and being a team player; will be described, including how individual officers use these elements to stay included. It will also be shown how these elements can be lost in particular circumstances, impacting on each officer’s levels of inclusion. Examples of how the three elements are used and managed by police officers will be reviewed, as well as how the theory could be used by the organisation in a practical sense to assist with cultural change.

Inclusion capital theory

Inclusion capital theory operates in a similar way to Bourdieu’s (1977) social and cultural capital, demonstrating how police officers must gain and maintain capital in their workplace to ensure their own inclusion amongst colleagues. Essentially, inclusion capital theory posits that an officer requires ‘inclusion capital’ to be accepted and included in their workplace, with inclusion capital elements consisting of a set of characteristics and traits. All officers need some level of inclusion capital to be accepted and included amongst colleagues, with a
higher level of inclusion capital meaning a greater level of inclusion, acceptance,
and ultimately power, in the workplace.

For some officers, being included is relatively easy, as they naturally have the
characteristics needed for inclusion. They might already carry similar traits to
others in their workplace, meaning it is relatively easy for others to accept and
include them. For individuals from diverse or different backgrounds, inclusion
capital needs to be worked at and proven, as they do not have the obvious
characteristics normally assumed to assist in gaining inclusion capital. Having
said this, even officers not naturally regarded as having these characteristics are
able to gain inclusion if they are prepared to make the effort and they know what
to do, meaning they must navigate the landscape of inclusion capital to know
what to work on. Failure to gain inclusion capital can mean they are never really
accepted in their workplace environment. Indeed, even those officers who start
with inclusion capital are still able to lose it, meaning that inclusion capital needs
to be continually maintained by the individual. It might be viewed as a work in
progress, with inclusion capital levels rising and falling over the course of an
officer's career. Officers can choose to maintain some elements and not others,
but in order to maintain their inclusion overall, they must keep up some level of
inclusion capital. In essence, they need to top up their inclusion capital regularly
to stay in the game. However, if inclusion capital is lost for any reason, it is still
possible to work hard to obtain a level of inclusion again.

At present, this notion that individuals must work on their own inclusion capital
leaves the onus on the individual to gain acceptance amongst their colleagues.
However, it is posited that a managerial knowledge of inclusion capital within
the organisation will allow for policy and practice to be shaped in particular
ways to facilitate cultural change. Where police culture might be viewed as
problematic, subtle changes to inclusion capital elements around that
problematic culture can assist in changing the landscape. This gives police
management other options to create a better space for individuals to be accepted
by their colleagues, with less work required by the individual to gain inclusion
capital in the first place.
This study found three key elements that allow a police officer to gain and maintain inclusion capital in the workplace. These are: having cultural congruence; being competent; and being a team player. As stated, individual levels of these three elements can rise or fall throughout an officer's career, impacting on their levels of inclusion amongst colleagues in the workplace at any particular time. Their definitions overlap and work within each other, and together they all form part of police culture, meaning they do not, and cannot, operate separately. Rather, they each have effects on the other, meaning that a change in one element will mean a change in all three. This knowledge allows for the facilitation of change in new areas by looking at elements that historically have not been targets for change, with a view to influencing culture that is viewed as problematic.

**Having cultural congruence**

Having cultural congruence refers more to the informal, social part of police culture, which is the part of police culture mostly described as problematic and difficult to change. While an understanding of what cultural congruence is has been formed as a result of this study, this understanding cannot be regarded as the ultimate definition. In fact, while this part of police culture is regarded as difficult to change from an academic and managerial perspective, this applies only where change is being enforced through a top down approach. In other words, understandings of cultural congruence do change over time depending on the individuals involved in the culture, which is exactly why policy designed to target specific cultural change through external means is difficult. Having said this, external societal factors can have an influence on this culture, but any change is slow and often beyond the control of those trying to implement it deliberately.

As previously discussed, having cultural congruence, or fitting in to the culture of a workplace requires officers to adhere to the ‘attitude test’ by accepting the status quo of the culture; to participate in the boys’ club; and to change themselves to conform to the culture if they do not conform already. Essentially, in relation to cultural congruence, whether an officer is included in their workplace depends on whether they conform to current workplace norms such
as workplace banter and drinking with colleagues. Again, it is noted that this understanding of cultural congruence is specific to the interviewee cohort, with evidence of change being present even amongst these interview participants. These changes did not appear to relate to the implementation of any policy documents, but rather were in keeping with societal changes for the time. For instance, when speaking of a new colleague, participants mentioned bonding over coffee rather than drinking alcohol, which has become more prevalent in Australian society generally over recent years. However, the overall requirement to take part in workplace banter, especially for new colleagues, was still necessary:

‘Just in morning coffee … he gets involved in the banter … we have no girls on our team so the banter becomes a little bit antagonistic, a little bit locker room and he gives it back a little bit...’ Participant 3(B) (Male)

As such, it might be stated that some components of cultural congruence endure longer than others. For this reason, policy changes designed to specifically change culture do not appear to be particularly effective. For instance, while posited in some literature as likely to change police culture, increased numbers of particular demographics in the workplace do not affect this workplace banter, indicating that merely adding extra personnel from a particular demographic is unlikely to implement change in itself. One participant in particular discussed how diverse their workplace was:

‘There’s a whole team … and they’re mainly boys … there’s Indian, there’s an Egyptian, there’s a Chinese fellow, there’s one Caucasian male up the back, so we call them the United Nations. So … in our office we have a really good spread of everyone, it’s not very Caucasian male dominated.’ Participant 7(B) (Female, CALD background)
This comment was followed by indicating that this team had been given ‘the nickname… the House with No Steps...’ Participant 7(A) (Female, CALD background). It should be noted that the participant saw this nickname as part of normal workplace banter, essentially as a positive way of embracing the team. This gives some insight into the culture surrounding perceptions of difference, whereby those who are different are, even jokingly, referred to in a way that suggests they are not as capable as those who fit the norm. As such, these individuals were accepted into their workplace as far as they were prepared to take part in workplace banter, meaning that gaining cultural congruence required them to fit to the norm.

Of interest, the cultural congruence inclusion capital element is relatively easy to gain when commencing at a new workplace, assuming the officer does not have any other commitments or beliefs that prevent them from doing so. Examples of this include an officer who is unable to attend work functions due to childcare commitments, or a Muslim officer who does not drink alcohol. It might also be more difficult for a person who is particularly extroverted or introverted, or for a person with a condition on the autism spectrum. Having said this, cultural congruence requires constant maintenance, so failure to continually take part in this informal culture means an officer is likely to lose inclusion capital quickly. Essentially, cultural congruence helps an officer gain inclusion capital in the short term, giving them the space to work on the more important element of being competent.

**Being competent**
At face value, being competent is a pivotal trait needed to be included in any type of professional workplace, as it is fair to say that being competent is an obvious requirement to do one’s job effectively. This is clearly the element of inclusion capital regarded most highly within the policing space, although it still dovetails in to the other two elements. Definitions and understandings of ‘competence’ are constructed individually, and they are also contributed to substantially by organisational policy. In other words, what constitutes competency is made up

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13 The House with No Steps is an Australian disability service provider.
partly of the traits that officers value in the workplace, but it is also contributed to by the organisation in terms of the traits it values when joining the police and applying for promotion.

As stated in Chapter Five, components of competency include a strong work ethic, as well as keeping up with and understanding the work. This last facet requires each officer to have a similar ability to do the same things, meaning there appears to be an invisible benchmark on particular skills to demonstrate overall competence. In other words, there is an expectation that everyone has the same skill sets at the same levels in order to be regarded as ‘competent’. Having an extra skill outside the competency framework of these same skills does not entitle the individual to gain extra inclusion capital through competency. Rather, an extra skill is only regarded as ‘helpful’ (in the sense that those with different needs are ‘helpers’) if that officer has that extra skill in addition to fulfilling the same criteria as everyone else. For example, when a person speaks a language other than English, they are regarded as ‘helping’ the main workers, rather than having additional levels of competence:

‘I’m all for having people, different cultures … in the cops you’ll be working on a job and a particular language comes up and you go we need help here and someone can come in straight away and speak it, [but] if they don’t speak the Australian language as well and aren’t across our culture it all falls apart.’ Participant 2(B) (Female)

This quote highlights that any additional skills an officer from a diverse background may bring to the organisation are not valued unless the officer also meets all other benchmarks. In the case where an individual cannot meet a benchmark in one area but has skills in another, they are still regarded as incompetent. Obviously, this is problematic in the context of diversity and inclusion, as personnel recruited for their diverse characteristics are then required to be the same as everyone else. As this is the case, it is hardly surprising that retention of personnel from diverse backgrounds continues to be
an issue, as their diversity is not valued in the workplace despite the business argument and organisational policy stating that it is.

In contrast to cultural congruence, inclusion capital relating to competency is more difficult to gain, with time being a key ingredient. An officer who comes to the workplace with a strong work ethic and skills needs the time to demonstrate these attributes, unlike an officer who can demonstrate their cultural congruency through workplace banter or socialising straight away. In addition to this, individuals from diverse backgrounds are required to demonstrate their competency at a higher level in order to gain inclusion capital through this element. While they may be competent, they have to work harder than those who fit the norm to prove it, as there is an assumption they are unlikely to be competent until they prove they are. This extra work to prove competency is similar to the ways those from diverse backgrounds may have to change themselves to fit into the prevailing culture, meaning their difference makes inclusion more difficult.

Understandings of competence are guided by organisational policy, meaning that changes to these understandings could come from insightful policy changes. Essentially, organisational messaging about recruitment and promotion indicate that only particular skills are valued, and these valued skills do not tend to be skills that encourage diversity. As the data suggests that being competent means having the same skill sets at the same levels as everyone else, so too do the policies support this through recruitment and promotion relating to the same skills for all. By considering different ways to define competence, the organisation can send the message to officers that different skills are actually valued, and thus change understandings of competence. An example could be deliberately recruiting for different skill sets, such as having a second language. By focusing on knowledge and skill diversity rather than demographic diversity, this also negates the argument that the benchmark for competence is lowered. If anything, this encourages those applying to ensure they have a diverse range of skills on top of base level recruitment criteria. In other words, once potential
candidates meet the minimum benchmark, it should be diverse skills that build their likelihood of being recruited to the organisation.

Bourdieu's (1977; 1984; 1990) concept of hysteresis is important to this point, as a time lag will likely occur between changes in policy (the field) and the individual officer's acceptance of those changes in their way of thinking (habitus). While this hysteresis may occur before full cultural change appears, over time this should result in individuals from different backgrounds being able to gain inclusion capital through competence more easily, and for those who fit the norm to take up extra skills to be more competitive.

**Being a team player**
Being a team player is a key component of police workplace culture, as officers need to be able to rely on one another in difficult and dangerous situations. However, definitions of team player do not entirely relate to teamwork in these difficult situations. Inclusion capital is gained through being a team player when an officer demonstrates they are on the same side as their colleagues; makes a positive contribution to the team; and shows they are available for the team. They might prove this by doing their fair share of the work (regardless of competence), getting along with colleagues, being available whenever needed, and being reliable and trustworthy. The team player is not required to be a particularly competent police officer, but they are seen to put the team first, rather than their own self-interest. These attributes may manifest themselves through other aspects of culture such as the boys’ club, the attitude test or having a strong work ethic, but they can also stand on their own. Being a team player often overlaps with the other two elements, showing that while the three elements can be explained separately in theory, this is not the reality in practice.

As discussed in Chapter Five, non-team players do not necessarily match the opposite of this description. Rather, non-team players question the status quo, act in an individual manner and tend to have competing personal needs, which actually aligns more closely with the opposite of cultural congruence, again showing how the inclusion capital elements overlap. When an officer is not viewed as a team player, their inclusion capital suffers significantly, despite this
being the element the individual usually has the least control over. For example, an officer who is unavailable for overtime due to childcare commitments is unable to maintain inclusion capital through being a team player, while an officer who has differing opinions may also lose inclusion capital as they are not seen as a team player:

‘Everyone has different opinions on things and I might have opinions and things but I have to be sensitive when I’m expressing them ... I may offend people... it’s not going to make you fit into the team very well if you’re there ... sprouting off things and pissing people off you know...’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)

Alternately, an officer who feels that workplace banter borders on bullying and takes action for this behaviour to cease loses inclusion capital for two reasons. Firstly, they are not a team player as they are seen to be looking out for themselves. Secondly, they do not have cultural congruence as they do not take part in workplace banter. These two factors have different effects on the officer’s inclusion capital. Essentially, not being a team player means an active loss of inclusion capital, while merely lacking cultural congruence or competency means an inability to gain it in the first place.

As with cultural congruence, a team player is defined by the individuals in the workplace. However, in a similar way to competency, organisational changes are possible to make it easier for the individual to keep up this element. In fact, it is asserted that organisational changes focused on what it means to be a team player are perhaps one way to increase inclusion capital for all. This links to the previous section about making changes to understandings of competency, but also relates to policies where an officer is required to do something individually or that appears to be in their own individual interests, which impacts on the team as a whole. This will be discussed in further depth in a later section.

**Inclusion capital theory in practice**

**The inclusion account**
The ways in which officers manage inclusion capital can be described to an extent in terms of a bank account, or in this case, the ‘inclusion account’. When
an officer banks large amounts of inclusion capital in their inclusion account, their levels of inclusion and acceptance amongst colleagues increases. As long as they continue to work on their inclusion capital, they will continue to be included, in a similar way to working for the purpose of putting money in a bank account. It is possible to spend or lose inclusion capital under certain circumstances, in a similar way to spending money from a normal bank account. This might be by choice, such as deciding not to go to social functions, or through other circumstances not under the officer’s control, such as taking maternity leave. In an example such as maternity leave, a large amount of inclusion capital is spent, but other circumstances might only require a small spend such as missing a single social function. Small spends of inclusion capital are easy to recover from, but large spends take more time and effort to regain acceptable levels of inclusion capital. Either way, the inclusion account should be regarded as a constant work in progress, requiring an ongoing effort to top up levels of inclusion capital. When all elements are met and the inclusion account is at high levels, the employee is accepted quickly and included in the workplace. When elements are not met or are only partially met, the officer may take longer to be accepted, or they may be left on the outer indefinitely. Failure to top up the inclusion account will mean loss of capital, and ultimately, exclusion.

