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DISSERTATION

**WOMEN IN POLICING: THE EXPERIENCE OF FEMALE
POLICE CHIEFS AND DEPUTY POLICE CHIEFS**

Submitted by

Sandra K. Wells

School of Education

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

For Collins, Colorado

Spring 2001

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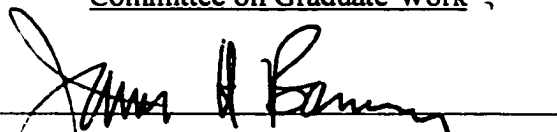
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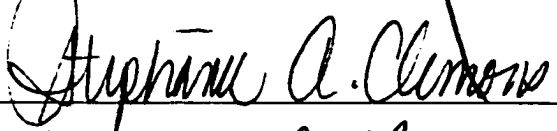
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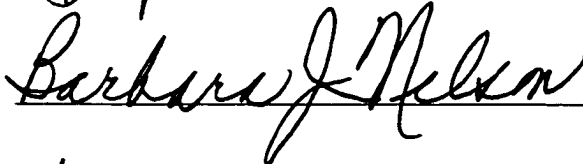
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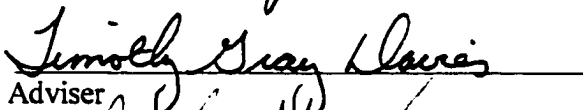
WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY SANDRA KAY WELLS ENTITLED WOMEN IN POLICING: THE EXPERIENCE OF FEMALE POLICE CHIEFS AND DEPUTY POLICE CHIEFS AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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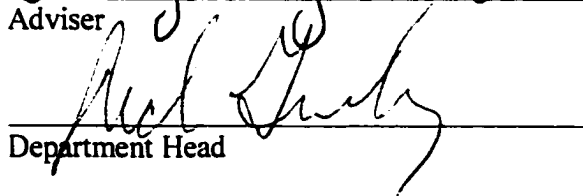








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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

WOMEN IN POLICING: THE EXPERIENCE OF FEMALE POLICE CHIEFS AND DEPUTY POLICE CHIEFS

The purpose of this study was to understand the experience of Female Deputy Police Chiefs and Female Police Chiefs in the Male-Dominated Law Enforcement Environment. In-depth interviews were conducted with ten (10) female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs. Of the ten female police chiefs and deputy chiefs, five held the position of deputy chief of police, and five held the position of police chief.

This qualitative phenomenological study involved one hour to one and one half hour long interviews with the ten female participants. The participants were asked questions pertaining to their experiences entering law enforcement, their experiences moving up the ranks, their experiences as the leaders of a police agency, and what advice they would give potential female officers, female officers who want to be police chief, and law enforcement.

Audiotapes were transcribed and data analysis was performed. HyperRESEARCH™ was used to assist with the coding and analysis. Issues of validity and reliability were addressed through the use of member checking, a reflexive journal, and an audit trail.

The analytical processes of this phenomenological research design revealed five major themes. They are: the female challenge in the male-dominated environment; the personal characteristics of the female police officer; the female deputy police chief; and the female police chief; the advantages of females in law enforcement; the participants'

leadership styles; and advice from the participants to females entering law enforcement, female officers wanting to be police chief, and to the law enforcement community.

Another final aspect of this study was to determine what the female deputy chiefs perceptions of the police chief's job was accurate, and what the police chiefs believed to be the insights about the chief's job that is unknown to the deputy chiefs. These themes represent the phenomenon of the experiences of the female deputy police chief and female police chief.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Women have been involved in policing in the United States for the last 100 years. However, prior to the Equal Employment Act of 1970, they were utilized by law enforcement agencies as glorified social service workers who took care of other women and children but left “real” police work to the men. In 1972 women held only 2 percent of all the sworn law enforcement positions in the United States. Since the 1970s, when it was mandated by the federal government to hire females, the employment situation has improved. However, the level of equality has not. According to the National Center for Women and Policing (1999), women comprise 14.3 percent of all sworn law enforcement positions among the largest law enforcement agencies in the country. This is only an 11.8 percent increase in female officers over the past twenty-six years, averaging an annual rate of less than one-half of one percentage point per year since the Equal Employment Opportunity government mandate in the 1970s. Women currently hold 5.6 percent of sworn top command law enforcement positions and 9.2 percent of supervisory positions. (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999) According to the National Directory of Law Enforcement Administrators (1999), there are over 13,000 police departments in the United States, but the position of chief of police is held by fewer than 100 women or less than 1 percent. Of these 100 women police chiefs, fewer than 20 represent cities with populations over 20,000. Women’s share of the labor force in the

United States was at 46 percent in 1994 and is expected to comprise 48 percent in the year 2005 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1999).

Literature written on women in policing reveals the numerous barriers that prevent such women from beginning law enforcement careers. Nationwide studies consistently find that hostile environments and systemic discrimination keep women from joining police agencies in more significant numbers and also keeps them from promoting up the ranks to policy-making positions. Most departments do not have strategies for recruiting women. Studies also demonstrate that discrimination and sexual harassment are pervasive in police departments and are often tolerated by supervisors and commanders. Mentoring programs are few and support systems for women are not in place in most police agencies. Yet, the literature also demonstrates that women can make and have made improvements in policing. They have changed police work into a more community-oriented model of policing, reduced police violence, served as a strong force to promote a more effective response to domestic violence within police departments and helped with community-police relations. (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999)

There are numerous studies about women in law enforcement which demonstrate the difficulties, challenges, and rewards of a law enforcement career. However, the truest picture of what really happens when women join “the biggest boy’s club in America” comes from the voices of the women who have been there. Unfortunately, women police officers don’t talk about what happens to them during their careers in law enforcement for fear of retribution or non-acceptance in their departments. For years, women in law enforcement have been expected to keep quiet and respect the unwritten code of police

behavior. In order to understand what really happens to women who have made it to the top-ranking positions in their police departments, they need to tell their stories. Because of the paucity of studies exploring the experiences of the women who hold the position of chief of police or deputy chief, a phenomenological study devoted to understanding women's experiences in making it to the top positions in policing will best lend itself to examining these questions. This study will explore what the experience is actually like for women on their way to making it to the top; the position of chief of police. It will explore the barriers and the advantages of policing. This study will also explore the female deputy police chiefs' perceptions of what they believe a promotion to the police chief position would entail, and the insights the female police chiefs have about their positions. This study will be a contribution to women who wish to pursue careers in police department with the ultimate goal of becoming chief of police.

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to understand the experiences of female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs throughout their careers in the male-dominated law enforcement environment using a phenomenological design which will result in a phenomenological description of themes or patterns. The experiences of women police chiefs and deputy police chiefs have not been explored in the literature; therefore, the research will be conducted to interview and obtain the information through the voices of the police chiefs and deputy police chiefs. The deputy police chiefs will be interviewed to explore their perceptions of what they believe the police chief's position entails. These perceptions will then be compared to the realities revealed by the police chiefs to determine if the deputy chiefs' perceptions are accurate.

Problem Statement

Some feminist scholars believe that injustices can be righted when “people tell their stories”; others believe that history can be improved. In my view these are two aspects of the same phenomenon. The production of an oral text may “right the injustice” of a particular person’s (or group’s) voice being unheard. At the same time an oral history corrects the biased view of a story that had not included her/their voice (Reinharz, 1992, p. 136).

Through the use of in depth interviews, this study will attempt to gain an understanding of how female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs have experienced their law enforcement careers, what their current job experiences are, and what they think the future will hold for female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs. This study will also explore the female deputy police chiefs’ perceptions of what they believe the police chief’s position entails and the insights the police chiefs have about their positions.

Definition of Terms

Law enforcement. Police officers and other members of the executive branch of government charged with carrying out and enforcing the criminal law. For this study, law enforcement will refer to a municipal police department.

Police department. A governmental department concerned with the administration of the police force. According to the National Directory of Law Enforcement Administrators (1998) there are over 13,000 police departments in the United States.

Police officer. A police officer is responsible for preserving public order, promoting public safety, and preventing and detecting crime. A police officer is an employee of a municipal police department.

Chief of police. The top ranking officer of a police department. The chief officer of a department of government, the municipal police department.

Deputy chief of police. The second-in-command at a municipal police department, the position directly below that of police chief.

Assessment center. This is a process where a group of people assesses promotional candidates. They are assessed regarding education, experience, writing capabilities, and oral presentations.

FTO officer. A field training officer (FTO) is an experienced officer who supervises, trains, and evaluates rookie police officers.

Community policing. Community policing is a philosophy of policing that is based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve community problems that relate to crime.

Glass ceiling. The barriers that prevent women from rising to the top of the any organization that is male dominated.

Rule of three. In a promotional test the three top scoring officers' names are given to the police chief to determine which of the three will receive the promotion. It does not have to be three; it can be a rule of one, a rule of five, etc.

Command or management position. Command positions in a police department include: chiefs, deputy chiefs, commanders, and captains.

Supervisory positions. Supervisory positions in a police department include: lieutenants, sergeants, or their equivalents.

Line officers. Line officers positions in a police department include detectives and patrol officers.

D.A.R.E. The drug abuse resistance education program in city schools.

Delimitations and Limitations

Delimitations

The study will be narrowed in scope by examining female deputy police chiefs or police chiefs in municipal police departments in the United States. Other agencies such as: sheriffs departments, state patrols, departments of public safety, and federal agencies will be excluded in order to focus on women who have had to follow similar steps for promotions in order to be able to explore a common experience or phenomenon.

Limitations

This study will also recognize that all women who enter into policing may not want to make it to the top. Some women may find that patrolling the streets provides the excitement and career fulfillment they require; thus, they do not want to enter into the administrative side of policing.

Significance of Study

There is literature written about the barriers and challenges women face in law enforcement, but there is a paucity of literature written on the actual experiences of such women. Perhaps because few women hold the position of chief of police or deputy chief of police in the United States, few research efforts have been made to discover the experiences of those who have made it to this important position. The significance of this study will be to explore the experience of some of the female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs in the United States. Understanding the experiences of these women who are in top positions in their law enforcement agencies may provide information and guidance to other females who want to pursue this career goal. The stories of successful

women who have made it to the top can be used to send a message to these women, their children, and their peers that what they have done to “make it” matters. Finally, understanding the experience of female police leaders may also provide police departments with information that will create new opportunities for women in recruitment and retention.

Deputy police chiefs were included in this study to explore their perceptions of what they believe happens to women who make it to the top position of chief of police. Their perceptions will be compared to the realities faced by the police chiefs interviewed. The information thus revealed will give the deputies and other female officers the knowledge with which to seek the position of chief of police.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences of female deputy police chiefs and female police chiefs in the male-dominated law enforcement environment. A review of literature relating to women in the workplace, women in management, the history of women in policing, and women in law enforcement will serve as background for the topic. There is a paucity of literature that directly relates to the personalities of female officers and their leadership styles; therefore, the information garnered from this study will be included in this literature review making it somewhat disparate.

Women in the Workplace

Throughout the world, human activities, institutional structures, and practices are ordered in terms of differences between men and women. The state, the law, politics, higher education, religion, and the economy are institutions that have historically been developed by men and dominated by men. The only major institution in which women have had a central, defining role, albeit a subordinate one, has been the family. (Acker, 1992). However, in recent decades, lower fertility rates and changing social attitudes have contributed to an increase in the labor-force participation of women, while higher rates of divorce have impelled even more women to join the labor-force (Zanden, 1996).

Of the 131.5 million people in the United States labor-force in 1998, women represented 46.2 percent or 60.75 million people. These women comprised 59.8 percent of all United States women over the age of 16. Within this group, 74 percent worked full

time, 40 percent had children under the age of 18, and they contributed 48 percent of the family's income. Women earned 56 percent of the bachelor's degrees in 1999, and by the year 2008 are expected to outnumber men in graduate school as well (Lewis, 1999).

There are many factors that predict labor force participation by women: the higher the level of education, the higher the participation rate, and the lower the unemployment rate. The presence and age of children also affects the participation rate of women. Not surprisingly, mothers with teenagers are more likely to be in the labor force than those with younger children. Mothers with children ages 14 to 17 (none younger) participated at a rate of 79.4 percent; with children ages 6 to 13 (none younger) 77.9 percent; with children under age 6, 65.2 percent; and with children under age 3, 62.2 percent (U.S. Department of Labor, 1998).

In 1998, 74 percent (45 million) of the women were employed full-time and 26 percent (16 million) were employed part-time. One out of every five women was employed as secretary, teacher (excluding post secondary), and cashier. These fields employ more women than any others (U.S. Department of Labor, 1998).

The statistics reveal that women are no longer defined only by their role in the family, but they have become almost half of the United States labor-force and in 1999 earned over half of the bachelor's degrees.

Women in Management

The women who entered the work force *en masse* in the mid-70s were perhaps more aware than society today of the extent to which male coworkers operate in a rarefied business culture. At that time women were up against obvious hurdles such as discriminatory law, exclusive clubs, and other culturally sanctioned trappings of the male

dominated network. In the mid 1980s with more women in the work place, a false sense of progress set in and the glass ceiling keeping them from upper level executive positions. Women began to realize that they still were not included in the male workplace (Heim, 1992).

Although women have increased their numbers in managerial positions most of the increase in employment has come largely through the displacement of men by women in low-paying categories and through the expansion of “pink-collar” occupations. In secretarial, bookkeeping, and receptionist positions, women occupy more than 90 percent of these jobs (Zanden, 1996).

Today women are still most likely to be managers in the fields where they already hold proportionately more of the below managerial level positions. Women hold 75 percent of the managerial positions in medicine and health and over half of the managerial jobs in finance, personnel and labor relations, buying, and accounting and auditing. In contrast, women are still substantially underrepresented in managerial positions in protective services at 31 percent (U.S. Department of Labor, 1998). At the very top of major corporations, there are only seven female CEOs in the Fortune 500 and the Fortune 1000 companies (Northouse, 2001).

Positions at the top still elude women executives, who find that they crash into what has been called the glass ceiling (Lopez, 1992). In 1991 the Glass Ceiling Commission was established to make recommendations about the barriers that prevent women and minorities from reaching the top of the corporate ladder. According to the commission’s report, white men fill most top positions in corporations. Although women

represent 44 percent of executive, administrative and managerial occupations, they still account for less than 3 percent to 5 percent of top executive positions.

Studies by Blum, Fields, and Goodman (1994) suggest that the attitudes and the beliefs that co-workers have about appropriate roles and job assignments for women are the primary barriers to women's careers in management. Other studies by Fagenson and Jackson (1994) indicate that the company's social structure, personnel, industry type, and compensation practices are associated with gender stratification in the workplace.

The Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) has recommended the need to educate the corporate ranks and to provide formal training at regular intervals to sensitize the employees about the strengths of gender, racial, ethnic, and cultural differences.

Women in the United States face numerous barriers and obstacles in the workplace as stated above, but the statistics relating to women in law enforcement are even more discouraging. Women represent only 14.3 percent of the population of sworn law enforcement personnel. Yet the female civilian population in law enforcement, at 62.9 percent, is close to a national norm for women in the workplace. Female officers, like all women entering into the American work force, face barriers. The following information focuses on women in policing and their advances, barriers, and existence in law enforcement (National Center for Women and policing, 1999).

The History of Women in Policing

Women first entered into the realm of law enforcement in the 1800s with the establishment of women's prisons. Matrons were hired to take care of the women and children in such facilities and were even allowed to administrate them. This gave women

new positions of authority and prestige in the 1800s. By the 1890s, matrons had been hired in 36 cities in the United States (Schulz, 1994).

In 1893 the Chicago Police Department gave Mary Owens, the widow of a Chicago policeman, the rank of policeman. This unusual situation came about during a period of time when the United States offered no pensions or death benefits and women were often hired as matrons to provide them with an income. In Mary Owens' case, she was given the title and pay of a policeman rather than that of a matron (Schulz, 1995). She was the exception, visiting the various courts throughout the city of Chicago and assisting detectives in those cases that involved women and children. She was on the police payroll for thirty years (Gold, 1999).

In 1905 in Portland, Oregon, Lola Baldwin was the first woman in the United States with arrest authority. Ms. Baldwin was recruited to protect the young women at the Lewis and Clark exposition (Price and Gavin, 1982).

In September 1910, Alice Stebbins Wells, a woman, who was just over five feet tall, joined the 350-member Los Angeles Police Department as the first real policewoman in the United States (Schulz, 1995). The newspapers depicted her as a "bony, muscular, masculine person, grasping a revolver, dressed in anything but feminine apparel, hair drawn tightly into a hard little knot at the back of the head, large unbecoming spectacles, small stiff round disfiguring hat, the whole presenting the ideal in the most repellent and unlovely guise." (Gold, 1999, p. 17) Wells, a graduate theological student and ardent social worker, believed that preventive work with children and women would be much more effective if handled by a sworn police officer (Price & Gavin, 1982; Fletcher, 1995). She enforced laws concerning dance halls, skating rinks, penny arcades, movie

theaters, and other places of recreation frequented by women and children. She also searched for missing persons and provided social service information to women. Wells' leadership skills were amply demonstrated by her work as the founder and first president of the International Association of Policewomen (IAP). In 1915 while attending the National Conference of Social Work with other female officers, Wells organized the International Association of Policewomen, thus giving the policewomen their own organization. The association provided training, published a newsletter, put on conferences, and fought prejudice. However, by 1932 the IAP had ceased to exist. Some believed it was a casualty of the Depression; others believed that it was the death of the woman who had been president since 1920 and had contributed much of her own money to sustain the organization (Schulz, 1995).

During the early 1900s women police officers, still only social service workers, were forced to meet higher standards for police employment but were restricted to special units, assigned to clerical, juvenile, guard duty or vice work (Schulz 1989). These female officers were considered specialized social workers (Price & Gavin, 1982). As policewomen their jobs consisted of duties that did not appeal to male officers or to jobs that the males would not or could not do. The women conducted searches on female suspects, prisoners, or corpses; they worked as decoys, prostitutes, or girlfriends. They typed, changed diapers, and baby-sat (Fletcher, 1995). By 1915, 25 cities employed policewomen, but despite higher education levels and broader professional orientation than their male colleagues, the policewomen were paid less than their male counterparts (Schulz, 1995).

During the depression years of 1929-1941 the number of policewomen fell or remained relatively stagnant. By 1940 there were only 1,000 publicly funded policewomen hired by fewer than 3 percent of the nation's law enforcement agencies (Schulz, 1995).

In the 1950s and 1960s numerous police agencies employed women, usually civilians, to function as in-house clerical and communications support. Other women hired to control parking and direct traffic were given such frivolous titles as "meter maid" and "parkette." Some policewomen worked as decoys and undercover officers in plainclothes assignments, but there was still little opportunity for promotion. However, there was some progress during this time. At least there was less of an emphasis placed on separate women's bureaus, and sometimes female officers were teamed up with male officers (Gold, 1999). By 1950 there were over 2,610 publicly employed policewomen, comprising slightly more than 1 percent of all police. In 1960 the United States census counted 5,617 policewomen, or about 2 percent of publicly employed officers. In the 10 years from 1950 to 1960 the number of women increased by 3,000, doubling the 1950 number (Schulz, 1995). According to Captain Diane Harber, who joined the LAPD in 1957, "We had two choices: go to the Youth Division or to the jail. Most of us went directly to jail" (Fletcher, 1995, p. XV).

In 1961 a lawsuit was filed against the New York City Police Department which set the stage for the modern era of women in law enforcement. Felicia Shpritzer sued the police department on behalf of all policewomen who had been barred from taking the promotional exam for sergeant. She won the case and along with Gertrude Schimmel,

they became the first two women sergeants. Change did not occur overnight, but this case opened the supervisory ranks to competent females throughout the country (Gold, 1999).

In 1965 President Johnson expanded the role of the federal government in criminal justice by appointing the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, also known as the President's Crime Commission. The Commission, formed to analyze crime in the United States, recommended that criminal justice agencies form an integrated system with better coordination among police, courts, and correctional facilities. It also called for upgrading personnel in the criminal justice system by widening women's assignments, recruiting women and people of color, raising selection standards, and providing more rigorous training to all criminal justice system personnel. The commission suggested that recruiting and hiring women and minorities was necessary for the good of police community relations (Gold, 1999).

In 1967 a survey of 161 police departments in the largest United States cities demonstrated that there were still only 1,792 women with actual police powers. Typically, women made up only one to two percent of a police force, if they were present at all. Police departments still had informal policies that discouraged the hiring of women. The Los Angeles Police Department refused to hire new female officers for four years and filled vacancies with male officers. Ed Davis, Los Angeles Police Chief, told women that they did not belong in patrol cars and that they could not be trusted with guns "during that time of the month." (Gold, 1999, p. 21)

Advocates for women police officers argued that women could bring unique contributions to police departments: skills with women and children, undercover work,

and the ability to defuse domestic disputes. Even so, the work of policewomen still consisted primarily of social work or clerical duties (Gold, 1999).

In Indianapolis two women suggested to their academy instructor that they should be on patrol. The sergeant told the women that if he were ever in charge, he would allow women to become patrol officers. When he became chief in 1968, he was reminded of his promise. As a result Indianapolis policewomen Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal put on uniforms and gun belts and got into their marked police car to answer calls for service. These two women left their roles as social workers and finally assumed the role of crime-fighters along with their male colleagues. Even so the process enabling women to work the streets as police officers was still slow. In 1969 President Richard M. Nixon issued Executive Order 11478 which stated that the federal government could not use gender as a qualification for hiring. Because of Executive Order 11478 in 1971 both the Executive Protective Service and the Secret Service hired female agents. In July 1972 the FBI assigned two women to its academy for training as special agents. Soon after that municipal police departments became aware that they would also have to assign women to training and tasks identical to those of men. By 1972 eight women were working as patrol partners (Schulz, 1995).

The early 1970s inaugurated the modern era of women in policing after the court interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment and the 1964 Civil Rights Act led to charges of gender discrimination by police departments. Finally, police departments had to change their policies. In November 1971 the Supreme Court ruled in *Reed v. Reed* that the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex (Gold, 1999).

In March 1972 the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA) was enacted. It applied Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited employment discrimination to state and local government on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It appeared that women had won the battle for employment in a law enforcement agency. At last they would be allowed to go on patrol, receive promotions and earn the same salaries as male officers (Schulz, 1989).

However, equal employment opportunities also created unusual problems. In the Dallas Police Department the wives of the male officers protested the presence of women officers “who will either get our husbands killed or cheat on us with them” (Fletcher, 1995). In Florida a female officer in uniform, running to the aid of her partner, stopped the fight by just showing up: “they took one look at me and just fell on each other laughing.” (Fletcher, 1995, p. XVI).

Change accelerated after the EEOA became law not only in law enforcement but also in the work force as a whole. By 1974 the general work force in the United States was 39 percent female. Women in law enforcement began to realize that they were behind in employment and promotional opportunities. Since they were now legally entitled to these, they pressed for job opportunities that would be commensurate with their years of experience and performance. Prior to the EEOA women were not allowed to take the same promotional tests as men and were denied promotion except within their own special units. Women officers of the 1970s demanded their right to be allowed to test for promotions and to be placed in positions that previously had not been available to them. In response police administrators stated that women could in fact be promoted, but again only in their own bureaus because they did not have the full “ police experience” of

patrol duty. Of course, the same administrators had denied women the opportunity of patrol duty in the first place (Fletcher, 1995; Price and Gavin, 1992).

In the late 1970s the policewomen's movement was revived and began moving toward a semblance of what it is today. By 1975 most sociologists and researchers in the criminal justice field understood that not all good officers were men. Various studies were done during the next ten years, most reaching the same conclusion: policewomen perform the job as well as policemen. The exception was going to be a study done in response to a sex discrimination lawsuit filed against the Philadelphia Police Department. The intent of the study was to prove that policewomen did not patrol as well as policemen. One hundred men and women were studied on patrol for two years. The report indicated that women did not project the power and strength to the same degree as male officers, and men rated higher on building searches. However, the study also indicated that women were as diligent in making arrests as their counterparts, with no difference in the number of arrests. In addition, female police officers were rated better than male officers on handling citizens carrying guns, family disturbances, and automobile stops. When the study determined that women handled patrol as safely and efficiently as men, the federal judge overseeing the suit ordered the police agency to stop its discriminatory practices against women (Gold, 1999).

Even with the still-present inequities in law enforcement, more women were entering the field. A study conducted by the National Center for Women and Policing (2000) shows that women increased their representation in sworn law enforcement positions from 2 percent in 1972 to 14.3 percent in 1999. This 12.3 percentage increase

averages an annual rate of less than one half of one percent per year. The percentage rate did not reach the double-digit benchmark until 1990.

In 1998 eight out of ten municipal police agencies with the largest percentage of sworn women officers either had been or are currently under consent decrees to hire women and/or minorities. Yet, the ten agencies with the smallest percentage of sworn female officers report not being under a consent decree to hire women (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999). This demonstrates that most of the gains for women in law enforcement are still a result of lawsuits initiated by women or women's organizations to force agencies to hire more females.

It is apparent that women and racial minorities are entering policing in larger numbers than ever before, presumably on an equitable basis. However, numbers do not reveal the job environment, treatment by others at the job, internal support for career development, or promotion opportunities.

Women in Law Enforcement

No Women Allowed

Police culture is male in population and perspective. Women who have entered a profession that is traditionally reserved for men have not been judged by the same standards as men. In fact they have long been viewed by their peers and the public as performing below the standards set by their male colleagues (Vega and Silverman, 1982). In the 1970s and 1980s researchers were proving that women did not belong in law enforcement.

In 1980 research by Martin indicated that there were two broad types of behavior styles on the part of female police officers. The first behavior he described was an

aggressive posture that was usually interpreted as an effort to compensate for women officer's relatively weak physical stature. His research demonstrated that aggressiveness was used in an effort to "outmacho" male peers, and within the police world it was commonly assumed that the female officers who adopted this proactive style of policing would be quicker than their male counterparts to use deadly force. According to Martin the second behavioral pattern in which female officers performed their work was a stereotypical and exaggerated feminine manner, which was an excessively passive style, more so than the average woman's behavior seen in work environments that do not require the exercise of authority. Thus Martin (1980) suggested that there were female officers who exhibited a passive style of policing and could fail to take any action when a citizen did not comply with directions or otherwise resist. When such passive female officers worked with male partners, they tended to rely on the male officer to gain citizen compliance and to maintain control.

Martin (1980) said that men wanted a partner who would be tough and fight, and back them up and who, they, in turn, would be willing to back up. But women were not supposed to fight, be tough or protect a man, and the more a female partner would act like a police officer the less she behaved like a woman. In Remington's study (1981) he asked female officers whether they would prefer a male or female partner; every female chose a male partner.

Male officers who were interviewed in the 1980s revealed that 48 percent of them felt that women should not be considered for jobs as police officers (Vega and Silverman, 1982). Bell (1982) found that citizens also believed that female officers were not as good as male officers in violent situations.

