Mentoring For Women in Policing in the UK

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the impact of mentoring on retention of women in policing in the United Kingdom. The research was undertaken with serving female police officers in various police forces in England and utilises a phenomenological approach to find out the experiences of female officers as they go about their duty and to find out what impact mentoring had on them both personally and professionally. The research investigates such areas as the work/life balance, dealing with traumatic events, career-threatening incidents, power in the relationship and cross gender mentoring.

Keywords: Mentoring, Female Police Officers, Work Life balance, Cross Gender, Phenomenology

Introduction

The integration of female officers into the police force and onto a career path is, among other diversity initiatives, a high priority issue within the police force. This paper seeks to make a contribution in highlighting some of the concerns and issues that female police officers have to deal with and whether mentoring would have a positive impact in assisting them and supporting them both personally and professionally.

In terms of concerns and issues that female police officers have to deal with, Gaston and Alexander (1997) suggest that young women entering a predominantly male culture have to overcome more obstacles than their fellow male 'rookies'. This is developed further by Millar (2006) reporting that the number of female recruits leaving within six months was almost double that of males at 6.8%.

Home Office figures at March 2008 show the total number of officers, male and female, leaving the force at 6% with the total number of female officers leaving at 16% and considering the number of female officers at senior rank, while up by 1 % on last year to 12%, it continues to be significantly less than males. It is possible that mentoring has a part to play in support of serving female police officers in relation to establishing themselves in the force and handling the obstacles that reportedly their male counterparts do not seem to have.

Metcalfe and Dick (2002) argue that the study of women in criminal justice was virtually ignored until the 1960s. They go on to discuss that early research, in the USA in particular, looked at women's physical performance to undertake police work and that it is only recently that the role of women in the police in the UK has been researched as the number of female officers begins to rise.

Brown, Hegarty and O'Neill (2006) have since discussed the rationale for increasing the numbers of women in the police service and the means for achieving that goal. They go on to discuss research evidence that suggests a critical mass of 35% female officers is an optimum percentage where women experience the least discrimination and greatest level of acceptance by male officers in the police. However their study also points out that at current rates of recruitment and wastage rates it will take 15 years to reach this percentage. It is worth noting that Metcalfe and Dick (2002) reported that women accounted for only 20% of all constables. This figure now, some 6 years later, has increased to only 24% of the total.

Background

Interest in the impact of mentoring for female police officers began during the development of a mentoring programme commissioned for The City of London Police. The formal mentoring programme was aimed at Women and Black and Asian Officers within the force. During the design phase of the programme one of the issues discussed was work/life balance and it was the impression by those attending this design meeting that this mentoring programme would help to address some of the related issues experienced by female police officers.

As the development of the programme progressed into the training it became evident that some female officers did have some concerns in relation to their careers and the balance of this with home and family life. However further conversations with female officers also revealed some concerns regarding culture and general personal development but again the mentoring programme was viewed with optimism in relation to these issues.

In terms of organisational support for female police officers there is, among others, the British Association for Women in Policing (BAWP), the South Wales Police Female Police Association and Women's Network. The aim of the Women's Network is to improve the working environment of women staff members, which in turn will improve the working environment for all staff members and the quality of service provided to the public. In addition, the emphasis is on sharing experience and offering support.

The British Association for Women in Policing has similar aims such as raising the awareness and understanding of issues affecting women within the Police Service, getting involved in issues concerning police officers, offering the female perspective and contributing to the continuous professional development of all members, the main difference is that this network seeks to develop nationally and internationally

The Female Police Association in South Wales also seeks to create a positive working environment for women police officers and to raise the profile of women police officers. The knock on effect of all these initiatives is to improve policing as a whole and give the public a good service.

Methodology

The methodology used in this study is phenomenological. The historical movement of phenomenology is built on the philosophical tradition developed by Edmund Husserl. The discipline of phenomenology may be defined initially as the study of structures of experience, or consciousness. Put another way phenomenology is the study of "phenomena" or things in our experience or the ways we experience things and the meaning of things in our experience.

Ashworth and Cheung Chung (2006) highlight how some believe that trying to understand human nature is a futile exercise because of the complexity of human beings. However they also argue that while human nature is complex some aspects of human nature can be explored and understood; and they are resolute in their belief that the phenomenological approach can help in understanding some aspects of experience and human psychology.