Banking initial inclusion capital
When first entering a new workplace, an officer needs to bank as much inclusion capital as possible in a short space of time to ensure they integrate into the workplace quickly and easily. This is important to ensure timely inclusion, as any great length of time in banking inclusion capital makes it more difficult to become accepted. Further, support and a sense of belonging when starting in a new workplace mean that a new officer is more comfortable in performing their function. Inclusion capital can be banked quickly through having cultural congruence and being a team player, allowing the officer to take more time to bank inclusion capital relating to competence. An example here might be attending a social function or taking part in workplace banter soon after they start in the workplace. In essence, the officer can bank initial inclusion capital through any of the three elements, but there are circumstances when some officers already have capital that is assumed (or inherited), or alternately they
have to work harder than others (such as those from diverse backgrounds) to gain inclusion capital. For those that need to work harder, modifying behaviour is a way of ensuring they can still bank inclusion capital, whereas those with inherited capital will generally fit the mould straight away. The first few weeks in a new workplace are crucial for banking inclusion capital, as if this takes too long the officer is at risk of being excluded.

**Inherited inclusion capital**
The notion that officers must bank inclusion capital to be included and accepted in the workplace applies to all. However, some officers, through their own individual circumstances, already have traits and characteristics that give them a start in their inclusion account. This means when they commence in a new workplace, they can more easily blend in with their colleagues. In a similar way to social and cultural capital inherited from a person’s family (Bourdieu 1986), officers from particular backgrounds are assumed to already understand the inclusion landscape. For example, a young white heterosexual male, by virtue of how they look, appears to fit into the culture of drinking and workplace banter, especially if this banter is sexualised, meaning they have inherited cultural congruence even if they do not actually fit with these behaviours. Alternately, a female officer needs to prove she is willing to take part in this type of banter in order to bank inclusion capital through cultural congruence. A Muslim officer is assumed to be even further outside of this culture, as it is expected that they do not drink and they must prove they are not linked in any way to terrorism, meaning their capital is in deficit when they start in the workplace. In this way, officers that fit the norm start with higher levels of capital than those who are perceived as different. This explains why individuals from diverse backgrounds report the need to work harder to fit in. Having said this, while officers may start with different levels of inclusion capital, they are all still able to increase or lose it depending on their circumstances, explaining why some officers from diverse backgrounds report being included and accepted while others from the same background do not. This requires officers to understand the inclusion landscape, and modify their behaviour if necessary, to fit in.
**Modifying behaviour**

While some officers are fortunate enough to inherit inclusion capital, officers who are perceived as different often start with no inclusion capital, or an inclusion capital deficit. This means they need to work harder to prove themselves in any or all of the three elements of inclusion capital to get their inclusion account up to acceptable levels. This requires proving their competence at higher levels than others to bank inclusion capital from competence, proving their loyalty to the team to a greater extent than others to bank inclusion capital by being a team player, or a deliberate modification of their behaviour to prove their cultural congruence. Participants gave clear examples of this modification of behaviour through their own stories of how they changed what they were doing to ensure they were more included. For instance, one Muslim participant discussed their decision to drink alcohol with colleagues, despite not feeling comfortable about doing this:

*I used to drink before and although I never enjoyed it I did it because of other people, because I wanted to fit in that group, and ... to be honest it served me really well because I made a lot of friends, and a lot of people ... respected me...*

Participant 16(A) (Muslim Male, CALD background)

This clearly demonstrates a change in normal behaviour that allowed the participant to show their cultural congruence in order to bank inclusion capital. In this instance, the participant’s willingness to go against their usual beliefs gave them greater inclusion within the policing workplace. It might be surmised that this willingness to go against Muslim beliefs also assisted them to show they were not as devout in their religion, meaning they could be trusted more easily.

Another participant who worked part-time hours chose to work harder to prove they were a team player. As a result, while they initially had reduced inclusion capital from being a part-time worker, they were able to increase this to some extent by doing extra to keep up:
'You put a lot of pressure on yourself to work just as hard as everybody else, and you probably work harder than the full-time workers because you’re trying to prove the point that you can fulfil the role that you’re currently doing.' Participant 5(A) (Female, Part-time)

The above examples relate to cultural congruence and being a team player, and demonstrate how officers can navigate the inclusion landscape through their behaviour in these areas. In contrast, behaviour surrounding competency can be difficult to modify once an officer has been deemed ‘incompetent’. If there is a perception of incompetence surrounding the officer, it will continually drain their inclusion account, requiring a lot of ongoing work in the other two elements to stay included. In fact, an officer deemed incompetent will have difficulty even if they have the other two elements:

‘If someone is constantly doing the wrong things or jeopardising investigations or just being incompetent... everyone just wants to stay clear of them and just not associate with them because they might be perceived as incompetent as well or not thinking that that person is incompetent.’ Participant 6(A) (Male)

While the interview data from participants suggested strongly that changes can be made around cultural congruence and being a team player, it is not discounted that behaviour to prove competency could also be modified. Having said this, it would require a lot of work on the part of the individual officer to change the perceptions of other officers, whereas being seen to be competent in the first place would be a better priority as it is relatively easy to maintain once it has initially been demonstrated. This is an area where the organisation might be in a position to change overall understandings of competence to assist individuals in banking inclusion capital in the first place.

**Maintaining and topping up capital**
As stated, when an officer banks high levels of inclusion capital for all elements, their level of inclusion and acceptance is higher. However, they must strive to persistently maintain good levels of inclusion capital to ensure this acceptance is continued, or to top up their inclusion capital when it has been lost. Maintaining
and topping up the inclusion account requires diligence and a level of understanding of the three inclusion capital elements, especially if the officer is from a diverse background. This understanding can be described as either coming naturally, such as a case when the officer naturally falls in to the cultural norms, or it might come instinctively to the person, such as the Muslim participant who knew they would be more included if they attended social functions and drank alcohol.

The maintenance of each element is dynamic and changing constantly depending on individual circumstances and context. At times, these circumstances are beyond the officer’s control, meaning they may need to switch their efforts to different inclusion capital elements. For example, a part-time officer who is unavailable for overtime (and thus unable to maintain inclusion capital through being a team player) can work harder on their competency to top up their inclusion capital to ensure they still maintain high levels of inclusion.

As such, while individuals may not have the optimum level of inclusion capital at all times, by gaining it when they can, they can still manage to stay included, albeit not at the same levels. This is in the context that two elements are needed to maintain longevity in inclusion capital, which will be discussed further in a later section. When an officer drops more than one element significantly, they are at risk of being excluded. Having said this, once that person re-engages with the inclusion capital elements, they do have the ability to build their inclusion capital up to an acceptable level again. Unfortunately, a failure to gain inclusion capital in the first place is detrimental to that officer’s levels of inclusion in the workplace.

Failing to gain initial inclusion capital
As stated, when an officer does not have any inclusion capital to start with, or they are only able to gain inclusion capital through one element, their likelihood of being included amongst colleagues is limited. Failure to gain initial inclusion capital may occur if they are unwilling or unable to modify their behaviour, or they are not perceived as competent. Knowledge and understanding of the inclusion landscape is vital for officers hoping to be included, as a failure to
recognise opportunities to bank inclusion capital means the individual is unaware of reasons why they may find their workplace and relationships with colleagues difficult. This knowledge is generally intrinsic to the person, making simple explanations for those who do not understand problematic. For individuals who do not understand the landscape or are not aware there is one, this lack of understanding means there is no likelihood of inclusion. However, when an individual learns the inclusion landscape, they have the option of working to bank capital in their inclusion account through any or all of the three elements.

Officers who fail to gain or maintain inclusion capital are at the greatest risk of being excluded, meaning they may find it difficult to do their job well or gain other benefits such as being promoted. Others are less likely to assist them, so they will either be left to work on their own or they will not be given meaningful work to do in the first place. This implies that the onus is on the individual to be aware of the inclusion capital landscape, and therefore they are responsible for their own level of inclusion, which is obviously problematic. While individuals are somewhat responsible for themselves, it must be stated that the organisation is responsible for ensuring that employees have a comfortable environment to work in, especially when they are pushing for demographic diversity in the workplace. The means by which this can be achieved will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Losing capital by choice**
Once an officer has built up optimum levels of inclusion capital, they may choose to discontinue maintenance on a particular element while keeping the other two elements topped up. In the case where they have modified their behaviour to fit in, they might revert back to their previous behaviour. This may mean they are comfortable with the levels of inclusion they have in the workplace, so they make a conscious choice not to work on a particular inclusion element. This element will usually be cultural congruence, as competency maintains its longevity in the inclusion account, while inclusion capital relating to being a team player tends to be lost through external circumstances as discussed in the next section. It is unlikely that an officer would deliberately choose to be perceived as
incompetent, although this cannot be completely ruled out. When an officer chooses to discontinue maintenance on a particular element of inclusion capital while maintaining the other two, they can keep their inclusion account levels high enough to stay accepted amongst colleagues. Having said this, they will not stay at the same levels as an officer maintaining all three elements, but it is enough for them to stay included.

In the previous example of the Muslim participant who initially modified their behaviour by drinking alcohol to fit in to the culture, they decided to discontinue this behaviour after they had gained good levels of inclusion capital through being competent and a team player. They deliberately stayed away from social functions, knowing this would spend inclusion capital relating to cultural congruence, and they were comfortable in doing so. This was made possible due to their levels of inclusion capital through being competent and a team player, and their willingness to continue working on these. Alternatively, an officer who initially modified their behaviour to be culturally congruent may deliberately stop being culturally congruent regardless of the loss in inclusion capital. Another participant stated they were simply sick of trying to fit in, resulting in a lack of care whether they were accepted in the workplace:

‘I think it’s you do what you feel you need to do to fit in and I think you tell people the answers that they want so that you fit in, I’d definitely say that’s changed for me over the years … now I think … I’m not here to make friends and I’m just going to say it and if I piss people off so be it.’ Participant 2(B) (Female)

This officer felt they had worked hard enough on their inclusion capital for long enough, and simply gave up trying to stay within the landscape. It should be noted these officers made a conscious decision to spend their inclusion capital, albeit in different ways and for different reasons. These individuals are exercising their agency once they have an intrinsic understanding of the inclusion landscape, meaning their circumstances are still under their control to some degree. Having said this, they were unable to control their circumstances in a way that led them to higher levels of inclusion without compromising
themselves in the first place, again placing some onus on the organisation to allow officers to be themselves in the workplace for them to be truly included.

**Losing capital through external circumstances**

When an officer’s circumstances change due to external factors, they may not be able to maintain all three elements of inclusion capital, even if they desire to do so. In other words, they are placed in a position where something outside their control has occurred that means they cannot maintain the inclusion capital levels in their account. These might be personal circumstances or other circumstances imposed by the organisation. When an officer has lost inclusion capital through circumstances beyond their control, their ability to maintain inclusion capital through the other elements will impact on whether they are included. In contrast to the officers discussed in the previous section, these officers do not make a decision about spending their inclusion capital, meaning they have no agency to change colleagues’ attitudes towards them. This is an area where it is especially incumbent on the organisation to ensure that as far as possible, individuals are able to maintain their inclusion capital.

An example where circumstances are beyond an officer's control is when they develop PTSD. Some may continue to work through their illness, giving the impression this is possible for all. However, others with PTSD may need to take sick leave, meaning they are no longer available as a team player, thereby losing inclusion capital. This loss of inclusion capital is especially prevalent for officers with mental illness, as colleagues might question the diagnosis:

*‘Some people claim PTSD because they don’t really want to work, so that’s very common...’* (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 19(A) (Muslim male, CALD background)

Once an officer with PTSD returns to work, colleagues may also question their competence due to the presence of a mental illness, meaning a further loss of inclusion capital. The officer may be able to maintain their levels of inclusion capital through cultural congruency for a time, but this is unlikely to sustain their inclusion account at high enough levels for them to stay included in the long
term. Further, depending on their illness, maintaining cultural congruence may not be possible, as they may not feel inclined to socialise. A similar scenario was presented to participants in the first case study, with responses demonstrating the difficulty in staying included for an officer with PTSD:

‘She could be a liability, if she’s out on the road performing general duties and she’s got PTSD that’s not being appropriately managed or treated then there’s the potential for some kind of incident that will have a negative impact upon the organisation or community or anyone really, herself ...’ (Case Study One – Amy)

Participant 3(A) (Male)

This shows that an officer with PTSD needing treatment is likely to lose some inclusion capital relating to competency, which will make their continued inclusion in the workplace more difficult.

In the case of an officer who works part-time work due to childcare needs, inclusion capital is lost as they are no longer seen to be available to the team. This predominantly relates to women, who are more likely to be part-time workers. As such, even when women initially prove their competence to the higher level required in comparison to an officer with inherited capital, they then have to contend with a large loss of inclusion capital upon having children, as they are not available as a team player. This means that female officers without children are more likely to maintain their inclusion account over the course of their career, while a female officer with children loses inclusion capital during the years when she is pregnant, on maternity leave and working part-time. This is due to the perception they are 'letting the team down' by leaving others to pick up the slack or simply because they are unavailable in comparison to others.