Most police executives in the United States believed that women, for the most part, do not belong on patrol because of their lack of physical strength and their inability to maintain an imposing presence in the face of challenges to police authority. This opinion is supported by most males in a biased society that is dominated by men who view any upward mobility by women as a personal challenge to them (Muraskin, 2000). Yet it has been strongly indicated through prior research conducted by Bloch and Anderson (1973), Grennan (1987), Grennan and Munoz (1996), and Sichel, Friedman, Quint and Smith (1977) that women are more than capable of handling any type of police work on the same scale as their male counterparts.

Women who have moved into these traditionally male-dominated roles have challenged the view that many male police officers have concerning the masculine nature of police work (Balkin, 1988). Research has also demonstrated that female officers behave similarly to male officers in the handling of violent confrontations. There have been no differences found in the injury rate of either male or female officers during violent confrontations with citizens. It further indicates that in the use of deadly physical force, the male officer is more likely than the female officer to use a firearm. Female officers, with or without a partner, are more willing to get involved in violent confrontations without fear of injury or death. These results indicate that female officers are just as capable as males in handling violent disputes and confrontations (Grennan, 1987). Studies have indicated that men are rated by both men and women as performing better in their fields than women even if the work that was done was identical or comparable for both sexes (Lieberman, 1989).

Research literature also demonstrates the enormous difficulty women have encountered as a result of the negative attitudes of men. Horne (1980) has indicated that the biggest challenge facing women officers is the resistance displayed by male officers in their attitudes toward women in policing. Hunt (1990) concluded that women officers were harassed by the male officers because they feared that women would violate departmental secrets (actually their own) about police corruption and violence. Hunt cited this fear of exposure by women as the underlying cause of significant resistance to women.

Today, there are more than seven hundred thousand sworn law enforcement officers serving in the United States (Gold, 1999), but only 14.3 percent of them are women (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999). It is therefore not surprising that women in law enforcement continue to fight an uphill battle. Professionally competent policewomen are often stereotyped as bitchy, castrating, or lesbian by male co-workers, and the continued covert resistance by male police officers certainly limits women's progress.

Sexual Harassment and Gender Discrimination

Once on the job women in law enforcement are frequently intimidated, harassed, and maliciously thwarted especially as they move up the ranks (Balkin, 1988). In Los Angeles male officers formed a clandestine organization within the LAPD called "Men Against Women" whose purpose was to wage an orchestrated campaign of ritual harassment, intimidation and criminal activity against women officers. A large number of women across the country have been driven from their jobs in law enforcement due to

unpunished, unchecked, and unrelenting abuse (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999).

Sexual harassment, in particular, remains a common workplace hazard for women in law enforcement. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defines sexual harassment as “unwelcome” sexual attention, whether verbal or physical, that affects an employee’s job conditions or creates a “hostile” work environment. Examples of sexual harassment include unsolicited and unwelcome flirtations, advances, or propositions; graphic or degrading comments about an employee’s appearance, dress, or anatomy; the display of sexually suggestive objects or pictures; ill-received sexual jokes and offensive gestures; sexual or intrusive questions about an employee’s personal life; explicit descriptions of a male’s own sexual experiences; familiarities such as “honey,” “baby,” and “dear”; unnecessary, unwanted physical contact such as touching, hugging, pinching, patting, or kissing; whistling and catcalls; and leering (Adler, 1991).

Women can fight sex discrimination through both federal and state laws. Federal protection from sex discrimination in employment is covered by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This law protects women from discrimination in promotions, transfers, assignments, and hiring. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 requires employers to pay women and men equally for the same work (U.S. Department of Labor, 1995).

Law enforcement agencies have tolerated workplace environments that are openly hostile and discriminatory toward female employees, forcing women to bring lawsuits, usually successful, against their agencies. The serious under-representation of women in policing leads to greater numbers of incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination (National Center for Women and Policing, 1998).

According to the International Association of Chiefs of Police Survey (1998), 99 percent of all departments have a sexual harassment policy. Yet, 12 percent of all departments have been sued for sexual harassment. Larger police agencies have faced more lawsuits than smaller police agencies. Of the 93 reported lawsuits by police agencies, 38 percent were settled in favor of the officer and 20 percent settled in favor of the department, while 28 percent of the reported suits remain unsettled.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police survey (1998) indicates that 86 percent of the surveyed departments have a written gender discrimination policy. However, only 44 percent of the agencies that have gender discrimination policies specifically address "failure to promote because of gender." On the other hand, over 50 percent of the agencies with track records of targeting, recruiting, and/or mentoring programs for women have specific policies on promotional bias.

This survey indicates that eight percent of the reporting agencies (800 agencies) say they have been sued for gender discrimination, and 14 percent of the larger departments with over 50 females on staff have been sued. Of the 60 lawsuits examined in the Police Chiefs Survey, 34 percent had dispositions in favor of the officer and 23 percent were disposed of in favor of the department; 25 percent are pending.

One anonymous female officer stated,

The discrimination now—it's subtle and it's insidious. It's there. It's definitely there. But it's kept real quiet. But, you know, it's like everything else—the fact that it's being kept quiet now is making it worse than it was. When you first came on, you knew what you were fighting. And now when it gets real—kind of behind-the-scenes and real quiet, you can't fight it. It's so quiet. So in a way, it's gotten worse, I think (Fletcher, 1995, p. 227).

When participants in the International Association of Chiefs of Police survey (1998) were asked what problems they foresee for women officers, 63 percent stated

none. The second response was resistance by male colleagues at 15 percent. If the number of female officers is increased and the women are given equal treatment on the job, the costs resulting from widespread lawsuits filed by women will be reduced.

Use of Force

Male officers doubt women can equal men in most job skills, and even anticipate their failure in the job. Even worse, men do not think women do real police work (Melchionne, 1976), and they certainly lack emotional fitness, according to male officers (Bell, 1982). In fact these same studies show that women officers are less aggressive than their male counterparts and are more likely to reduce the potential for a violent situation by relying on verbal communication rather than on an authoritative policing style. In a study in the Los Angeles Police Department it was found that of the 120 officers with the greatest number of use of force reports there were no women officers. In a study on women on patrol, citizens felt that policewomen were more sensitive and responsive to their needs than males (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1973; Grennan, 1987; Lunnenborg, 1989). A study by Sherman (1975) found that most policing functions do not involve confrontation in violent situations and that female officers may actually prevent violence. In cases of battering, Kennedy and Homant (1985) found that victims perceived policewomen as more capable of calming male perpetrators and deflecting violence through discussion.

Studies all demonstrate that female officers respond more effectively than their male counterparts do to violence against women. Violence against women accounts for over 50 percent of calls to police and one-third of all law enforcement's time (O'Reilly, 1983). Female officers are demonstrably more effective than male officers in responding

to crimes against women (Homant, 1983). Studies have also found that up to 40 percent of officers commit domestic abuse themselves (Neidig, Russel, Seng, 1992). Given these figures, there is a 40 percent chance that officers responding to the scene of a domestic violence incident may themselves be an abuser. It is reasonable to assume that the quality of police response to cases of violence against women would improve greatly if society increased the numbers of women in law enforcement (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999).

Women in law enforcement can decrease excessive force problems in police departments. The actual and potential liability for cities and states is enormous, with lawsuits caused by excessive force by male officers costing tens of millions of dollars of taxpayer money every year (National Center for Women & Policing, 1999). National and international research shows that increasing the number of women in police departments measurably reduces police violence and improves police effectiveness and service to communities.

The following are examples of how women utilize skills other than force.

There is a call at a 7-Eleven, a confrontation. I'm by myself; I'm close, so I swing by. I get there first. Here are two Hispanic males, brothers—one is drunk. A Hispanic male, especially drunk—they don't like a female officer telling them what to do. It's their culture. They will go up on you faster than anyone else. They are the worst from a female standpoint. I say to the drunk: 'Give your car keys to your brother. He will drive.' Meanwhile, two male officers arrive. They stand back: I'm handling it. I say, "If you don't give your brother your car keys, I'm taking you to jail." The drunk says to me, "Say 'Please.'" So I say, "Sir, would you please give the car keys to your brother." He hands the keys over and walks around to the passenger side. They drive off. One of the two officers who have been watching this says to me, "I wouldn't have said please. No way in hell I would say it." And I said, "Yeah, and it would have ended up in a confrontation and we'd have to take him to jail." It's hard for a man to back down. A woman doesn't bother us. What women can do—we can talk people into jail. The skills are there to de-escalate, defuse situations. Anonymous female officer (Fletcher, 1995, p. 16)

It doesn't mean we can't also be physical. But our first choice is verbal. Second choice is hold the gun in your hand and put a little quiver in your hand and say, "Gee, you know, this is my first night out on the street and I've never done this before. Don't make it happen." Third choice is knock 'em cold. Anonymous female officer (Fletcher, 1995, p. 16).

Community Policing

In the United States our society still believes in the idea that a police officer is a big, macho person who saves others (Harrington, 1999). This paramilitary style of policing often results in poor community relations, more violent confrontations that include death, and increased complaints by citizens. Transforming traditional law enforcement into a community-minded model of policing would attract more women who reject policing's trademark authoritarian image (National Center for Women and policing, 1999).

In the last twenty-five years police practitioners have come to the realization that the traditional reactive approach to crimes already committed was not working and that the development of a new police strategy was imperative. This new concept has been called community policing. Community policing is a philosophy of policing that is based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can help solve community problems that relate to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay. Police are recognizing that they have to have the support of the community in order to solve crime. Police have become aware that they are successful in solving crimes when the public cooperates by providing information that could lead to the arrest and conviction of the violators (Palmiotto, 1999).

This concept requires police departments to be more flexible and democratic. Police work would no longer be incident-driven; instead it would emphasize community

problem solving. The goal would be to solve the problem in order to eliminate incidents of disturbances or annoyances to the community. It encourages techniques such as problem identification, problem analysis, and problem resolution (Palmiotto, 1999).

Women are well suited to community policing that utilized interpersonal skills and relationship building. Women look out for the interests of the other party as well as their own, and they are expert at attending to the human side of a situation, be it a confrontation, a negotiation, or a tragedy. Women often use heartfelt empathy to help assuage upset feelings and mitigate a difficult situation (Heim, 1992).

Promotions

One of the major issues for most women in police work is the lack of promotional opportunity. Little is discussed in literature about female officers being promoted up the ranks of police agencies. Statistics show that few women move beyond the lower levels of management. Part of the difficulty lies in the police management hierarchy. It is rigid and very narrow at the top, with a limited number of middle management and administrative positions. This pyramid structure and the emphasis on a good arrest record as the best means to promotion serve to perpetuate the attitudes about policing being a man's job (Price & Gavin, 1981).

To compete with male police officers for the few promotional openings, women still have to withstand intimidation, teasing, and harassment and unfortunately some female officers see this as too high a price to pay. When female officers work long and hard to prove themselves as police officers, the idea of doing it all over again in a supervisory role probably serves to lower their aspirations. Women and minorities may pass up opportunities to promote to supervisory positions if they believe they will face

extraordinary resistance. Economic considerations, hiring freezes, slow turnover, and job protectionism all serve to limit opportunities for female officers. In addition competition for promotion can be fierce because of limited supervisory posts, with female police officers facing the same kind of resistance that women in most professions must overcome in any male-dominated organization (Gold, 1999).

According to the survey by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (1998) 69 percent of women officers actively seek promotions and most police chiefs stated that it is not difficult to promote a woman. Of the 34 percent who stated that it was difficult to promote women, the primary reason was the small number of women in the ranks for them to promote (18 percent). The second reason (13 percent) was simply a lack of promotional opportunities. The third reason (9 percent) was gender bias.

An anonymous female police officer stated,

Every time I've gone up in rank, I've gotten a jealous reaction from some men. Every time. And I really thought that would go away. And it has happened every time. When I made lieutenant, before we got the list back as to who was where in rank order one of the guys came up to me and said. "Wherever you are in the list, I just hope that I'm one in front of you." And I said, "Why?" And he said, "Cause you know they're not gonna pass up an opportunity to promote a woman. And they have to get to me to get to you." Little comments like that. Little comments like that. Anonymous female officer (Fletcher, 1995, p. 206)

Recruitment

Policewomen are currently being recruited from the military and private security, professions that are disproportionately populated by men, rather than being recruited from professions such as social work, teaching, and nursing in which women are the dominate force. Written tests that are administered to police officer candidates are rarely checked for gender or racial bias and the oral interviews are usually conducted by white male police officers. Women tend to be left out or penalized at every stage of the

selection (Harrington, 1999). Entry exams place emphasis on upper body strength that favor men and wash out women, even though studies show that physical prowess is unrelated to job performance. In fact no research has ever shown that strength is related to an individual's ability to successfully manage a dangerous situation. While discriminatory height requirements were finally discarded in the early 1970s, today's tests that over-emphasize upper body strength continue to stop highly qualified women from entering law enforcement (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999).

Mentoring

One method that has been associated with assisting women in breaking through the glass ceiling is that of mentoring. It is not uncommon for women who have made it to the top to have been associated with a mentor.

Mentoring is defined as two people who have a working relationship where one acts as a counselor or patron to the other. The mentor is usually a senior person who can use his/her skills, experience and position to help another progress through his/her career. Men have made use of informal mentoring for years, such as the master craftsman and the apprentice. Mentoring can be between the same sexes or opposite sexes (Flanders, 1994).

Mentoring can be a formal system or informal system. Most successful mentoring relationships are those often arranged between individuals with mutual feelings of empathy, respect and desire to interact informally. Mentoring should be a give and take with both parties involved. A mentor should be a good listener; one who respects and understands the mentee, acts as a sounding board, has the knowledge to

assist the mentee, is willing to give time, and is perceptive, patient and enthusiastic (Flanders, 1994).

According to the International Association of Chiefs of Police survey (1998) 13 percent of the 800 agencies surveyed reported that they had formal mentoring programs. These programs partner newly hired women police officers with senior/command officers, male or female, in order to create a supportive environment.

Networking

Networking is the female equivalent of the informal old boy network. It provides contacts, support, and information and is a tremendous asset to the female manager. Like mentoring, there are informal and formal networking systems. When women have been excluded from the old boys' network, they have formed their own networks and have participated in other activities, such as golf, to assist them in penetrating the glass ceiling (Flanders, 1994).

Personality

Women are raised to be fragile, dependent, compliant, cooperative, and nurturant, while men learn to be sturdy, independent, active, assertive, aggressive, and unemotional. As children women play with only one person, usually a best friend. Because of this, they learn exceptional interpersonal skills, including how to read and respond to others' emotions. Conflict, assertiveness, and direct confrontation are not only absent from play but are to be avoided at all costs. Instead, girls learn more indirect methods of dealing with dissension, such as involving a third party, dropping hints, or practicing avoidance in order to preserve relationships which is their main focus. Girls try to resolve conflicts by compromising and being fair so that everyone wins. Girls grow up in flat

organizations rather than hierarchies, and they learn to cooperate within this structure, rather than having a coach or supervisor tell them what to do. Girls cooperate in a web of relationships for the sake of preserving the relationship (Heim, 1992).

In law enforcement when women become the aggressive, no-nonsense, win-at-all costs players that their male counterparts pride themselves in being, then they are labeled bossy, obnoxious, overbearing, ambitious, or strident bitches who are just mouthing off, and their input or achievements are summarily dismissed. If, on the other hand, women adhere to their childhood training and continue to be passive, nurturant, and cooperative in the business setting, they are labeled weak, overly sensitive, unambitious females, and again, their important contributions and successes are dismissed (Heim, 1992).

Own Worst Enemy

Women need to learn how to rely on one another if they want to change the fundamental rules so that they can use their feminine power to win. Historically, they haven't cooperated with one another and have often been their own worst enemies. On occasion women at the top will support other female executives but go to great lengths to separate themselves from the clerical pool. The women at the top might have been able to make life easier and success more accessible to those below if they would have supported such issues as childcare, pay equity, and eliminating the unique glass ceiling of the clerical ranks. They have instead disassociated themselves from the lower ranks in which most women formerly worked (Heim, 1992).

By the same token, women in the clerical ranks often brag about how they prefer working with men and how they can't get along with a female boss. They describe the senior woman as ambitious, uncaring, demanding, and aloof. They criticize the leader's

dress, speech, hairstyles, career choices, and more, unaware that often a woman can't move up the career ladder without taking on those trappings (Heim, 1992).

Leadership Styles of Women in Law Enforcement

Police officers who have seen leadership fail in their agencies have come to the overwhelming conclusion that "ivory tower" management is the cause. Police managers who live in the "tower" rarely know what's happening in the ranks of those whom they are leading or on the streets of their community. Officers claim that supervisors usually do not request their input, suggestions, opinions, or ideas when specific public safety problems must be addressed. Hence, the feeling among many rank and file police officers is that they are apart from instead of a part of the agency in which they are employed. These officers state that the leadership failures in law enforcement not only build walls between the police and the public; they also build walls between the police and the police (Rogers, 1998).

Many police officers differ on what they identify as good leadership qualities. However, the most common characteristics of a good leader are depicted by the individuals who give their people a reason to care for their police agency and the people they serve. Good leaders induce followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations, the aspirations, the wants and needs, and expectations of both leaders and followers. The genius of good leadership is the method in which leaders act toward the people they interact with be those people subordinates, other leaders, or the citizens of their community (Rogers, 1998).

In order for subordinates to be motivated, leaders must be motivated. If leaders are not inspired, their subordinates will not be inspired. Hence, supervisors who do not

have leadership characteristics that inspire and motivate people are not true leaders. They are merely people with a title. In police work the wrong person in a position of leadership, who lacks these fundamental characteristics and skills, can lead a police department and community to disastrous consequences. (Rogers, 1998)

According to Rogers the four leadership skills for the effective police supervisor are the skill to communicate, the skill to motivate, the skill to empower, and the skill to take risks. A good police department is led by someone who hears the people on the streets and listens to the officers under his or her command. The supervisor understands them, unites them, directs them to a common goal, inspires them, motivates them, and gives them a sense of ownership and purpose.

For some time organizations have been focusing on the technical analytic side of business. What has been lost is the human, caring component that motivates employees and creates loyalty. Women bring this positive element to the workplace. Women are also more likely to judge and care about people based on their innate qualities rather than their position in the hierarchy. Consequently, female executives are more likely to help people grow professionally, to mentor, and to take seriously an employee's future aspirations. (Heim, 1992)

Because of their need to be fair, women tend to adopt a collaborative leadership style. They share information and the decision processes and provide positive feedback that also ultimately helps employees grow. (Heim, 1992)

Women encourage participation, share power, and influence, enhance self-worth in others by using praise, and energize others. As Kathleen Brow, California state treasurer, has said, "The difference between men and women is that women seek power

in order to address issues, while men address issues in order to seek power.” (Heim, 1992)

Summary of Women in Law Enforcement

Women in law enforcement continue to fight an uphill battle. Women who enter the realm of law enforcement must face hostile work environments, systemic discrimination, and the negative attitudes and behavior of their male colleagues. Professionally competent policewomen are often stereotyped as bitchy, castrating, or lesbian by male co-workers. The continued covert resistance by male police officers certainly limits women’s progress with capable female officers having fewer opportunities for advancement. Women in law enforcement, like those in corporate America, are often excluded from informal networking between line staff and ranking officers. This isolation results in female officers not having access to important work-related, supportive managerial relations and patronage for advancement. Why then do some women make it in this male-dominated environment. and why do they want to be police officers and face this abuse?

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter includes an overview of the qualitative research paradigm and the phenomenological approach to this research. In addition the specific research methods used in this study to examine the experiences of the female police chief and the female deputy police chief were discussed. The following was examined: (1) setting and participants, (2) procedures, (3) questions, (4) data analysis procedures, (5) data analysis, (6) the researcher's role, and (7) verification.

The Qualitative Research Paradigm

Qualitative research is based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher conducts the study in a natural setting and develops a complex, holistic picture by analyzing words that are reported through in depth interviews of the subjects (Creswell, 1998). Qualitative researchers attempt to make sense of or to interpret the phenomena in terms of the meanings that the subjects bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of the journey traveled by female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs during their careers in law enforcement. This exploration was accomplished by entering the fields of perception of the participants; seeing how they experience, live and display the phenomenon; and looking for the meaning of their experiences (Creswell, 1994).

Phenomenological Research Design

Within the qualitative paradigm, a number of approaches exist (Patton, 1990). This study utilized the qualitative methodology of the phenomenological research design. The term phenomenology refers to knowledge as it appears in consciousness; what one perceives, senses, and knows in one's immediate experience. The goal of phenomenology is to determine what the experience means for a person who has had the experience and then to provide a comprehensive description of that experience. From the individual descriptions general meanings are derived, in other words the essences or structures of the experience. The phenomenon of interest may be events, relationships, emotions, or programs (Moustakas 1994). The phenomenological approach was chosen for this study in order to examine the essence of the experiences of the female police chiefs and the deputy police chiefs and to make certain that the actual voices of the women surfaced so that the meaning of these experiences could be explored.

Setting and Participants

Participant interviewees were initially selected from women police chiefs and deputy police chiefs attending the National Center for Women & Policing Annual Conference in Baltimore, Maryland, from March 28 through April 2, 2000. Originally, it was expected that ten participants would be interviewed at the conference in Maryland; however, not enough police chiefs and deputy chiefs were in attendance. Therefore, additional police chiefs and deputy chiefs were contacted and interviewed between April 2, and September 1, 2000. Initial interviews were conducted with the participants with additional follow-up phone calls made between April 2, and September 1, 2000.

The confidentiality of the participants was protected. The sample consisted of five female police chiefs and five female deputy police chiefs. This sample was taken from the population of female police chiefs and female deputy police chiefs throughout the United States. There are approximately 100 female police chiefs in the United States, with fewer than 20 in jurisdictions with a population over 20,000, and an unknown number of deputy chiefs (although this number is expected to be larger than that of police chief). Because of the scarcity of female leaders the demographic information such as age, years in law enforcement, and population was not specific in order to maintain their confidentiality. The demographic information from each participant does not include information of location, state, or region. In addition all documentation of the interviews will be kept in confidential files and the audiotapes of the participant's interviews will be destroyed upon completion of this study. No other documentation will include the identity of the participants.

Procedures

This study will use a qualitative/phenomenological research design. The data for the study will be generated by in depth interviews that relate the participants' experiences throughout their careers in police work.

Each participant received a telephone call to see if she would participate in the study. A brief description was given to each potential interviewee of the purpose, approach, and significance of the study. The interview procedures were discussed, including the audiotaping of the interview and the assurance of confidentiality. The Colorado State University Human Subjects Research Committee approved consent form was also discussed. An appointment was made with the deputy police chiefs and the

police chiefs, and a letter and a copy of the Human Subjects Research Committee approved consent form was sent to each participant. The in-depth interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to 90 minutes with additional follow-up phone calls as needed. The participants were encouraged to be open and honest when they answered the questions. The interviews were tape-recorded and field notes were made during the interviews. The participants were advised that their personal identities would not be attached to the findings of this study. However, quotes would be used to support the major findings of this study, but the term “participant and number” would be used instead of an actual name (e.g., participant 7).

Questions

This study was guided by the grand tour question, “What was the journey like to become one of the few female police chiefs [or deputy police chiefs] in the nation?”

The following questions were used to guide the in-depth interviews for the female police chiefs.

1. What led you to a career in law enforcement?
2. Describe your education.
3. Describe your recruitment into law enforcement.
4. What were your experiences entering into a law enforcement career?
5. Describe your experiences in your law enforcement career?
6. Did you face any challenges in your career?
7. Were there rewards in your law enforcement career?
8. What factors contributed to your success?
9. Did your significant other have a role in your law enforcement career?

10. What aspect of the job of chief of police were you unprepared for?
11. What advice would you give to women who want to be the chief of police?

The following questions were used to guide the interviews with the female deputy police chiefs.

1. What experiences lead you to a career in law enforcement?
2. Describe your education.
3. Describe your recruitment into law enforcement.
4. What were your experiences entering into a law enforcement career?
5. Describe your experiences in your law enforcement career?
6. Did you face any challenges in your career?
7. Where there rewards in your law enforcement career?
8. What factors contributed to your success?
9. Did your significant other have a role in your law enforcement career?
10. Describe your perceptions of the police chief's position.
11. What advice would you give to women who want to be the chief of police?

Data Analysis Procedures

Data organization began when the researcher studied the transcribed interviews through the methods and procedures of phenomenal analysis. The specific steps were:

1. The interviews were transcribed verbatim.
2. Every expression that is relevant to the experience was coded, using HyperRESEARCH™ computer software (1995-1999).
3. Initial patterns and themes were identified and meaning or meanings were listed from these statements.

4. The meanings were then clustered into common categories or themes, removing overlapping and repetitive statements.
5. The clustered themes and meanings were used to develop the textural description of the experience
6. From the textural descriptions the meanings and essences of the phenomenon was constructed.

This analysis was developed through the use of the HyperResearch™ computer software program (1995-1999) which is a code-and-retrieve data analysis program.

Verification

Researcher's Role

The researcher who follows the phenomenological approach must engage in a disciplined and systematic effort to set aside predilection, prejudices, and predispositions regarding the phenomenon being investigated. This is called the Epoche process (Moustakas, 1994). The researcher must allow things, events and people to enter anew into his or her consciousness, and to look and see them again, as if for the first time, thus helping to exclude any prejudgment or bias the researcher may bring to the research project. The interview process will be introduced to the participants as one that was open and open-ended. The interviewees were encouraged to discuss issues that they feel will best describe their experiences.

To improve the validity of this study it is necessary to clarify the researcher's bias (Creswell, 1998). It is important that the reader of the study understand the researcher's position and any biases or assumptions that might affect the study.

I have been a certified peace officer in the law enforcement field for twenty-five years. From 1976 until 1989 I was an investigator with the Pueblo District Attorney's Office and the Denver District Attorney's Office. From 1989 until the present time I have been the Chief Investigator for the Pueblo District Attorney's Office. As an investigator I have worked closely with the local police agencies and numerous female officers. I have been an instructor at the Pueblo County Law Enforcement Academy at Pueblo Community College. I am also a member of many police organizations.

During my career I have observed and experienced many of the rewards and barriers that women in law enforcement face. I believe that this shared experience between the researcher and the participants will contribute to the quality of the interviews. I believe that my knowledge of this area will enhance the interviews, yet I will be careful not to hold bias or prejudice. I will maintain the Epoche process.

Member Checking

Member checking was utilized by the researcher to ensure that the information garnered by the researcher was accurate. Each participant was given the opportunity to review her transcript for accuracy. This ensured that the researcher did not misrepresent the interviewee (Creswell, 1994).

Audit Trail

The researcher established an audit trail for reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This included the audiotapes, verbatim transcripts, researcher journals, field notes, records of coding procedures, and records of the coding levels.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand the experiences of female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs in the male-dominated law enforcement environment. This chapter will provide descriptive information about the participants, analysis of the themes and sub-themes that emerged through the narrative data, the perceptions of the deputy chiefs regarding the job of police chief, and the police chiefs' insights into the actual job.