The phenomenological approach to the research was intended to help achieve the following, as described by Moustakas (1994):

- Recognition of the value of a qualitative methodology
- Focus on the experience
- Seek out what the experience means
- Gather descriptions of the experience through informal and formal conversations and interviews.

As the study set out to examine the experiences of female police officers who had experienced mentoring at some point in their career the phenomenological approach was identified as the most likely approach to uncover these experiences and their meaning.

The original research was carried out with three female officers from the formal mentoring programme created for the City of London Police and three female officers from other forces who had experienced mentoring in the UK, whether formal or informal. This selection process would provide an opportunity to investigate the mentoring experiences of female police officers from various police forces in other parts of the country. Assistance was also received from The British Association for Women in Policing (BAWP) who supplied relevant research literature.

Data was collected using semi-structured interviews. Following the first interview, which was conducted face to face, it was soon realized that due to participants working a variety of shift patterns and further face to face appointments having to be cancelled due to sudden changes of shifts, telephone interviews would be the best way forward. The remaining five interviews were then carried out by telephone with agreement from the interviewees to have the interviews recorded. Each interview lasted around thirty minutes, following which the recordings were sent for transcription.

Regarding the collection and reading of the data, it was important that I recognised my position in the study, considering the work that had been done with three of the participants in the study in creating a formal mentoring programme. Therefore all prejudgements regarding the phenomenon being investigated had to be set aside, the recognised strategy for this is known as 'bracketing'. Moustakas (1994) argues that in phenomenological studies research must be carried out free from suppositions and that the investigator must focus on the topic in a fresh and naïve manner and to construct a question that will guide the study of the topic and provide the basis for further reflection and research. In other words the researcher needs to bracket out any preconceived ideas in order to understand it through the participants Creswell (1998).

Ashworth (2000) describes this bracketing or Epoché as being of immense value in psychological research in setting aside all prior assumptions about the nature of the thing being studied so that the phenomenon is not distorted and can be described "*in its appearing*."

Having said that, since I worked closely with a police force in creating a formal mentoring programme and had built relationships with police associations this put me in a privileged position regarding the research. Mioduszewski (2007) discusses this and describes front stage and backstage behaviour as identified by Irving Goffman. The backstage behaviour is of significant importance to the researcher, in that this portrays a more relaxed and informal style. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) argue that outsiders and insiders have access to different sorts of information when collecting data. They argue that the complete outsider may fail to understand the perspectives of the participants and this could lead to misunderstanding. Having worked with three of the interviewees on a mentoring project over several months proved beneficial when carrying out the other remaining interviews.

In terms of the phenomenological research, as we see situations through our own worldview and have a need to create meaning it is important to concentrate on the raw experience and data that has been collected. Husserl describes this process as the transcendental phenomenological reduction. The first phase of the process is called the epoché (Husserl 1983), in which value judgments concerning conscious meaning are bracketed off. This phenomenological approach concentrates on experiences that are raw in that they have not yet been analysed. Data is presented as closely as possible to the way that those concerned would understand. However Husserl himself believed that bracketing could not exclude all prejudices, but was merely an attempt to be aware of certain assumptions. Giorgi (1985) discusses bracketing as the researcher being able to escape the danger of finding only what he or she expected to see. However, as Ashworth and Chung (2006) discuss, Husserl's pupil, Heidegger, rejected the assumption that the researcher could be sufficiently detached from the everyday world to describe a phenomenon. Having said that, the phenomenological approach described by Giorgi (1985) provided a logical and systematic resource for carrying out the analysis needed to discover and present the descriptions of experience.

Moustakas (1994) offers a more detailed sequence for the researcher and discusses the development of 'meaning units' following the reading of transcripts and listing these meaning units of experience into themes. Ashworth (1996) elaborates on this further and argues that we should presuppose nothing, as an important methodological principle of research based on phenomenology.

Findings

The findings from the study are presented under ten headings: promotion; confidence; support; career direction; traumatic events; career threatening incidents; work-life balance; peer issues and culture; cross gender and power.