It should be noted that the circumstances here relate to individual entitlements being taken under an official policy. In other words, the organisation has put policy in place entitling these individuals to sick leave or maternity leave, and these requirements are most certainly necessary for these officers. However, participants appeared to view these entitlements as a choice, whereby the officer
could have stayed at work and continued to contribute to the team rather than taking the time away from work. Again, while these individual entitlements are necessary, it appears that the ways in which the policies play out in practice impact significantly on the inclusion levels on those whom they are meant to benefit. This is mainly because the officer is seen to be looking after themselves rather than the team.

The operation of the elements within the inclusion account
While all three elements of inclusion capital allow the officer to increase their levels of inclusion, their operation within the inclusion account is different. As indicated, it is possible, upon first being posted to a workplace, for an officer to bank inclusion capital reasonably quickly through cultural congruency and being a team player to ensure that colleagues are comfortable around that officer. This can bring the officer’s inclusion account to acceptable levels to ensure they can continue to prove themselves over a longer period. On the other hand, banking inclusion capital through competency takes longer, but this type of inclusion capital stays in the inclusion account for a longer period of time, and is also quite difficult to lose. In other words, inclusion capital surrounding competency is difficult to gain, but also difficult to lose. This longevity makes it the most ideal element to have. On the other hand, a demonstration of incompetence upon first entering the workplace can be detrimental, with a low likelihood of competency inclusion capital being gained following this.

Ideally, upon entering a workplace, the officer will bank inclusion capital first by having cultural congruency. This gives them the best chance of being wholeheartedly included by colleagues in the short term, as cultural congruency is reasonably easy to demonstrate in a short space of time. The officer can prove themselves by going to a social function or passing the attitude test through simple actions that do not take a lot of effort initially, assuming they understand how this culture works. At the same time, being a team player might be shown in the same way, or through something simple like volunteering for a task that helps the team straight away. By working on cultural congruency or being a team player in the initial stages at a workplace, the officer has the best opportunity to
be included quickly, giving them further opportunities to bank more inclusion capital over time without the pressure of feeling excluded.

While cultural congruency and being a team player are good ways of gaining inclusion quickly upon entering a workplace, they require continual and ongoing effort to maintain the inclusion account at high levels, which may not be a problem for an officer who naturally fits in to the culture of the workplace. In fact, for some, maintaining cultural congruency is relatively easy. However, for those who do not fit comfortably in to the culture, greater effort is needed to take on this identity and therefore bank and maintain capital. Being a team player can be viewed in a similar way. For some, it might be easy to maintain team player status, but for officers who have other commitments, this is more difficult. As such, an officer who can bank inclusion capital quickly through cultural congruence and being a team player, but is not able to maintain them, needs another avenue to keep their inclusion capital levels high. Fortunately, being competent allows them to do this.

Competency takes longer for the officer to demonstrate, as big opportunities to prove themselves may not arise in the short term, or more than one incident might be needed. Once the officer has demonstrated their competence, it appears that inclusion capital relating to competency stays in the account for a longer period, and is difficult to lose. This is consistent with understandings of competence, as a default position would be that competence is maintained until a person proves otherwise. For this reason, being competent is probably more important than the other two elements if an officer is to maintain their inclusion over time.

A complete lack of competence will make maintaining inclusion capital extremely difficult, but not impossible depending on the circumstances. A ‘good bloke’ is an example of someone who is still included without being competent, but his or her lack of competency will be a continual drain on their inclusion account. Having said this, the presence of only one element of inclusion capital will make it virtually impossible for the officer to be included in the long term,
even if this one element is competency. This is where the three elements might be looked at as working together rather than separately, as an individual who is not a team player and does not fit in with colleagues will be perceived to have limited competence.

**More than one inclusion capital element is necessary to maintain inclusion**

In a best-case scenario, an officer will have optimum levels of inclusion capital from all three elements to be accepted fully in the workplace. Having said this, in practice, the levels of each element will be different for each officer. Each element on its own is not enough for an officer to have a good level of inclusion, especially not for any period of time. If only one element is maintained, the inclusion account will be sustained for a period, but eventually the person will be excluded. For example, having cultural congruency on its own allows the officer to commence building inclusion capital in their account, but if that officer only attends social functions and takes part in workplace banter, they will eventually lose their inclusion as they are not seen to make a tangible contribution to the team:

‘*We had a guy who was everybody's mate, everyone liked him, but he was probably the most incompetent investigator I had and failed the D's [detectives] course and is now in uniform in the country. He was a top bloke and everyone liked him, but was incompetent. The team eventually turned on him, not to his face but to me as a supervisor and the pressure then became on me to get rid of him and we got rid of him.*’ Participant 8(B) (Male)

If an officer only has competency without the other two elements, they will still find it difficult as they are perceived as not getting on with others:

‘*I can think of an example of someone who's competent but is quite abrasive ... They're really good at their job but won't help out with other people's jobs... I'll do whatever I have to do for your job but I won't go above and beyond for you because I know you won't do it for me you know.*’ Participant 10(B) (Male, CALD background)
This shows that while competency is the most valuable inclusion capital element, it is still not enough in itself to maintain optimum inclusion levels in the workplace. Any capital gained through a willingness to support the team would be quickly lost through incompetence. It is unlikely an officer would only be a team player without the other two elements, as this element especially is inherently linked to being competent and cultural congruency, but again, this scenario cannot be completely ruled out.

In all, if two elements are maintained, the inclusion account levels should still be sustainable, but they are not necessarily optimal. As stated above, the example of the ‘good bloke’ is someone who is a team player and maintains cultural congruency, but while they are included in the workplace, they are not always respected. On the other hand, a person who has high levels of competency with one other element is still included amongst colleagues, with their competency sustaining their inclusion for longer periods of time. For this reason, it is preferable that an officer has competency as one of their inclusion capital elements if they cannot maintain all three, but competency on its own is not enough.

It should also be noted that competency varies throughout an officer’s career. For example, upon gaining a promotion or moving to a different specialist area, the officer starts from a position of lesser competence, meaning they will need to draw on other elements of capital to gain their inclusion. This might be seen in a situation where an officer is accused of being the beneficiary of positive discrimination (such as being promoted because of their gender), meaning it takes more time to prove they achieved the position on merit. If the officer’s inclusion capital was based on other factors, they will not need to prove this at all. This is where policy plays an important role in how an officer might be included in the workplace.

**Impacts of policy on an officer’s inclusion capital**
As the NSWPF diversity policies have been written predominantly to cater for individual entitlements for particular categories of diversity, their implementation endorses a situation whereby the officer must spend team
player inclusion capital to gain those entitlements. In other words, while these policies give necessary entitlements to those who need them, their use means the individual is not seen by colleagues to be putting the team first, resulting in other team members feeling a sense of unfairness when they do not have the same entitlements:

‘If someone is perceived to have some type of advantage, whether it be through their job or whether it be through their sexual orientation or one of those sort of things they will jump on it...’ Participant 20(A) (Male, CALD background)

As such, when an individual officer gains access to a particular entitlement through these policies, they are perceived as looking after themselves, rather than looking after the team. This is exacerbated when the officer is entitled to time away from the workplace, as this leaves their workload for others to complete due to no replacement staff member being provided. This erodes the ability of that officer to continue being a team player. For example, when an officer needs to use policy because of external circumstances, such as an illness or maternity leave, the officer is away from the workplace with no other person recruited to do their work. This means other members of the team are required to maintain their own workload as well as the workload of the officer on leave:

‘If there's gonna be adverse impact upon the other team members through their workload then that probably is gonna manifest into dislike towards Amy’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 3(A) (Male)

‘Amy's sick leave affects her colleagues in respect to workload, if she's off workload will increase, if her position is not fulfilled by someone else, the stress it might place on the peers....’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 13(A) (Male)

This point was demonstrated in relation to the first case study, which will be outlined further in the next section.
In a slightly different way, policy relating to issues such as respectful behaviour and sexual harassment are also problematic for the individual trying to maintain inclusion capital. On one hand, an officer can conform to or ignore inappropriate workplace behaviour, meaning they would maintain inclusion capital by not reporting offensive behaviour. However, if that officer were to report offensive behaviour, they would lose cultural congruence through not fitting into the culture of workplace banter and they would not be seen as a team player due to getting their colleagues into trouble. The reporting of sexual harassment and bullying is a far more complicated issue than this explanation, with the interview data indicating that a victim reporting inappropriate behaviour is more likely to lose inclusion capital than the person partaking in that poor behaviour:

‘Colleagues will start to avoid her because... they’ll say maybe the wrong thing and she will make a complaint! That sort of speaks for itself, that does happen!’ (Case Study Two – Sarah) Participant 9(A) (Male)

For this reason, it is posited that these policies, while in line with societal expectations, do not result entirely in the desired outcomes in the workplace. As these policies directly relate to changing what constitutes cultural congruence, they are less likely to be effective. This is because cultural congruence is constructed, defined and changed through the people in the workplace, rather than through policy. This is different to competency, and to some extent, being a team player, meaning these other two elements may be better targets for change in this area.

By not using policy, officers from diverse backgrounds can be and still are accepted by colleagues. In other words, diversity is welcome, provided those officers are not seen to use their background to their own advantage, but rather for the good of the team. In saying this and as previously stated, those with different needs must work harder to gain their inclusion capital, but they can gain acceptance at higher and optimum levels if they bank inclusion capital to the required level. In other words, they need to navigate a workplace where they
have to work harder to gain access to the inclusion they should be entitled to through policy, but they cannot have that inclusion if they use the policy to get it.

These points, in effect, mean that policies exclude the personnel they are designed to include, therefore keeping the status quo. As officers who do not conform find it difficult to maintain their inclusion capital, it is clearly of more benefit to integrate into the police identity. For officers who must take an entitlement, they are placed in a very difficult position, as those who have higher levels of inclusion capital are in a greater position of power, enabling them to maintain the informal cultures that are so difficult to change through policy. This places officers at odds with the policies – should they take what they are entitled to, at the risk of being left out, or should they continue to maintain their inclusion capital? As such, these policies will not have the effect of inclusiveness they appear to be designed for. This is exactly why policymaking processes require further critical analysis to ensure the negative consequences of these policies are eliminated as much as possible. They also need to be dynamic to ensure changes occur as further issues are identified.

With this in mind, the question arises of whether multiple diversity policies giving individual entitiles to some but not all officers are beneficial to the officers involved or the organisation as a whole. It may be that the time has come for a more critical diversity outlook, where overall structural factors are assessed. Changing the ways in which officers are encouraged to perceive competence and being a team player may assist in challenging police culture in ways that are not possible through current diversity policies. Police culture, in the form of cultural congruence, is generally regarded in the literature as problematic for diversity, with the other two inclusion capital elements rarely discussed in comparison. At face value, being competent and a team player are regarded as positive, but it is argued this should depend on how they are understood – they could be positive or negative. The same applies to police culture – it is not always negative despite being perceived that way in a large portion of the academic literature and the media. The point is that the understandings of all elements can be different in different workplaces, and to
effect change, all elements need to be looked at in their own context. The next section will give an explanation of how inclusion capital theory can be applied in practice, by using the case studies provided in the interviews.

**Case studies**
To demonstrate the application of a grounded theory in practice, storylines are often used to describe the experiences of the researched (Birks & Mills 2011). During the interview phase of this research, three case studies outlining hypothetical stories from different policing workplaces were used to prompt participants in their answers. These three case studies will be detailed in this section, followed by the ways inclusion capital theory can be used to explain each one. It should be noted these case studies were written prior to the substantive grounded theory being formulated, but they can be used to demonstrate how the theory works in practice.
Case Study One

Amy joined the police three years ago and worked in general duties at a busy command. When Amy first started in the police, she attended a car accident where there were multiple fatalities. Amy is currently on maternity leave, and since having her child, she has been having frequent nightmares about the accident.

Amy wants to negotiate her return to work as one day shift per week in general duties. Amy's husband works as a senior engineer, and earns a very good salary. Amy is keen to work day shifts, as her husband is usually on night shifts so this will work well for day care. Her superintendent has told her that she needs to work night shifts to go back on the general duties roster, as her team already has two part-time workers doing day shifts, and placing another person on day shift will mean the rest of her team works too many nights. He gives Amy the choice of working in exhibits on a day shift, or working in general duties on a night shift. Neither of these options would be satisfying for Amy.

As her return to work comes closer, Amy becomes increasingly stressed, with the nightmares becoming more frequent. She sees her doctor, who tells her she is suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. She reports this to her boss, and extends her time off into sick leave.

In Amy's case, we are not aware of whether she has banked inclusion capital upon starting in her workplace. This information is important, as it gives an understanding of her starting point, and therefore whether she can afford to lose some inclusion capital for a period of time. If Amy has already banked large amounts of inclusion capital, she may be in a better position than if she has not. One participant demonstrated this, stating that:

‘If they don’t like her in the first place, they’re not gonna give her any support whatsoever.’ (Case Study One – Amy) Participant 1(A) (Male)
By taking time away from the team on maternity leave, Amy has already spent inclusion capital by not being available as a team player. In addition to this, Amy intends to work part-time, meaning a further loss of inclusion capital, as her availability to the team will continue to be limited. By attempting to negotiate a part-time work agreement that caters for her personal circumstances rather than for the team, Amy’s inclusion account is falling to very low levels.