Some sociolinguist conventions will be used in order to show the participants' spoken words in the narrative data with as much integrity as possible. The following marks will be used: three ellipsis points without spaces (...) indicate a pause in the interviewee's spoken voice; three ellipsis points with spaces (...) indicate material has been omitted from the original transcript; brackets [] indicate information to maintain confidentiality, or clarifying material added to the verbatim transcript in order to classify the material, or indicate transcribed comments by the researcher during the interview; and underlining indicates emphasis in the participant's voice.

The Participants

The participants in this study were five female police chiefs and five female deputy police chiefs from different cities throughout the United States. During the interviews demographic information was obtained about each participant. Because of the scarcity of female leaders the demographic information solicited such as age, years in law

enforcement, and population were not specific in order to maintain the confidentiality of the participants. This section will also include additional information that emerged during the interviews with the participants that described the participants further. They were: family support, education, the decision to enter law enforcement, and the first female.

Demographics

Their ages range from 41 to 60. Eight of the female participants are between the ages of 41 and 50, and two of the participants are between 51 and 60 years old. Eight of the women are married and two of the women are divorced. Two women had stepchildren over the age of 21, three did not have children, and five had children under the age of 21. Eight of the female chiefs and deputy chiefs had master's degrees while two had four year degrees.

Table 1

Age, Degree, Marital Status, Children, Years in Law Enforcement, Years as Chief, Years as Deputy Chief and Population

Participant	Age	Degree	Married/ Single	Children	Years in Law Enforcement	Years as Chief	Years as Deputy Chief	Jurisdiction Population
One	41-50	Bachelor's	Divorced	3 under 21	16-20		5-7	250-500,000
Two	41-50	Master's	Married	2 under 21	25 +		1-3	500,000 +
Three	51-60	Master's	Married	1 over 21 1 under 21	25 +		7-10	100-150,000
Four	41-50	Master's	Married	3 step over 21	21-25		1-3	150-200,000
Five	41-50	Master's	Married	2 under 21	16-20		5-7	250-500,000
Six	41-50	Master's	Married	3 step over 21	25 +	3-5		50-100,000
Seven	51-60	Master's	Divorced	No Children	25 +	7-10		50-100,000
Eight	41-50	Bachelor's	Married	No Children	21-25	7-10		0-50,000
Nine	41-50	Master's	Married	2 under 21	21-25	7-10		50-100,000
Ten	41-50	Master's	Married	No Children	21-25	10-15		50-100,000

Years of experience in law enforcement range from 16 to over 25. One woman had between 16 and 20 years of experience, six women had between 21 and 25 years of experience, and three had over 25 years of experience in law enforcement. The range of years served as police chief range from 3 to 14 years; the range of years served by the deputy police chiefs as deputies range between 1½ to 7 years. The population in their respective jurisdictions ranged from 30,000 to 500,000 people. One participant's jurisdiction is under 50,000; five participants' jurisdictions range from 50,000 to 100,000; two participants' jurisdictions are 100,000 to 200,000; and three participants' jurisdictions are from 250,000 to 500,000.

Family Support

Family support was important to all of the participants. Parental and spousal support was an important element in making the decision to enter law enforcement, and spousal and child support was equally important when making career moves. Each of the participants indicated that becoming a law enforcement officer affected every aspect of her life and without family support it would have been very difficult. One participant stated:

I talked with my family; I think I should say that first. I talked with my mom, my dad, my brother, and my husband about doing that because it's a life-altering job. It's not like you are just going to go and do 8 to 5. And so I really had the support of my family and that really helped... My mom and dad would watch my kids for me so I could study. On, like, Sunday morning they would take the kids so that I could do my studying for my exams on Monday. When I worked nights, my parents always watched my kids for me. When I needed something done, my brother would do it for me. (Participant 1)

Women who continue their education and hold positions of authority are often threatening to their spouses. One woman participant stated that her husband did not feel threatened by her education.

My present husband was very encouraging to go back to school, so I did go back and got a two-year, a four-year, and my master's degree. It was because he encouraged ...and that was never a threat to him. (Participant 3)

One participant had the opportunity for a new career as police chief and found her spouse supportive enough to change his career enabling his wife to further hers.

...my husband gives me one pat on the head, a kiss on the cheek, and a pat on the butt as he pushes me out the door, to keep doing what I feel I need to do. He followed me here; I mean, not a lot of spouses would do that. When this opportunity came up he said, "Please, please apply." I kept saying, "Well what are you going to do, how are, at this stage in your life... are you ready to just start all over? Especially when you are in the very comfortable position that you're in, a very good position." And so if you don't get that commitment along with it, you are going to have, it is going to be tough on the family. And if it is tough on the family it is tough on the marriage, and that also makes it tough on your career. It all spills over. (Participant 6)

Traditional males who have certain expectations of their wives can sometimes have a difficult time understanding the law enforcement career that brings unusual hours, male partners, and a tough image. One participant explained that communication was the important factor in her marriage. She stated,

My second husband ...he is a very traditional male. It took him a couple of years to adjust to the job that I had, even though he found it interesting. He had a problem adjusting to hours and why do you have to go do this. But he has been extremely supportive of anything that I wanted to do, any type of assignment that I wanted. He has said, "That's fine if that's what you think." He supported me going to the FBI National Academy where I was gone for three months, and he was home. We visited back and forth on some weekends. That was pretty hard for him, but he said, "I know that is something you really want and is something that is good for your career... so go do it." ...just about anything that I have asked him about or told him that I wanted to do. We talk about it at length and then he says, "If that is what you really feel like you want to do, that's fine, but here are my concerns about it. Here are my issues," and we discuss them. (Participant 4)

One of the participants credits her spouse with giving her the support to make it through her career. She relied on his sense of humor and his perspective that was distinct from the police organization that she was involved in. She explained,

I also had a personal relationship before I went into the FTO [field training officer] program and that relationship was with someone outside the police department and that was a real strong source of support. And, ultimately, I married that person and I am still married to him. I probably would have...I don't know that I would have made it through if it wasn't for him. Part of it was we had gone through the police academy together in different agencies and met there and so we had the ability to support each other. Frankly, my now husband has just like the world's best sense of humor and perspective and I needed that. So I had someone that I could...who could support me that was totally separate and distinct from the police organization which was real important to me. (Participant 9)

Law enforcement is not the typical 8 to 5 job that most women associate with a career. Law enforcement officers, men and women, face danger, carry weapons, meet the worst society has to offer, and work shifts. It's a difficult, stressful job. Without the support of parents, spouses, and children, according to these participants, it would be even more difficult.

Education

Eight of the female participants have earned their master's degrees and two have bachelor's degrees. The participants all realized the importance of education to their future advancement and returned to school to finish their education during their careers. Their degrees are not all in criminal justice; some are in education, communication, public administration, and other fields, but all of the participants agreed that their degrees were a benefit to them.

In order to pursue a promotion in some law enforcement agencies it is important to have a degree. In some police agencies points are awarded during the promotional process for a degree. One participant discussed this issue.

When I became a lieutenant ... I also realized that I needed to finish college because if I was going to test for deputy chief down the road, or captain, I was going to have to have that degree finished because you get ten points for college degree toward your testing... It taught me critical thinking and that is one thing I

think that hurts women as we move up. Because we are not taught, we don't do so much tactical stuff. I know that for me education was very important.
(Participant 1)

When law enforcement officers reach a roadblock in their careers due to lack of promotional opportunities or job movement, some officers discovered that going back to school helps to eliminate burn out. For example, one woman said,

When I look back and I've talked to some of the others—well, at least one or two of the other deputy chiefs and the now chief. And all of us have hit roadblocks in our careers where we thought we should have advanced a lot faster. There just wasn't openings. Those kind of things that everybody runs into, but those of us who are now the upper echelon of the department all have the one thing in common is that when we didn't get what we thought we wanted right away, we went off and did something else. Like got a degree, went to school, got involved in something else so you keep yourself busy even away from the job so you don't get burned out. I think if you look at burn out in law enforcement that that is the difference you are going to see. People who get burned out and become very negative when things don't go their way don't tend to go find something positive to do, they tend to dwell in what's wrong rather than going to find out what's right. So the education has been great for me. (Participant 3)

It is now desirable, if not required, in most police agencies for applicants for the position of chief of police to possess a master's degree. One participant indicated that she thought that life experience, training, and having the natural abilities were more important than a formal education. She said,

If you don't have a master's degree you will not be the chief. Do I think it helped me overall? Not as much as some of my other, either training experiences or life experiences. I'll be honest with you, some of my very best cops do not have a degree, and we have a really good education reimbursement program here at the city so we try to encourage everybody to go back and get it done. Either you've got what it takes or you don't. Education certainly never hurts. But I think if you don't have what it takes, it's not going to help you get there. (Participant 7)

All of the participants agreed that their degrees benefited them, either in making them eligible for promotions, helping to eliminate burn out, or simply in improving their all-around abilities to do the job.

The Decision to Enter Law Enforcement

Prior to the decisions of the Federal Government in the late 1960s and early 1970s women still found themselves in the role of jail matrons or juvenile officers. After the government decisions, the male-dominated law enforcement society found itself being forced into hiring women to patrol city streets. Understanding what led these ten participants into the realm of law enforcement was important to this study. Some entered into the field by chance. One participant explained it like this,

I did it on a bet...High school counselor decided that he needed to visit with all of the students to make a determination as to what we were going to do with the rest of our lives, and he was pretty much locked in that each one of us would have selected a career prior, some kind of career path, prior to graduating from high school, and I couldn't quite make a decision...And [] State University was offering kind of a recruitment program for the men in our class for their law enforcement program which they were just kind of getting kicked up and started. And so all the men were invited into the auditorium to listen to the presentation by the gentlemen from [] State University. And my girlfriend and I snuck in, decided this would be funny; let's do this. So we went back and told the counselor we are going to be cops. He said when you get serious come back to my office. So that is when I made up my mind. So I had a bet with the high school counselor. That is the long and the short of it. I really wanted to be a rock star but, nope, I had to make sure I won the bet" [laughter]. (Participant 6)

During the 1970s monies became available for law enforcement cadets to attend college if the students would serve as police officers. This gave the officer an opportunity to understand the agency prior to joining the force. One participant discussed this issue.

I grew up in the projects and wanted to go to college, and we didn't have any money for college. And so because of the LEAP [Law Enforcement Assistance Program] grants under Nixon...that Nixon started after the National Commission on Crime in America. They made money available for Law Enforcement to go to college...I got hired by the city and county of [] and the feds paid through a LEAP grant for me to go to []. They had a cadet program...And you worked and the terms of the grant that you worked one year for every year you went to school. [] It wasn't my intention to stay; it was never my intention to stay. I only did it for the education. Then when I got to be 21, and it was time to go into the academy, it just seemed like a good idea. I still owed time on the grant. And they

paid a lot of money and unless I wanted to go look for another job I didn't have another choice." (Participant 2)

One participant needed to be a certified police officer to keep her job in the District Attorney's Office, and the only way she could become certified was to join the police force and attend their police academy. Once she joined the police force, she decided that she enjoyed the police agency more than she had anticipated and did not return to the District Attorney's Office. She said,

Oh, I interned...I guess I sidestepped in. I started in college. I actually started out on a career to be a defense lawyer, and I worked with the Public Defender's office. Then I applied for three different officer jobs as a way to gain certification actually necessary to advance my career at the District Attorney's office. I actually never intended to be a cop. I was hired with the [] police department as an officer and loved it. And so didn't go back. (Participant 9)

Some of the ten participants were already into the law enforcement community as civil employees, and when an opportunity opened for them to become sworn officers, they took the challenge. They said,

Originally, I hired on as a typist for the police department, typing police reports, because it was a steady, good paying job for a female at the time in 1968. And through my contact with police work during that I realized that that was a job I would like to continue. (Participant 4)

I started out in the rescue squad and became familiar with what law enforcement was doing at accident scenes and things like that. Then 911 was starting in this area, and I got hired as a dispatcher when I was 19. So I saw it kind of from the fire side and the dispatch side and that spurred my interest to go for the deputy sheriff's job. (Participant 10)

I was working for the city of [] microfilming. It was a temporary job, no benefits, no anything. I had just moved back from California with my husband and small child at that time. I was looking for a steady job with benefits and city came open and I mean this paid a whopping, in 1968, paid a whopping two bucks an hour, but it was one of the better jobs at the time, so I took this temporary job. During the time I had it—I started in September—I tested in May for an opening for a meter maid. Took a cut in pay in order to get the benefits. [] and was a meter maid for 2½ years when they announced they were going to hire female officers, policewomen if you would, was our title. I took that test, passed it, and became

one of the first three women hired in the [] police department in 1972. So it was an accident; it was being in the right place at the right time. (Participant 3)

The First Female

When many of the ten participants began their careers in the 1970s and 1980s they were either the only female police officer, or one of very few female officers in their departments. Following are the participants' comments. "I took that test, passed it and became one of the first three women hired in the [] police department in 1972."

(Participant 3) "There were two hired with me. We were the first three women patrol officers hired in that capacity for []. We had a police matron and a juvenile officer but nobody that had sworn authority as a patrol officer." (Participant 6) "I was the first. I was the only one here for quite a while. I was the first one in this department and really only the second one in this whole metro area." (Participant 7) "We had, when I started, we had two female officers. One was a captain and one was a detective. We had one of the first female captains in the nation." (Participant 4) "Probably I was the 5th woman hired as a regular police office." (Participant 9) "I was the only woman on the department for the first 5 years." (Participant 10)

The Leadership Position

The participants of this study represent 61 years as chiefs and deputy chiefs in their respective law enforcement agencies. The participants found themselves climbing the ladder to police chief for several different reasons. Some decided it was the only way to impact the department; others advanced through opportunities provided to them. It was important in this study to understand if the participants began their careers in law enforcement with the intention of advancing to chief of police or deputy chief of police or if they decided to seek promotions later in their careers.

The participants indicated that they did not join their respective police departments with aspirations of advancing to police chief. Each participant realized her potential for advancement during different phases of her career. One participant explained that when opportunities arise in law enforcement, it is important that they are taken since they may not appear again. As one participant commented,

That never really was my goal. And when I got promoted to sergeant I knew, I pretty much knew that that was something that I wanted to do back then because we were growing so fast you had to take those opportunities. I really wasn't ready to do anything different. I liked just being a patrol officer and I wanted to do that for a while. But it was kind of... you can't turn those opportunities down or else they won't come back again. And so I have been a supervisor ever since... well, I was here four years before I got promoted, so I have been a supervisor for 16 years and kinda worked my way up to captain and then to deputy chief. We had a young, very progressive chief that I kinda thought would be here for quite a while and he decided that he wanted to retire . . . I was the only realistic, internal candidate at that time. And you either took that job or it was going to be turned over to an outsider. So I had been a supervisor here for so long that most of the people that work here had been hired in the last 15 years and so I was just a fact of life as a supervisor. It was kind of natural, just a natural progression. It wasn't like coming from the outside. It was not shocking because I had been here for so long in positions of authority. (Participant 7)

All supervisory positions in law enforcement agencies are important. But, if officers truly want to make an impact on policies in their departments, the officers need to be in top positions. One participant said,

When I got into the lieutenant's position I thought I would have more impact on policy, but the lieutenant's position was not really anything. You were the mediator between, at that time in our department, the administration, which was captains and chiefs, and then you're a liaison person to the sergeants. So they gave you a shift to run, but you really didn't have a whole lot to say about it. They would listen to you. And I really felt at the lieutenant's position it was a useless job. And that was the time that I was getting my master's degree and I thought if I am going to do anything to make any kind of long term important changes on this department, I have gotta go for administration. I gotta go for captain and if I am going to go for captain, I might as well continue the ladder as much as I can in order to be able to make as much difference as I can. (Participant 4)

One participant shared that her chief made the decision for her to become the next chief of police. Mentors for female officers are often their male supervisors. One participant explained,

I took my first sergeant's test on a whim and did well. Anyway, I just became sergeant and it was then that the chief that I replaced brought me in to give me the normal congratulations and everything, and he said, "And by the way" . . . He was going to nominate me to go to the FBI National Academy. I said, "Oh, ya' know that sounds great." And he said, "I think you can be the next chief." Frankly, it wasn't in my realm of possibilities. That is something I never really aspired for . . . the position. I enjoyed, frankly, I was a very good street cop and enjoyed it. It just shocked me. He said, "I don't see anybody else in the organization currently with your time, seniority, and rank that will be able to do this position. You know, some lieutenants' jobs will be opening up, and I assume you will do well on those, and you might be in position at that time to move to deputy chief." So actually, he had plotted my career out, which surprised me. That is when it first started to get into the mind. Then as I did move up in the organizations, the more you have an ability to impact how that organization looks and behaves. (Participant 8)

Many officers enjoy working the streets as law enforcement officers but face burnout because of the violence and non-acceptance. This participant decided to go back to school, thus enabling her to see the full picture of law enforcement. It led this participant into the administration of her police department. She said,

I don't know that I ever specifically made that decision. I decided very early on. After about two years on the street, I started getting burned out. I worked in an area that was predominately African-American and the officer that was killed was killed by an African-American, and during the 70s—actually, this was the early 80s—there was a lot of violence. We had a lot of violence, and I was getting very burned out having people yell at me and not accept me and being called a bitch and a whore in every way you possibly can. I went back to college to get my master's. And it was the best thing I ever did because then I could see how the whole picture, not just this eight hours in the middle of the night where the only people you deal with are people who don't want to see you. You know, you got back to talking to people who appreciated what police do and the bigger picture. And I think it was when I went back to school for my master's degree that I decided that I wanted to get involved in the administration of the police departments. (Participant 5)

All of the participants had different reasons for seeking the position of deputy chief of police or chief of police, but they all had one thing in common: They believed that the administration was where officers could make a difference in their respective departments.

The participants who participated in this study were five police chiefs and five deputy police chiefs who began their law enforcement careers when law enforcement was reluctantly beginning to open its doors to women. These women are the pioneers who enabled women to enter law enforcement today with fewer barriers than in the 1970s and 1980s. The participants all believed that their education and their family support provided them with the skills and abilities to make it to the top positions in their departments.

Emerging Themes

The analytical processes of this phenomenological research design revealed five major themes evolving out of the meaning that participants made of their career experiences. They are: the female challenge in a male-dominated environment, personal characteristics of the female police officer and the female police chief, the advantages of females in law enforcement, the participants' leadership styles, advice to potential female officers, advice to female officers who want to be chief, and advice to the law enforcement community.

The Female Challenge in a Male-Dominated Environment

The first theme that emerged was the challenge that the female participants faced throughout their law enforcement careers. Policing is still one of the few remaining bastions of male stereotypes and although women have been proving themselves for

years, male police officers are generally still more comfortable with men. Although the male officers and administration were forced to admit these women and allow them on the streets because of the law, it was not always a pleasant experience for the women or for the men on the force. However, the participants were anxious to prove themselves and excited to be patrol officers. A wide range of emotion was felt on the part of the women, the men, and the administration.

How these participants viewed the obstacles during their careers determined how they handled them. Lynn L. Jones, a major in the Tulsa Police Department once stated “I don’t think I’ve ever talked about obstacles... I’m a person who sees a glass as half-full, so I always talk about what a good job (policing) is and how it challenges you physically and mentally... You end up being a sociologist, a therapist, a mediator, a leader... you learn how to handle crisis. I (also) like to talk about leadership skills... like having courage, having integrity. I think this is a great place to develop those skills” (Gold, 1999). These ten participants faced many challenges and found their own distinct ways of making it through.

The first emerging theme of the “Female Challenge in a Male-Dominated Environment” will be examined in three parts: the early challenge, the gender challenge, and the advancement challenge.

The early challenge. There were very few women in law enforcement when the participants first began their police careers. They were unique entities in their respective agencies. The male officers didn’t know if they should protect and baby women, but they did know they were not going to trust them. These women’s voices explain some of what they went through.

Just getting through the initial interview was difficult for one participant. She explained,

I think the biggest obstacle was finding the organization that really valued women and saw women as viable police officers. I am 5' 2" ...I remember coming home from interviews just really frustrated when I would get questions like, "Gee, were you on the wrestling team?" "Do you know karate?" Things I think are ridiculous. In terms of understanding the role of a police officer and a woman in that role those kinds of questions come from people that have a disconnect: they don't see women. They see the police role as more of a physical, aggressive role rather than what we all know is a communication and problem-solving role primarily. I would say the hardest thing was being taken seriously as a young petite woman in the middle 70s. Breaking through, I mean we had barely got over height requirements at that time. (Participant 9)

Other women made it through the initial interview but found themselves faced with numerous reactions and emotions after they were police officers. One participant stated that some of the male officers were protective, some resentful, and others were not trusting. She stated,

It was amazing. Babied, pampered, protected, certainly not to be trusted. Somebody to be taken care of, and that went not only through working within the agency, but when I went away to the police academy, it was the same thing. We were kind of a novelty. This was the first time the [] law enforcement academy had female officers staying there, and they were not equipped to have females. They had to get a separate side for us and a whole new set of rules. Lots of different things that were different because we were there. For example the instructors were all told that there would be no dirty jokes in class. They were very quick to point out that they had some great jokes, but they couldn't tell us because the females were in class. So that caused some resentment. The guy who was in charge of the academy then, he was with the state patrol, and I cannot remember his name now, but he was just totally upset that there were females staying in his police academy. He just didn't think that was appropriate. So it was interesting... the chief that we had then, [], he wanted female officers; he wanted the publicity, and he wanted to show us off. Got us fancy uniforms and we worked a plain-clothes job, but we had to do it in uniform. We were not allowed to make arrests – that was the guys' job – not ours. We were there to take care of the kids basically. (Participant 3)

If a woman wanted to be a police officer badly enough, it didn't matter if the obstacles were there. It was important just to fit in, prove yourself, and make the adjustments needed. One woman participant's voice discusses this,

It was fun. I enjoyed it. It was stressful in some respects but, all in all, I enjoyed it. . . There were individuals on the department that had the attitude that I was taking a job away from a man that had a family to feed. I did hear that more than once. I had those that fell into that category and then I had category "you want to be a police officer? Well then you are going to have to prove yourself," and I was probably put into situations where men would have received cover, but I didn't. Then I had those that were overprotective, and every time I turned around there were three policemen standing behind me for the simplest of calls. And so that first year was kind of everybody finding a balance and a comfortability with my ability... my own confidence with what I could do and just naturally getting comfortable with the organization. . . it was a lot of adjustments that had to be made. (Participant 6)

Most of the participants believed that they were as capable of doing the job as well as a man, but usually had to do it better in order to be acknowledged just for doing it as well. Even then the acknowledgements were few. A number of participants described this issue.

I think every officer has to prove themselves. People don't just go out and accept you; you have to show that you have what it takes to be in that unit or on that department. That's global but I think it's especially hard for women sometimes. (Participant 3)

I learned very quickly coming into this business ... it was not going to be open arms and accepting me. I was going to have to work and make sure that acceptance was there by making sure that if this was the standard, try to do it a little better. That I am not the only one that was probably going to have to really work towards acceptance, but any new officer coming into an organization has to work towards it; it's just that it was going to be a little bit unique because of my gender. (Participant 6)

I said the reality is I have earned all my positions; I've tested for them just like you guys have; I went through the same testing procedures, and I deserve just as much as you did, and I am not going to change your mind. If you don't think I can do the job, show me how I can't do. And at least give me a chance to show you that I can do. And I think women have to think like that. They are not getting these jobs just because they're women. In fact, I have spent most of my

career telling them if you think they are out here looking for women to help, it is more of a hindrance being a female in this occupation than it is being a male because nobody wants you here. Nobody will help you. I have had to seek my assistance from outside this department. Very few people will ever help me study; they won't ever help give me advice, even down to what do you wear for an interview. So I have had to go to outside training to women's organizations that I joined to find out how to prepare for a promotional testing. I said I have had to work harder at getting this stuff than you guys have. And now over the past few years I have been accused of helping the women too much. And I said anybody who comes to me and asks what can I do to do better in a promotional process, I'll tell 'em whether they are women or men, I don't care what race they are. I'll help anyone. (Participant 4)

In some cases the smaller the police department, the easier it is for women to be accepted into the agency. According to two participants,

I have never ever had a problem actually; I would have to say that maybe being a female was an advantage. When I came here this was a pretty small police department; I think there was maybe 18 of us all together. Very fast growing community, very well funded, really progressive chief, at that time he was my predecessor and so I thought they were happy to have me. Now I didn't find out till about four years later when one of my friends said, "The day you walked through the door we thought our world was coming to an end." But the chief had told them, "Hey, give her a chance and if she can do the job, she'll stay and if she can't, it will be like anybody else and she'll be gone." Not so much, I think, because of their opinion of me but because of their respect for him, they gave it a chance. I just had a wonderful experience both within the department and in the community, also. (Participant 7)

We were small back then. A lot of times we worked 12 hour shifts. We worked usually on a shift... there was just two on a shift, so we had to work pretty independently, so it didn't take long before you either had to do it or not. And they figured that out, that you could do the job. I can think of a couple situations where probably they raced to make sure that I was okay early on. But they were really not overly protective. . . . I was married back then, and I was a little bit older. I didn't start until I was 27. So I think that helped because you know you are never really one of the guys but also you are not some kid. (Participant 7)

Women could not be excluded from law enforcement because of height during the 1970s but if a woman was small, she was forced to prove to her male-counterparts that she could handle herself in difficult situations. Following are two participants' comments.

I was the smallest person ...they really didn't feel that I could do the job, and they all kind of stood back. They tried to get me into fighting situations ...to handle myself in a fight to see if I would back down. They told me, they said, "You know, if you are going to be a coward, we have to find out fast and get you out of here"... so they would volunteer for any type of fight calls, any type of really nasty type calls to see what I would do. (Participant 4)

In law enforcement you're accepted on your size mainly. And traditionally, people just feel that if you are big and you're male, you can handle any kind of fight and you can arrest anyone. And it's safer to have male officers out there than it is female. So every single time I tried to do something it was not looked at as you can't do this because you don't have the skills; you can't do it because you're female. (Participant 4)

Women have always faced the argument that women are not suited for the job because of their physical strength. The participants disagree. In today's law enforcement women can utilize their verbal skills to try and talk themselves out of difficult situations, and if that doesn't work, then they resort to the equipment that officers now have at their disposal. The participants indicated that physical strength is not really a problem, just an excuse. They said,

Physical strength is one of those stumbling blocks that, yea I'll tell you there were times when I used to wish I was 6' 4" and weighed 250 pounds, when we get involved in situations. But you know, for the most part, law enforcement now is if you have the right verbal skills, if you have the right tools. I can't tell you the last time I saw a use of force report where somebody really had to lay their hands on people. They are going to use pepper spray; they are going to use muscling techniques; they are going to use things that have a lot more finesse. So for me, that's just a big cop out. . . The biggest majority of what cops have to deal with has nothing to do with physical strength. When you need it, you need it and yea you got to be smart enough to know when that is and you have to be able to. If you can't take care of yourself physically, then it is probably not a job for you. But most people can overcome that. (Participant 7)

A female officer who would show cowardice in a situation would not make it in law enforcement.