1. Promotion
One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that mentoring in the police force is frequently used to support promotion and career development. This would appear to be quite a legitimate use of mentoring. However, if not discussed and clarified fully with programme participants, it could put unnecessary pressure on mentors and mentees. In addition this use of mentoring would question some observations made by commentators regarding the differences between the model used in American mentoring schemes to that used in European programmes. Cranwell-Ward, Bossons and Gover (2004, p146-147) make a statement that: '*the nature of mentoring in the United States, for example, is very different from the European approach to mentoring.*'

They go on to describe that a mentor in the United States would view their mentee as a protégé and therefore the expectation is that the mentor would influence career progression.

The research did not intended to explore or expand on the differences between mentoring in the United Kingdom and mentoring in the United States however the response from participants questions the above comments regarding differences in mentoring in the two countries. As one participant in the study said at various points throughout the interview:

But everyone I've done is for promotional purposes

Nobody I've mentored has done it just because they want to experience another side of the service

Most people, in fact all of the people that I've ever mentored have done it for promotional purposes

All of the above comments come from a senior female officer who has a great deal of experience in mentoring both as a mentee and as a mentor.

In addition, the following comment came from a female officer who experienced mentoring as a mentee:

There were less female officers in the Force than there are now.
There seems to be an awful lot more, so because I was looking for promotion to the next rank it was suggested that I go on the scheme

2. Confidence
Gaston and Alexander (1997) highlight comments from research suggesting that because of socialisation experiences of female officers it resulted in them having less confidence in their abilities than men and consequently they had lower career expectations. They go on to argue that female officers are less likely to aspire to promotion the longer they are in the service. In relation to this aspect this comment came from a mentee regarding participation in a formal mentoring programme:

…gave me a bit more confidence to be more serious in some aspects of work... it had an impact

3. Support
Metcalfe and Dick (2002) discuss lack of organisational support and the following comments would seem to uphold this view:

But there isn't… I would say there's no direction or career development as
such, I would say, in the force"

I need to develop and the difficulty is finding out where I need to go. I don't have anybody to advise me

Gaston and Alexander, (1997) discuss this and point out that a central factor affecting the decision to study for promotion concerns the support received from others. However in contrast to this, and in defence of some police forces one of the interviewees reported:

So the benefits of getting a mentor, bearing in mind that whole transition process, were highlighted to me

4. Career Direction

Statistics published by the Home office at the end of March 2008 regarding females in higher ranks might support some of the earlier comments regarding lack of career direction. Females in service represent 24% of the total compared with 23% the previous year. However, the proportion of women in more senior ranks remains low with only 12 percent of the officers at Chief Inspector or above which amounts to 11 percent compared with 27 percent at the rank of constable.

Dick and Metcalfe (2007) refute claims that it is lack of commitment from female police officers that can be attributed to lack of career progress. Their research examined two models to identify organisational commitment. The Gender Model contends that it is the childbearing and child caring differences for women that have an impact on organisational commitment and how organisations have to compete with a woman's loyalty since she has greater family responsibilities than a man.

In contrast this model determines the male role as independent, assertive and goal oriented and views their role in the organisation as central to their self-perception. The difficulty with this type of model is that it makes sweeping statements that very often do not hold up under scrutiny. It is worth noting that the mentoring programme designed for the City of London Police included a senior male officer as a mentor who was also a single parent and this officer's experience was invaluable to the programme.

The alternative model discussed is the Job Model (Dick and Metcalfe, 2007). This model suggests that commitment differences are accounted for due to their different work experiences however the authors go on to highlight that there is inconsistent support that commitment levels between men and women vary and they go on to say that managerial variables have by far the greatest influence in shaping organisational commitment compared to the individual variables of gender, length of service and age.

5. Traumatic Events

Carlson and Christianson (2003) report from their study of policing in Sweden that all police officers were able to describe traumatic events while on duty. Their study also reports that police in the UK and USA are heavily exposed to stress and goes on to discuss the importance of discussing these events with other officers and how important the support is from superior officers. This investigation does not separate out the effects on female and male officers but it does detail accounts from both on incidents they have had to deal with and the resulting effects. The study also revealed that over half of the officers interviewed said that talking with fellow officers had helped however it also revealed that a very small number had actually been offered help.

In addition, this report goes on to highlight that police officers reported more traumatic events earlier in their careers than in later years of their service and their conclusion for this was that they had developed coping strategies. While this may be the case, being unable to find solid evidence for this conclusion I argue that it is worthwhile considering the point made by Hay (1995) who reports that reporting back to line management may not be a good idea in many cases for fear of some sort of reprisal. I argue that having a mentor to share these issues with is beneficial.