Following on from this, Amy now needs to take sick leave following her PTSD diagnosis, meaning she will be unavailable to the team for a longer period. Essentially, she is seen to be taking a position on the roster but not contributing to the work, meaning she will not be viewed as a team player. Further, taking sick leave for PTSD will affect her colleagues’ perceptions of her competence, leaving the likelihood of her being included by her colleagues as very low. For Amy to be accepted and included, her best option as an individual would be to take a full-time position on the roster, and work very hard to rebuild perceptions regarding her competence, clearly a difficult thing for her to do. It is clear from the case study that the three aspects contributing to her loss of inclusion capital are mostly beyond her control – she needed to take maternity leave to have her child, she required part-time work to care for her child, and her PTSD is a workplace injury that she could not have foreseen or prevented. As such, Amy’s ability to build up her inclusion capital again is severely limited, through circumstances beyond her control. This demonstrates a problem with this culture, as it means that even individuals who are willing to change to fit in to the culture and improve their inclusion may not be able to do so.
Case Study Two

Sarah has been in the police for fifteen years, and works in a crime squad as a detective senior constable. She has a reputation for making poor operational decisions, and sometimes has difficulties getting on with other members of her team. She has recently identified as being in a same sex relationship with another police officer who works at another location. Sarah has noticed that when she enters the meal room, often the conversation stops or there is a change of subject, making her feel uncomfortable, but nobody has said or done anything inappropriate as far as she is aware. There have been a number of operational matters recently where her decisions were overridden by her supervisors, and she has not been offered the opportunity to relieve as a sergeant when officers junior to her have. Sarah is concerned that she is being discriminated against because she has identified as being gay, and has mentioned this to other colleagues. Colleagues have started to avoid her because they are worried they will say the wrong thing and she will make a complaint.

For Sarah, we have a good idea of the current state of her inclusion account. Sarah’s account would have started either neutral or in deficit due to her gender and sexuality, with her poor operational decisions making the situation worse. These decisions mean that her inclusion capital relating to competency is at a very low level, making it difficult for her to feel included amongst colleagues. The interview data indicated this could be the reason colleagues stop talking when she walks in the room:

‘I’d say that could be because of the gay thing but, it could be that they're talking about her, like it might have been when she comes in the meal room straight after making a bad decision...’ (Case Study Two – Sarah) Participant 15(A) (Male)

This quote also provides another possible reason for Sarah’s exclusion, which is that she is being avoided and discriminated against due to her sexuality. At this point, Sarah has the option of taking this further using discrimination policy, or ignoring the problem. If she reports this behaviour, she will lose inclusion capital relating both to cultural congruence and being a team player, as she will be
perceived to be looking after herself rather than the team, and she will not be culturally congruent as she is questioning the behavioural status quo. This makes the levels of all three elements of inclusion capital extremely low for Sarah, so she would need to work very hard to gain this back. This is especially the case for her competency, as this is the most difficult to bank when it has not been demonstrated in the early stages of her time in the workplace. In fact, the majority of participants stated that Sarah’s sexuality was not the issue, with her lack of competence being far more important:

‘It’s probably because she’s incompetent, and from my experience there would be definitely more discrimination against people who are incompetent than anything else in the job.’ (Case Study Two – Sarah) Participant 6(A) (Male)

Sarah’s best chance to bank inclusion capital is to improve her competence levels, as well as improve her reputation for being competent, both of which will be extremely hard to do. She would also need to accept any discrimination she has been the subject of to ensure she does not lose any more inclusion capital, which is an unreasonable proposition given that she is entitled to a fair workplace. This is a difficult case, as Sarah’s perceptions of the situation are different to her colleagues’, meaning Sarah’s thinking would need to change for her to gain a good level of inclusion. Essentially, by not meeting the same competency standards as her colleagues, she has lost any likelihood of being included, and this would be exacerbated if she were to make a complaint about her treatment.
Case Study Three

Mohamed is forty-six years old and has been in the police for eight years. He is well regarded by his colleagues at his current station, but has decided to move into a more tactical role. His fitness is excellent, and he already has Army Reserve experience in tactical operations. He applies for and passes the initial assessment to join a tactical operations unit, but finds that other members of the unit leave him on the outer. A colleague tells him that other members are concerned about his age, but he has also heard an instructor comment that his background is a problem because it means he will not fit into the culture, in a place where loyalty and camaraderie are very important for getting the job done. During training, Mohamed sustains an injury that will require surgery, so he will take longer to pass the course. The instructor tells Mohamed that his age and injury are probably going to prevent him from passing, and that he should reconsider his application.

From the case study, it is clear that Mohamed is likely to be competent at his new role, as he was respected in his previous workplace and he has a background in this type of work. However, as Mohamed is starting in a new workplace, he needs to bank some inclusion capital quickly, which is usually achieved through cultural congruence and being a team player. Unfortunately, Mohamed’s Muslim background has left him at a disadvantage, as there is a perception he will not fit into the culture or be a good team player. Further, and of far greater concern, interview participants voiced concerns about his possible links to terrorist activity. While he may be able to prove loyalty and fitting in to the culture, he also has the added problem of proving he is not a terrorist, which encroaches on whether he is likely to be fully trusted by colleagues due to concerns for their own safety. It is questionable whether Mohamed can ever get to the point where he will be fully trusted, given that any perceived link to terrorism would need to be disproved with every colleague, in an environment where trust of the highest importance. This means he has commenced with a serious inclusion capital deficit, requiring a lot of work to build up his inclusion account initially to give him the space to prove his competence:
‘He's got a lot more to prove, but mate, if he proved it, bang, good on him you know, he's had to overcome that, good on him.’ (Case Study Three – Mohamed) Participant 10(A) (Male, CALD background)

As stated, inclusion capital relating to competency takes time to bank, and it is unlikely Mohamed will have the opportunity to do this until he has passed the course and been given time to do the substantive work. His injury exacerbates the problem, as he will not be able to bank inclusion capital through competence until this has been fixed. Further to this, his injury may drain his inclusion capital as he will be perceived as incapable of doing the work, and his ability to be a team player will be lost, as he requires time away from the team. While all elements of his inclusion capital are in deficit, it is unlikely the instructors will make any extra effort to help him stay or pass the course. If he had demonstrated cultural congruence or being a team player already, this may have been enough for them to wait until his injury improves:

‘Where I work sometimes you cover or carry people who ... aren’t as competent, but get along ... they’re one of the boys, they have a joke, they love their footy, they come in, they talk shit, do what they’ve got to do but work wise they’re nowhere near as competent as someone else, you do carry blokes through that are like that because they fit in and they tick all the other boxes.’ Participant 18(B) (Muslim male, CALD background)

For Mohamed to build inclusion capital at this stage will be extremely difficult. Pragmatically, he would have to fight for his place on the course, probably using anti-discrimination policy and legislation. This would further drain his inclusion account because he would be seen to be doing something for himself as an individual rather than for the team. If he did win this argument and was able to stay on the course, he may have to change his behaviour to demonstrate cultural congruence to build inclusion capital quickly. While the case study does not state whether Mohamed is a devout Muslim, his best opportunity to bank inclusion capital would be to take part in workplace banter and attend social functions where he may need to drink alcohol, to demonstrate cultural congruence. This
would potentially require a complete change in normal behaviour. His ability to build his status as a team player would lie partly in this, and partly in how he eventually performed on the course, where he would also be working to demonstrate competency. Of course, this could only be achieved once he has recovered from his injury.

Essentially, while Mohamed may pass all the requirements to be part of this unit, his acceptance and inclusion in the workplace would be very low for a long time, and he may never get to a point where his inclusion account is at high levels. This is especially so due to any perception that his background makes him more likely to be linked to or susceptible to terrorist activity. Ultimately, this means he will be left on the outer in a workplace that values teamwork and loyalty. Given that Mohamed clearly has some valuable skills that could add value to this workplace, this is a poor outcome for the organisation and for Mohamed. At this point, it must be stated that the perceptions that Mohamed may be linked to or susceptible to terrorism are extremely complicated. There are external factors relating to global issues such as terrorism and Islamic State, as well as local societal issues and media portrayals of Muslims that all impact on how officers are likely to view Muslim colleagues. Internally, police officers are made aware that terrorism threat levels have been at high levels for some time, meaning they are acutely aware of threats against them as a profession. This was exacerbated by the murder of police employee Curtis Cheng, as described in Chapter One. Essentially, Mohamed has a multitude of issues impacting on his ability to gain and maintain optimal inclusion capital levels. Many of these issues are external to anything he can change, meaning his inclusion in the workplace will never be an easy thing to obtain or keep.

To conclude this section on the case studies, storylines are used in constructivist grounded theory to show how the theory works in practice. In this case, due to the many different stories that could arise from diversity in the NSWPF, the three case studies from the interviews have been used. While they were initially written for use in participant interviews to encourage discussion about perceptions and experiences of difference and diversity in the workplace, the
case studies have been useful to demonstrate how inclusion capital theory works in practice. This has allowed for an understanding of how an individual might navigate the inclusion landscape in their workplace. While this understanding is useful, explaining individual experiences does not improve workplace experiences for those officers. Rather, it is posited that this explanation should provide a gateway for positive change. The next section will provide a description of this gateway, again using the case studies to demonstrate how it could be used in practice.

**Using inclusion capital theory to drive change**
The outcome of a constructivist grounded theory project should be a theory that outlines and explains a particular social problem (Rand 2013), and it is suggested that this theory should also be of some practical use. Up until this point, inclusion capital theory has provided an explanation of how individuals are included and accepted in the policing workplace, or why they have difficulties in this area. This section will explain how police management can use this knowledge to assist personnel in increasing their inclusion capital, therefore increasing officers’ likelihood of inclusion in the workplace, especially for those who have difficulties being included due to circumstances beyond their control. Again, the three case studies will be used to demonstrate how this could work in practice.

Having outlined the three elements of inclusion capital and how they can be gained, maintained or lost by the individual, this theory could be used in two ways in policing, and potentially beyond that with some further investigation. Firstly, this information might be useful to individuals joining the police or moving to a new location within the police, giving them an understanding of how they can approach their new workplace. Using inclusion capital theory, individuals could strive to bank some inclusion capital quickly through cultural congruence or being a team player, with a view to gaining inclusion capital through competence over a longer period. For example, they might decide to socialise with colleagues to gain some cultural congruence, or volunteer to take another person’s on call duties to demonstrate they are a team player. They can also maintain this initial capital to an acceptable level more easily once it is
gained, or use it wisely when needed. While this is posited as something individual officers might like to know, it is clear that many officers are already innately aware of the elements of inclusion capital. Therefore, this theoretical knowledge is unlikely to effect change for the individual unless they did not already have this innate awareness, resulting in their failure to bank any inclusion capital in the first place. Alternately, if all officers are aware of the inclusion landscape, the team player element might be viewed as a transactional one where each individual demonstrates these qualities to get something for their actions, rather than acting from a genuine desire to help out colleagues, thus potentially changing what this element means. This would also be a very limited use of the theory, as these individuals are still limited by structural issues beyond their control, as seen in the case studies.

Secondly, and more importantly, inclusion capital theory could be used by police managers to effect overall cultural change in their organisation. As has been shown in the literature, police culture might be difficult and slow to change, but it does change. However, this change is not usually achieved through top-down diversity policy implementation (Workman-Stark 2017), because it is not received well at the rank levels it is aimed at. It is argued here that to implement diversity policy for effective cultural change, corporate knowledge of the inclusion capital landscape in the first instance is necessary, as knowing this landscape means policy can be designed to meet practice. In other words, rather than fighting against a perceived negative police culture (which is usually found within the cultural congruence element), the overall culture (comprising of all three inclusion capital elements) can be used to change these negative aspects. While cultural problems described in the police literature tend to relate to cultural congruence, the literature suggests that targeting this through policy does not change it in practice. As such, rather than specifically targeting these problems using policy, it is asserted that changes to the other two inclusion capital elements may have a more positive effect. To demonstrate this point further, the case studies will again be used.
Case Study One: Amy
In Amy’s case, she has three separate circumstances draining her inclusion account: the maternity leave she has taken, her negotiation for part-time work, and her PTSD diagnosis. These will be discussed separately here. Firstly, Amy is entitled to take maternity leave following the birth of her child, but this has resulted in a loss of inclusion capital amongst her work colleagues as she is unavailable to the team. Being away from the workplace for a period of up to twelve months means her colleagues were ‘picking up the slack’ of the workload she was not there to do. For colleagues, this is perceived as unfair, and probably even more so given there are other officers on the team working part-time, as for full-time officers, this means a much higher workload. While Amy could come back to work more quickly to demonstrate she is a team player again, this is clearly not an ideal situation, nor does it fit with the intentions of a maternity leave policy that allows her to take twelve months of leave for the care of her child.

A solution to this situation requires colleagues to not be left at a disadvantage when Amy has taken the leave she is entitled to. In other workplaces, it is common practice to backfill positions when a staff member goes on leave. While this may be difficult to achieve, it is suggested a reservist police program may alleviate these issues. By having qualified officers available to pick up Amy’s workload over the period of time she is away from the workplace, this feeling of unfairness can be ameliorated.

In practice, the provision of an officer to pick up the extra workload may at the very least alleviate the workloads of other officers. This may also assist Amy to maintain her inclusion capital, although it does not address the perception of her having extra entitlements compared to her colleagues. While it is noted that it is common practice amongst organisations for policies to relate to particular categories of diversity, it is perhaps now timely to cast a more critical eye over this practice. Policies could allow officers from any background to take time away from the workplace when they need it, regardless of the reason. Obviously, this would mean a significant overhaul of policy, but it may also provide a
situation whereby officers perceive the definition of being a team player in different ways, therefore changing the inclusion landscape.

In this vein, it is suggested that parental leave be applied equally across all genders, meaning all parents are entitled to the same amount and type of leave under the same award. This alleviates perceptions of unfairness regarding women having more time away from the workplace, or the perception they are unavailable in comparison to men over the course of their childbearing years. Creating an expectation that male officers will take parental leave when they have children will place all parents in a similar situation, thereby taking away the likelihood of a loss of inclusion capital in this circumstance. It is noted there are arguments against a policy that gives all individuals the same entitlements, but the data suggests this may be beneficial in this case.