Anything that can be argued as inadequacy, for example, size or strength or so forth, you find other ways to compensate. There is no shame in talking someone into a vehicle as fighting them into a vehicle. Then ultimately if push comes to

shove; you do the best you can for the job. The job is certainly not meant for all women, and it is certainly not met for all men. I don't think I am a believer that it is an individual type thing. That you learn to deal with the tools that you have and that you can certainly function. A senior officer said to me one time, he used to call everyone else in the department "kid," but he called me "guy." He says, "guy, there is no shame of going down as long as you are not running away." That was a pretty good piece of advice; you do the best you can, and usually, at least I had felt, when I did the best I could with the job I was able to do a good job. I stack my work against anyone's on the department. (Participant 8)

When an officer is first out of the academy and put on duty, she needs to depend on her Field Training Officers and other experienced officers in order to learn the ropes. It was difficult for the women who did not receive assistance from the experienced officers, the men. Two participants stated,

But they will take care of the guys and the women get put out there. She can't handle this; she can't do that... where they will cover for one another. And that is because we didn't have our own good old boy's club. (Participant 1)

The camaraderie in the training took a lot longer because the male officers just didn't associate with us as much. And it took longer to learn the ins and outs of how to do things, the shortcuts, because they didn't tell you all those things. Like, they would talk about them in the locker room when they were changing clothes. But you would be the only person on a shift there would be nobody in the locker room for you to talk to. And you didn't have the camaraderie as much. (Participant 4)

Many female officers, according to the participants, attempt to fit into law enforcement by changing their personalities and attempting to become one of the guys by acting like them. These ten successful participants disagreed with this method of making it in law enforcement, as do other female law enforcement officers. In the August 1997 issue of Law and Order, Sgt. Laura A. Molinaro, Prescott Valley, quoted another Arizona officer as saying, "A female officer should not try to be accepted as one of the guys, but strive to gain acceptance and respect as a police officer." (Gold, 1999) One participant stated, "I guess I never agreed with just becoming one of the boys. I don't believe in

giving up my femininity or my being a female just to fit in.” (Participant 6) Another participant stated that she was strong enough as a woman and did not need to act like a man. She was confident that she could prove her abilities without losing her femininity. She explained,

I have always stayed what I think is feminine; I never took on a male persona. I think I was strong enough within myself, you know, where I would speak my mind, and I handled myself on the job, and if I had to fight, we fought on the street. If you had to get into a tussle, that's what most of the men on this job want. They want to know that if they have a female backing them up that she is capable of doing the job, and so that part of it was relatively easy for me, and I think it's because I always did my job. You know, I didn't ask the guys could you do this or would you do this for me. But that wasn't every female. (Participant 1)

One participant stated that if a woman attempts to change her personality to be too masculine or to be too feminine in order to fit in, she probably wouldn't. If a person is a good, solid person he or she will succeed regardless of gender and that is what people should strive to accomplish. She explained,

I have seen people try (to change their personalities), and I tell you what to one extent or another they never really succeed because we are different. I firmly believe that the women who totally sacrifice their femininity will not succeed. And I also believe that the women who try to traffic on that and manipulate and be too girly in the work place, they are not going to succeed either. I think you have to be careful how you handle that, but the main thing is just be... I mean if you are a good solid person that is what will come through rather than if you are male or female. (Participant 7)

Another participant explained further,

I think that is probably why I was more successful. My feeling is that you got to be who you are. People have to either accept you or reject you based on who you truly are. And so I did not attempt to change my personality. I did not attempt to pretend to be interested in sports or other things just because that would bridge the gap between my male co-workers. I was just myself. And I advise officers and young people going into law enforcement today to just be themselves. I think we all have strengths and weaknesses, but when we are genuine, your strengths really come out. To me it is a fatal error, particularly for a female officer, to come in and try to be something she is not 'cause there is so many other obstacles that it just exposes. One it is too much stress; you can't carry it off, but it seems

artificial. I could never do that. That's a fatal flaw. When women come in and think they have to be macho, and they have to do this job the way they perceive a man does the job, it is not natural for them and they are not successful. I mean we have all seen it a 100 times. (Participant 9)

One participant believes that women do need to become more masculine in some cases. She stated,

The big question sometimes is: Do we have to change and become men and make more decisions like men or should we be able to accept who we are and they should be able to accept us? In all honesty it's some of both. I don't apologize for the decisions I make or the way I dress or the way I behave. I am a woman. I've got children. I'm married. I still maintain my femininity, but yet I can move over into that autocratic mode too. So that's why I think learning androgyny is very important to both genders. (Participant 3)

Male officers also feel that women should stay true to themselves. This participant shared,

I didn't do it but most of the women did [change personalities]. And I knew better than that because of my time as a cadet. And I knew from the things I heard the guys tell me. The guys would always give me advice over the 2½ years I was a cadet. That they would tell me, "Well when you are a cop someday don't do this, ya know don't walk around like you're some man and cuss like a man and stuff." And the guys told me "ya know, someday when you're a cop, don't go out with any of us, we're all ass-holes." (Participant 2)

The early years in law enforcement for the female participants were difficult. They were intelligent, capable women who had to prove themselves to the male officers, the administration, and to the public. They were criticized for their size and physical strength and were not given help or the inside information from their male counterparts. The women did not have other women to help them through these early years, yet they continued to battle even more challenges.

Gender challenges. The participants have been subject to sexual harassment and gender discrimination, along with bias from the public and the male officers' wives, have faced the stigma of the women who fail and had to deal with uniforms and facilities that

were not designed for women. They have faced many challenges during their careers.

Yet, the participants did not quit.

Sexual harassment has been an issue with females in law enforcement for many years. However, in the early years, it was not recognized by the participants as sexual harassment; they knew it was wrong and irritating, but it did not have a name. One participant stated, "Well by today's definition it was loud and clear, but back then I'm not sure that we would have recognized it or called it anything, or knew what to do with it if we had." (Participant 3) Even when the women didn't like the comments or actions, there was no one to complain to or sue. In the early days the participants handled this harassment with different methods. Some ignored it; some confronted it; and some didn't even recognize it was happening. Some participants described it like this,

By this standard, in this day and age, sure. But back then it was an accepted thing. It was not something that I necessarily would even have thought of... wisecracks, jokes, those types of things, yes. That was back in 1974 we hadn't even heard of it. (Participant 6)

When I first came here and I was very naïve, I am sure, probably, things were said that I didn't catch on. I didn't know what they were talking about. (Participant 7)

In the early years when there really wasn't something called sexual harassment, I mean you would have people that would hit on you, that would ask you out, or they would make comments, but that was pre-enlightenment [laughter]. And what my decision was that was I am not sleeping with anyone that I don't want to sleep with and I don't care... But in that early first year and a half yeah you would have people make mean comments to you. "Oh, you look so good in that uniform" and things like that, but they were very careful with me, because I let them know don't talk to me like that. I put it out front that I am just not going to be treated like that. I mean there was an incident once where I had a female recruit, and like I said, I was still pretty young on the job like my second or third year. And when we came in that night someone had put like a playboy bunny picture up on the board and said this is the female summer uniform. And I am telling you, I took them to task. I said if I saw anymore crap like that I was going to turn it into internal affairs that they had no right to talk to us like that. And we never found out who it was, and they thought it was amusing, and they

thought it was a joke and fun. But I let them know right up front that I am just not going to play that. And so that took care of that for me. (Participant 1)

One participant explained how far her training officer would go to humiliate her in an attempt to make her quit.

I had one training officer that . . . one day I wrote the wrong date on these tickets and, of course, all day, he's my training officer...he looked at all my work, never said a word. The next day he hung every ticket on the bulletin board with a sign about this is the reason why women should never be on this job; they don't even know what day it is. So... Stuff like that, ya know, hanging bras on my locker. [how did you handle it] In some ways I ignored it, ya know, I went along with it because it was kind of a hazing. ...I knew that they were trying to do it to get us to quit and humiliate us, and there wasn't any avenue to fix it. Who would I tell? Nobody cared. So there wasn't a place to complain. (Participant 2)

The female participants handled the sexual harassment in different manners.

When they were harassed or taunted by the male officers, they would ignore it like Participant 3 who stated, "...mostly, I ignored it" or like the participant above. The other participants confronted it or simply continued to prove themselves as capable women officers. All of the methods proved to be effective responses for the ten participants.

Some of the participants explained,

You just let them know I am here for the job, and you know you don't have to like me but I'm here. And I think by me being so straightforward, because they just didn't know what to say to me. I said, "If you have anything you want to say to me just be right up front, and we will deal with it." And I just made some tremendous friends. (Participant 1)

Well, I am the type of person that basically confronts things directly, which is both a plus and a minus. My sense is that if you just swallow it, it will get worse. My point of view is I need to speak up for myself, and in the end I think that kind of helped me gain some acceptance because people could see I was my own person. (Participant 9)

One participant had to take the problem one step further in order to handle it. She explained,

I had, actually, a man that I had worked with for many, many years when I was first a juvenile officer. He was one of my partners and probably the one who was most likely to take me with him. Then he became a sergeant and I was still an officer and then he became a captain, and I became a sergeant and I worked for him. I was about to make captain but he probably, if you looked up chauvinist in the dictionary you'd find his picture. Very much a man's man type of guy and let his mouth go way too often. If he was having a problem with his wife at home, every woman at work suffered for it. A lot of that you kind of ignored; you put it on the back burner. But I was getting ready to make captain. Well, let me back up a little bit. When I was a sergeant, I had an occasion where he said something that was very sexist to me in front of other people and quite frankly I felt my way through that. I talked to the chief and a couple of other people, about what had happened, and I recognized right away that they were not going to do anything about it and that it would be up to me to do something. I went in and closed the door and talked to him and told him that I didn't appreciate what he said. ... I had an officer who had called in, anyway, he had called off, and he had done it a little later than he should have, and when I did the investigation as to why it was later. I came back and said, "I don't think we can dock him for the day. I think we'd lose it." He asked me if I breast-fed him at night when I went home, too. You know cause I mothered these guys too much, and he said that in front of a number of people. I found it to be extremely sexist, so I went in and talked to him and told him that I really didn't appreciate it. He thought that I was a little thin-skinned, and I told him that wasn't it. I just didn't think that remark was appropriate for his rank and that I would not tolerate it happening again. He asked me what I thought I would do about it, and I said "well, I just don't want it to ever happen again and if it does then I will deal with that at the time." He said, "Well don't worry about it because I have been across the street for things like this before and I've never gotten anything more than a hand slap." I told him, "Well that may be true, but you have never been over there before with me." Across the street means city hall where personnel is, so as I was getting ready to make captain, I didn't work for him. I didn't have any reason to really interact with him other than just a hello. But I was walking by his office one day, and he called me in and there were two sergeants in there and one of them had filled out an overtime slip, and you have to explain why you stayed overtime. This officer was abbreviating and what he put down was reviewing, what he meant was he was reviewing a report of an assault on a police officer, but what he put down was "review ass. on a police officer." So this captain thought it was pretty funny, called me in and showed me the slip and wanted to know if I was here at the time, and if it was mine that he was reviewing. I just gave him the slip and went back to my office. I was furious. I was two weeks away from being his peer as far as rank. and I knew at that point and I really, really resented it that I was either going to have to put up or shut up. I either had to do something about it or I would have to tolerate this behavior from here on out. I had no idea it would affect me as strongly as it did. I mean I really, really was angry that he'd put me in that position and that I now had to make a decision. I made the decision to go talk to the chief who was still relatively new, and he explained that he'd been hearing this

thing about this captain since he got here but there was absolutely no documentation anywhere. And if I expected him to go anywhere with a complaint against his captains that I would have to do a formal complaint, so I did. I went to personnel and filed a formal complaint against this captain. Basically, he got told that this was a two strike, you're out game. This was first, second one he would be gone. He was made to go to diversity workshop, which killed him, and he got a letter of reprimand in his file. I was satisfied with that. He just had to know that this was not appropriate. The interesting part was he had shown that same memo to at least one other female officer who took no offense to it and was surprised I did. She would not back me on the complaint. She did not think it was offensive. Anyway he got that, and that was the only time I have ever filed anything. Although there were many times down the road I'm sure I could have it just and I'm not sure if I hadn't been going to become a captain and be his peer that I would have done it either if I were still working for him. I think that would have been very awkward and very difficult and he would have made life miserable. As it was he tried, but being the same rank, it's pretty hard to make my life miserable other than having to sit through staff meetings with him. (Participant 3)

The sexual harassment was ignored by the administration in some police departments. For example, one participant said,

There was discrimination from the top in the sense that they were well aware of what was occurring and turned their back. It was more of a, we are not going to deal with this, we are just going to look the other way. (Participant 8)

The female officers still find that sexual harassment and gender discrimination exist and that they are difficult to prove. However, with the laws now in place complaints are at least acted upon faster than they used to be. One participant stated,

You know, I had, when I was promoted to deputy chief, I had a retired officer come into my office and say, "Well congratulations on the promotion, we need to get females off the street." I said, "Well, that was a backhanded compliment." It's not stopped. It's not stopped from the community point of view, and it's not stopped from the officers' point of view with certain people. I mean there are certain people in our community who don't think women belong in law enforcement and there are certain people within our organization that don't think women should be leaders in the organization. What I have always said is, "You give me three months after you promote and then you see if you have any questions." You give me the opportunity to prove myself and I will do the job and I have never had any problem with that. (Participant 5)

In the police departments led by the ten women participants, sexual harassment will not be tolerated. The participants, as leaders, hold people accountable for their actions. They offer training in gender discrimination and sexual harassment. They said,

I hold people accountable. I did reprimand one of our officers. It hadn't been more than a couple of months for sexual harassment, and he was reprimanded even though the female officer didn't want to do anything about it. . . . (Participant 6)

Yea, we do annual training. We do training when they first come in on sexual harassment. We give them a 4-to-8 segments on sex harassment, any kind of discriminatory and harassment activities. It is illegal; we have a policy on it. The city has a policy and any violations will be vigorously pursued. We then do a follow up in our field training program to tell 'em you can't do this kind of stuff. Any complaints that come to our knowledge, we investigate thoroughly and we have recently fired a cadet for sexual inappropriate sexual touching. And we fired an officer a few years ago and charged him criminally, and we have done other disciplines to discourage of it, depending on what the complaint is, throughout the entire department not just with our police officers. And most of our officers know that it is unacceptable and then we try to do as often as we can we do annual training on sexual harassment and discrimination and not only sexual but ethnic harassment discrimination. (Participant 4)

Well, it is getting a lot better. As in the last few years I think we have made some dramatic changes in the last 8 or 9 years. Of course, we introduced hostile work environment training. As I began to ascend through the ranks, became first a platoon lieutenant, I think I was the first one to walk into a platoon, which I was in charge of, and say, "Here's our type of prohibitive activities on my platoon and language," which of course met with a lot of resistance. You'd think you'd ask them to take away their gun, for Pete's sakes. The attitude was, "Well that's what it's like to be a cop and if you don't like it you can get out." It's all about respect. It wasn't just gender related that we are talking about, it was common practice to racial, ethnic slurs. It was just common place. That's gone now. that does not exist in this organization now, or if it happens, it is dealt with severely with discipline. Because I guess maybe from my experience what I wanted to see happen that nobody should be subjected to that type of behavior for just wanting to come to work. (Participant 8)

In the later years lawsuits were filed in the ten jurisdictions that the participants represent. One participant said, "We have made progress but only because of lawsuits in

some cases.” (Participant 1) Some of the lawsuits were successful others were not. The participants’ stated,

We have had female officers that have filed suit and kind of led up to a consent decree and hiring and promotions. And, when I was asked to take part in it, I refused and the reason I refused was I took care of it myself early and so I wasn't being sexually harassed. And if I had a supervisor that I felt was treating me unfairly I went to him. (Participant 1)

It is not uncommon for police officers to band together against someone who is trying to talk about the inner operations of a police department. It is called the blue wall of silence. One participant explained it like this,

Well, that wasn't until into the 80s I filed an EEO complaint with another female officer that is now the deputy chief. In the early 80s, 81 or 82, something like that, daily we were subjected to vulgarities at roll calls and crude comments directed at us. That was a nightly... [what was the outcome of the EEO complaint?] Nothing. All officers except one in the organization, which didn't have too much knowledge of an event that I complained about that night, lied in an internal investigations. The blue wall of silence was well and alive. (Participant 8)

Another difficult aspect, according to the participants, was the animosity in the work place from their male counterparts. One participant described it this way,

I worked hard and sailed through it. I mean I had my challenges like any other new officer, but I didn't feel any bias in particular. In my first year I probably, like everybody else, was on this big high. It's an exciting career; you're learning so much. There certainly were points when I was ready to just walk away. Part of it came from...it was in the FTO program. I really did exceptionally well in the FTO program. And I had never in my career experienced this animosity based on who you are and so it was difficult for me to adjust mentally coming into a workplace where I am so excited to be there and your co-workers are not excited to have you there. I was fresh out of college. So you're 21 years old and you're popping into this environment and that was a big eye opener. So I think emotionally it was difficult. It was difficult to have people critique your every move. It was difficult to have people constantly speculating on your sexual orientation, your friendships or affiliations with other officers. I mean that piece was the real downside. The work was a breeze but that environment was difficult. I never experienced some of the things that other women did. Some women, at the same time I was there, would have dead animals put in their male boxes and all the nasty things that occur. I never had that experience. (Participant 9)

As female leaders the participants were faced with supervising men who did not want to be supervised by a woman. One participant stated,

...first female sergeant in my department to work in uniform side and had established the fact that I could be a leader with being a female. I had several officers ask to transfer 'cause they didn't want to work for a woman. I just flat out told them they weren't going to transfer, and if they didn't do the job, I would write them up. We were going to work together. If they had issues with me, we needed to discuss them one-on-one. If they had issues with me as a supervisor, they needed to go to the lieutenant, but they better have proof of what they are going to say, and we should at least give each other a chance to try and work together. (Participant 4)

Sometimes the lack of acceptance was not even confined to the occupants of the police departments. The female officers also had to face a public that was not always welcoming. The participant's stated,

Back then people weren't so used to seeing women in uniform. We were a smaller department and in an area that worked with the county, so half of it was a bias toward, "you're from the city police," so they thought of us as maybe the town cops, and then the other half was "they sent a woman." It was partly due to small size agency and the other half was that people just weren't used to... Ya know, you have a family fight seeing a woman come to the door. You heard comments like that. (Participant 10)

It was just exactly the same as with the officers. When you first met people, you were a bitch, a whore, a dyke. You know, I want a cop, I don't want a lady. But, once you got to know them and you worked with them, some of those people in the bars that were out every night became my good friends, and you developed relationships with them. And the trust evolved and developed, so it just took time for people to accept having a woman in a position where there wasn't one before. (Participant 5)

But other women also. I've had women call and... oh, I can remember one specific instance where I answered the phone when I was in juvenile as detective... and the lady on the other end asked to speak to an officer. When I told her she was speaking to an officer, she just laughed, and she said, 'no, honey, I understand, I want to talk to a real officer.' So it's not just men; there are women, too, who don't take other women seriously. (Participant 3)

Female officers were often faced with animosity and resentment from their male counterparts, but they also had to deal with the male officers' wives. The wives did not want their husbands working along side female police officers. The wives did not want their husbands working eight hours in a police car with another female, nor did they want a female officer backing their husbands in dangerous situations. They were afraid the women officers would get their husbands killed. A number of women officers described this issue.

One of the biggest problems that we ran into were officers' wives, male officers' wives. They certainly did not want their husbands working with us. Usually for one or two reasons: one, they didn't want their husbands out with another woman, which is what they saw us as. Or, two, they feared for their husbands' safety because they were working with a woman, and we couldn't take care of ourselves, and they'd be busy protecting us and get themselves hurt. That was a problem. In fact, I had one officer in juvenile request a transfer to another unit because his wife just couldn't handle him working with a female officer, and there were three of us in there. So he asked for a transfer because of it. (Participant 3)

The wives of the husbands did not want the chief to hire me because they didn't feel that I would be able to back up their husbands. And I guess they didn't want their husbands riding around with a female in the car. (Participant 10)

Wives of patrol officers signed a petition against me working at the department, which seemed ludicrous at the time. . .but, frankly, I was so young and naive at the time... it was a long time before I even realized it was out there. I really can't comment on what did happen to it. I know it didn't go any place. (Participant 8)

Some of the women who were hired in the late 1970s were not successful. When one woman would fail, it was an opportunity for the male officers to say that all women who attempted to be successful in law enforcement would be failures. Those who dropped out made it more difficult for those who had every intention of succeeding in this formerly all-male field. One participant said,

Yea, well it did because we hired a couple of more females. Unfortunately, two of the females we hired during this amount of time turned out to be very bad, so we

were fighting not only the prejudice of trying to establishing ourselves but the “we told you, you can't do this job.” One of the females was fired for cowardice; one who stayed here for quite a long time. She tried to commit suicide a couple of times, not job related, not things that happened to her on the job, but just personal issues, to where it was very difficult. We had to fight that image. Don't blame all of us. You got some bad male officers here, too. It took probably about two years. By then we were into about three years of women on the road, and we had enough that we were doing the job okay. That they said, “Well we are kind of stuck with you; you're not going to go away.” So they sort of just left us alone after that. (Participant 4)

The new officers were also faced with making sure that they opened doors for other women. If a female officer failed in the department, it made things very difficult for the women who were hired next. The male officers then had proof that women could not make it in policing. This stigma does not seem to be the same for male officers.

Following are two participant's comments.

After 2½ years I applied for a undercover narcotics job. I did that for two years. And that was again a job where they told me, “You are the first woman coming into this job, so if you do a good job, we will put women in here. If you don't, it is going to be a hell of a long time before we put another women in this unit.” So there was added pressure of being able to do the job and make sure that you left the door open for other women. And I was able to do that and very happy to say. (Participant 4)

That's been tough being the pioneer. And I got to tell you, in many ways, being one of the first, and the only one of the three left, a lot of people will compare every female that comes on with what I did and that's unfair. I don't do things the only way. That's the beauty of police work. There are so many ways to do the same job and get the same results. We don't do it the same way. Everybody has their own style. So I think we need to do a lot more of it. (Participant 3)

Since women were a new entity, many of the agencies were not prepared to handle women officers. There were no facilities, the uniforms were not made for women, and weapons had to be carried in their purses. One participant made these comments about the facilities,

There were no facilities. In fact, there still really aren't any facilities for locker rooms and shower rooms. I mean, we have kind of a makeshift one now, but we didn't have anything then... it was either leave my briefcase and all my equipment in my car or share a locker in the men's locker room. And I chose to share a locker in the men's locker room. That was the only place I could have one. (Participant 3)

In the beginning departments did not know how to dress female officers for the streets. The participants state,

...the uniforms didn't fit back then. We had to wear male uniforms and just sort of adjusted them as best you could in order to have them fit. They gave us ties that snapped around our neck instead of the breakaway clip ties, so that if somebody grabbed your tie they could pull you around. But I was one of the first women allowed to wear slacks in the department. Prior to that we had to wear culottes and nylons. (Participant 4)

They had no idea how to dress us. So we had to go through the Barbie doll stage where they had to try to figure out if they wanted us to look like police officers or if they wanted us to look like women police officers. We had to go through a lot of that. (Participant 6)

We certainly had to wear different kinds of uniforms. We were not able to carry the same kinds of weapons as the guys; ours had to be in purses. We didn't get to carry sam browns. (Participant 3)

The participants have faced gender challenges throughout their careers. They were faced with sexual harassment, although it was not called that in the 1970s. The male officers didn't want them on the department nor did the public or the wives of the male participants. They had to face the stigma of the women who could not make it. They were faced with donning uniforms that were made for men and locker room facilities that were makeshift. When it appeared that they had conquered all of the challenges, they started to advance up the ranks in their departments.

The advancement challenge. It was difficult in the early years for the participants to survive in the male-dominated police force, but it was even more difficult for the participants to climb the ranks of the police department. The participants talked about

how difficult it was to manage home, family, education and the job. Studying for the promotional exams simply added one more responsibility. If they were successful and were promoted, they had to face the negative comments from the men, and the men who had been their friends soon became disenfranchised from them. Promotional exams were difficult, and many of the women believed they had to study harder and be just a little bit better than the men in order to be noticed and advanced. The real challenge came when the participants made their attempts to obtain the position of chief. The participants' voices best explain these obstacles.

Even with family support, many of the participants stated that the most difficult challenge they faced in their careers was the combination of responsibilities at work, school, and home. Even though women are becoming more and more ensconced in the labor pool, it is still very often the female's responsibility to take care of children, home and family. When a female takes on the job of a law enforcement officer, she must be prepared to make sacrifices in her home life. For instance, with shift work she might not be able to help her children with homework, eat dinner with her family, or tuck her children into bed. One participant stated, "I don't care what the husband does or what the wife does, the mother still bears a lot of that responsibility." (Participant 7) It is often referred to as the second shift. Several of the participants commented,

Of course, there are sacrifices in your home life. I think, for a woman, you are still expected to do everything you do at home in addition to everything else. You know, it's my job now; it's a 60-hour week on a good week. But yet, I still have all those responsibilities at home to keep up. That has always been a strain and I don't know if that's necessarily equal across the board if the situations were reversed. My husband is a manager and responsible but certain things are expected of a woman more so than of a man. (Participant 8)

Well, I think the obstacles personally are trying to manage your life in this career. It is difficult. I think it is difficult as a woman who is a wife and a mother

to also manage the shift work the demands of this level of an executive of position. (Participant 9)

According to one participant sleep is not a priority.

The most difficult challenge on a total level is the balancing act between the different components of your life. I think that is true for any career women. I don't know if that is anything unique about law enforcement. It is tough to give the appropriate attention to all the elements of your life. . .I haven't slept in 18 years (laughter). (Participant 9)

If you add going back to school for a degree and studying for promotional tests, life becomes even more complicated.