6. Career Threatening Incidents

In a similar vein to traumatic incidents one senior officer discussed a routine incident early in her career which, if not handled carefully and correctly could have had serious consequences. For confidential reasons the exact nature of this incident was not revealed but it is clear that having a mentor to confide in was invaluable.

> I've heard them talking about these things that very easily you could fall into a situation which is none of your doing but you could be held responsible.
> There was an incident…….I was lucky I had my mentor to encourage me…..and he did provide me with a lot of support around this incident, practical support.

7. Work/Life Balance

Research has revealed little in the way of in-depth study regarding how female officers manage this work/life balance. Studies exist to discuss managerial advancement in the police along with gender and commitment but not on work life balance. Metcalfe and Dick (2002) also comment on the lack of available research in this area. However it was this aspect of the female police officers experience that was picked up on during mentoring training as being an issue with the officers.

The British Association for Women in Policing (BAWP) provides information support through their website. Their guide "Flexible Working" offers information and suggests that flexible working could be the way to the *work/life-juggling act.*

The booklet highlights the benefits of flexible working and discusses what flexible working is and lists the categories: part-time, job share, compressed hours, voluntary reduced hours, flexi-time, annual hours, term time working variable working hours, career breaks and home time tele-working. The booklet states that only some of the options are offered by most forces but senior officers agree that new and innovative ways are needed to attract and retain good staff.

The booklet goes on to discuss that the officer can be met with what they describe as *old fashioned attitudes.* In addition it describes how some officers have experienced feelings of isolation and lack of development when they have broken away from the mainstream long hours culture.

The issue of female officers leaving to start a family and then returning to work is a topical area. Police forces do work with Women's Networks to assist but sometimes it comes down to attitudes along with expectations and perceptions.

Some of the comments that were recorded during this study mirror these attitudes:

> Yeah, even now, and the guilt...I'm sitting at my desk, it was one of my children's
> parents'/teachers' afternoon….. the XX rings and says I need to
> see you at 4 o'clock. What I should have done was, "Sorry XX I can't I've got
> a commitment", but I didn't, it was "Yes, XX I'll be there at 4 o'clock

Gaston and Alexander (1997) discuss that young women entering a male culture means that they are more likely to have to overcome more obstacles than their male "rookies" with regard to how they are treated by experienced officers however, the above statements come

from an experienced officer showing that even female officers with many years experience may still have difficulty with the work/life balance, how they handle it and their superiors. Another statement from the research highlights the feelings of guilt experienced by a female officer:

> And it's guilt the whole way through, the work/life balance is still an issue
> among the female officers because... and I think it is predominantly amongst
> females rather than males, you know, they feel, still feel that we have to work
> a 110% just to get recognition and to be seen to be, to go home, to a parents'
> evening or to pick the kids up or to take them to dancing is still seen, with
> most females, as big, big issues, big, big blockage to, and barriers to taking
> career development, without a doubt

Dealing with domestic issues or handling the work/life balance was central to the original research, how female police officers handled this situation and whether mentoring had any impact on it. The following comments were recorded in support of how the mentoring programme offered assistance to the female officers who were mentees:

> xx used to put it into perspective. His thing would be 'you can't
> overreact …. but you've got to deal with it' and he gave me proper strategies

> …a completely different perspective and I do feel, yes less anxious and less
> self conscious of not having to give an account of myself

> So you know, childcare or parent care or you know, whatever and just how
> to manage that……..just how you raise the subject with your line manager and your
> colleagues,

8. Peer Issues/Culture

Experience in supporting mentoring programmes has revealed to me that sometimes issues of jealousy among peers to those involved in the mentoring programme can occur. However comments from some mentoring programme managers to this situation indicate that it is a cultural issue. In other words "That's just how people react around here"

I argue that dealing with the company culture is an important aspect to an individual's development. In addition, when designing a formal mentoring programme navigating organisational culture should be part of the design as to outcomes of the programme. Some of the female police officers interviewed as part of this research had strong views on the subject: These came from mentees

> I think that's… one of the greatest potential benefits of mentoring, helping
> you understand that culture and work your way around that culture