Secondly, Amy is now negotiating to come back to work on a part-time basis due to childcare. Her options are limited due to the number of other part-time workers in her team, leaving her commander in a difficult position to manage rosters fairly. As she cannot fit into those limited options, she will again be leaving other officers to ‘pick up the slack’, thus losing further inclusion capital by not being a team player. Again, for Amy to build her inclusion capital in this area, she would need to come back to work on a full-time basis, taking whichever shifts she is rostered to do rather than negotiating a part-time agreement or flexible roster. This obviously places undue strain on Amy, as she still has to manage childcare around this.

For this issue, Amy’s team player inclusion capital is again lost as she is negotiating for an individual entitlement under a policy, creating a sense of unfairness amongst her colleagues. Amy’s actual position is allocated for a full-time worker, but she will not be working full-time hours, meaning some of her hours are left without anyone fulfilling them. Further, her roster is likely to be fixed to particular days to allow for childcare arrangements. To alleviate her loss of inclusion capital and the sense of unfairness within the team, Amy’s position could be calculated on the hours she is actually at work. In other words, if Amy
were to do half the number of hours as other officers, her position would be calculated as 0.5 full time equivalent rather than 1. By allocating hours rather than positions to commands, Amy's commander is able to fill shifts with other personnel, as there are now more hours available to the command for extra workers.

While it is suggested the organisation can assist officers like Amy with their inclusion capital in this way, it is also the case that Amy needs to demonstrate a level of flexibility with her commander. Policing requires a twenty-four hour response capacity, meaning Amy's commander is in a difficult position when trying to fill all necessary shifts with a lot of staff on fixed rosters. Clearly, this will create problems for other officers who are constantly required to work difficult shifts to fill the gaps, and it is reasonable they would think this is unfair. For this reason, it is suggested that different methods of rostering be reviewed in order to find alternate solutions. For example, if all officers had the ability to request to work particular shifts for a longer period, followed by a shorter period when they were required to fill the gaps, this would distribute the unwanted shifts more evenly. This means that for a period of time, officers would have a roster that works for them personally, but for a shorter period they would be allocated to shifts they may not like. The idea of this is that all officers have times when they are on a good roster, and times when they are not, making fairness more even across the team. Essentially, this system requires some strategic and imaginative thinking, as improved rostering might mean that parents, and especially couples who are on shift work, are actually better off when they can negotiate their working hours in a more flexible manner.

Lastly, Amy's PTSD diagnosis is draining her inclusion account in two ways. She requires sick leave to manage her illness, leaving her colleagues to pick up the slack and therefore taking her inclusion capital as she is not available to the team. In addition, perceptions of Amy's competence following this diagnosis will impact on inclusion capital levels. Again, a solution in relation to her availability to the team is the use of reservist police to fill her position while she is away, as previously stated. More difficult to manage are the concerns that she may not be
capable in critical or dangerous situations, decreasing perceptions of her competency and meaning colleagues will worry about working with her. This will also cause a loss of her inclusion capital.

It is perhaps timely to note that the stigma attached to mental health issues will contribute to individuals’ loss of inclusion capital. The NSWPF currently has programs in place to encourage officers to look after their mental health on an ongoing basis, and it is hoped this will continue to be a high priority. By challenging this stigma, officers with PTSD may ask for help sooner rather than waiting until they are no longer fit for duty. This means their inclusion account will not fall so rapidly when they need to take sick leave, nor will they need to take sick leave for such long periods. This change in overall attitudes to mental health is likely to influence inclusion capital for those officers affected by mental health issues, as well as making it easier for others to acknowledge their own mental health challenges, further reducing stigma. This is especially needed, as many participants responded to Amy's mental health situation as something she was faking for personal gain.

For Amy, there are strategies available to the management team that may assist in building her inclusion capital. These include the use of reservist police to backfill her position, changing policy to ensure entitlements are available to all, and reducing the stigma attached to mental illness. Of course, Amy must also be prepared to work with the management team to ensure that organisational priorities can still be met, as this must remain a primary concern for management.

**Case Study Two: Sarah**

For Sarah, there are two issues impacting on her inclusion account. These are her colleagues’ perceptions of her competence and her own perception that she is being discriminated against because of her sexuality. While Sarah may see a link between the two, incompetence, especially on an operational level, must still be dealt with to ensure organisational aims are met and officers are safe in their workplace. This means the two issues should be addressed separately, and this should be made clear to both Sarah and her colleagues.
As competency is the hardest inclusion capital element to bank, Sarah will find it difficult to manage her own inclusion capital, as it will require a large effort for her to gain this. It may be necessary for her to acknowledge areas where she is not strong, and to ask for assistance in these areas. By doing this, there is potential for her to increase her levels of competence, but also to be seen to be a team player, thus increasing inclusion capital in that area, although she must still convince her colleagues of her competence. If Sarah is not prepared to make this effort to improve, her inclusion capital will continue to suffer, and it is likely that management may need to take some form of action regarding her poor performance. It is entirely reasonable for the organisation, including affected colleagues, to be concerned by Sarah's poor performance. This poor performance needs to be managed appropriately to ensure the organisation is still conducting its core business at optimum levels, and this is more important than any other issue, especially if her poor decision-making puts other officers' safety at risk.

Having said this, there are ways that overall understandings of competency might be addressed to assist people like Sarah to bank inclusion capital. At present, to be regarded as competent, officers are generally expected to be capable of the same tasks at the same levels of competence. Sarah is continually being compared and measured according to tasks that she may not be comfortable with, such as making operational decisions. The expectation that she must continue to do this exacerbates the issue, especially if she is not given guidance in this area. However, as this has been identified, the question might be asked whether she has other strengths that could be drawn on to contribute to the team in a more positive way. If Sarah is measured on the good skills she has, rather than the poor ones, it is possible her colleagues may be more inclined to include her.

With this in mind, it may be helpful to consider a skills and knowledge register for all officers in the organisation, to ensure they are being used to their full potential. Officers who feel they have skills or knowledge that could be used in a more positive way would have these skills noted, meaning they could be drawn upon at relatively short notice when needed. In this way, skills are seen as extra
competencies rather than something that 'helps' other officers. By actively nurturing and pursuing these extra skills, the organisation sends a message to officers that there is more to competence than having the same skills as everybody else. In Sarah's case, we are unaware of whether she has other skills that may be useful in the organisation, such as prior work experience, knowledge or other qualifications. If she does have these skills, they may be useful in a different role, or for other tasks within her team. This may appear to be a managerial solution, however it is posited that having this register will also encourage officers to accept and embrace skills that others bring to the organisation. This might move those with different skills such as speaking a second language out of their 'helper' status, and to be seen as core workers.

The other issue draining Sarah's inclusion account is a belief she will make a complaint about discrimination, even though she is entitled to do this under policy. Although Sarah is protected through policy from being victimised when making a complaint, this protection will probably not have any impact on the issues surrounding her cultural competence, or on how she is perceived by colleagues. This is difficult for the organisation to manage as it primarily relates to police culture, which is very hard to actively change, especially through policy. It is made more difficult by the requirement to manage Sarah's poor performance, as Sarah might feel that she is being managed due to her sexuality, rather than her lack of competence.

A potential solution to her being excluded due to the perception she will make a complaint does not lie directly with targeting the negative parts of police culture. Instead, it is suggested that the previous suggestion of a skills register be broadened further to look at the ways in which officers are recruited and promoted. In recruitment and promotion, these skills should count towards whether the applicant is selected. For example, while the baseline requirements for recruitment might still be in place (such as an exam), these could be placed at a pass level rather than as a competition that requires the applicant to achieve the highest mark to be selected. Once this pass level has been achieved, skills such as speaking a second language, knowledge of a particular community or
even evidence of critical thinking ability could be counted towards selection. This demonstrates these skills are highly valued by the organisation, and individuals with other skills have a better chance of being employed or promoted. Rather than using quotas to increase levels of diversity, the organisation can increase diversity by looking for the very skills that are of use to a diverse organisation. This also encourages potential applicants to learn or improve additional skills, which is also a benefit to the organisation. This is not posited as a way for Sarah to be promoted, but rather as a way of changing attitudes towards difference.

Unfortunately, Sarah’s lack of competence makes her situation very difficult to improve unless she is prepared to actively demonstrate a willingness to fix this lack of competence. Even if she can manage to do this, her inclusion capital will have already suffered greatly over the many years she has been in the police. She would certainly need to be seen to work alongside management to improve her inclusion capital relating to competence. Having said this, there are ways that management can assist people like Sarah, through encouraging officers to embrace the strengths of themselves and others.

**Case Study Three: Mohamed**

Mohamed has a large inclusion capital deficit due to his Muslim background, especially relating to cultural congruency. This will make it very difficult for him to improve his inclusion capital levels. It is again noted here that the difficulties for Mohamed are complex when placed against the backdrop of Muslims being seen as a ‘suspect’ community, as discussed in Chapter Three. This contributes to a requirement for him to constantly prove his loyalty and trustworthiness due to the perception that he may be linked to terrorism. This means that Mohamed will need to work harder on his inclusion capital levels throughout his career, in significant contrast to those who have inherited inclusion capital as discussed in a previous section. This perception of terrorism is likely to continually drain his inclusion capital account from a cultural congruency perspective, meaning he may need to be consistently better than others when it comes to competency and being a team player. Unfortunately, he is now in a position where this is difficult due to his injury.
While in his previous workplace Mohamed was able to use high levels of competency to combat his inclusion capital deficit, his injury is now precluding him from doing this while also draining his inclusion capital account because he is unavailable to the team. This can be mitigated somewhat by police management strategies, however for Muslim police officers, there is still a wide range of external factors making inclusion difficult. As police culture issues (relating to cultural congruency) are hard to influence through policy, it is suggested that management might consider the other two inclusion capital elements for change. The key suggestion here relates to both competency and being a team player.

As with Sarah, it is suggested that organisational understandings of competence be looked at, with recruitment of officers targeting those with different skills to ensure a range of attributes amongst the team. While at this stage Mohamed’s injury might preclude him from fully operational duties, it is possible his previous experience in various areas may still be of use to the unit. Rather than assuming Mohamed must be able to do everything at the same level as everyone else, it may be useful to look at his other skills and attributes with a view to using these in a positive way. For instance, while we are not given any exact information on Mohamed’s religious or cultural background, if he is a Muslim, or if he speaks another language, this could be used to the advantage of the team when planning and managing operations relating to Islamic terrorists. It is noted that Islamic terrorism is a key issue in the policing arena at present, meaning that Mohamed may be more equipped to deal with terrorism offenders than an officer who has no understanding of Islam at all. This is especially the case when dealing with different Muslim communities, including different sects of Islam, as there is potential for Mohamed to provide reassurance to both police and these communities in an environment where trust is a significant issue. Having said this, it also needs to be acknowledged that Mohamed’s particular Muslim identity may not be well received in all Muslim communities, due to various historical and social factors. This is exactly why any knowledge he may have is vital, to ensure the right people are used in community engagement processes. By
encouraging Mohamed to use his knowledge, police management can assist him to be seen as both a team player and a competent officer who contributes to that team. This allows him to build inclusion capital even while his injury is being rehabilitated. As such, while Mohamed’s case appears to be hopeless from an inclusion perspective, there are ways management can assist him and others in a similar position to be included in the workplace.

Another suggestion made from the academic literature and corroborated by the interview data is that other officers would benefit from knowing more Muslim officers like Mohamed. If Mohamed has a good knowledge of Islam and Islamic cultures, including the many differences between Muslim groups, he may be able to impart this knowledge on officers who do not understand or who do not trust Muslims. Given he has proven himself in other workplace, it might be hoped that he has already done this to some extent. As discussed in Chapter Three, formal education given to police officers regarding religious knowledge is not always received well, but the interview data suggests that by working with Muslim officers, trust barriers can be broken down. In other words, Mohamed, if placed in the right position in the organisation, may be able to break down stereotypes about Muslims generally. Having said this, Mohamed’s competence is very important, as it gives him credibility. Merely placing Muslims in the workplace without addressing these other issues may actually have a detrimental effect on their credibility if they are not deemed as competent.

Mohamed’s situation is probably the most difficult of the three case studies. The perception held by some participants of links between all Muslims and terrorism means there are likely to be personnel who will never fully trust Mohamed or any other Muslim officer on their team, regardless of competence. For this reason, it is important to facilitate information and knowledge about Islam that would greatly reduce this perception. Unfortunately, this will be difficult when there are still media and other external factors to contend with that contradict this factual information about Islam.
Reflexivity
As a final point in relation to the use of inclusion capital theory by police managers, the use of reflexivity is quite important. While reflexivity is generally a term used in relation to researchers, it is asserted that the concept can also be used in the diversity field. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, reflexivity requires the researcher to place themselves within their research, and to demonstrate their understandings of how they may have influenced research outcomes (Charmaz & Bryant 2011). Reflexivity is also important to Bourdieu's (1977) concept of doxa, whereby individuals believe that structures do not need to change, because they are the way things should be. By being reflexive, individuals can use critical thinking skills to question these structures, and therefore implement change where necessary (Deer 2012). To put this into a police diversity and inclusion context, officers need to be aware of their own place in the workplace, and how they personally influence the social structures and cultures around them. This would require some training and expectation that officers are able to analyse their own biases, backgrounds and behaviour to see how they personally fit into the workplace. This is especially the case for those in management roles, where they are in a position to influence the behaviour of others.