...began to go to school full time. I worked 11 to 7 at night and I went to school on Tuesdays and Thursdays during the day and Wednesday nights from 6 to 10 and Saturday morning from 8 to 4. I would never do that again and work full time, divorced with three kids. I would never do that again. It is amazing that I could find my way home. (Participant 1)

It's not uncommon at our agency for someone who really wants to get promoted to take a month, six weeks, two months off to study prior to a test. I always said that I probably could have passed some of the tests a lot higher and a lot sooner if I had a wife at home to take care of me, you know, to fix the meals, take care of the kids, and do those things. I can take the month off, but I cannot sit for eight hours a day and study like some of my male counterparts could. It just, I don't know, I'm sure I could have arranged it so that would have happened, but personally I couldn't have done it... I had crying babies; it made a whole lot of difference because I couldn't ignore those crying babies. Where I think sometimes men can do that and let somebody else take care of them...(Participant 3)

Much of the literature talks about the difficulty women have being promoted in law enforcement agencies. However, according to some of the participants, they were treated as equals during the promotional exams in their departments. Many of the participants indicated that they excelled in the promotion tests because they believed they had to do just a little bit better than the male officers to get noticed. Some of the participants stated that the tests seemed fair unless the department had something other than a rule of one. For example, if a rule of five was used, then bias was possible. If a

department promotes based upon a rule of five, the names of the candidates who scored the top five scores during the promotional exam are given to the chief of police. If two people need to be hired the chief will select two candidates out of the five for the position. Candidates number six and seven are then moved into the top five for the chief's next selection opportunity. As openings become available the chief can select any of the five candidates for promotion. During this process there is a potential for bias by the chief of police. As one participant commented,

But then they could select anybody in the top five, so if you weren't liked, they could promote everybody else in the top five and then the next four people would move into the top five. So, you could sit on the promotional list you could end up being number one on the promotional list and never get promoted. That is where the bias in the department came. (Participant 4)

One participant stated the union tried to change the test rules in order to keep her from taking a promotional test. She said,

That unit tried to change the promotional process to prevent me from taking the lieutenant's exam. Assuming that I would do well...they wanted to change the criteria. At the time, there was no criteria on how many years you had to be a sergeant before you could test for lieutenant. So they tried to change it to put a caveat in there... The contract called for a special meeting of the union and tried to change that and negotiate with administration and change the rules on eligibility for taking the lieutenant's exam in mid-contract to prevent me from taking it. But even their own then labor representative from their attorneys' office suggested to them that ...I made certain I was at that labor meeting... that I would probably sue them if they did that and that is the only thing that prevented them. But the attempt was there to do it. Now that would have been in '91. (Participant 8)

When one or more of the participants did win a promotion in what she believed was a fair and equal process, she still heard negative comments from her male counterparts. They said,

And I just made some tremendous friends. That was up until the time promotions start and then, you know, you see different sides of people coming out because

they always assume that every promotion that a woman or black gets or Hispanic is affirmative action and that is not true. (Participant 1)

The top two out of our top ten candidates for sergeant, the top two were women and then there were three other women in the top ten. And then there were a couple of minorities in there. So women and minorities out-ranked the white male officers in the top ten for the first time ever. And what we heard was "Well you guys are giving them special training."
(Participant 4)

Nobody talked to me for two weeks after my promotion. It was like - whoa. People that were my friends dealt with it okay, but it wasn't the great congratulations that one expects for that level of promotion. That was probably the toughest part. (Participant 9)

I kind of laughed at them most of the time. I just told them, I said, 'You know, there is always a reason why somebody gets promoted and somebody doesn't.' You're either the bowling buddy of the chief, or you're Catholic, or you golf with them, or you're best friends, or you're a women, or you're a minority. I said, 'The reality is I have earned all my positions. I've tested for them just like you guys have. I went through the same testing procedures, and I deserve just as much as you did, and I am not going to change your mind. If you don't think I can do the job, show me how I can't do. And at least give me a chance to show you that I can do.' (Participant 4)

One of the participants did not have a problem with the promotional process. She stated,

You know, the way our system is set up is civil service. My obstacles were not different than anybody else's. I had to go in and take the test, pass it. When I was first promoted to sergeant, we had a rule of one. If you were the top scoring person, you were the one promoted. That's the way it was when I got promoted to sergeant so the onus was on me. I took that test six times and never scored lower than fourth and took me six years to get promoted because I just wasn't in the right place at the right time. I cannot in all honesty say it had anything to do with me being female. It just had to do with timing. If I had been a male in the same position, I would have had the same problem. (Participant 3)

Once the participants were promoted and again required by their peers to prove that they could handle the job again. Once that was accomplished, things were okay again. She stated,

I passed over another sergeant on the department who had been on 15 years. I think he was pretty upset about it at first, but I think he realized after about six months that he did not have the knowledge, skill, or ability that I did to run the

department. He was loyal after about that first six months. I think he realized he wasn't as qualified, and it was fine from there on. (Participant 10)

Many of the participants indicated that the timing involved in a promotion was important. According to the participants, it is a situation where you need to be in the right place at the right time. One participant indicated,

Well see it is the timing and when the testing came you have to be prepared. You know, I always say there is this saying by Eleanor Roosevelt that says it's better to be prepared for an opportunity that never comes than to have an opportunity come and not be prepared for it. (Participant 1)

The participants quickly learned that it was not only important in the promotional tests to score high academically, but that they needed to be able to present themselves well in the oral boards. They said,

The first time when I went in for the oral interview I had no idea what I was doing. I had no idea how to prepare. I did it by wing and a prayer and did not do well. I got through it and the people that were on it were professionals, and they saw that there was potential, but it was also very raw and it certainly was not developed at that point. (Participant 3)

I have also gone out on my own and learned how to take orals. And that is one of the things I mentor people on. I have read books on how to dress, eye contact, body posture, how to write a resume that you use for your own personal good when you go into interviews. And that is one of the things I mentor with our young officers is how to do that. And there's really no formal program on that but I think that when I see both pre-employment and people fail in the testing process, it is because they assume all they're going to do is go in and sit down and talk. And they don't realize that they really the need to prepare for an oral board. (Participant 5)

Some of the participants felt that the questions during oral interviews during the early years of their careers were inappropriate. One of the participants explained,

It took me until 1976 to be hired as a police officer. We hired our first, we added our fifth female position in 1973 and one in '74 and it wasn't until '76 when we added three more women positions and I was one of those. And during that time and every single process, it got to the point that my last couple of interviews the lieutenants and sergeants said, "We don't have anything to ask you because we know everything about you." But some of the questions that changed over the

years was, 'What would you have to do if you had to work with male officers at night shift? Would you ride with a black male officer on night shift? Would you work by yourself? Would you be scared, what do you think the wives will think about their husbands working with women? Do you plan on having children?' All the things that are illegal to ask now. Then finally, well in between that time, I think I just wore them down more than anything and they knew I wasn't going to go away and they finally decided to hire me as an officer. At the time I was hired, I was the smallest officer, shortest officer, and the least weighing officer on the department. (Participant 4)

In some situations, the participants indicated that being passed over on a promotional test was a benefit to the participants. Following are three participants' comments.

So they agreed to let all the current captains rank the lieutenants that were eligible for promotion. We had twelve lieutenants so they ranked at least ten of them because they were eligible. We were not told how those rankings were but once they ranked them, the chief could pick anyone that he wanted. He picked a male the first time and then I get promoted the second time around. So he went with a senior male the first time and then he went with me the second time. And again, being the only woman in there, there were comments made about he had to promote a woman politically. But I think the fact that I didn't get it the first time around helped me also because they had no disagreement with who he promoted the first time. It was a senior white male, and they couldn't say anything at all about that. (Participant 4)

I really ticked off some people because I said I wanted to be a sergeant. But you have to understand that is, like, 1983. You didn't have any female sergeants so how dare this...woman come on here who just got on the job and talks about how she wants to get promoted. Oh, I ticked people off and I said I don't care. I asked this one guy, "are you going to tell me that every single white male that comes in this job makes a declaration that he wants to stay in cruiser?" Well no ... Then why should I? See and that is how I always put...I put it back on the person I was dealing with. (Participant 1)

I was passed over for promotion, almost every promotion that I had, at least once. The initial one to detective and sergeant helped me. I was passed over because I was female, and I was making some issues on female locker rooms and different things like that. fair treatment for women. I think it was done more for punishment, but it actually helped me. Most of the male officers came up and said, "You're one of us now. You have been passed over just like we were." Where I think if I had been selected the first time around, they would have figured "Well, she just got it because she is a woman." Although I still hear that a lot. (Participant 4)

Much has been written about women not being allowed to promote into the upper ranks of their agencies. According to the participants, women in most agencies are able to successfully go through the promotional process, but sometimes it takes several attempts. Sometimes the testing procedures have bias, and sometimes female officers do not want to promote because they like what they are doing or they don't want to go back to shift work. One participant said,

Then there is still going to be some bias on panels for promotion that we have to learn more about. Some women decline promotions because of things like family responsibilities. Women sometimes tend to, like on smaller departments say, get into certain positions like D.A.R.E. officer, whatever. So when they are in a position that they possibly could be promoted, they have been too one-dimensional. Where male officers have kind of moved around the department more and have more experience so that when they get to the oral interview they are more prepared for it. (Participant 10)

In a police department, the positions below deputy chief are positions that are tested for through oral board interviews and written exams. In most cases the deputy chief's position is appointed by the police chief in the department. However, to be named police chief of a municipal police department, interested individuals must apply to the city government and usually face oral boards made up of private citizens, many hours of written tests, and interviews by the city management. The chief of police position is selected by people outside of the department. As such, it is very political.

The search for police chief is often a nationwide search. According to one chief participant coming in second in the selection worked out well for her. She explained,

There were 35 candidates from around the country and the position came down to two of us... And he was offered the position. It was about a two-or-three month back and forth and finally the commissioners offered him the position and that was fine with me. I had a good career and I thought that just getting to know [], that he was going to be a wonderful asset for the law enforcement in []. So we had several conversations and then [] had to back out. So they offered me the

position; I was second choice. But that is okay. I was second in my husband's life, too, and that turned out okay (laughter). (Participant 6)

The process for selection of chief of police is a stressful process that includes oral boards, assessment centers, written exams, and oral presentations. One participant explained,

They had a nationwide search and they had a process, and they had, I think, maybe 110 people that applied. A lot of local people here, I think, would have applied, but I think they thought the handwriting was on the wall, but it was a pretty tough process. I mean, we had an assessment center, we had interviews, we had presentation before the mayor and city council. We had a lot of psychological evaluations. They narrowed it down to three and of the three I ended up getting the job. And it was a pretty long and drawn out process. and I would have to say it was fairly stressful because it was one of those things where you know you want to stay here and work. I mean, I definitely did not want to leave this department, and so, one way or another, if you get the job or not you are going to be here. And you are going to work with and around the people that are part of the process so that was one of the most grueling things I've gone through. [very fair?] It was very fair. And you know I will tell you that I think my ...the chief that hired me and I worked for all those years, I know had done everything he could to position me correctly. He was a great mentor. He was a great endorser. But you know he was gone and we had kind of a new city administrator and very professional, and he wanted to be able to validate that process. I mean, I would be lying if I didn't say I felt like I had an inside track. But I know it was. I never felt like it was a sham...One of the things I will always be grateful to him for is that he made me do things I didn't want to do. I mean, he made me give lots of programs and, you know, join all the organizations. I mean, the first time I went to the [] associations to teach a class, when you checked in, your little hostess gift was a pouch of Red Man's chewing tobacco. Yea, and that kind of says it all. But you know they are nice guys. They just were a little, maybe, a little bit old fashion, but he just made me kind of part of the scenery so it became a natural. It was not like, 'Oh, look, there is []. Oh, look, it's a woman.' It was kind of like, 'She is here from [].' And this department has always had a really outstanding reputation, not only in the state but in the entire region, because we have always been very well funded so we were able to hire the best people. We have virtually no turnover, none, zero. It is just a really good place to be. I take no credit for that except that I have not screwed it up. (Participant 7)

It is not uncommon in a police department to ascend up the ranks by seniority and not by merit. One participant explained how that worked in her department.

For me to be chief and have a deputy female chief is an aberration. Nobody can believe it happened in this town. So it is really driven by blue-collar mentality and union mentality and up until that time it was just assumed that you ascended into the position by seniority and not merit. So it would be like look at the seniority chart who was hired first by their order of rank and that's who would be next for the position. And there was some assumptions that it would happen that way but then the former chief at the time appointed me deputy chief and broke with that seniority tradition and then, ultimately, when I became chief, I really shook it upside down. (Participant 8)

The position of chief of police is a political selection that is made by the city's governing body. It often ends in a political battle. Two of the participants explained,

Well, that was a terribly bitter political battle. At that time, although it was the recommendation of the city manager, it took a confirmation vote of at least a majority of the city commission, council whatever you want to call it. So there was heavy politicking by other candidates, and it was one of those dirty-type political campaigns. Although I had a good reputation in the community and the support of the former chief, I was standing on my work ethic and my work record, so to speak. One of the problems, though, the person that waged the heaviest campaign against me when I became chief then became the union president of the command officers. So there is a big cooperative effort going on right there. Since then, there has been a charter change in the city that now the employment of the chief of police is solely at the discretion of the city manager. It does not take confirmation of the public or elected body. It was so bad that a committee had been formed. We had a new city manager come in, actually I think he went to [] from here. I don't know where he is now. Anyway a new city manager came in and there was a vacancy for fire chief and police chief and he was going to form a committee to allow an input. The committee was existing of labor reps and commission and so forth to help make recommendations for the selection, although it is his nomination. Well, that became so embroiled in controversy and politicking that he disbanded the committee, appointed me chief, resigned, and left town the next day. So that is the circumstances that I became chief under... he disbanded the committee and made his own. He disbanded the committee, selected me as chief confirmed by the commission and left town the next day. (Participant 8)

It was handled completely by our city manager. We did a psychological intelligence test, which was basically a pencil paper test. Then we were asked in a time-controlled environment to respond to a series of questions about our history and the future of the police department. So everybody had an equal time on the computer to respond. Then we went before two oral panels, one a professional panel: district attorney, sheriff, other police chiefs, academic people involved in criminal justice; and the second panel being a citizen panel. [Bias or fair?] It was bias to choosing a minority candidate. (Participant 5)

One participant explained the process she went through in her attempt to become chief of police. She explained,

The city manager put together a citizens' committee which consisted of seven members. They came together and did an interview. They had no guidance from anybody in the city and no one from city administration sat in with them. They made their own rules as far as what questions they asked, how they would ask them, if there would be any follow up. They received our resumes, which I understand they looked at. There were six of us. There were three deputy chiefs, a captain, and two sergeants competing for the position. The city manager later indicated that it probably was a mistake to let sergeants compete, but he thought it was good experience for them and so he let them do it. They were to take these six people interview them, do a public interview, and then give him a recommendation of no less than three for finalists. Well, in talking with these people afterwards, they were all confused. Some believed he said only three; some said a maximum of three; some thought a minimum of three. But they decided on three and they took a vote around the table. The information I got back when I didn't make the finals was that I used a word "downhill" that sounded negative. They weren't sure about my commitment to the department because I said making chief would be the pinnacle of my career. They used pinnacle to mean that this was the last thing I was going to do and that I would make chief and leave. But they never asked because they chose not to do any follow-up type questions. They thought my answers were short and when I asked if they were incomplete nobody thought they were incomplete, they just thought I was a little shorter than everybody else. For that reason they chose to eliminate me from the finalist on a four to three vote. The city manager could have taken or rejected all six of us, anybody he wanted. He chose to go with the panel's decision and immediately the same day eliminated a sergeant who was the third finalist in there because he didn't think a sergeant could make it. Nobody ever explained to these people that you can't take a sergeant and make them a chief at any agency this size without a lot of problems. They were of the understanding that if we were there that we could be chief. The city manager never explained to them that he did that as a development of future people down the road. So they didn't know that and took a sergeant and eliminated a deputy chief and a captain for that sergeant. They obviously didn't look that closely at resumes because the resume should have told you a lot. Afterward the city manager told me that he thought the race was between myself and the now chief and so I asked him if the citizens' committee eliminated me made it a lot easier for him to sleep at night, and he didn't have to make the choice. He never did answer that question, but I do think that that made a lot of difference. It was any easy way to do it. It gave him an easy out and gave him a reason. I know the citizens' committees are a big trend, if you will, in the country right now, and I certainly don't underestimate them. I think having citizen involvement in any process you have is important, but citizens need to be informed of what you're looking for, of what can and can't be

done, of diversity issues, the whole thing. Do you eliminate somebody with a master's degree and five or six year of command experience for somebody who doesn't have it, who only has a four-year degree and no administrative experience? Can that person walk in and be a chief? Obviously he didn't think so but he didn't bother to tell his panel that. (Participant 3)

One participant watched the difficulties her chief went through in the selection process and determined that she did not have a chance to battle the political aspects, and therefore elected not to test. She said,

Our female chief tried for chief and I said, "I am not testing here right now 'cause you know we have gone through a political thing with our mayor and he wasn't going to promote any of us." And I told him that. The number one and two positions were our people and [female deputy chief] I think was number 9 and the mayor chose number 3 who was an outsider and it was because of the political crap we had gone through. (Participant 1)

One participant found it surprising that in 1996 women were still not considered good enough for the top position. She explained,

I suppose as a woman police chief you would still face, and you see it when you are out competing for a job, you still face some of the stereotypes about this being a male position. I will never forget, I went through a competition for chief in [] and in the newspaper; I mean, this is like in 1996-97. In the newspaper officers from the department were quoted as saying that they would lose esteem in the eyes of other law enforcement officers if they had a female chief. And you know I am thinking, 'good grief this is 1996. Get on board guys.' But that is still there. I suppose that is always an obstacle. It's an obstacle in new relationships because you have to establish yourself over and over again. More so than I think you do as a male. (Participant 9)

Many of the women who break through the glass ceiling and reach the top do not attempt to help those who are still making their way. This has been a problem with women in many different careers. It also appears to be a problem in law enforcement.

But I think if you go beyond that, the largest obstacle has been that there has not been many people there willing to help women learn the job. Even other women that have gotten to certain levels in criminal justice have not been willing to reach back and help other women and share their experiences. (Participant 4)

The participants have been in law enforcement from 16 to over 25 years. They have faced challenges throughout their careers, yet they are currently happy, successful female leaders in male-dominated police agencies. What characteristics allowed them to persevere and become successful? The next emerging theme explains the characteristics they believe helped them be successful.

Personal Characteristics

The second emergent theme relates to the personal characteristics that the chiefs and deputy chiefs possess that have enabled them to succeed in a male-dominated workplace. For the woman entering the work world conflict is inevitable, as the traits most necessary to a successful career—such as, competitiveness, aggression, and active persistence—are considered to be masculine (Epstein, 1970). Yet, these are the traits needed by females involved in law enforcement. Some participants indicated that it was necessary to sometimes think like a man.

Personal characteristics of female police officers. In addition to the expected characteristics of a police officer—such as honesty, integrity, ethics, and commitment—these participants believe that stamina, thick skin, a sense of humor, and tenacity are important for a female officer. They believe that women need to set aside the female characteristic of being easily hurt and exchange that for anger or determination. They also believed that treating people right, showing interest in others, communication and interpersonal skills are also critical.

One participant believes that officers must maintain their sense of humor and their ability to laugh at themselves in order to exist in the police environment. She said,

You got to have a sense of humor because there are times when you really have to laugh at yourself. I guess commitment and the normal things, honesty, integrity,

those kinds of things, ethics. As a woman, tenacity and having a thick skin helped a lot. Plus I have the ability to get angry rather than to get hurt and more determined when things don't go the way I think they should. (Participant 3)

Another participant believes that a woman needs a competitive nature in order to compete in a man's world. She stated,

I have a competitive nature; played competitive sports most of my life, in college and so forth. I don't like to lose. That is pretty... But I think you need that competitive nature just to be willing to dig in your heels to speak and fight. You certainly have to have your wits about you. You have a fairly intelligent nature; academically you have to stay on top of things. (Participant 8)

One participant agreed that many different qualities are needed to be a good law enforcement officer. But she also believes that commitment to the job is necessary in order to set career goals and follow them through to the end. In today's world, young women often will quit a job if it becomes difficult or challenging. For a woman to survive in law enforcement, one of the last male frontiers, she needs to set her goals, commit to these goals, and stick with them. One participant stated,

I would say direct, open, inquisitive, integrity, your word has to be good, ability to learn quickly, intuitive. Those things are important at every level. Sound communication skills, ability to build relationships and facilitate between people and groups. And frankly just some good old fashion tenacity and being willing to stick with it. It is a tough career for anybody and those that are successful are the ones that are committed, are able to set goals and stick with it, 'cause you have so much to learn as a new officer. I think it's true at each level. (Participant 9)

Another participant agreed that commitment to the job was an important quality.

...very stubborn, very committed, very sure that was what I wanted to do with my life. I can see how people who have any doubts at all about a career would say, and we had out of the five women in my class, one left within two weeks after we graduated, and I can see how that happened. She was a little unsure about a career choice to start with and then to face some of the obstacles it was easier for her to leave in that case. I had decided this is what I was going to do and was going to stick with it. And then a couple of the male officers that I worked with, you know through just a maturity process and getting along with them, they became my allies and today they are some of my best friends. (Participant 5)

Sometimes, according to the participants, it was helpful to modify their feminine thinking and to think more like a man. Being even brained promotes both the emotional and the analytical. One participant stated,

But I think that you have to change to do this job in some ways because you have to...I am more of an even brained person which I think is good for me because it allows me to have the masculine side you know as being analytical, I think. At least that is what they always like to say that is the male side. But I think I have that and I also have enough of a creative side that that balances me. (Participant 1)

One participant believes that if a law enforcement officer does not have common sense and compassion he/she won't last in police work. Law enforcement rules and regulations can be taught to anyone, but much of what happens in policing happens on the streets when the officer is alone. An officer needs to be able to think on her feet since each call for an officer is inevitably a different scenario. Common sense, compassion for the victims, and knowledge of police rules and regulations are all fundamental for police officers. This participant stated,

You have to be able to use common sense and I think sometimes people lose that or maybe they never had it. And so I think the common sense factor along with knowledge is what makes you. I don't think you can just have book knowledge and be good because if you have no feelings or concerns for other people, you miss out on a lot of things; and if all you have is feelings you are going to be in trouble. You won't be here long. (Participant 1)

In the 1970s and 1980s women who entered law enforcement were a novelty. They were watched and critiqued by their peers and the public. These officers had to be determined and willing to work hard to show that they could make it in a man's world. Determination played a major role in the success of these ten participants. One participant explained what made it possible for her to take the challenge.

I am not afraid of challenges, and I think when you are not afraid of challenges, it puts you in a whole other level because you believe you can succeed. And I think

that came from my parents, and they always told me you could be what you want to be. But it takes hard work and drive and desire. I mean, you can't just say, "I want to be a deputy chief" and not do any of the work, you know, to get there. (Participant 1)

When the participants were asked if they ever wanted to quit law enforcement because of the challenges they faced, their responses matched their determination. One participant stated, "I became more determined. Quitting was not an option." (Participant

3) Several of the participants agreed. They stated,

I got frustrated and I got mad and I think getting mad prevented me from wanting to quit because I knew I wanted to do the job, and I knew I could do. I just had to prove it to them. I do have to say there were a couple of people that were good friends and did try to help out. They wouldn't do it in front of other male officers but they would give me some type of assistance and help, one-on-one. I had officers that refused to ride with me, refused to work with me, refused to back me up. And that was frustrating; it just made me more angry... I never thought about leaving at all. I just thought, "I am going to stay here and make your life as miserable as you are making mine." (Participant 4)

...all of the things that have had happened to me in terms of discrimination and being treated really badly, that never made me want to quit because I wasn't going to give them the satisfaction. Every time I went, "No way. I leave, I leave on my own terms, pal. Nobody is forcing me out of here." And that would just make me stronger every time. (Participant 2)

The female participants did not believe that these characteristics are only for women who want a career in law enforcement, but they also apply to men who want to be officers.

Personal characteristics of female deputy police chiefs and police chiefs. Female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs must possess the general characteristics of male and female police officers, integrity, ethics and honesty. They must also have the additional characteristics mentioned earlier that female police officers possess to deal with the challenges they face in law enforcement, tenacity, thick skin, and determination. The participants believe that female deputy police chiefs and female police need to have

additional traits such as being strong, confident leaders who are able to manage the agency and also have the ability to network outside of the department. Human relation skills are an important aspect in this position to enable them to deal with their officers, the city government, and the community.

One participant indicated that the most important aspect was to be strong, have confidence, and not give the appearance that she couldn't handle the job. It is characteristic of women to be the softer, gentler of the sexes. Historically, men have always protected and sheltered women. It is still unusual to find a female as a CEO of a major company. To be the leader of a male-dominated paramilitary operation such as law enforcement is out of the norm. One participant explained,

Probably the most important thing was not being afraid to give that appearance that you've got to be strong, and I think that might be something that a lot of women forget, and I have lost sight of it from place to place. People that work in a paramilitary organization, I don't care how liberal or how progressive you are, they want to have a strong leader at the top. They want to have a figurehead. And I think the fact that somebody either helped me figure that out early on, you don't have to be a tyrant but you, they have got to look at you with a lot of confidence. I think the fact that I was able, I had that confidence, and I was not worried about being second-guessed. I wasn't worried about failing and part of that comes from being here so long and having that level of acceptance. I mean, I have often wondered what it would be like to go and start fresh at a completely different place. There is advantages to that and disadvantages. I think a lot of it is just having strength of character and knowing, being guided. I have really good instincts and only once have I ever gone against that inner voice that says this is right and this is wrong. Only once, and it wasn't on a major thing and I was wrong. I think you have to have a lot of confidence just in your own judgement and you got to be ethical. You know you can't come to this job with any skeletons in your closet. That's probably one of the biggest differences about being a chief and being any other rank . . . I have seen it happen to a number of police chiefs around the country. And I think also if you are a woman you are a little more vulnerable. I don't care what anybody says, there is a double standard whether you are a patrol officer or detective or a commander. You know your personal behavior has got to be pretty much impeccable. (Participant 7)

One participant indicated that a female officer moving through the ranks of a police agency shouldn't take things personally.

You need to have a sense of humor, be even tempered, and don't get upset about a lot of the stuff going on. Don't take a lot of things personally especially as you raise through the ranks. A lot of media and a lot of community people like to personalize activities. You can't do that. You have got to just deal with it. An ability to work with people, to listen, to try and sort out what concerns are most important to them. If not handled, at least addressed so they feel like somebody is listening. And just good old tenacity and being able to stay with the ups and downs with the unique environment. (Participant 5)

The position of police chief is a political appointment that is determined by the city leaders and the local civic leaders. If a deputy chief wants to be taken seriously as a contender for the police chief position in her department, she needs to network with the community and the government entities in her town. One participant stated,

I mean, I used to spend time talking to my, the mayor that promoted me. I wasn't afraid to approach him and say, "Hi, how are you?" and carry on a conversation. I see too many people that don't develop those skills. They walk by you in the hall and not even say hello. And you know those are the people that you will be dealing with later that will promote you. So I don't think we can underestimate the importance of human relation but you have to have the ethics base and the responsibility and all that. (Participant 10)

Personalities of men and women are very different. As children, boys and girls are raised with a different set of perspectives on how to function and how we should behave. The ten female participants in this study are all very feminine women who have continued to act as females. They mentor, motivate, and inspire utilizing interpersonal skills for which women law enforcement officers have long been criticized. However while in their police officer roles and their leadership roles they can and do act in ways that are usually attributed to males.

The female participants interviewed demonstrated during the interviews that they were self-confident, honest, and compassionate. They believed in their departments and

in their employees. They demonstrated many of the characteristics that they have described as necessary to be the leader of a male-dominated agency.

The Advantages Women Bring to Law Enforcement

The third theme that emerged from the research was the advantages women bring to law enforcement. The law enforcement image has always been tough and macho: a profession for big, tough men. Many law enforcement agencies continue to promote the paramilitary style of policing of tough and aggressive behavior. However, this style of policing often results in poor community relations, abuse complaints, and sometimes, violent confrontations.