> I suppose I've always been a bit of a cynic to culture. If you come into an
> organisation you don't know the norms, you don't know the values, you don't
> know the beliefs……now I am a complete convert to culture, culture is king

In support of these views on culture Ragins and Kram (2007), state that a high quality mentoring relationship would depend on whether the mentor possessed accurate and meaningful information about the organisation's culture and this could have a significant bearing on mentor selection

Gamba and Kleiner (2001), discuss the old boy's network and whether it still exists. They argue that while progress has been made in reality there is a less optimistic picture. Their research highlights that women in business still experience tension and uncertainty about their roles and a belief that the old boy's network still exists from promotion to pay and even office space and however much was hoped that it would be different it seems this is not the case. Again, comments from interviewees during this research would uphold this belief:

> *… you see because promotion for inspector is exam based, after*
> *this point it is going to be interview based which is fine but leaves me open to*
> *the old boy's network*

Hay (1995) however, argues that the role of women in public life is changing anyway. She cites work by Patricia Aburdene and John Naisbitt where they describe ways in which women are overturning centuries of male domination and showing how women's inspirational leadership in business will replace outdated management hierarchies. While there has been a slight increase in female officers at senior level I argue that overturning centuries of male domination in the police service may just take a bit longer with comments such as:

> *Well, I think the biggest challenges I've ever had in my role have been*
> *dealing with older white male police officers by far*
>
> *and it's a different world for male police officers with a bit more service*
> *than it is for a young jumped up thing from university*

9. Cross Gender

Ragins and Cotton (1996) discuss perceptions in cross-gender mentoring relationships. They discuss the point that jealous spouses and resentful coworkers may cause problems for protégés and mentors. They cite one mentoring relationship that irrespective of reality the perception of romantic involvement was sufficient to result in loss of credibility, respect and position within the organisation. The authors go on to say that sexual issues may certainly serve as a significant block to the development of mentoring relationships.

Fagenson-Eland and Hurley (1996) argue that male mentors may even consider perceptions of sexual involvement before agreeing to mentor a female protégé and this would discourage them from becoming involved in a cross-gender mentoring relationship.

I argue that perceptions could be one of the single most important aspects of diversity mentoring and if not handled or addressed could prove to be detrimental to the mentoring and have an adverse effect on participants both male and female. Hay (1995) informs us that our perceptions are powerful influences on our behaviour. This is a reminder that preparation for mentoring should not be confined just to the training of mentors, programme managers and mentee line managers but should also be extended to mentees, as Giorgi (1985, p.10) puts it, "*the quality of a gift is determined not by the giver's ability to give but by the receiver's ability to receive.*".

10. Power

Ragins and Kram (2007) discuss the power dynamics that can lead to problems such as career sabotage, exploitation, harassment, deception and manipulation. They highlight mentors, due to their greater power and influence, being in a position to sabotage their protégés career.

However, in contrast to this they also discuss more 'behind the scenes' activity where a mentee can bring about a negative effect on the mentor's career by spreading rumours.

Hay (1995) discusses the characteristics of a mentor including whether the mentor should be a role model. Ragins and Kram (2007) discuss willingness to be a mentor and such descriptions offer the view of a person given up to serve and support others with not much thought to their own motives. However in contrast to this view, one of the comments from a female officer involved in an informal mentoring programme paints a completely different picture:

> *I think the difficulty I found with him as mentor was that he had a very particular view point and I didn't feel he was doing it for me, I knew that he was doing it mostly for himself and I felt that to a certain extent he was ticking a box about career development.*

Discussion

In terms of the advantages and disadvantages of mentoring, there are several aspects to mentoring which, if not paid attention to, may cause concern for participants. One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that mentoring in the police force is frequently used to support promotion and career development. Since this could suggest a performance element, this brings into question the issue of the differences between coaching and mentoring and there is no shortage of debate among consultants and academics regarding the terms coaching and mentoring. Hay (1995, p.30) comments *"...others confuse mentoring with other methods, such as coaching or counselling".* Therefore it is important to establish from the outset what the organisation expects the programme to achieve.

The relevance of mentor criteria also cannot be understated. This study has revealed that some mentors may be carrying out this duty solely for their own gains in terms of development, although this was in reference to informal relationships.