Encouraging reflexivity in diversity management allows for all employees in an organisation to question taken-for-granted assumptions (Bouten-Pinto 2016). Rather than imposing diversity policies on police officers, managers can encourage officers to be more reflexive in their thinking to assist them in understanding why diversity and inclusion is so important in the workplace. This will require a high level of reflexivity on the part of the police managers themselves to guide the way forward. By including officers in the change process and encouraging them to think about the impact of their own actions on others, they can be given some level of ownership over their behaviour in the workplace. This means officers are likely to have more personal investment in the positive culture of their workplace, making inclusive practices a real possibility.
Conclusion
In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the substantive grounded theory for this research, known as inclusion capital theory. By maintaining the three elements of inclusion capital – cultural congruence, being competent, and being a team player, an individual officer can increase their likelihood of being included and accepted amongst their colleagues. Inclusion in the policing workplace can be understood in similar terms to a bank account, requiring individuals to ‘bank’ and maintain the three elements of inclusion capital in order to be accepted by colleagues. It is noted the inclusion capital account explains the concepts to a point, but does not explain how the organisation itself can affect inclusion capital.

The three elements of inclusion capital have different characteristics and effects on the inclusion account, with competency being the most important for long-term inclusion by colleagues. It is also the case that officers must bank at least two elements of inclusion capital to maintain their inclusion in the workplace. Banking initial inclusion capital, if officers are not predisposed to particular traits, may require modification of behaviour. Alternately, some officers will inherit inclusion capital due to their characteristics being similar to the predominant norm in that workplace. Failure to bank inclusion capital in the first place means an officer is unlikely to be accepted amongst colleagues.

Following the initial banking of inclusion capital, maintenance is required through effort on the part of the individual officer. Maintenance can be quite dynamic and may be in any or all three of the inclusion capital elements. However, inclusion capital can also be lost, meaning a reduction in acceptance by colleagues. This can occur in a number of ways, including when an officer decides they do not wish to maintain a particular element, or when external circumstances beyond the officer’s control dictate the loss. One of the most obvious ways this occurs is when an officer needs to take an individual entitlement through policy, meaning their colleagues are left picking up the workload of that officer. This is a key question for effecting overall cultural change in the policing workplace towards higher levels of inclusion for all – if an
individual takes an entitlement, how can structures support this so it is not perceived as unfair for everyone else? It is proposed this is a good starting point for future structuring of the workplace to ensure the team is nurtured, even when the individual needs something external to the team.

In other words, the organisation can use the knowledge acquired through inclusion capital theory to guide their human resource policies. By taking a holistic approach looking at how these policies affect all individuals in the workplace, other strategies can be implemented to encourage inclusion for all. This means issues of fairness must be analysed to ensure no individual is perceived to be gaining an entitlement over others, while also ensuring that all officers are entitled to what they need. It is hoped that inclusion capital theory can assist management in doing this.
Chapter Twelve: Conclusion

This study explored the experiences of twenty police officers in relation to diversity and difference in the New South Wales Police Force (NSWPF) by asking the following research questions:

1. How are difference and diversity perceived and experienced by members of the New South Wales Police Force?
2. How and why are these experiences and perceptions perpetuated and reinforced within the organisation? Do they fit with official policy on diversity?

These questions were investigated using a constructivist grounded theory methodology. This methodology allowed a more reflexive approach to the research, because as a sworn police officer, I already had some understanding of the research topic. The interview data was coded and analysed with a view to identifying new viewpoints and/or emerging theories in relation to how members of the NSWPF perceive and experience difference and diversity within the organisation.

Defining diversity and inclusion should be viewed as a largely contextual, fluid process. While placing individuals into diversity categories might create an easy framework for policy, it does not give enough depth to the complex issues surrounding diversity. Similarly, inclusion is a multi-faceted term with multiple interpretations and contextual understandings, meaning simple definitions do not capture all the required nuances. In critically analysing these issues, possibilities for better understandings of diversity and inclusion can be identified and formulated to promote wider engagement.

At time of writing, the NSWPF had multiple well-intentioned policies in place to increase and manage diversity in the organisation. These policies generally related to a vision of an inclusive and diverse workplace where individuals' needs were met. Unfortunately, these policies were, and continue to be, implemented with a top-down approach, meaning, as the data reflects, they are
not always embraced at a grass roots level. Further, the policies individualise the officer needing them, which is problematic given each officer’s requirement to be recognised as an integral member of the team in order to be accepted by colleagues.

The substantive grounded theory developed from this research is called inclusion capital theory. It explains why some officers are accepted more easily than others, and provides a framework that aims to facilitate individuals’ inclusion in the workplace. More importantly, the organisation can use this framework to create more inclusive workplaces by assisting individual officers to be included without those individuals needing to make significant changes to their behaviour.

**Summary of findings**
Four major findings from the first research phase (twenty individual semi-structured interviews, as discussed in Chapter Two) were formed into four hypotheses that were tested in the second research phase (as discussed in Chapters Five to Eight). A fifth hypothesis was established during this second research phase (as discussed in Chapter Nine). These hypotheses were:

- **Hypothesis One**: Police officers are accepted by their colleagues through fitting into the culture or through a perception of competence or both.

- **Hypothesis Two**: Police officers perceive difference and diversity as a problem to be solved, rather than a benefit to the organisation.

- **Hypothesis Three**: Muslim officers are regarded with a greater level of suspicion than other officers.

- **Hypothesis Four**: A disconnect exists between officers’ understandings of New South Wales Police Force official policy on diversity and the belief systems and practice displayed by those officers.
• Hypothesis Five: Police officers perceive diversity initiatives in the organisation to be somewhat unfair.

Analysis of Hypothesis One, Police officers are accepted by their colleagues through fitting into the culture or through a perception of competence or both, resulted in the formation of inclusion capital theory, with the other four hypotheses contributing to. The main points relating to this hypothesis were that an officer must fit in to the prevailing culture of the workplace, be competent at their job, and be a team player, as elaborated on in Chapter Five. Officers fitted into the culture by being part of the boys’ club and its drinking culture, passing the ‘attitude test’ by accepting the status quo and changing themselves to become part of the norm. They proved their competence by having a strong work ethic and meeting the same benchmarks as everyone else. Being a team player was achieved by contributing to their fair share of the team’s workload or by contributing to the camaraderie of the workplace by being a ‘good bloke’.

The analysis of Hypothesis Two, Police officers perceive difference and diversity as a problem to be solved, rather than a benefit to the organisation, found that people with different needs, and/or who were different to the norm were not perceived to be as useful to the workplace. As identified and discussed in Chapter Six, this included women who took maternity leave, officers from non-English speaking backgrounds, officers from religious backgrounds perceived as needing time away from the workplace, and officers who needed extended time off for other issues such as PTSD. There was a strong sense among participants that these individuals were rorting the system, and letting other team members pick up their workload. Further to this, these ‘different’ officers were described as ‘helpers’, implying they are less important to the successful completion of the team workload. Participants also felt that having too many officers of one particular strand of diversity – understood as different from the norm of being a white heterosexual male - was problematic for the workplace and/or the team. The data for this hypothesis explicitly conveyed participants’ expectations that officers from diverse backgrounds needed to fit into the structure of the workplace, rather than the other way around.
The findings of Hypothesis Three, *Muslim officers are regarded with a greater level of suspicion than other officers*, revealed an underlying suspicion of Muslim officers in the workplace by non-Muslim officers. This was usually coupled with assumptions surrounding Muslim officers’ religion and background, an overall dislike of Islam, as well as assumptions and suspicions regarding links to terrorism. Muslim participants discussed how they felt there was pressure to drink alcohol when they may not necessarily have been comfortable to do this, and that there was suspicion surrounding their religion, sometimes requiring further explanation to appease colleagues. In other words, Muslim police officers have an added pressure to prove they are not a threat to their colleagues, sometimes to the point of going against what they would normally regard as acceptable behaviour. Some participants felt that Muslim officers may not be a good fit for the culture in the police, meaning they are in a difficult position when they commence in the workplace, especially if they are unaware of the issues they are likely to encounter. However, other participants, including one Muslim participant, did not accept that Muslim officers were discriminated against in the workplace. Participants who had worked with Muslim police officers were positive about their excellent work ethic and how they did fit in to the team. This particular hypothesis raised a number of challenging issues, especially regarding perceptions that Muslim officers may have links to terrorism, providing a good basis for future research.

Analysis of Hypothesis Four, *A disconnect exists between officers’ understandings of New South Wales Police Force official policy on diversity and the belief systems and practice displayed by those officers*, identified that overall, participants did not perceive the NSWPF diversity policies in positive ways. Participants indicated that diversity policy was not necessarily complied with, meaning it is not achieving desired outcomes of cultural change. It was also identified that using entitlements under these policies, for example taking maternity leave, could be detrimental to inclusion for the individual officer (as discussed in Chapter Eight). Most participants could not give any specifics of policy, although some believed that positive outcomes could come from an increase in diversity.
Hypothesis Five, *Police officers perceive diversity initiatives in the organisation to be somewhat unfair* emerged during the second research phase. Officers not targeted in diversity policies and initiatives, who therefore did not qualify for similar entitlements, felt the unfairness in diversity initiatives the most. Issues such as reverse discrimination and selecting individuals on their own merits rather than meeting quotas were raised. Equality was understood and endorsed as everyone receiving the same opportunities regardless of their individual circumstances. Together, these five hypotheses were the foundation for the substantive theory, known as inclusion capital theory.

**The substantive theory: inclusion capital theory**

Inclusion capital theory was developed in response to these findings, with significant parallels drawn to Bourdieu's (1977) work on capital. Inclusion capital consists of characteristics and elements that a police officer needs to have or to work on to be accepted by their colleagues. The three elements of inclusion capital for NSW police officers are cultural congruence, competency and being a team player (see Chapter Eleven).

In the inclusion capital context, an officer fits into the culture by participating in the boys’ club, accepting the status quo by passing the attitude test, and changing themselves to and conforming to the norm (see Chapter Five). An officer is regarded as competent when they have a strong work ethic and understand what is required to do their work. They also need to have the same skills at similar ability levels as their colleagues, with an officer from a diverse background often needing to prove this at a higher level. Being a team player requires the individual to show they are on the same side as their colleagues and to make a positive contribution to the team. This could be in the form of doing their fair share of the work, getting along with colleagues and being seen to be reliable and trustworthy.

To the extent they gain and maintain the three elements of inclusion capital, an officer is accepted in the workplace. The employee must gain as much inclusion capital as possible when they first enter the workplace to be accepted more readily. Failure to gain inclusion capital in the first place will result in the officer
struggling to be accepted in the workplace, but an officer may acquire inclusion capital by working on or adding to any of the three elements. This requires the officer to understand the workplace terrain to start with. While they may not recognise this in terms of inclusion capital, they probably have an innate sense of how to be included in their workplace, and this understanding is aligned with the elements outlined in the theory.

Those who fit the norm (usually white heterosexual males) tend to start in the workplace with inherited inclusion capital. Once an officer has gained or inherited some level of inclusion capital, it is easier to maintain it, especially in the area of being competent. However, the amount of inclusion capital an individual has fluctuates depending on their individual circumstances. They may have workplace or external circumstances that affect their ability to maintain inclusion capital, meaning that at various times they will have more or less inclusion amongst their colleagues. An individual's inclusion capital will also fluctuate depending on the specific requirements of inclusion capital in their particular workplace.

Once the officer has a good level of inclusion capital, it must be maintained, but they can also afford to expend some of this when circumstances dictate, with at least two elements of inclusion capital required to ensure good levels are kept. The officer can choose to stop working on one element (such as a Muslim officer no longer drinking with colleagues) once they are in a position of optimum inclusion capital, especially if one element of their inclusion capital is being competent. They may also lose inclusion capital through external circumstances, such as when an officer develops PTSD and needs to take a large amount of sick leave, although it should be noted that not all officers with PTSD would take leave.

Current diversity policy in the NSWPF is centred on different categories of diversity, such as women, people from CALD backgrounds and LGBTI personnel. Unfortunately, this intensifies exclusion for the personnel it is designed to benefit, as it individualises them, taking away from their ability to be seen as a
team player. While these individuals may have particular needs the organisation should cater for, their inclusion capital is lost when they invoke any of these policies or engage in activities where they make a point in relation to their difference. Using these policies can be detrimental for the individual's inclusion and acceptance, even when they seemingly have no other choice, such as a woman taking maternity leave. This is worse for an officer who voluntarily uses the policy for a perceived personal gain.

While this research has described the workplace terrain in relation to inclusion capital for individual police officers in New South Wales, the theory arising from this provides some insights into how the organisation could use this knowledge to benefit all individuals in the workplace. With an understanding of this workplace terrain, management can use it as a framework to cater to the elements of inclusion capital in their diversity strategies. Rather than imposing cultural change from above through the use of policy that categorises individuals, more subtle measures can be taken to change the understandings of inclusion capital, in an attempt to level the playing field. In other words, the three elements can be used to demonstrate what management regards as important, thereby changing individual behaviours in a positive way. More specifically, working on understandings of competency and being a team player should create change in understandings of cultural congruence, which is generally the hardest element to impose change upon.

It is acknowledged that the boys’ club nature of the police workplace is difficult to change from above, and that policy attempting to do this tends to force problematic behaviour underground. However, the other two elements are easier to target. At present, an officer is required to be good at the same skills as their colleagues in order to be seen as competent. By changing the management narrative around this concept, different skills are likely to be seen as valuable. While all officers must still meet a basic skill level, skills such as a second language or knowledge of a culture could be targeted for recruitment and promotion, meaning that anyone with those skills will benefit. While this does put CALD personnel at an advantage, it does not exclude officers from the norm
who choose to learn another language. In contrast, quotas that specify numbers of CALD personnel do exclude others, who then question the legitimacy of the personnel who have gained from these quotas. This example also affects understandings of being a team player by challenging ideas of how the team should work.