The new method of policing is the community-orientated model of policing. It is rooted in strong interpersonal and communication skills and emphasizes conflict resolution over the use of force. Women have always been good listeners and good communicators and are well suited to this type of law enforcement (National Center for Women and Policing, 1999).

It is important that law enforcement understand what women and other minority groups can bring to law enforcement. Women in law enforcement have significant implications for women who are victims of domestic violence. Domestic violence is believed to be the most common yet least-reported crime in the United States. Domestic violence calls account for up to 40 percent of all calls to a police agency (Brown, 1988). Studies show that female officers are more effective than male officers in responding to crimes against women (Homant, 1983). Studies have also found that 40 percent of male officers commit domestic violence themselves (Neidig, Russel, Seng, 1992).

Diversifying a law enforcement agency by hiring minorities who bring new ideas makes a police department multi-dimensional. The agency is then able to utilize the numerous different approaches to law enforcement problems and therefore is better suited to serving the community. Women have always been good listeners and good communicators. They attempt to solve problems with talk as opposed to violence. It no longer takes physical strength to be an effective officer, especially with the use of new technology. Women are rarely accused of brutality. The participants talked about the importance of hiring minorities in law enforcement and what advantages women bring to the departments. Following are a few of the women's voices concerning this matter.

The more diverse, the more ideas, the more I think we can accomplish. And we are not just doing things the same way as we have always done it. Law enforcement is bad for that. (Participant 6)

I happen to be in a progressive organization that values diversity and ideas and so that was a real fit for me because I could be heard and bring a different perspective on an issue. As a supervisor, I mean even as an officer, but particularly as a supervisor, and manager and on up the ranks. (Participant 9)

I think that an organization without diversity is not using its resources and can't serve the community well. If we are all like-minded, then we don't understand our community's issues. And I think we have a duty to not only appreciate but actively represent our community in a variety of ways, and it's the diversity of background, of interest, of culture, that enrich the organization and allow us to then get the best of the creativity of our employees and the different points of view. I don't think you can do a good job without it, personally. (Participant 9)

In policing, there are times when a male officer might be better suited to a situation, but there are also times when a female officer's abilities are more in line with the situation. One participant stated,

There are times when we can do the job a whole lot better, and there are times when a male can do the job better, but we have to have that diversity to be able to deal with all of those situations that present themselves out there on the streets. And when some guy, when I walk up to the door and some guy says, 'I

don't want a lady. I want a man,' and there's a man behind me. I just get out of the way. And the same thing when a male walks into a room of a sexual assault and the lady says, 'Hey I am uncomfortable talking to you,' he gets out of the way and a woman walks in. We have got to use our diversity to our advantage and the more diverse we are the better we are able to meet our goals. (Participant 5)

A police department serves its community, the people. If the department is not multi-dimensional, it is not capable of relating to the community. Women are often more communicative, open and speak more freely than men about issues. One participant believes that this is a welcome relief in a tough, rough police department—a relief for both women and for men. She explains,

I think it is like anything else. If you have...if you are too one-dimensional you're not going to be able to relate to the community as a whole. And I don't think that means that women victims or women suspects relate better to women cops at all. I just think that you got to have one size does not fit all, and you got to have as many different resources out there as possible. I also think that women, for the most part, are just much more comfortable speaking openly about issues, feelings. They don't tend to let some of these things build up, and I think that is very healthy for the overall culture. And I think that there are, it's not as rough, it is not as crude, it's not as testosterone-laden as it used to be, and I think men enjoy working in that environment just as much as women. I see [women in community policing] that as being 50/50. And I can only speak from my own experience, but I have never, to me a good cop is a good cop. And somebody who understands that whole community policing concept and is willing to do their best for the people that they're out there to serve, to me the gender thing is not that much of an issue. I do think sometimes that it still is somewhat of a novelty. I mean, we are definitely a minority. I can't ever picture a police department where you have 50/50. I think sometimes that breaks down barriers 'cause people say, "Look, it's a women." Its not quite so threatening or maybe she can help me with certain issues that a male officer couldn't. So I am sure there are some benefits in there. (Participant 7)

Other participants also believe that women officers are naturals at community policing. They said,

If I look back on the way we behaved when we came on, me and the other two officers, the main criticism we got was we took too much time; we talked too much, and we let people ramble too long. That was really a criticism. I think if you look overall you're gong to see that as a criticism of a lot of female officers,

and it's our natural tendency to listen and be a little more patient sometimes. We've come under a lot of criticism for doing it, but now that we look at community policing that is exactly what they are telling you to do. To go out to problem solve, what is the real problem here, not what is the symptoms of the problem. They're asking us to do a lot more, not to be mediators but to actually go in and figure out what the problem is, and help people solve their own problems rather than somebody going to jail. We're certainly not preaching total enforcement anymore. We're talking about problem solving and enforcement is part of that, but it is not the only part. (Participant 3)

I often wondered if the onset of females into the ranks helped promote some of that community policing perspective because we do tend to be more problem solvers; we tend to talk more, listen more, and take our time, as opposed to our male counterparts. (Participant 3)

We don't tend to be as quick to do things. We listen to all sides and try to make, I guess if you looked at the stereotypical, we make a decision more from the heart and the way we feel than from just facts. I think you need both; you need the facts and you need to look at how it's going to play out and what's right. So do I base things on the way I feel? Sometimes I do and sometimes they are strictly from facts and most of the time it's both. (Participant 3)

One participant believes that women bring texture to a department and that most men enjoy having the women in the department. She says,

...if you talk to the guys at work here and probably most men that work around women cops that do the job as well as they do, they will tell you that it does make things better. It really does. It just gives kind of a texture to a department like any other career. I don't think most guys would want to go backwards. (Participant 7)

Some of the participants believe that women contribute to law enforcement equally as much as men and we should recognize and reward women's skills and abilities. Following are two participants' viewpoints.

I think that we need to recognize and reward the skills and abilities that all of our employees bring and our potential employees bring, particularly women. If we look at community policing, if we look at how we are successful in establishing partnerships and relationships that women bring, women actually have a leg up, I think. Because of the way we are raised and those skills and I think we need to value that in the hiring and selection process. I think we need to throw out kind of our own personal biases, gender biases, and recognize that at the leadership level, at the management level, at the entry level, that women contribute certainly equally as men and many cases more so because of the adversity this job puts on a

woman's life to be successful long term. You have got to have your act together.
(Participant 9)

The job is connected to everyone's ability to do the job. We have specific job tasks that everyone, regardless of male or female, that they have to be able to perform. We test them on those. There are certain things that male officers are better at and there are certain things that women officers are better in. And the more diverse your department, the more they work together and learn from each other, the better all around officer you get. If you base law enforcement just on size and ability to punch somebody out or to throw them to the ground to make an arrest, I can show that size doesn't have anything to do with that. It could. You could take a woman my size, and she could fight off two men, and you wouldn't be able to handcuff her, and I did that. And I said if you take ten men trying to handcuff one male who is either on drugs or mental or something, you can't get 'em handcuffed. It is, size, while it looks impressive doesn't have that much to do with how to do the job. Communication, treating people with respect, and anyone can do those jobs. And it has been proven through the community policing philosophy that women can communicate more effectively than men and they do better problem solving than men to help resolve the problems in their area.
(Participant 4)

Some women who cannot make it in the law enforcement field will use gender as an excuse for their failures. This participant believes that hard work, education, and skill development makes it possible to succeed in law enforcement. She stated,

It's all based on what their education and training is. It has nothing to do with gender. You know there some excuses out there, too. There are definitely some women out there that might use the gender excuse. But I didn't get to this position without a lot of hard work and educational background and developing my skills. It just doesn't happen by accident. (Participant 10)

Another advantage of women serving in a police department is the lack of abuse at the hands of women officers. The under-representation of women in policing is contributing to and exacerbating the excessive force problems in law enforcement. When there are more female officers on the force the amount of excessive force is reduced. Research indicates that women officers are not as likely as their male counterparts to be involved in the use of excess force (Grennan, 1988). A number of participants described this issue.

Sometimes I think you continue to have that hardness when it is just about getting the job done. It's like "get in there, kick ass, and take names." That is what... I know on the street as a police officer I went in and different a lot of situations. We have to, we are the peace makers. How often do you hear about a woman going out and starting a war? You just normally don't find that (brutality). (Participant 1)

With females rarely do we find a female officer stepping over that line to the excessive use of force. Either that or the people that they are using the force on are not willing to admit that it was used on them by a female, and I've had that happen before, too. I can remember bringing a man in one time that I handcuffed and brought in by myself, who swore up and down that my partner had brutalized him, and I did not have a partner. I didn't brutalize him either, but he was just very livid that he even got arrested. (Participant 3)

Women have been found to be very effective in working with domestic violence. Today statistics show that 90 percent of the domestic violence victims are women and 40 percent of male law enforcement officers are abusers. Women are often more empathetic than their male counterparts with the victims of domestic violence. Male officers, who are often abusers, are not responsive to the victims of domestic violence. Women officers have also been very effective in community programs such as school resource officers and the D.A.R.E. program because they enjoy working with juveniles. One participant stated,

I think there's a lot of things in the community that would be looked at a little differently. For example, probably the one place that I see more females, if they have the right mind-set, being effective is in domestic violence. Nationally 90 percent of our victims are female. I think it's very difficult sometimes for a female to look at these officers in uniform, males, as anybody who can protect them or help them or understand them. So I do think that they would have an effect there. I think in community policing, in school resource officers, in D.A.R.E. they're invaluable. (Participant 3)

Women bring many advantages to law enforcement agencies. The new community-orientated model of policing is rooted in strong interpersonal and communication skills and conflict resolution instead of violence. Women are well suited

to this type of policing that utilizes communication, interpersonal skills, and negotiations. Women lower the brutality statistics and have also been praised for their compassion in dealing with domestic violence and child abuse. These participants have made a difference in their agencies and believe that women will make a positive difference in all police departments.

Leadership Styles

The fourth emerging theme in this research study is leadership styles. The participants struggled to enter this field of employment and struggled to advance in a career that is non-accepting by its members and the public. What enables these participants, who have reached the highest-ranking positions in their departments, to be successful leaders of the officers who were hesitant to embrace female line officers? The participants indicated that they used a variety of leadership styles to motivate and lead.

During the interviews the participants named their leadership style and described how they lead utilizing the different styles. The participants named their styles without prompting from the interviewer. It was apparent that they learned numerous styles of leadership during their education and had selected the style they were most comfortable using. Most of the participants indicated that they employed situational and/or participative methods of leadership in their departments.

One of the more widely recognized approaches utilized by these participants is the situational approach which was developed by Hersey and Blanchard (Northouse, 2000). Situational leadership focuses on leadership in situations. The premise is that different situations demand different styles of leadership. If one is to be an effective leader, it is required that one adapts his or her style to the demands of different situations. Situational

leadership stresses that leadership is composed of both a supportive and a directive dimension. Each has to be applied appropriately in a given situation. To determine what is needed in a particular situation, a leader must evaluate the employees and assess how competent and committed they are to perform the given job. Based on the assumption that employees' skills and motivation vary over time, situational leadership suggests that leaders should change the degree to which they are directive or supportive to meet the changing needs of subordinates. The essence of situational leadership states that a leader needs to match his or her style to the competence and commitment of their employees. Leaders who are effective are those who can recognize what employees need and then change their own style to meet those needs (Northouse, 2000).

Path-goal theory is how leaders motivate subordinates to accomplish designated goals. Path-goal theory first appeared in the leadership literature in the early 1970s. The stated goal of this leadership theory is to enhance employee performance and employee satisfaction by focusing on employee motivation (Northouse, 2000).

In contrast to the situational approach, which suggests that a supervisor must adapt to the development level of subordinates, the path-goal theory emphasizes the relationship between the leader's style and the characteristics of the subordinates and the work setting. Participative leadership behavior is one approach to the path-goal theory (Northouse, 2000).

Participative leadership refers to supervisors who allow subordinates to share in the decision making process. A participative leader talks with subordinates, gathers their ideas and opinions, and integrates their suggestions into the decisions regarding how the group or organization will proceed. Employees will be motivated if they feel competent,

if they believe that their efforts will be rewarded, and if they find the final outcome of their work is valuable (Northouse, 2000).

In over 160 studies of sex-related differences in leadership style that were investigated, only one difference was discovered: women used a more participative or democratic style and a less autocratic or directive style than men did, although this tendency declined in a highly male-dominated setting (Eagly & Johnson, 1990).

Some of the participants' stated that they are situational leaders since they lead according to the situation. According to the participants no two situations or people are alike; therefore, they lead according to what is taking place. Yet the participants also stated that they coach, they are supportive, but when it is necessary, they can also be autocratic. They state,

If you want to look at what I do most, probably coach. Get people to do the best they can do, enable them to do that. But in law enforcement, it has to be situational. Can I take charge and be autocratic? Absolutely! When the situation dictates, that is exactly what you have to do. I think that's where a lot of people have a problem with females when you turn to the autocratic part of leadership. But mostly I am democratic. I believe in talking to people, seeing what they feel, and then making an informed decision. I don't believe that I've got the only answer out there and the more I learn, the better solutions I come up with for problems given in time. If you have the time to do that. (Participant 3)

Even though the participants utilize the situational style, they are still supportive.

Yet, if the need arises, they can also be confrontational. One participant explains,

It is situational. I am supportive to those that need a pat on the back often and the ones that need discipline know that I have a close eye on what they are doing. I can be confrontational. If I hear something that somebody is trying to stir up, I'll get them in here, and we will have an open conversation about it. So it really is contingent on who the person is and what style they need. But it is mostly open door and it is definitely not autocratic; it is more participation. And I want my officers to be involved in what I am doing and understand why I am doing things. (Participant 10)

According to one participant, to understand the problem a leader needs to analyze it, research it, and apply a resolution that will work with the problem, the employee, or the situation. Each case is different. She explains,

I learned a long time ago on the street that you cannot treat any two circumstances the same; you cannot treat any two citizens the same, and as I rose through the rank, that you cannot treat any two subordinates or any two problems the same. You have got to have the flexibility to analyze the problem, research it. Analyze the employee research them, and try to apply a resolution to the problem or a mentorship, or a goal-setting strategy that works with the problem or the employee or the situation. Anytime you think that because you handled this person this way you are going to handle the next one that way, you are going to make a mistake because no two people or no situations are alike. (Participant 5)

Women, stereotypically, are democratic leaders who solicit input from their subordinates as opposed to ruling autocratically. If, as chief, it is important for a decision to be made without input from the ranks, this officer is prepared to make the decision. When the lower ranking officers are given the opportunity to have input, it is oftentimes the mid-line supervisors who feel their leadership being threatened. This participant shared her style of leadership.

I think my leadership will change situationally, so I practice situational leadership. Certainly, at times, I am more of a participative manager than all previous chiefs before me. However, on certain issues, I define when it is not a participative, democratic process. At certain times I will be autocratic, but more often than not, I would probably describe it as more democratic. I think you get in trouble at times when you don't want to give the assumption that you are allowing for input and then forgetting about it. So you are better off right away saying that this is something I will not compromise on; I am going to make this decision. Then other things you can certainly seek input on it. We've instituted problem-solving meetings at officer level so information and problem solving can disseminate from the bottom up, which has caused apprehension for those mid-line supervisors that see their power eroding. We had to go through all of that and then they are sitting in the corner not acting when they are supposed to be acting. That is an everyday type of thing. (Participant 8)

Many of the participants' indicated that they are participatory leaders. They like to involve their staffs in the process of making a decision. This participant was

concerned about her staff becoming so comfortable that they would lose their creativity in problem solving. Following are the participant's comments.

I am fairly...I am kind of eclectic. I think I have learned to be a little bit more autocratic as the years have gone by. I am very participative and I believe one of the things that led me to be as successful as I am is that my boss pretty much guided me but did not day-to-day direct me and that is kind of what I like to do. I like to coach; I like to make sure that people are inspired. One of the things I do really think, this is a bizarre situation, but my three division commanders, I have supervised all of them in one role or another for twenty years. We have all worked together that long. You have got to be very careful not...it's very incestuous. Because we just work together and we have kind of been molded the same way. So you got to make sure you don't get stagnate. Stability is great. But I just noticed that working together this long and working with some very traditional people, I have to push them sometimes to be creative. And I mean they've come to expect and to accept it. And it is a good thing I am here. Otherwise I think probably we would be much more traditional. (Participant 7)

Some of the participants believe themselves to be participatory leaders. They want the decision to be made after gathering information from the ranks. This method of leadership affords the rank and file the opportunity to feel involved and have a say in the management of the department. One participant stated,

...pretty participatory. I like to gather input. I like to get the people who work for me to discuss and make their decisions and come to the right decisions with some guidance and some input. I remember as a road sergeant having officers discuss what they wanted to do on a call. One in particular, where they wanted... they had to go in and take a person requiring treatment, a mental, into custody. And I said, "How are you going to do this?" They described the house that they had to go into, what weapons they were going to use, and why are you using those kinds of weapons. By the time they talked around the entire thing and I had gotten into the important questions that I thought, the safety issues, they realized they could not go in with weapons drawn because of the crossfire and these kind of things. I like to tell them this is your project, this is what I have to have done, this is the date that I have to have it done by. Now how do you want to do it? I don't like to tell 'em just go do it this way, although sometimes you have to...I like to get them to get involved and use all of their knowledge and their resources to be able to solve the issue. (Participant 4)

Leaders often develop the leadership style that they were exposed to during their careers. In this participant's case, it was participatory. She has expectations of working

together to solve the agency's problems. She has an open door policy, not only to her rank and file, but to the community and the leaders in the community. She states,

You know my leadership style would be open, high, clear expectations. It is participatory. I don't want to use empowered leader because it is kind of buzzwordy, but I grew up on an organizational style and I have adopted that and modeled that here where we push responsibility to the lowest level and work together on problem solving. So I am accessible to my organization, to my community, to my community leadership. (Participant 9)

One participant performed a study on how officers perceive the difference between male and female chiefs. According to her study people do not care if they are led by a male or a female as long as they are good leaders. She explains,

Well, I did... I worked on a master's thesis and I tried to do well...actually I did my thesis on job satisfaction and gratification with officers and then after that I thought, "You know something I really want to know is the difference, the way they perceive the difference between a male and a female chief." So I went back and did kind of a little study and you know basically what I gleaned from that is, you know, most of the officers here, they don't care. You know if you are a male or female as long as you do the job. They like you taking care of 'em. (Participant 7)

Another participant believes that if you demonstrate to people that you are a competent leader it shouldn't matter if you are a female or a male. One participant stated,

People see you in that take charge role and the resistance was melted away. People don't care who you are. They care that you are competent, I think, in the end. (Participant 9)

Women are often more comfortable leading organizations that have a flat structure rather than the strict hierarchial, paramilitary system of a police agency (Heim, 1992). But these participants use leadership styles that assist in reaching to all departments of the agency. They utilize situational leadership where your leadership depends upon the situation at hand. They also use participatory leadership where they

can pull in subordinates, even the front line officers, to assist in making policy or solving problems. This gives the women and men at the bottom level of the hierarchy the feeling of belonging and being able to make a difference in the agency. The participants felt strongly that they are capable, successful leaders of their departments, and many of them have received awards for their departments.

Advice

The female participants in this study shared their experiences about their careers in law enforcement. They also felt comfortable offering advice to women who are interested in law enforcement as a career, to women who aspire to be police chief, and to the law enforcement community to better recruit and retain female officers.

Advice for prospective female police officers. The participants suggested that women need to find out as much as possible about a career in law enforcement. When men and women enter law enforcement without understanding the challenges of the job they usually don't stay. To be better prepared to understand what they are going to face they need to join a citizens' academy, the reserves, or become a cadet to understand what really takes place in a police department. The participants explain,

I would say if you have an opportunity to go through a citizens' academy ...a ride along and get some education about it. Know what you are going to be doing. I think you initially have to have a love for the job. I think it is more of a tomboy job. . . I felt like I was pretty tough because I had a brother. He has just kicked the crap out of me and you end up fighting back. I just think people need to be more aware of what it is . . . (Participant 1)

The most important thing is to find out early on as much as you can about the job, and if you are going to take the job, make a true commitment because if you're just saying—of course this is what I said, too – if you really feel like as soon as it gets tough or as soon as I am tired of working the shifts or tired of working holidays then I am going to bail. Then you are really selling yourself short, and it is a commitment that really ends up hurting the department. So I think you have to really be committed, be willing to take some risks, don't ever

feel like you have to like cuss as loud or be as tough but, also, you know, show what you've got. The women I look at that do the best job here, they just go out and they just do a good job and they're pleasant to be around. If you didn't know they were women or the other guys were guys, you'd just say it was a bunch of cops out there. I think you don't want to take advantage of the fact that you are a woman, but you also shouldn't try to deny it. Just be comfortable with yourself. (Participant 7)

Men and women often have expectations of what a law enforcement career will be like. When law enforcement recruit they often talk about how much the new officer will enjoy the job rather than find out if the new recruit fits into law enforcement.

According to the participants, television often projects a more attractive image than what is factual. This participant explained,

... research it and make sure they know what they are getting into because I think that we are not the media driven or we are not the media representation. A lot of people don't understand what law enforcement is. I think the best thing I did was get a college degree and get and do an internship and have an opportunity to do ride alongs and see what law enforcement is. As an administrator when I see women that have failed one of the things I ask them is, "Did this job meet your expectations?" and I have had a couple of people actually say, "I don't know what my expectations were." And I think it is important because law enforcement is a career that is not traditionally for women; that we have got to know what our expectations are going in. And I think as recruiters sometimes we fail, sometimes we just see a competent minority or women and we spend too much time trying to convince them that this job is for them and don't spend enough time educating on what this job actually is and sometimes we probably over recruit. (Participant 5)

One participant explained that she was one of the only women in the department and being a cadet gave her the advantage of learning about the culture and unspoken rules of the department. She stated,

You have to realize that in 1973 there were almost no women in police work anywhere in America. I think we were less than 1 percent of departments. So the women had no peers, they had no support groups, and they had no place to turn to even find out what it was going to be. So being a cadet gave me that advantage of learning something about the culture and the unspoken rules before I actually went into it. (Participant 2)

I'd tell them to make sure it's a job that they want to do and they are going to commit to it. It is not an easy job at any level, whether it is entry level or the supervision level. And they have to want it. They have to be able to be willing to stay in there and endure all of the things. They are not alone anymore, there is more and more women there that they can network with and associate with to find out how to handle those things. But it is a good job. (Participant 4)

New female officers entering a law enforcement agency need to understand the service they will have to provide the citizens of their communities. Often the people who a police officer serves are not the people society respects. An officer must contend with drug dealers, rapists, child abusers, and killers. They will have to give traffic tickets, take children's mothers and fathers to jail, and be the first to arrive at the scene of suicides and homicides. The participants shared,

Well you have to want to serve. You want to have to serve the public and the people that need you the most, who are not always the people you like the best so you need to understand that up- front. You need to be prepared to make some really tough decisions in your life. One of the hardest jobs I think I ever had was juvenile and that's because not only did I have the authority, but I had the responsibility, to legally take children away from their parents and that's, I mean, that's a big responsibility. That's a lot of authority and you have to be able to use it. You also have to know that legally you can pull your weapon and kill someone, and you can do it legally. You have to be able to know that you can do that. So those are the things they need to think about. If you know you can do that and you can learn to protect people and try to make your community a better place, then I think you're the person for the job. But those are the things you have to want. (Participant 3)

Often times the public treats police officers as though they were the bad guys. Police officers must be able to accept rejection by the very people they are trying to serve. Two participants stated the following,

I think that the perception used to be that police were the good guys. And a lot of people, a lot, this is what I truly see a lot of middle class people, men and women, come into the job, they have never dealt with some of the people in society that police officers have to deal with—the drug dealers, the criminals—and they are shocked when they come in. You are not treated by the public as a hero or as the good guy. You are the one that is always making people mad. You are giving them a traffic ticket or you are arresting them or you are taking dad or mom to

jail. You turn out to be more of the bad guy and the respect that they think would be there for the police officer while it's there, it is not generally the people that you meet. The ones that you meet are the ones that do not have very much respect for police officers. (Participant 4)

I am not trying to talk anybody out of a job; I am trying to tell them this is what you are going to face. You are going to face citizens who don't want you. You are going to face citizens who call you names and it is not always a pleasant job. You are going to face some very, very ugly things in your life, in your career, and you've got to be honest about that and objective and let them make a decision. I think that you have got to have that informed decision on the front end. And then, as you go along, you have got to maintain your education. I used to love the commercial that said never stop learning. (Participant 5)

Police officers see the worst society has to offer, homicides, suicides, child abuse.

The officer must also be able to detach themselves from the horror of the job, otherwise they wouldn't be able to survive. A woman's ideas and beliefs about life can be changed because of what she sees on the job.

But you have to change because we see suicides; we see homicides; we see rape victims; we see sudden infant death syndrome victims. So you have to change because we normally don't grow up in those worlds. And then you get here and you have to toughen up. You can't go on a call and cry like a baby. Now there have been calls that, after I've left. I've cried but I've been in my cruiser or by myself or I waited till I got home—where you have seen something so devastating that there is some emotion to it. But you do learn to harden yourself somewhat so that you don't have to break down where you don't go crazy with all the stuff—that you have to still balance that with some compassion. (Participant 1)

Female officers will work the shifts and the holidays the same as the male officers. Each promotion then brings additional shift work. This is sometimes difficult for women who have families and are torn between job and home. It needs to be a consideration before entering a career in law enforcement. The participants stated,

My advice would be: It's a great career, get their formal education, do internships, and get exposed to the career. Insure that your values and your lifestyle preferences fit the career. And what I am talking about is the shift work. The rotation, the impact on your external life. Go in with your eyes open. And I think it is a great career and I wouldn't change it for the world. I would say

always be yourself. The career has to be compatible with who you are as an individual. (Participant 9)

I also see a lot of women at some point in their careers decide that it is more important to raise their families. That's fine. There is not a problem there. But when you set your sight on getting to a certain level you have to, sometimes you can't do both, no doubt about it. It is very difficult and there is a lot of, I know a lot of women I have talked to, and they don't want to give up Christmas at home, they don't want give up evenings with their children. And, like I said, that is okay. But they have to recognize that when they come into this career that there is going to be sacrifices that are going to have to be made. And that has to be done as a family. The family has to be in that decision making process. You and your husband or your spouse have to sit down and say, "Are we ready to take on this challenge because otherwise it is not going to work?" If a husband doesn't want his wife working all night, you shouldn't be in this career because it is going to cause chaos at home. (Participant 6)

I think there is too much of the romance about the career and not enough about the full aspects of it—you know long tedious nights in the cold and the rain, people spitting on you, throwing up on you—that and the impact on your family. . . It is a difficult job and everyone needs to understand that. (Participant 9)

The participants did not change their personalities to fit in with the male officers.

They recommend to women who want to enter into law enforcement to stay true to themselves and not to lose their femininity to fit the male mold. Women do not have to cuss, drink or hang out with the guys to be a police officer. If women stay true to themselves and maintain their values the job can open up according to one participant. She explained.