In a similar vein, the misuse of power in a mentoring relationship can result in serious consequences if not discussed during training, another reminder to train both mentors and mentees, and, while this can happen in any mentoring relationship, the exploitation of the balance of power could prove more serious in the informal relationship if pairs are unaware or if no reference is made to this during initial meetings.

Recruitment of mentors proved another discussion point. One female police officer described the recruitment of mentors in her force as not being very scientific. This paints a picture of poor recruitment to the mentor ranks with the knock on effect of having spent a great deal of time recruiting with the possibility of little return for the mentees by way of relevant experience and motives. In addition it pays poor attention to the development and nurturing of corporate and organizational memory.

The advantages and disadvantages of cross gender mentoring was also studied during this research and, while de Vries Webb and Eveline (2006) highlighted the benefits for the organisation when male mentors mentor female mentees there is however scope for these relationships to go wrong and the perceptions of others can have a major impact also on the cross gender mentoring relationship if adequate preparation is not made for the mentoring pairs.

Studying the mentoring experiences of female police officers has confirmed the importance of expectations within the overall mentoring programme and between individual mentoring

pairs. Disappointment in a mentoring relationship can have far reaching consequences with the possibility of reputations being tarnished. Again this study has discovered that expectations can be met, particularly in a formal programme, by providing adequate guidance in covering this important area.

Therefore, an important step in creating an effective mentoring relationship is to discuss and negotiate expectations. However if not handled correctly this could prove to be a stumbling block to the relationship. Ashworth (2000) discusses the avoidance of embarrassment and losing face. I argue that if not handled correctly the setting of expectations could lead to either party losing face which would be a difficult situation at the start of the programme.

In addition, this situation may well occur at the end of the relationship when closing down the mentoring and considering future relations whether formal or informal. I argue that if the relationship is not closed down properly this could also lead to 'unfinished business' which could be carried on to and jeopardise any future relationships. As discussed with negotiating expectations if negotiations are not carried out properly at the close of the relationship this could again lead to either party losing face and lead to embarrassment.

I would argue that, considering what has been discussed so far, there is ample scope for mentoring to have a negative effect if it is not given adequate attention from design to closure.

Becoming involved in a mentoring programme however, should be one of the most positive experiences in our lives. Ragins and Kram (2007) argue that mentoring can be a life-changing experience that inspires growth and development and can have significant positive effect in organisations. Personal experience has shown that formal mentoring programmes carefully designed can offer valuable assistance in moving an organisation to equal or near equal gender in senior ranks and grades. In addition, de Vries, Webb and Eveline (2006) highlighted the spin off where male mentors mentoring female mentees have had a positive impact in bringing organisational change.

Whether the argument regarding mentoring is about learning or performance one of the findings of my research suggests that it does support those seeking promotion, as commented by a mentee

Without a mentor it would have been such… a much more difficult process

Around the more traditional reasons for setting up a mentoring programme such as, finding a different perspective, gaining confidence and aspects of motivation this study has produced the following comments from mentees:

I'm happier to come into work and get on with it and more motivated

it was good to have a different perspective on things, you know, that was helpful

While the above comments support positive results in specific situations this final comment selected is compelling and comes from an officer reflecting on being a mentee in a programme

it's probably been one of the most useful things I have ever experienced as a police officer, if not the most useful thing.

Conclusion

This qualitative research has shown that mentoring has had a positive impact on the serving female police officers taking part in the study. The findings have provided concrete evidence and testimony that mentoring can provide useful support for serving female police officers and these findings suggest that, whether formal or informal, mentoring can be a positive developmental intervention.

However, informal mentoring has certain aspects that could prove to be less advantageous than formal mentoring for the serving female police office, in particular, and especially regarding cross gender mentoring, where the criteria, motive, preparation and training of the mentor needs special attention.

Female police officers have commented that as a result of mentoring they feel happier going into work. The mentoring has given them the opportunity to view life from a different perspective and offered strategies on how to handle issues related to the work/life balance which, for many female officers is an issue. In addition this form of development has given them more confidence, motivation and has assisted greatly in promotion related development and importantly has been a support in handling career threatening incidents and trauma

Mentoring can therefore, have a positive impact and value for serving female police officers both professionally and personally and considering the lack of female officers in senior ranks formal mentoring programmes for female officers offers a dynamic route to career development if attention is paid to careful design, training and support.

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