While this example demonstrates the ways that inclusion capital elements could be changed, it is suggested that the skills that management should place value upon should not be specified. Although it would be necessary to have a baseline standard for certain skills, additional skills should also count towards the likelihood of recruitment and promotion. By showing interest in the different skills and knowledge employees have to offer, the organisation may recruit or promote officers with skills that are ‘outside the square’ so to speak, provided they are of use to the organisation. This would emphasise the point that the police organisation reflects the society it serves. From a business case perspective, this creates a situation where personnel in the organisation will have multiple viewpoints that could be valuable in the workplace. From a human rights perspective, individuals can have an emphasis placed on their strengths, rather than their perceived weaknesses, when being recruited. It is acknowledged that in a paramilitary organisation such as the police, this would require very strong leadership and an open-minded attitude to manage. A focus on reflexivity amongst management would encourage this open-mindedness.

**Impact of inclusion capital theory**

At first glance, the most obvious impact of inclusion capital theory is that the individual can use it to gain greater levels of acceptance in the workplace. This is certainly the case, but the theory has more far-reaching possibilities for impact. If embraced by the management of the organisation, it has the potential to make workplaces more inclusive in themselves. By steering away from policies that cater for a specific category of diversity, the organisation can create a workplace structure where all individuals are included. This will require dynamic and imaginative leadership, creating teams where each person’s strengths are encouraged and weaknesses are accepted and embraced by all members of the team. This is likely to take time and a significant amount of effort to ensure a
shift in mindset, and it is acknowledged that it may not be effective in all circumstances. Having said this, it is hoped the theory will provide a framework for change that can be worked with in a positive way. Recommendations for how this change could be achieved in the NSWPF are listed further below.

Diversity and inclusion will continue to be a contentious issue in policing organisations as individuals from all backgrounds compete for positions and for their own inclusion capital. The changing ideas about the purpose and function of policing will also have an impact on this issue, with some feeling an enforcement response is more important than a community policing response and vice versa. Of course, both of these responses are necessary and important, but a balance is difficult to uphold. Some will argue for the status quo to be maintained, while others will continue to advocate for changes that benefit the individuals who are outside the norm. Each of these arguments is of benefit to those who advocate for it, but does not bring the organisation any closer to a truly inclusive workplace. Inclusion capital theory provides another perspective in these debates, allowing for all sides to be heard and catered for. While it will always be difficult to keep everybody happy, by thinking in such a way that we structure the workplace so that everybody perceives fairness as much as possible, inclusion in policing organisations may be improved. The key point here is that it is up to the management of the organisation to ensure this occurs.

**Limitations of the research**

There were limitations to this study, including limited sample size, that some diversity issues were not addressed, and the insider status of the researcher. For a large organisation such as the NSWPF, or even a command as large as State Crime Command, twenty research participants cannot be said to be representative. However, a large amount of data was collected from these participants to give a good overview of what the landscape looks like within the command, reaching saturation levels. The data was certainly enough to demonstrate other research opportunities in this area and it is likely that similar studies would demonstrate the overall concept of inclusion capital with the same three elements. Hopefully, the definitions surrounding those elements would
change with time, preferably to a more inclusive environment, but ultimately the three inclusion capital elements would remain static.

It must be stated that it is not possible to address every issue relating to diversity in one study. Of note, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander officers and officers with physical disabilities were not discussed by research participants, possibly as they were not specifically mentioned in the case studies, but perhaps also due to their low numbers within the organisation. In addition, while lesbian women were discussed as part of the case study, participants did not mention other sexual identities such as gay men or transsexuals. It is entirely probable their experiences would be different to that of lesbians due to the masculine culture. This provides an opportunity for further research in this area, with the possibility of testing inclusion capital theory against other types of difference.

The last research limitation might also be viewed in a positive light – as the researcher, I am also one of the researched. As a sworn police officer in the organisation I am researching, it must be acknowledged there is a level of bias, some of which could be unconscious bias that I am not aware of. This was ameliorated as much as possible through the use of reflexivity, whereby I constantly questioned my own thoughts against the participant data, finding that I was initially far more critical of my colleagues than others might expect. Having said this, a level of bias is unavoidable for any researcher in this field. The journey of this research has taken me from being critical of the ways in which my colleagues perceive those who are different, to understanding why they perceive others this way. Policing is a challenging profession, where officers see the worst in people for the majority of their day, and at times this takes its toll. A large part of my writing process was spent away from the policing workplace (on maternity leave, therefore expending a large amount of my own inclusion capital), allowing me to think about the many nuances affecting the workplace behaviour of others and myself, without having to live it at the same time. I think cultural change will always be difficult to implement when it is proposed as an either/or concept. If policies are enforced that give one person something extra over another person (even with the best of intentions and when that person
should be entitled to it), someone feels they are missing out. While an argument may be made here that this is just unfortunate for the person missing out because they have had it easy in comparison, this does not change the way they feel. Ultimately, this means they will not accept the other person’s rights as fair. The way around this is to change or eliminate the structures that exclude any person in the first place. It is not good enough to give rights to one person at the expense of another – this is divisive and far from the inclusive workplace that should be the right of every employee.

Practical applications
As inclusion capital theory provides a framework for police managers to guide future diversity and inclusion strategies, the practical application of the framework is important. Rather than attempting to change culture through the implementation of policy from above, knowledge of the workplace terrain in relation to inclusion capital elements will allow police organisations to tailor their diversity solutions for maximum impact. Inclusion capital elements should be used to structure policy around the workforce in a way that encourages cultural change without trying to enforce it. In this section, suggestions are provided on how this could be done in the NSWPF, including a reassessment of policing roles and team needs, a state-wide register of officers’ skills and aspirations, recruitment and promotion for extra skills that are not necessarily known, implementation of a careers advisory system which allows for opportunities outside the officer’s current workplace, the implementation of a surge capacity in the form of a reservist police force, as well as a review of how workload is allocated in hours. It is noted these suggestions tend to cater towards the business case argument for diversity, and may be perceived as taking a conservative position, which is not necessarily the case. The humanitarian argument, that all individuals have a right to be part of the workplace, has been used for the creation of current policy, which is certainly positive. However, these policies have also contributed to some of the exclusion found in this study. The recommendations outlined here are designed to find a middle path, rather than to downplay the importance of why every human being should be included and accepted in the workplace. Both arguments are
important, especially if they can be used to promote genuine inclusion for everyone.

These suggestions are made using the understandings of inclusion capital as outlined for this research, and they are made with the caveat that some workplaces within the NSWPF may need further research to fully understand the nuances of their own inclusion landscape. A much broader review of the entire organisation would certainly be beneficial to help increase inclusion levels for all. The recent establishment of the Broderick review (Benny-Morrison 2018) into the promotions system and any barriers to promotion for women indicates a managerial desire to engage in the inclusion space, but comes with the perils of further exclusion of women. If the review is focused only on women, women who are promoted as a result of recommendations are likely to be seen as gaining special treatment over others, therefore losing their inclusion capital as they are not seen as looking out for the team. It is suggested a review of this kind needs to look at any recommendations through a holistic diversity lens, where all personnel are catered for, rather than looking for quotas in response to perceived exclusion.

In fact, it is argued that quotas are detrimental to inclusion capital for individuals who are recruited and promoted under these systems. Even targets are likely to have a poor effect for those they are designed to benefit. It is acknowledged that targets are widely used to encourage strategies to increase the prevalence of diversity in workplaces. This may be effective for other organisations, and it can be argued that when targets and quotas are set very high that this will change the culture more quickly. However, it is questioned whether the personnel going through the process at that time are included, or whether they have to bear the brunt of the consequences over that period. In the NSWPF, targets and quotas are still perceived in such a way that the individuals from the categories being targeted are gaining an extra benefit that others are not, meaning they lose their team player inclusion capital. The decision here is whether the organisation is prepared to let this happen, and whether other priorities such as representing the community are deemed more important than a functioning and inclusive
internal culture. There are other ways to increase diversity, without enforcing a quota or target system.

**Assessment of policing roles**
The first suggestion based on this research is to conduct an assessment of what is actually needed for each policing role within the organisation. It is acknowledged that a base level of knowledge and skill is required to be a police officer. This includes knowledge of legislation, officer survival and weapons handling skills, and good communication skills. This knowledge and basic skill level should not be and does not need to be compromised. However, all roles in the police also require further knowledge or skills in their particular area. With this in mind, an assessment of the actual tasks each role conducts on a regular basis can be made, and these tasks should drive recruitment and promotion into these positions. This means that officers are encouraged to take particular positions based on their knowledge and skills, but also demonstrates that each position has its own innate value, rather than particular roles being given to those who need part-time work or more regular hours, making these roles less respected or seen as ‘helper’ roles.

**Assessment of team needs**
This workplace assessment can be taken further by analysing what each team actually needs in their workplace. Rather than a belief that each person needs to have the same skills, each team can be analysed in a way that looks for missing skills and attributes. Recruiting for these skills and attributes fills this gap, but also acknowledges that individual differences are important. This is different to fulfilling quotas, as the emphasis is on skills, knowledge, and personal attributes rather than on diversity categories.

As the promotions system is already being assessed in the Broderick Review (Benny-Morrison 2018), a suggestion for this is that those being promoted be assessed for their ability to think reflexively, with an inclusive mindset and an openness to new knowledge about others. By promoting officers who are aware of the impact of their own actions and who genuinely understand that difference in the workplace is positive, it is likely that less resistance will come from this level. This is not a question of promoting individuals from a particular
demographic, but rather ensuring that those who are promoted are open to the idea that individuals from different backgrounds have a wealth of knowledge and skill to offer in the workplace. This takes away the notion that particular demographics are gaining special entitlements. Having an openness to learn about other people and their cultures is also important, as this attribute means it is less likely the individual will conduct themselves in racist or bigoted ways. This is especially important if Muslim and CALD officers are to be truly included and accepted in their workplace, as this open-mindedness on the part of others can help give them the space to build inclusion capital, as well as to demonstrate their own culture in a positive way. This open-mindedness may also mean that officers are less resistant to training or gaining information about diverse cultures, as well as accepting towards roles that are not seen as operational.

**Skills register of all officers**

Another suggestion is to conduct a statewide audit to ascertain the current skills and aspirations of police officers. This should result in a register of each officer’s skills and knowledge so these can be used at short notice if necessary. While skills such as second language skills may already be known, other skills such as trades, external qualifications or even interests in particular subjects may be of further assistance to the organisation. Once known, these skills and levels of knowledge can be used in relevant investigations or other roles. In this way, external knowledge that is not part of the generalised element of ‘being competent’ can be seen as more valuable. It also encourages officers to follow and use their personal interests in the workplace, making them feel more included regardless of difference or background. It is acknowledged that this suggestion is a managerial response to a complex social issue, and it is not asserted that this, on its own, would solve any problems of inclusion. This suggestion would need to be used to complement other strategies in a holistic approach to the larger issues of inclusion.

**Recruiting and promoting for diverse skillsets**

Further to the skills register, when officers are initially recruited, extra emphasis should be placed on applicants who have a particular skill or knowledge set that is not common amongst police, placing extra value on these skills. For example, knowledge of a second language or a different culture should be treated as an
added benefit to the organisation upon recruitment, giving that person more likelihood of being recruited. Taking this even further, recruitment of individuals with unique and useful interests could also be seen as a benefit. By placing these interests on the abovementioned register, more value is added. The point here is that any type of different interest or knowledge should be embraced, as this means that all personnel are encouraged to acknowledge and respect difference, rather than being expected to be the same. This changes understandings of competency, as it means competence can take different forms, rather than looking the same for every officer. It also takes out some level of competition relating to competence, and adds to an officer's ability to add to their inclusion capital.

In addition, officers who have an understanding of diversity and its benefits to the workplace will use those benefits to their best effect. It might be argued that officers recruited for their diversity of thinking will be moulded into the prevailing police culture, but the evidence from the data is that once these officers have proven themselves and banked enough inclusion capital in any form, they can and do choose to extricate themselves from the culture by letting their cultural congruence lapse. From this, we could conclude that culture is likely to change by itself, without any need to enforce that change from above.

Of greater significance, professionalisation of the policing profession would open up dialogue across multiple agencies, encouraging diversity of thought and subsequently, diversity of personnel. This includes recruiting personnel from other agencies at higher ranks. It also encourages personnel to improve their education and skills with a view to being more mobile in their careers.

**Careers advisory system**
Careers advisors for all police would be helpful to encourage officers to follow their interests towards a satisfying career path, with every officer being given the option to develop their strengths in various ways should they choose to do so. Each officer can be made aware of and offered the opportunity to ask for internal and external roles that may interest them. This does not necessarily have to relate to promotion. In conjunction with the skills register, this will give
the organisation a better idea of which officer is most suited to each role, rather than the individual officer being required to plot out their next move in the organisation. If an officer is keen to go into a particular area but does not have the required skills, opportunities may be provided for that officer to learn and improve in that area. Careers advisors can also guide officers to programs that will develop their strengths and weaknesses. There are already programs available to women, people from non-English speaking backgrounds and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander individuals to assist with recruitment and promotion, which are likely to reduce their inclusion capital as they are for individual differences. These programs are useful, but could potentially be taken further, with policy designed to allow for every officer to have access to similar programs. These do not necessarily have to relate to promotion, but could be focused on something different that adds a unique skill to the workplace.

**A reservist police force and a review of workload based on hours**
The final recommendation based on inclusion capital theory is to create a surge capacity within the organisation in the form of a reservist police force. Officers with a particular level of experience who resign from full-time work with the organisation could be given the option to be retained in a casual capacity as a police officer, and this could also be an option for officers on leave without pay. Obviously, this would require ongoing training and extra funding, but it would mean that officers who take long term sick leave or maternity leave can be replaced for periods of time without other team members having to pick up their workload or having to restructure the workplace. This would also make career breaks easier for serving officers who may wish to do something else for a time without losing their position in the organisation. This changes the way that being a team player is understood, as officers taking time away for individual needs are no longer perceived as letting the team down, for example women taking maternity leave for extended periods of time. It would also mean those leaving the organisation do not have to cut ties completely, and valuable skills and education would not be lost. As such, this suggestion has the potential to meet the needs of the organisation while also assisting individuals with their inclusion in the workplace.
In addition to this reservist police force, a review of the ways in which positions are allocated could be conducted. At present, each officer, whether full-time or part-time, is allocated one position. This means that an officer who is working part-time hours leaves the command with a number of hours that are not actually being worked. This contributes to the officer's loss of inclusion capital as they are not seen as available to the team. By allocating positions based on hours worked, there is the possibility of having more part-time officers to fill the gaps in hours worked, meaning that workload does not need to be picked up by other officers.