I have encouraged women who come on the job, "Please don't try to be one of the boys." There is one female, I talked to her until I was blue in the face, the first year on the job slept with over 28 guys. It ended up being a mess. She accused a lieutenant of sexual assault and it went to court. He was married to a deputy; they got divorced. He was found "not guilty" but she was mud here. She was drinking all the time and drunk. You just can't do that. Finally, I just said, "You know what, nothing I have said to you is making any headway." She would call and say, "You want to go out with us." "No, why would I want to go hang out with you guys?" And so being strong and understanding, what you are about is so important. And I didn't change for these people. I stayed consistent with who I am and my beliefs and once you understand who you are and what you can be in this field, it opens up. (Participant 1)

In addition to not changing personalities women should not show a lack of self confidence. A participant stated,

First they have to have confidence in themselves. Unfortunately, we lack in recognizing our own confidence and our own abilities and from that gaining the confidence that we need to do work that we have only perceived to be men's jobs. And that is going to show. People are going to see that. I think that some of the other things that women should not do is think that they have to be one of the good old boys. Be themselves. Let those traits that got them hired in the first place be the ones that are going to carry them through the job. I, unfortunately, see too many women who think they have to be the tough, swearing type of a person that is going to out-drink any guy that comes in their way. I just don't see that as a way to achieve your goals. (Participant 6)

Women do not have to act tough in order to compensate for the physical aspects of the job. Women need to utilize their human relation skills.

Don't fall into that trap where you have to be tough. I think those are the women that sometimes tend to give women in law enforcement a bad name. They try to over compensate for the physical side of it and you lose your human relation skills. (Participant 10)

Choose your agency and understand its philosophy. If you want a difficult career or you want to make your mark on the world, pick an agency that has not yet opened its arms to women. If you want to concentrate on the job without hostility, choose an agency that welcomes women. The participants explained,

In terms of organizationally, I think for me finding an organization that was a good fit for me. I actually I went out and interviewed several police chiefs to determine their philosophies and fit before I decided which organizations to apply to. I didn't just blankly send applications out. (Participant 9)

I knew what I was getting into and I knew the philosophy of the department before I accepted the job. I think that is key because I think it helps make clear expectations and so you don't have expectations that will not be met. (Participant 9)

The ten participants indicated that women will face many challenges during their law enforcement careers. If it is such a stressful, difficult, obstacle-ridden career, why do

they stay in the job and why would they want other women to join the force? They explained,

Well, you know if you do a good job... people respect you. Most people realize that this is a pretty difficult job. And so the appreciation, having someone say that I've made a difference in their life, that has been one of the best things for me. (Participant 1)

But, I got to tell you I could not have stayed in this job for the 29 years that I have been in it had there not been lots of rewards along the way. That's, you know, you can go to we are here to serve people but that's really what we do. Hopefully somewhere along the line I have made somebody's life better for the things that I have done. I know that's the case of the couple of people who have come back and talked to me about how my intervention at some point in their lives helped make their life better now. Those are the kind of rewards that I think are probably the ones that stand out in my mind most. (Participant 3)

...one of the biggest rewards is being able to kind of mold and develop young officers develop into truly outstanding professionals. 'Cause we all go into this profession because we want to do the fun stuff and the crime stuff and, ya know, when you realize you are never going to get to do that again, you kinda have to look for your rewards some place else. That I think is the best. That and this has always been a progressive police department, but I think also being able to be the person who says, "Hey, if there is something out there worth trying we will try it." Not being held back by anybody else's ideas. (Participant 7)

I think women have something to offer as all different backgrounds and diversities. The perspective that law enforcement comes through it can be enhanced by women and they have a chance to impact that change. It is an interesting career. It can be exciting. You really feel that you are doing something of value and you can ultimately have an impact on overall quality of that service to your community. (Participant 8)

You have an opportunity to make a difference and you do and I think that, overall, that is what sustains me in this work. You really can make a difference and that is the overall motivation for moving up the ranks in my mind. At each level you can make a larger contribution not only to the organization but to the community and really see the impact of your work. That is very rewarding. (Participant 9)

One participant explained that she had learned five lessons during her law enforcement career, and she shares those lessons with new officers. She explained,

Probably the first lesson is don't ever quit. Don't ever say you can't. If somebody else says you just can't do that because whatever the reason is and this is something you want to do then go after your dream. Go after your passion, make it come true. Only you can do that. It might take some extra work, but only you can do that. The second piece of advice would be: If you think you are right, you are absolutely sure you are right, you just know you're right, think. You're probably not as right as you think you are. The reason I say that is too often we become closed minded. It is easy to do in law enforcement. Never ever become so closed minded that you don't see the full picture. Number three would probably be: If it is no longer fun, get out of the business, because you are not only going to miserable yourself, you are going to ruin it for everybody else. Law enforcement has got a, often times the problems in organizations with people that are there that don't want to be there. That is why, as chief, I think it is my obligation to make sure that everybody is prepared so that if they feel it is time to go because they no longer enjoy the work that they are prepared enough to compete on the outside. Otherwise those people will bring your organization down with just negative feelings, and it only takes a couple and that pretty much ruins it. Number four is: Always take time out for your personal life. Don't think that your career is your life. Police officers are bad for that. What we do is make our career our life. That is how we have high suicide rates, how we have high divorce rates. That's why we have such high alcoholism rates because we suddenly get the two confused. You have to take care of your personal life, as well. That means every single day making sure that you tell those people around you how much you care about them because life is fragile. You never know when it's going to end. And the last piece of advice I give people is: Every single day make sure that you take the time out to treat yourself to a piece of good chocolate. If you don't treat yourself well, nobody else will. That is number five. Those are the lessons I have learned. (Participant 6)

The female participants survived the challenges of a law enforcement career and have shared what they believe will enable women to enter a law enforcement agency and be successful.

Advice for prospective female police chiefs. The participants indicate that a female officer who wants to be police chief needs to obtain as much experience as she can in her years on the force. Many women tend to stay in one position because it is comfortable, and they don't promote because it involves a move back to shift work. It is important in the drive for the chief's position to understand the entire department and to move to other positions. The participants also stated that if a woman wants to strive for

the police chief's position, she needs to understand that she is watched from the minute she walks into the department. It is necessary to start building your credibility from the beginning. The participants explained,

Women who enter law enforcement are novelties. They are watched by the department heads, their counterparts, and the public. They must make sure that they live their lives with values and principles. You are being watched really for your future potential right from the day you start on the department. (Participant 10)

Be careful. You have to be so on target from the time you come into this career. You have to make a decision when you come on that I want to go up the ranks and then I think once you make that decision you have to understand that that means you don't sleep around with everyone. It means you do good work, you stand on your own two feet. It means that you study for the exams. Be prepared for the challenges. It has to start from the very beginning. (Participant 1)

New female officers need to learn as much as possible about their departments. They need to take all positions offered and learn as many different aspects of the job as possible. The participants explained,

Get your education. Ensure that you have a well-rounded experience, professional experience. What I mean is seek opportunities outside of patrol, learn budget, seek opportunities, and I am thinking of intergovernmental opportunities. (Participant 9)

I would tell them to get as much experience as they can; don't ever turn down an assignment. I mean even if it is one you don't want, learn from it because everything that you have learned shapes your experiences. You have to network outside. You have to get involved in some kind of organizations. If you want to be a chief, start getting involved. If there is a women police organization in your area or a criminal justice organization, get involved with that but also to look at the male organizations and start building contacts with the males, the chief organizations, whatever level you are at that you can join because you can learn from the men as well as the women. You have to be able to know how to play the game. You have to know what the rules are in order to get into it. (Participant 4)

I facetiously say I have had the same career for twenty years and changed jobs every three. I personally think that had a lot to do with my success. I also wasn't afraid to take risks. I wrote a grant when I was a detective for the narcotics section, and when I went in to test for lieutenant, I was the only one in the whole group that could say that I knew finance. Because I had worked with finance to

write the budget and to put together the, you know I could answer questions about fringe benefits and the costs of doing programs. And you have got to take risks and do those things that are outside the norm of your job. A lot of people, maybe it's the extra work as well as taking the risk to do those. And the same thing when I was a lieutenant and tried to make deputy chief, I think the only way I got as far in the process as I did was because I had done things outside the parameters of my job description, writing grants, and working on outside programs and projects. (Participant 5)

The participants talked about survival in the law enforcement realm. According to the interviewees if you want to be a police chief, a woman needs to be able to deal with day-to-day crisis.

. . .certainly have to have a thick skin and realize there will be a lot of struggles and realize that there will be days that you think you can't even survive the pressure. You have to be prepared for that type of thing and tackle it. And that you are going to have to have some external support, a friend that you can turn to or some other activities to put the job out of your mind; otherwise it will consume you. (Participant 8)

Women who want to promote to chief of police in a law enforcement agency need to know how to network with the city officials. One participant explains,

I wish I knew the right formula to become a chief because I've certainly tried a few times and certainly not gotten that far. I've got friends that we always seem to end up as finalists and don't ever seem to get the, you know, always the bridesmaid never the bride. I hope that you find somebody like a city manager who does the hiring who you connect with. I think that is very important because the police chief and the city manager have to connect. There has to be the right chemistry for them to work, but I also hope that there are city managers out there who have enough guts if they feel like the woman is in the right person to go ahead and not worry about the fact that they're female. (Participant 3)

Develop human relation skills. It is important to be able to network with the city government. Due to the political nature of the appointment of chief I think there is an excitement about this career that is still there, and I think that I have lost probably two in the last couple of years . . . They just didn't understand the reality of being out there on patrol. I think there is too much of the romance about the career and not enough about the full aspects of it. (Participant 9)

Much of the literature indicates that women are not being promoted in the law enforcement agencies and that they are not testing for chief. The participants indicated

that women make up a small percentage of the total force and that some women do not want to promote, the same as some men. Not everyone wants to be chief. The women participants indicated that it takes approximately 20+ years before you are eligible to test for chief and that women only entered the true law enforcement arena 30 years ago. If a female officer wants to be chief, she needs to understand why so few women are making it to the top rank.

Women who want a career in law enforcement have to understand that it takes approximately 20 years to advance to chief and very often women stop wanting to advance when they find a place in the agency that is comfortable for them. Some steps advancing is also stopped because of family responsibilities. The participants explained further,

Because there are so few of us, I mean with me, think about it, I was the only one in my class. [] and I were the only one testing because the other ones were far behind us or the biggest thing that keeps women from testing is the shift. Soon as you get promoted you get bumped to nights. And if you have gotten into a position where your comfortable and you have day hours and you have children or a husband at home a lot of women will say, 'well I am not going to do that.' (Participant 1)

I think the reason we are probably not getting as many women in the field as we've probably all anticipated at one time, because I think right now it is still less than twelve percent nationwide that we have as female officers. I would have thought after 29 years it had be lot higher. But this is not a job that every woman wants. We're talking about working graveyard, being on the field, there's the element of danger so I think it takes a special kind of personality; 'course not all men want this job either. I think there's that and I think we're cutting it down. As far as promoting, I've heard women say, "I really enjoy what I am doing right now." For example. our crime prevention officer is a female and she thoroughly enjoys what she is doing. She says, "I don't want to be a sergeant and go back on the street. I set my own hours." So it depends on the individual just as it did for men. I think there are some. I've got a female officer who works for me right now who the day she graduated the police academy, told the chief that it was his job she eventually aspired to. She wants to and she is working hard and is high on the sergeant's list and hopefully will make it. So she will go on but I think it depends on the person. And it is like starting over again each time you get

promoted. You go back to patrol; you go back to graveyard; you go back to all the things that you've worked to get out of to begin with, so it depends on the person. It depends on their family live. Some people just don't want to be promoted. I'm a little disappointed after 29 years that I am the only person who has this much rank and there's only one other female in the department that is even a sergeant. And we've got a lot of them who don't even test. I mean they don't want it; they just don't want it. I respect that, I don't understand it, you know, being as competitive and ambitious as I am. I don't understand why people... but thank God there are workers or otherwise there would not be an administration. (Participant 3)

As I mentioned before, you may have a certain amount of women coming into the profession, but do they stay in the profession? Are they then giving up their profession for family obligations? And in this United States I think that is primarily you are going to find women giving up their profession to take care of family not men. That is still pretty much our culture. And women have to make that choice and because this somewhat of a unique profession, many times they will opt to do it that way. So you might want to look at the numbers coming versus as we grow and mature and become mothers and fathers what our decisions are also. Different when you are 21 and have nobody to care about but yourself than when you suddenly have three kids at home. That would be one of the things and I think some of it probably has to do with once again doing everything that we have to do to compete. And that means don't expect to be promoted just because you are the token woman on the department, and they will have to promote me. Otherwise I am going to bring a discrimination suit. Make sure that you yourself develop your abilities so that you outshine that next person, just the same as men do. You see those people that set themselves, they stand out because they take on the extra duties; they prepare themselves; they find that niche that makes them kind of stand out from the crowd of great candidates. You are just going to have to be just a little bit better and that takes extra time and energy. It doesn't just happen by itself. Your own personal development has to do that. (Participant 6)

I think part of it is that a lot of women have selected themselves out before they get to that point. I think a lot of women have been complacent to stay in roles that are not seen as true leadership roles. You are not going to find too many women that have the opportunity like I did to be patrol commander. I mean, I could have stayed in investigations forever, and I would have liked that and that would have felt very comfortable, and I think that is where a lot of women end up. But that is not what is going to lead you to be the police chief. So I think a lot of it is just what happens as they are developing. I also think that there is, if you are going to go and apply to another police department, if you don't have a lot of internal opportunities, hiring a woman from the outside is a gutsy move. I still think people would say kind of like my guys did when I came in to be a patrol officer, "Oh my god I think our world is coming to an end they're bringing this woman in." It is always hard to have an outside person come in and have an

outside person that just seems so foreign to. Maybe they have never had a female supervisor or worked closely with women officers. I still think there is a lot of stereotyping that goes on. I just think that probably, I know there are some cities that when they set out to look, they are looking specifically for females for one reason or another. But I think in general it is a big jump, and I think to hire somebody from the outside is a big jump. Most people don't come up through the ranks...I think that they are comfortable, and I think that in order to get some of the assignments to prepare you and build your resume so you might be selected, you have got to make some real personal sacrifices. You have to be willing to work those night shifts and take those assignments that are not Monday through Friday...so I think part of it is they get comfortable. (Participant 7)

Another difficulty for women who want to advance to the position of police chief is the non-acceptance of their male-counterparts. It is the same stumbling block that they faced upon their entry into law enforcement. One participant explains,

I think that it has just taken a long time in a traditionally male related field. It's a field of authority and women have struggled to just get into the field in the beginning in the last 25 years. They just stopped at that glass ceiling that one level that women can't, well they might be able to do some of the jobs they still can't be the leaders. And they are starting as they get through more and more of the higher positions and we get more women into the field, you will start to see it increase but the men still just don't believe the women will be effective leaders. Plus there has been a difficult time for retaining women because when you have families, traditionally it is the women that leave the job market or go to part time jobs or some other type of day job without swing shifts in order to help take care of the family. So they have not pursued the career end of it as much as men have. (Participant 4)

The statistics show that women will have a difficult time making it to the top. When we have so few as line officers, the numbers make it difficult for very many women to reach the top.

Chiefs tend to be, by the time just to assume through the ranks, it takes – I think you are right around that twenty-year range, or something, before you come into chiefs. So you are just seeing some of those numbers come into play right now. And you have to stop and think even still now only about, women only represent about 10 or 15 percent, if you are lucky, of all police officers in an organization... it is happening but you have to remember by sheer numbers there is not going to be a lot. If we only represent 10 percent for example, nationally I think it is 11 or 12 percent, but if you only represent 11 percent of all officers, and only, how many of all officers ascend to the position of chief because it becomes so narrow

as you go out. Then that, you can see how it is going to go. You are not going to have too many. (Participant 8)

I think it is my generation of women that broke through the career barriers to law enforcement in any large numbers, and so if you think about that, and you look at the course of a career, it's only natural that we have at this stage fewer women at the top because our numbers are so small to begin with. And you don't go over night from breaking into a career to leading it. And I think that we are always going to have obstacles to having women in large numbers sustain in this career because it is difficult. It is difficult to accomplish all that you may want to do as a woman with this career. And I am thinking of the family impact. If you want to leave a police organization, and I think you mentioned it early on that there aren't that many that have at the same time have gone through and had children and everything else. It is tough to do. And so I think we all make choices and it's a matter of priorities. That is not going to change. When you get promoted you go back to the night shift and its nightmares trying to manage baby sitters and child care, and we have a lot of single parents and male or female, it's tough. And I think our culture puts more external, more family responsibilities on women and that hasn't changed so I think that barrier is always going to be there. . . . some of that is individual choice about your family and your priorities. But I see my women competing for jobs just like the males do, which is what they do. And you have to get a nucleus in at the entry level before you can ever expect to get large numbers at the leadership level. (Participant 9)

Some women find a niche; a place in their careers where they feel most comfortable. They don't want to promote and deal with more challenges. They stay where they are the happiest.

...back when I came on in 1980 there were very few of us here. It's taken me 19 years to get to where I am right now. And it took me 14 years to get to deputy chief, 15 years to get to deputy chief almost. There is just not that many of us. When you look back in 1980 we probably only had a representation of 5 or 6 percent and just through the natural process you have, one of the females in my class is still a 20-year patrol officer and she loves it. And I consider her a success. I consider myself a success. She chose a different career path than I did and so you take only 6 percent to start with and only so many people are going to want to naturally go up that career ladder. The numbers just aren't there. Again until you have the mentorship to get people over those hurdles that they face as they go along you are going to lose. That number is going to constantly be funneled down and get smaller and smaller and smaller. (Participant 5)

When a female stays in one position too long she not only becomes comfortable but she does not learn the other jobs that would assist her if she wanted to promote to chief.

But you are also talking about a lot fewer numbers because we are still at 10 percent. I think there is only 8 percent of women in supervisory positions right now. So you have to get to the mid-level before you get to the upper. And then there is still going to be some bias on panels for promotion that we have to learn more about. Some women decline promotions because of things like family responsibilities. Women sometimes tend to, like on smaller departments say, get into certain positions like dare officer, whatever. So when they are in a position that they possibly could be promoted they have been too one-dimensional. Where male officers have kind of moved around the department more and have more experience so that when they get to the oral interview they are more prepared for it. (Participant 10)

The interviewees utilized talent, timing, luck, and perseverance to make it to the top. Many women, just like many men, do not want to lead a police department.

Advice to the law enforcement community. The participants were asked what the law enforcement community could do to recruit women to enter the field of law enforcement. Many of the participants indicated that the police organizations need to improve their recruitment methods and the female officers need more mentors, men or women. A combination of recruitment and mentoring in police agencies would improve the population and the retention of female officers. The participants explain,

I think recruiting is probably a key issue. I don't think we do a good enough job of going out there and selling the job. And then once women do enter the ranks you have, I think law enforcement has to be very careful to hit that healthy balance. You don't want to hover but you can't just throw them in there with everybody else...They need a little extra support. I know what helped me was just having somebody tell me, "Oh, you are doing a job. You're doing a good job." When in the back of my mind I thought this person doesn't even really know what I'm doing. But he did, I think. A little bit of nurturing and role modeling and you don't have to be a woman to role model a woman. I think that good supervisors can play a big part in developing those officers. (Participant 7)

I think we have to continue on the efforts to recruit. Maybe, mentoring takes time, but some formal mentoring may help. Somebody to talk to. (Participant 8)

In a word it [recruiting] sucks. I don't think we are doing a very good job of it. I don't know whether it's just because of the economy, but I'm not seeing recruiting where it really needs to be. We tend to recruit somewhat from the military, which is good. I think the military background certainly does not hurt anyone, especially in a para-military organization. I think we lost a lot when we lost so many people going to the military. At least as far as can somebody follow orders, take directions and so on. The military definitely teaches that. So we do recruit with military, we recruit at higher education, at colleges and so on. But I think we are recruiting in the wrong places. I think a lot of times we recruit in the athletic departments but maybe when we should be recruiting is the social workers, the educators, the people with backgrounds like that rather than just, for lack of a better term, the jock mentality. (Participant 3)

I think it's better now that we are getting women who participated in sports and team activities because they understand a little better what they are going into. (Participant 3)

One participant felt that being a good role model in the schools would give the girls an idea of what police work can be. The participant stated,

I think we're heading in that direction by having officers in the schools and I think we need to be good role models. We need to let girls know that this is a career they can choose. For those that look like they'd be good at it and have an interest, we really need to mentor and try to help through the process. ... I've seen women who want to do the job, who want to be a detective or maybe work in forensics or do some of those kinds of things, work with juveniles—who just don't want to go through that process so they go on to some other field. I don't know, we may have to look at changing the way we do business. (Participant 3)

If police departments recruit they must also take the responsibility of giving the potential officers a fair picture of the job. If the recruitment process does not explain the job to its fullest, they are setting the recruits up for failure. One participant explained,

We have to do better and I think some of that comes in with actually giving a very fair picture of what this job requires. It is great to walk into a college campus and say, "This is what you are going to do." We would like to recruit you to be a police officer and letting them believe that it is something that it is not. And then you are just going to set people up for failure. They have to recognize the highs and the lows of this job, and I have always said you've got one of two extremes.

It is either going to be so doggone chaotic that you are going to want to jump out a window or you are going to be bored to death. You very seldom have a middle ground. And it is preparing people that when they decide that this is what I want to do, that they know what they are getting into....There is nothing worse to suddenly find yourself straddled with a job in a profession that you absolutely hate because you thought it was going to be Charlie's Angels like TV.
(Participant 6)

One participant shared how her department recruits women.

I don't think we really recruit women very well. When I went into our human resources division, we were going to the college fairs and the career fairs and a couple of places and just standing there talking to anybody that would come up. And most of those would be males coming up because police work is a male-dominated career. We do recruiting in our neighborhood church. We also go to youth groups; we seek out women; we go to organizations that have contacts with women and minorities and say we have a need for women and minorities, and we want to meet with them specifically. We used to only send minorities to our police academies then everyone else had to be certified if we hired them. I got our department to finally agree to start sending women to the academies because women traditionally make less money than men and don't have the money to go through an academy. And we ended up opening it up to anybody, male or female, regardless of race. If they are qualified and if they are somebody that we want in our department, we will send them through. We created a cadet program and I told the people who worked for me, 'We are going to hire women and minorities into these positions too,' because they do the interviewing and it would be all the white males that got to the top for whatever reason... We don't have to be equal, but we are going to hire an equal amount of certified and an equal amount of uncertified people, and we are going to hire women. We are going to increase diversity. So you have to go out, you have to make the people look for the applicants, and you have to make them hire them to. When we got into where we were starting to lose a lot of 'em in our training programs, we started analyzing our training programs for the reasons why women were washing out of our field training program as opposed to why men were washing out. Is there an internal bias here? Is it that the women were washing out on safety issues, the men were washing out on report writing issues? Women could write better than men basically, and we had to do some self looking into those things and say, 'Wait a minute. This is not right.' These issues, you are not documenting it; you have got to document it. And we had to just start forcing our own internal trainers to look at things differently. We started training them on diversity issues and how to do training, you know visual type training versus audio type training, hands on training, how to do all sorts of reports, how to work with people from different cultures. Are there sexual differences in training? Those types of things in order to not only recruit them but to retain them. And we looked at those issues also in promotions for testing. And are there internal biases for testing? I have been in charge of our last two to three promotional processes and in the last two we have

promoted more women and minorities than in the history of our department.
(Participant 4)

Another participant explains her department's efforts to recruit.

It is difficult. Well, frankly, because job market. All of our recruitment across the board has become more difficult. I have a recruiting team now that hits job fairs and community colleges and the law enforcement colleges. We are at all the job fairs in the state. ...It is more difficult. Law enforcement was one of the first things a few years ago. Because of federal requirements, doors start to open for better jobs with equal pay but I think those opportunities have certainly increased over the last 20 years so more doors are open to females. So maybe law enforcement is not their first priority because it does put pressures on certain things like, going to have children, and so forth. It puts pressures on those types of things because the schedule is difficult, the work is difficult, and they may want to get into something that is more flexible than those type of structures, especially in the early years where you don't have the choice of vacation and hours and so forth. (Participant 8)

Some agencies have already accomplished their goals in recruitment. This participant shared her department's philosophy.

We don't have to target recruit women in my organization, yet we are always able to maintain a good level of women applicants and women hires. I mean, we are probably over 20 to 25 percent maybe women. But what I hear from my peers is that, "Oh women don't want this job; they don't apply," etc. And what it means to me is more that the organization is closed to women. I don't think we are recruiting women as we should. (Participant 9)

Women are not the only minorities who have a difficult time getting into law enforcement. The participant shared,

I still think we have a long way to go with overcoming cultural hurdles in regards to acceptance of law enforcement as either a career for minorities or women. But recruiting wise I think we are trying to reach out to those especially through programs like a school resource officers where we are now down into middle schools. Hopefully, we can role model and build relationships with younger people to get them to start thinking about law enforcement as a career. I really think that by going to colleges we are too late – people have already made up their mind in most cases – and that we need to reach down earlier and get people to start thinking about law enforcement earlier. (Participant 5)

All of the participants felt that mentoring men and women was an important factor for success. They believe that mentoring can be effectively completed by men or women for men or women. There are numerous organizations that women can now utilize for assistance. The participant explained,

We have got to be able to go somewhere and talk about this stuff. You know I call it my girlfriend time... Where sometimes you just have to get together and talk about...do you know what this guy did? Because we have had incidents where maybe two females are on a call, a male officer comes as backup and takes over the call. And then, you know, how do you handle that? What would you do because you don't want the citizens to see you arguing or bickering so what do you do? What you do is you let him go ahead and deal with that and then when the call is over you take him to the side and say, "Don't ever do that again."
(Participant 1)

I think we need to do a lot more of it as females (mentors). I probably had quite a few, obviously none of them female because there was no one who outranked me. (Participant 3)

I think I did a lot more mentoring when I was a sergeant than I have since I have become part of the administration. That's because there are some things that you just can't tell me as part of the administration, that I can't just listen to. If you tell me I have to do something about it, such as sexual harassment, things like that, I can't advise, I have to take action and so that's cut down on some of the women coming to me as they used to. I think we have to mentor one another and I feel very strongly about that. (Participant 3)

I belong to several different groups that is kind of our focus. And it is not only within, there is a number of women around the country that have gotten together over quite a few years and we literally e-mail back and forth. There are several of us that are chiefs and then we have some captains, lieutenants and there is men that belong to this little group also but I think it is an exchange of information that helps those that are coming up in the ranks. Not only women, but also men. And we also have—we call it the women mentoring group that we have here in town and that group is more or less a group of women that get together and work with each other in helping us individually to achieve, or at least effectively, work on our leadership. . . some that are a little more formalized and some that are more informal, but any chance I get. I think it's important that we step out and work as much as we can not only with women within our chosen field but also trying to recruit those into the field. (Participant 6)

This participant's department is very effective in having her middle management support the lower ranks, men and women. She said,

I have been very careful not to single out the women because I think that creates really bad, very negative dynamics and one of the things that I have tried to do is create that middle level. I've got like the middle level, the lieutenant level and the sergeant level, of people who are excellent, excellent mentors and one of my captains has always been, for one reason or another, who could spot talent at a early age and he has worked really closely with some of our female non sworn personnel to encourage them to enter into the sworn ranks. So probably my direct mentoring days, I am probably not as active in that as I used to be, but I feel like I have passed that on to the people who need to be. (Participant 7)

Some participants felt that they were successful because of the mentoring they received in their department.