**Recommendations for future research**
The main recommendation for future research is to analyse inclusion capital elements for other workplaces, even within the same organisation. For example, the overarching main elements of inclusion capital for general duties police in the NSWPF might be similar, but there are likely to be some differences due to the different skills required and different attributes of individuals in these sections. The same could be said in relation to different geographical regions, even in the same organisation. This means different approaches might be needed in some areas to target competency and being a team player properly. This would also test inclusion capital theory for other workplaces, to ascertain whether its broader application is possible. Further, if the above recommendations were implemented, research into its effects would need to be conducted to ensure its effectiveness, with possible changes being needed in some areas. The use of inclusion capital theory in a policing organisation would need ongoing analysis, as it is designed to change culture. Therefore, upon the change of that culture, it may be that different strategies are required in order to continually improve.

It would be interesting to see how the inclusion capital terrain looks in completely different organisations. This theory could potentially be of use in almost any sector, with the caveat that the inclusion capital elements would need to be ascertained first. To attempt to implement this model without doing research for the particular workplace would mean a greater potential for implementing irrelevant and ineffective strategies. At the core of inclusion
capital theory is the idea that culture can be used to change the culture, but the culture being dealt with must be known first. Any attempt to use inclusion capital theory without this is likely to be a waste of time and effort.

If inclusion capital theory is implemented within the NSWPF or any other policing organisation, it is also important that it can be monitored to ensure its success. Culture will change over time, and this needs to be catered for when implementing new policy using this theory. It would be detrimental to the organisation to assume the definitions of inclusion capital elements as described in this research will be the same in the future. This means an ongoing engagement with the culture of the organisation to ensure best practice can be achieved, and ultimately that policy stays relevant on an ongoing basis. It may assist to build a research framework around this idea. As such, inclusion capital theory can be used to guide future policy.

**Conclusion**
Policing is a difficult profession that is more than just fighting crime. It requires a delicate balance between crime fighting and maintaining positive relationships with the community to ensure it can perform at optimum levels. Policing demands nuanced answers to difficult social questions, meaning police officers who can engage in and understand these questions are crucial to move the profession forward. It follows that policing organisations are viewed as fair, just and representative of the community, in line with Peel’s principles. Further, policing organisations need to keep up with contemporary social issues, such as diversity and inclusion, in order to recruit and retain appropriate personnel.

This study used constructivist grounded theory methodology and methods to analyse perceptions and experiences of diversity and difference in the NSWPF, resulting in a framework that can be used to promote a more inclusive workplace. The questions guiding the research asked how these experiences and perceptions were perpetuated within the organisation, and how they fit with official policy on diversity. Surprisingly, it was found they do fit with diversity policy, although not for the reasons one would expect. This led to inclusion capital theory being formulated, where officers must add to their inclusion
capital to be accepted in the workplace, through the three inclusion capital elements of cultural congruence, competency, and being a team player.

By using the three elements of inclusion capital to guide diversity solutions in the policing workplace, the police organisation can increase levels of inclusion and acceptance for everyone, without the need to categorise diversity in policy. This means that officers do not have to feel they are missing out, or that the policy is innately unfair to any person. Inclusion capital theory provides a framework for policing organisations to increase inclusion for their officers by working with culture rather than against it. By using this framework to guide organisational culture, more positive experiences amongst policing colleagues who are different are likely to result. This, in turn, will create a more effective organisation that is more effective in an increasingly diverse society. In a global environment where diversity and inclusion are becoming more important, the use of inclusion capital theory will provide police with another perspective to improve workplace harmony.
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**Legislation**


Annexures

Annexure A: Recruitment email

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am asking you to help me with some research I am conducting for my PhD at the University of Western Sydney. The research involves two interviews, each lasting for approximately one hour. The two interviews will be conducted about six to twelve months apart.

Through the research, I am aiming to gain insight into perceptions and experiences of New South Wales police officers in relation to difference within the organisation.

This research is an opportunity for you to state your opinions about your experiences in the workplace. Permission has been given from the New South Wales Police Force to conduct the research. It is independent of the New South Wales Police Force, and your choice to participate will not impact on your employment with them. All information given will be confidential and the New South Wales Police Force will not be informed who has participated.

The study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is H11100.

Your assistance would be greatly appreciated. Please contact me on 98717848@student.uws.edu.au if you are interested in participating in the study.

Kind regards,

Kate Linklater.
Annexure B: Participant information sheet and consent form

Participant Information Sheet

Project Title: Experiences in blue

Project Summary: This study is about perceptions of difference within the New South Wales Police Force.

You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted by Kate Linklater, a PhD student at the School of Social Sciences and Psychology under the supervision of Associate Professor Brian Stout and Professor Michael Kennedy.

How is the study being paid for?
The study is being sponsored by the School of Social Sciences and Psychology.

What will I be asked to do?
The study will be conducted in two interview phases. In the first interview, you will be asked to read three case studies then answer some questions about what you think of them, drawing on your experience in police practice.

The second interview will relate to the responses given by all respondents given in the first interview phase. This second interview will occur between six to twelve months after your first interview.

How much of my time will I need to give?
It will take up to one hour for each interview.

What specific benefits will I receive for participating?
It is not expected that you will personally have an immediate benefit.

Will the study involve any discomfort for me? If so, what will you do to rectify it?
We do not expect the study to cause any discomfort. Some questions involving your own experience in the police will be asked. This could possibly involve uncomfortable feelings, so you should speak to the researcher in the first instance if you are concerned. In the case that any difficult issues are raised that you can not resolve, the Employee Assistance Program is available to help on 1300 667 197.

How do you intend to publish the results?
Please be assured that only the researchers will have access to the raw data you provide.

The findings of the research will be published in Kate’s final thesis and possibly other publications. The answers you give will be strictly on an anonymous basis, and will not be attributed to individual participants. No names or other identifying personal details will be placed in the thesis or any other published work. Although the final thesis of the study and any published material may be made available to police management, your interview will be
kept confidential. Only the researchers (Kate and her university supervisors) will have access to these interviews. The academic supervisors for this research are Dr Brian Stout (School of Social Sciences and Psychology) and Dr Michael Kennedy (UWS College).

*Please note that the minimum retention period for data collection is five years.

**Can I withdraw from the study?**
Participation is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged to be involved. If you do participate, you can withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

If you do choose to withdraw, any information that you have supplied will be excluded from the project.

**Can I tell other people about the study?**
Yes, you can tell other people about the study by providing them with the chief investigator's contact details. They can contact the chief investigator to discuss their participation in the research project and obtain an information sheet.

**Data storage**
There are a number of government initiatives in place to centrally store research data and to make it available for further research. For more information, see [http://www.ands.org.au/](http://www.ands.org.au/) and [http://www.rdsi.uq.edu.au/about](http://www.rdsi.uq.edu.au/about). Regardless of whether the information you supply or about you is stored centrally or not, it will be stored securely and it will be de-identified before it is made available to any other researcher.

**What if I require further information?**
Please contact the following if you wish to discuss the research further before deciding whether or not to participate:

Kate Linklater (Principal Researcher)
98717848@student.uws.edu.au

Associate Professor Brian Stout
b.stout@uws.edu.au

**What if I have a complaint?**
This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is H11100.

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +61 2 4736 0905 or email humanethics@uws.edu.au.

Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

If you agree to participate in this study, you may be asked to sign the Participant Consent Form.
Human Research Ethics Committee
Office of Research Services

Participant Consent Form

This is a project specific consent form. It restricts the use of the data collected to the named project by the named investigators.

Project Title: Experiences in blue

I,______________________________________________ [name of participant] consent to participate in the research project titled ‘Experiences in blue’.

I acknowledge that:

I have read the participant information sheet [or where appropriate, ‘have had read to me’] and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.

The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to the interview process which will be digitally recorded.

I understand that my involvement is confidential and that the information gained during the study may be published but no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher/s now or in the future.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

Return Address: Kate Linklater, University of Western Sydney, Locked Bag 1797, Penrith NSW 2751

This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is: H11100.

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Annexure C: Phase one interview schedule

Demographic questions
1. How long have you been employed by the NSWPF?
2. What is your job title?
3. Which age bracket do you fit into?
   - 18-24
   - 25-29
   - 30-35
   - 36-40
   - 41-45
   - 46-50
   - 51-60
   - 61 and above

Case Study One prompting questions:
- What is your initial reaction to this story?
- What main issues are raised?
- What do you think a general response to Amy’s situation would be?
- Why do you think the boss won’t let Amy come back on a day shift?
- How does Amy’s sick leave affect her colleagues if it does at all?
- Do you think Amy is an asset to the police organisation she works for?

Case Study Two prompting questions:
- What is your initial reaction to this story?
- What main issues are raised?
- How do you think other colleagues would respond to Sarah?
- Why would conversation stop when Sarah enters the meal room?
- How would Sarah’s decision-making ability affect the way her colleagues interact with her?
- What do you think Sarah would complain about?
Case Study Three prompting questions:

• What is your initial reaction to this story?
• What main issues are raised?
• What does it mean that Mohamed ‘doesn’t fit into the culture’?
• What do you think other people in the organisation would think about Mohamed trying to join this unit?
• What reasons would Mohamed be left on the outer by other members of the unit?
• Would Mohamed’s age make a difference to his ability to pass? Why?

Final questions:

• Can you think of any experiences that these stories remind you of?
• What characteristics make people fit into the policing workplace? What characteristics do you think hinder them?
• Do you feel that you fit into the police? Why/why not?
• Would you describe yourself as different in any way other members of your organisation?
Annexure D: Phase one interview case studies

Case Study One

Amy joined the police three years ago and worked in general duties at a busy command. When Amy first started in the police, she attended a car accident where there were multiple fatalities. Amy is currently on maternity leave, and since having her child, she has been having frequent nightmares about the accident.

Amy wants to negotiate her return to work as one day shift per week in general duties. Amy's husband works as a senior engineer, and earns a very good salary. Amy is keen to work day shifts, as her husband is usually on night shifts so this will work well for day care. Her superintendent has told her that she needs to work night shifts to go back on the general duties roster, as her team already has two part-time workers doing day shifts, and placing another person on day shift will mean the rest of her team works too many nights. He gives Amy the choice of working in exhibits on a day shift, or working in general duties on a night shift. Neither of these options would be satisfying for Amy.

As her return to work comes closer, Amy becomes increasingly stressed, with the nightmares becoming more frequent. She sees her doctor, who tells her she is suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. She reports this to her boss, and extends her time off into sick leave.
Case Study Two
Sarah has been in the police for fifteen years, and works in a crime squad as a detective senior constable. She has a reputation for making poor operational decisions, and sometimes has difficulties getting on with other members of her team. She has recently identified as being in a same sex relationship with another police officer who works at another location. Sarah has noticed that when she enters the meal room, often the conversation stops or there is a change of subject, making her feel uncomfortable, but nobody has said or done anything inappropriate as far as she is aware. There have been a number of operational matters recently where her decisions were overridden by her supervisors, and she has not been offered the opportunity to relieve as a sergeant when officers junior to her have. Sarah is concerned that she is being discriminated against because she has identified as being gay, and has mentioned this to other colleagues. Colleagues have started to avoid her because they are worried they will say the wrong thing and she will make a complaint.

Case Study Three
Mohamed is forty-six years old and has been in the police for eight years. He is well regarded by his colleagues at his current station, but has decided to move into a more tactical role. His fitness is excellent, and he already has Army Reserve experience in tactical operations. He applies for and passes the initial assessment to join a tactical operations unit, but finds that other members of the unit leave him on the outer. A colleague tells him that other members are concerned about his age, but he has also heard an instructor comment that his background is a problem because it means he will not fit into the culture, in a place where loyalty and camaraderie are very important for getting the job done. During training, Mohamed sustains an injury that will require surgery, so he will take longer to pass the course. The instructor tells Mohamed that his age and injury are probably going to prevent him from passing, and that he should reconsider his application.
Annexure E: Phase two interview schedule

1. What is your understanding of ‘fitting in’ in relation to your policing workplace? Can you give an example of a new colleague and how they persuaded you they were a good fit for your workplace?

2. What factors are needed for a colleague to be regarded as ‘competent’?

3. Is a person regarded as more ‘competent’ if they get along well with colleagues? Why?

4. If a colleague is regarded as ‘competent’, does it matter if they get along with colleagues? What if they get along with colleagues but are not as good at their job?

5. How do you feel about the goals of the New South Wales Police Force to increase the numbers of women and people from non-English speaking backgrounds in the ranks?

6. How do these goals affect your workplace? Are there any negative aspects to these goals?

7. How do you think a significant increase in the number of Muslim officers would affect the NSW policing workplace and the culture of the organisation?

8. How would you expect a Muslim police officer to behave in your workplace? Would any changes need to be made by the organisation to cater to their needs?

9. What are your thoughts around Islam and terrorism in relation to the recruitment of more Muslim police officers?

10. Do you feel that official diversity policy fits with the needs and culture of officers in the organisation? Why?

11. Are there any ways that official diversity policy prevents you or your colleagues from being effective as a police officer?

12. What is your understanding of the NSWPF official policy on diversity?