I have had mentors all along the way. I have had people that have been willing to help me learn and grow and help me find experiences that helped ready me for the next level. And those have been in some cases supervisors, sergeants to helping me to be ready for that detective position and encouraging. I would have never dreamed of applying for it had it not been for two separate sergeants that said, 'You need to go for this.' And the same at the promotional level – I probably wouldn't have applied so early in my career but my sergeant kept encouraging me and my lieutenant encouraged me so I went for it. Then readiness for chief really came from mentoring and career development opportunities. Some I sought; some I was given by my chief who was my mentor. (Participant 6)

One chief feels that it is the duty of leaders to mentor those who come behind. She has mentored men and women to successfully take over her position as chief. She shares,

...I think we have a duty to do that—men and women, doesn't matter. I think we have a duty as leaders to mentor those that come behind and I feel proud and successful when people under my command are promoted and I have always felt that. In fact I have a whole little cadre of my own that I have helped groom to be police chiefs now. And that makes me proud. (Participant 9)

Summary of Emerging Themes

The above themes evolved out of the experiences of the five female police chiefs and the five female deputy police chiefs who participated in this study. Five major

themes emerged: the female challenge in the male-dominated environment, personal characteristics, the advantages females bring to law enforcement, leadership styles, and advice. The theme that focused on the female challenge in a male-dominated environment contained three sub-themes: the early challenge, the gender challenge, and the advancement challenge. The theme that focused on personal characteristics contained two sub-themes: personal characteristics of the female police officer and personal characteristics of the female deputy police chief and female police chief. The last theme that contained sub-themes was advice. It contained three sub-themes: advice to potential female policewomen, advice to potential female police chiefs, advice to the law enforcement community. These themes and sub-themes represent the phenomenon of the experiences of the female deputy police chief and female police chief.

Perceptions of the Female Deputy Police Chiefs

Another aspect of this study was to determine if the deputy chief's perceptions of the police chief's job was accurate. The deputy chiefs were asked how they believed the position of police chief differed from their current position of deputy chief and what surprise might be in store for them when they make it to the position of chief. Some of the deputy police chiefs believe that there will not be much change from their current positions. They believe they have a good idea of what the chief's job responsibilities are. One deputy chief shared this information,

The only real difference I see is more community involvement with women's groups, and I have already seen that as a deputy chief. . . . And I don't think that would change that much as chief; I think that remains about the same. So being a female chief, I don't see a lot of differences than what I am doing already as deputy chief. (Participant 5)

The police chief's in most municipalities are selected through the government entities in that city – mayors, city managers, city council. The female officers who attempt to make it to the chief's position may have proven themselves to their agencies time and again but, in order to obtain the position of chief, they must prove themselves to the political outsiders, city government. The police chiefs indicate that a deputy chief needs to network with the community and city leaders to assist in the promotional process for chief. One deputy chief believes she is ready for the position of chief. She states,

I could have stepped into that job the day the chief left. My chief told me one of the reasons I made such a good deputy chief was because of my networking skills and my ability to talk to anybody and that I did understand the politics. I have been working on the networking. I am a very big believer in the networking and doing all the things required of networking. And I made that decision probably oh I think when I was a lieutenant ... that I needed to know people and establish those relationships and keep up on them. So I knew the city council people, I knew the people in budget; I knew the people who worked behind the scenes. I kept in touch with them; I talked to them. I always did. And that was one thing (the chief) relied on me for all the time was that he said he could send me anywhere, and I could talk to anyone without offending them and that I could come back and tell him this, this, and this happened, and I think this is what the secret agenda is. The women don't do their homework. Women are really terrible at networking. As a general rule they are very bad at it. They do not take the time; they do not belong to associations; they don't schedule the lunches and the coffees; they don't take the time to attend meetings. It is part of that female psyche and it is one of the things that keep them from promoting. They think that if they sit at their desk and do a really good job at what they are working on that they are doing a good job. And that is not their job. As a deputy chief that is not your job. Your job is to network; your job is to go out there and sell the department. Somebody else is supposed to sit and write those reports and handle all that paper work. That is what you have got a secretary for; that's what you got an aid for. You know, the guys used to tease me because I had five aids and a secretary, and I still was working almost 70 hours a week. (Participant 2)

One deputy chief has made a determination that if anything stops her from becoming a police chief, it will be the political aspect of the job. She states,

Probably my worst time was when I went through all that political stuff. And if anything would keep me from seeking a police chief job, it would be the politics. I mean, I would probably look for a city that had a city manager as opposed to a

mayor or strong city council. Because our city council and mayor get into quite a few beefs. (Participant 1)

Other deputy chiefs believed that the most difficult problem would be decision making and accepting that the ultimate responsibility for making the decisions would be on their shoulders.

I think it changes to the point that you are the final decision- maker up to that point you can always blame it on the chief. But once you are there... there are very few people you can blame your decisions on. And the perception that I see is that not many people end up liking you as chief. Up until you get to that position they can still perceive that there is somebody beyond you that they could go to... to get the decision changed. But once you're there and you make the decision, that's it. You have a lot of respect from most of your employees but it is a lot more political. I mean, you have to deal with less of the day to day operations of the police department and more with the political demands of all of the citizens, all of the people, the mayor, the city council, or whoever it is that is supervising the rest of the city. And you have to coordinate all of that. You have to be more of the person who goes and talks to them and less of the person that actually runs the police department. (Participant 4)

The deputy police chiefs were very confident they could walk into the position of chief of police without any difficulties. They believed that they were well prepared and understood the nuances of the position. This is indicative of the confidence these female law enforcement officers who have had successful careers demonstrate. According to the participants this is the type of confidence that a female leader in a male-dominated environment needs to survive and succeed.

Insights of the Female Police Chiefs

The female police chief participants discussed what they believed to be the aspects of their jobs they did not understand as a deputy police chief and what other female deputy police chief's might not consider when they assume the position of chief. One chief stated that she had a good perception of what the position would be like

because her police of chief, her mentor, let her handle many of the responsibilities that would train her for eventually taking over as chief. She stated.

I had a very good perception of what it was going to be like and that had to do with the chief back in []. At any given time when there was an opportunity for us to more or less take on new experiences within our own careers, he allowed us to do that. I believe in that philosophy. It is helping people develop their own abilities and recognize their own talent so you can make their dreams come true and that is what he did. If he allowed me to take on the challenges of doing budgets and doing personnel actions and working with the community and being involved in the chamber and all of those things that help you walk into a brand new city and know that if I do these things, more than likely it will be okay. With a few surprises, but not big. (Participant 6)

Another participant stated her worst experience as chief and what others approaching the chief position might not consider was the political aspect. Her community faced a political battle in the city government. She stated,

As a chief the worst of times was probably the political turmoil I found in my third year as chief...and all the political turmoil that led up to that...being caught up in that and trying to provide service and be loyal to your boss and calm the waters at the same time. It was probably the worst part of my career overall – most stressful, most difficult, and a lot of issues that were very ugly. (Participant 9)

One female chief stated deputy chiefs are always making decisions, but they always had someone above them, a higher rank, with whom to discuss their decisions. As the chief, she was ultimately responsible for those decisions. This chief explained that even though deputy chiefs believe they can walk into the chief's position they probably don't really understand the subtle political issues and the stress related to making the lone decisions. A chief stated the following:

I think when you are the number two you always think you can do better than number one. And probably don't have any clue about some of the more subtle political issues that you deal with as chief. I felt more than capable to do the job as chief in the areas that I was exposed to, running the organization. Slam-dunk. Operational stuff is the easy part. The internal relationships, the union labor relationships, the community relationships—I think you're well exposed at the

number two level. At the number one level the big difference is you have a much broader responsibility and you really you have got to make the tough decisions; you've got to make the call. No one is standing there whispering in your ear the advice to do it. It's really the level where you have to critically understand your own values and philosophies and you have to be willing to make the tough value based decisions. That no one else can help you with. And probably more, I don't know that is as well understood at the number two level as it is at the number one level. And so you see your chief struggling with some of those value-based issues and you know some folks. I can remember saying, 'Ahhh, why can't he make a decision?' You know, whatever. And it is something that only a chief experiences. To that degree dealing with the politics, that doesn't bother me at all. . . .more of those interests and building the external relationships and partnerships than you probably recognize when you are at the number two level. (Participant 9)

Another chief talked about the unilateral decisions that a chief has to make. She did not understand how alone the position of chief can be. She stated,

I think the one thing that I didn't really consider was the fact that always before. I had been placed in a position where I had to make a lot of significant decisions. But you always had that kind of touchstone that you could say, 'Is it the right thing or not the right thing? Is there something that would better?' . . . but you know you cannot always be reaching down to get affirmation. They have to be reaching up to you. And so I think that would be the one thing it really kind of surprised me that sometimes you just feel, I hate to even say alone, but I think I just didn't realize how unilateral those decisions would have to be. (Participant 7)

The police chiefs also felt that personnel issues were difficult to handle. They are often time consuming and emotionally difficult. The police chief position is a management position.

Well, it is definitely not like police work. It's definitely more management based. I didn't have a lot of time to think about it but I think most people suspect that the worst part of it is the political side or dealing with community issues. I think the hardest is the personnel issues. So it is the personnel issues that really take up much more of your time than I would like. (Participant 10)

This participant confirmed that if a police officer wants to make a difference in the department they should reach for the position of chief. Unfortunately, it is also a very stressful, time-consuming position. One participant stated,

...it's never a bed of roses for any chief. And I realize that, frankly, I didn't know totally what to expect. I knew it would be a struggle...there again I did have an opportunity to finally change some of the things I disliked. I think it is more hours and more stress than I assumed. Sometimes I wonder if I am doing something wrong because, frankly, the last two chiefs before me didn't put in these hours; I know that. But, then again, organizationally a lot of things changed. So if you are going to really institute the new program, new change and that, and push it hard and push the agenda hard, that's what has required the work...I think we did presentations to the city council and so forth that became chief. I think two roles. I can make people happy. There is a lot less stress in this organization if I choose to go with *status quo*. But as an officer ascending through the ranks I disliked the status quo, not to say you have the rock the boat, but I disliked not getting any farther ahead for doing a better job than somebody along side of me that did nothing. And that is the type of thing I was trying to change or determined to change in this organization and that has come at a cost. (Participant 8)

Another chief agrees that being the chief of police is a constant battle and is a difficult position. She stated,

At the Chief's position there is a constant battle. Some days I feel renewed or whatever, I will come in and it is just like I survived this long and I'll out survive you. Matter of fact, routinely they will ask hey chief when are you going to retire. And it's like, ten years from now, I don't want them to think they can out last me. But then other days you would like to throw in the towel. I don't publicly say that but you know I could quit tomorrow. (Participant 8)

One participant felt that the ultimate responsibility and accountability of a police force was a major factor. She stated that a person should understand that the chief's position is administration and be sure that is what you want.

Prior to deciding this is what you want. I mean you can be a great patrol lieutenant or a great detective captain, or a wonderful support services person, you need to have a full experience of what it is that a chief does. Many people in law enforcement like law enforcement because of what they do. And a chief's job you don't do a lot of law enforcement. You do budgeting, you do personnel actions, you make sure we ADA compliant, you make sure that the building is not going to fall down around your head, you make sure that we are working with the politicians, and politically trying to do whatever we need within the city government. You are not a police officer per se. You have taken on a full or a completely different role. If you through your career have had an opportunity or a taste of each of these and you feel yea I like this administration part of it, then go for it. But if you are finding I hate all of the paperwork and I don't want to deal

with the politicians and I don't like to do budgeting, why are they harassing me about this building, I don't know how to build a new building, but your building needs to be rebuilt. If those are the things that cause you anxiety and sweaty palms then reconsider if that is exactly where you want to be at. I have talked to a number of people that have said the happiest times were when they were patrol sergeants or detective lieutenants, but now they are in positions but they really don't care for it. That is where you have to make sure you have discovered all aspects of that job before you decide you want to be a chief. And then you better have some pretty big shoulder pads on because there is going to be a lot of responsibility and accountability that comes back to you and you alone and when you are sleeping at home at night if you are not comfortable that you want to take on the responsibility of what that patrol officer or that detective is doing out there that may screw up your life good. Because what they do you are accountable for. Then don't take it on. (Participant 6)

When you are in the top position of a law enforcement agency and you are a woman it is necessary to find someone with whom to network. Some chiefs network with other women's groups, other female chiefs throughout the country or their city leaders. One participant stated,

...the outside networking. Most police agencies have very few women within them. You really do need to get involved, I get involved with the state wide police organization early on because there were so few of us. But you really need to have some kind of networking support organization. And if there is some time of organization women's group it helps because it gets you in contact with other women that are having some of the same problems that you are. But it also gets you used to a networking organization that you get involved with committees you get in. (Participant 4)

One chief indicated that she did not realize how much she was watched in her community. She states,

For me now, I can't go any place in town. I will not have a drink in this city. Just a bad thing to do. Frankly you have to leave the state and go on vacation to sit down and have a bottle of wine. You can't go anyplace. For example, I went just the other day with a consultant I am working on to [] and we must have been interrupted six times, just you know, people coming over. They have to complain about something or meet me, everybody seems to recognize me in the paper. It is a small town so it is difficult. So...personally I have to get out of town to get away. (Participant 8)

The police chief participants indicated that their job was more intense and demanding than they expected as deputy chief and that there are times when they wonder how they survive, some credit their success to their chiefs who were mentors. The deputy police chiefs believe they have an understanding of what it is going to take to be the police chief, some recognize that it takes political knowledge, networking, solitary decision making and tough personnel calls. The police chiefs stated that they too believed that they understood the role of chief when they were deputy chief, however they were surprised at some of the nuances of the position. Each leader will face different challenges and it is possible that the deputy chiefs really can't understand what the position entails until they reach that pinnacle.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY, OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter V will be separated into three sections. The first section will be a short summary of the study. The second section will contain an overview of the findings including a discussion of thematic findings in relation to the literature and a review of the perceptions of the deputy police chiefs and police chiefs. The last section will offer conclusions and suggestions for future research.

Summary

This qualitative study was initiated to explore the experience of female police officers who have been promoted to the position of deputy police chief or police chief in a municipal police department. The design of this study was phenomenological and was structured based on in depth interviews with participants from throughout the country.

The procedures included preliminary contact with the participants by telephone and written correspondence to request their participation in the study along with an enclosed copy of the consent form approved by the Colorado State University Human Subjects Research Committee. The interviews were conducted and recorded on audiocassette tapes. Each interview was 60 to 90 minutes in length.

The sources of data were the transcribed in depth interviews from the participants and were conducted with the interviewees from March 27, 2000 until September 1, 2000. Research and personal journals were kept throughout the design, data gathering, and analytical process.

The process of analysis followed those that were outlined by Moustakas (1994): epoche, immersion, reduction, imaginative innovation, and synthesis. Data were analyzed through the use of the Hyper-Research™ software by which the verbatim transcripts were read, coded and clustered into themes.

Overview of Findings

The five major themes that emerged were the female challenge in a male-dominated environment, personal characteristics of the female police officer and the female police chief, the advantages of females in law enforcement, the participants' leadership styles, and advice to female officers. These themes were developed through the participants relating their experiences during their journey in law enforcement.

The Female Challenge in a Male-Dominated Environment

The first theme that emerged from the participant self-portraits was the many challenges faced by the women during their careers in law enforcement. Not unlike the finding of Horne (1980), the participants agreed that one of the greatest challenges to women entering law enforcement has been the resistance displayed by the male officers in their attitudes toward women in policing. Hunt (1990) concluded that this was because the male officers feared that women would violate departmental secrets about police corruption and violence. Although this has not been shown to be true, possibly, men believe women to be at a higher moral and ethical standing than themselves.

The participants were the female pioneers in law enforcement. Between twenty and thirty years ago, the participants were some of the first women to join police agencies as patrol officers. Their male counterparts believed their worlds were coming to an end

with the emergence of women on patrol. Some of the male officers were supportive; others wanted proof that these women could handle the “macho world” of policing.

The early studies of Martin (1980), Remington (1981), and Bell (1982) stated that female officers were not capable of performing the duties of a police officer as well as their male-counterparts and that women would have to rely on their male partners to gain citizen compliance and to maintain control. Lieberman’s study (1989) demonstrated that men and women both rated men as performing better in their fields than women even if the work was identical. The participants indicated that they were tested by the male officers to see if they were cowards, if they could handle the physical strength allegedly needed to perform the duties of an officer, or if they could make the harassment difficult enough that the women quit. The participants in this study proved to the men that they could handle the job. They did not always handle the job in the manner of the male officers; however, by utilizing verbal skills instead of physical skills, finding other methods of learning policing without the help of the male officers, and by letting their genuine strengths be known they could do the job.

Bloch & Anderson (1974) and Grennan (1988) found that women were not only as qualified as the male officers in their job duties, but they also had a tendency to be more sensitive and responsive to the public. They also considered women to be just as capable as men in handling violent disputes and confrontations. Kennedy and Homant (1985) stated that victims perceive women more capable of calming male perpetrators and deflecting violence through discussion. The participants agreed that physical force was not always the solution they would use for a citizen confrontation, but that did not mean they could not handle the situation. They would first attempt to solve the problem

with talk as opposed to violence; however, if necessary they all felt capable of physically handling violent situations. Many of the participants were put into confrontational situations by their male counterparts to see if they had the ability to handle a violent encounter. Again they had to prove to the male officers that they could handle the job. According to the National Center for Women and Policing (1999) the actual and potential lawsuit liability for cities and states caused by excessive force by males is enormous and costs tens of millions of dollars of taxpayer money every year. By increasing the number of women in police departments, law enforcement will measurably reduce police violence and improve police effectiveness and service to the communities.

The National Center for Women and Policing (1999) stated that women in police agencies have had to tolerate sexual harassment and gender discrimination and have been forced out of their jobs because of unchecked abuse. The participants stated that they had been confronted with sexual harassment and gender discrimination during the early years in their careers, and they still are dealing with it as police chiefs and deputy police chiefs. However, the participants handled the harassment and discrimination by ignoring it, confronting the officer one on one, or filing a complaint within the department. The participants refused to be forced out of their careers by the male officers' attempts at harassment and discrimination. Instead, they became stronger and more determined to stay in their chosen profession. Gender discrimination and sexual harassment are illegal, and female officers can and do file federal or state lawsuits. However, the participants believe that if female officers are committed to their jobs, they can handle the discrimination, harassment and bias and still have successful careers in law enforcement.

Gold (1999) stated that women in law enforcement face the same promotional resistance that women face in other professions that are male-dominated. Gold indicates that women who want to promote within a law enforcement agency have to prove themselves again after the promotion; therefore attempting to promote into a supervisory role probably serves to lower some women police officers' aspirations. Economic considerations, hiring freezes, slow turnover and job protectionism have all served to limit the opportunities for female officers. Yet, the Association of Police Chiefs (1998) state that 69 percent of the women in law enforcement seek promotions, and the police chiefs from the survey indicate that it is not difficult to promote a woman.

However, the participants stated that they felt they had to over excel in the promotional tests as they believed they had to do considerably better than the male officers to get noticed. They agreed with the Association of Police Chiefs (1998) that indicated that women can and do seek promotions. The participants believed that they studied and were given the same opportunities as the men. The only bias the participants indicated was in the rule of five or during the promotional process for chief when the city leaders made it a political process.

After winning their promotions the participants were surprised at the responses of their male co-workers whom the participants believed to be their friends. The male officers who were not promoted made excuses for their lack of promotion and the female's successes, usually indicating that the women were given favors and didn't deserve the promotion. Once again, the participants were forced to prove to these men that they were competent and could handle the promotion.

One of the most difficult challenges the participants faced was the responsibility of handling home, family, education and the job. In today's world men have taken on a more significant role in the family life, but it is still cultural tradition for the woman to take a major role in the family. Women who are wives and mothers find it difficult to also manage a job that is stressful and that entails shift work. When they include college classes and studying for promotional exams, it is sometimes overwhelming. One participant stated, somewhat humorously, that she hadn't slept in 18 years.

The participants have maintained their female qualities and have been true to themselves; even though they were forced to dress like men, were trained by men, and were criticized if they didn't do police work like men. The participants are still proving to men, the public and their city leaders that they are capable officers and leaders in law enforcement. The participants agreed that throughout their careers, they have had to work harder than the male officers to be noticed. The participants had to perform better in their duties on patrol, studying for promotional exams, taking promotional exams and as leaders in their departments. This phenomenon exists whenever women must compete with men on terms defined by men. (Gold, 1999)

Personal Characteristics

The second emerging theme was the personality characteristics of female law enforcement officers and the female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs. It was important to share the personality traits that the participants believed they needed as women to survive in this male environment. They shared the obvious traits that men and women need to be a police officer – ethics, morals and honesty – but they also found that as women they needed the additional traits of being thick-skinned, committed,

determined, tenacious, and stubborn. The participants still recognized that they consistently had to be one step ahead of their male counterparts. They had to work harder and study harder than the men in order to be treated as equals.

Female police chiefs and deputy chiefs need to be self confident, strong and have the ability to network. Human relation skills are important in dealing with the outside agencies and their departments. The participants stated that female leaders should not worry about being second-guessed. The participants were not afraid of a challenge nor were they afraid of failing. They were confident, strong and proud of their departments.

Advantages Women Bring to Law Enforcement

The third emerging theme was the advantages women officers bring to law enforcement. The female participants stated they have been criticized over the years for talking too much and letting people ramble and for taking too much time with the citizens of their community. During the participants' years in law enforcement their departments were promoting the paramilitary style of policing of tough and aggressive behavior. Recent literature regarding law enforcement has shown that a new philosophy of policing, called community policing, has emerged. According to Palmiotto (1999) this type of policing enables a police department to be more flexible and democratic without being incident-driven. It encourages techniques such as problem identification, problem analysis, and problem resolution.

Today's new philosophy of community policing is rooted in strong interpersonal and communication skills and emphasizes conflict resolution over the use of force. This philosophy decreases poor community relations, abuse complaints, and sometimes

violent confrontations. The women who were once criticized for their caring behavior are now a natural fit into this philosophy of policing.

The participants shared their views that police departments need to be diversified and need to become more multi-dimensional. Police departments need to promote diversity and encourage the recruitment of minorities who have different backgrounds, interests and cultures, thus enriching the organization and allowing new ideas that would make a police department more capable of serving all of the community.

Leadership Styles

The fourth theme that emerged was the leadership styles of the deputy police chiefs and the police chiefs. Rogers (1998) stated that police officers who have witnessed leadership failures in their agencies have decided that “ivory tower” management is the cause. These leaders rarely know what is happening in the ranks of those whom they are leading or what is happening on the streets. Officers claim that supervisors usually do not request their input, suggestions, opinions or ideas when specific public safety problems are addressed. The rank and file does not feel like they belong. The participants in this study did not lead in this manner. According to the participants, they led with a democratic, participatory style that incorporated the rank and file in policy making and problem solving. They are democratic and promote an open-door policy. Rogers (1998) also stated that the four leadership skills for the effective police supervisor are the skill to communicate, motivate, empower and take risks. The participants agreed and included these skills as traits that women police chiefs needed in order to succeed.

Advice

The fifth theme that emerged was the advice offered by the participants to women officers, women police chiefs and deputy police chiefs and to the law enforcement community. They shared what they felt women needed to know to enable them to enter the law enforcement field and be successful, including what female officers needed to know to make it to the position of chief. They also shared what law enforcement could do to enable women to be better prepared to enter law enforcement and what law enforcement could do to make life easier for women in law enforcement.

Below is a summary of the recommendations the participants made to prospective women who are seeking careers in law enforcement. These recommendations are paraphrased in the participants' voices.

1. Research the job. Join a citizen's academy, the reserves, or become a cadet.
It is not an easy job at any level, whether it is entry or supervisory level. Get an idea of what it really means to be a police officer.
2. Be committed. Go after your dream and your passion. Now there are female officer organizations that can assist new recruits and help them through the difficult times.
3. Understand the service you will have to provide the citizens of your community. Often the people you serve are not the people you like best. You will have to deal with drug dealers, rapists, child abusers, and killers. You will be giving traffic tickets and taking children's mothers and fathers to jail. You will be called to suicides and homicides.

4. Be prepared to make tough decisions. You may have to take a child away from its parents. You may have to kill someone in the line of duty.
5. Understand you will be working shifts and holidays. Understand that each promotion brings more shift work.
6. Don't overcompensate for the physical side and risk losing your human relation skills.
7. Don't lose your femininity to fit the male mold. Stay true to yourself. Don't try to be one of the boys.
8. Be prepared to face hostility. Sometimes in the workplace and often in public situations.
9. Choose your agency and understand its philosophy.
10. Get a good education. Promoting to chief requires a master's degree in most cities.

Participants' offered the following recommendations are offered to prospective female police officers who seek leadership roles in municipal police departments.

1. Develop human relation skills. It is important to be able to network with the city government due to the political nature of the appointment of chief of police.
2. Realize you are watched from the time you enter into the department. Skeletons will certainly appear during the selection of police chief.
3. Learn as much as possible about the department. Take all positions offered.
4. Develop a thick skin. Realize there will be a lot of struggles and that there will be days that you think you can't survive.

5. Develop external support systems. Utilize other deputy chiefs or police chiefs throughout the country.
6. Study and be prepared for promotional exams.
7. Develop a reputation for a high work ethic. Demonstrate integrity.
8. Timing is important in the promotional process. Be prepared.

The following recommendations are offered to the law enforcement community to enhance the number of women entering into the law enforcement field.

1. Recruitment needs to be improved. Recruitment of women needs to occur in areas such as colleges, sporting teams, social work students, nursing, military, etc. The job should be explained to recruits with as much detail as possible.
2. Mentoring is very important. There are numerous organizations that women can now utilize for assistance.
3. Zero tolerance for sexual harassment.
4. Gender discrimination training is very important.
5. Understand the importance of gender diversity in law enforcement.

Perceptions of Deputy Police Chiefs and Realities of Police Chiefs

It was also the purpose of this study to determine the perceptions the deputy chiefs had about the role of the police chief. These perceptions were then compared to the realities revealed by the interviews with the police chiefs to determine if the perceptions of the deputy chiefs were accurate.

The female deputy police chiefs in this study were very confident they could walk into the position of chief of police understanding what the job entailed. They believed that they were well prepared and understood all of the nuances of the position of police

chief. However, some of the deputy chiefs did state that they realized that making decisions without someone to consult and some of the political aspects of the chief's job might be difficult, but nothing that they could not handle. This is indicative of the confidence these successful female deputy police chiefs demonstrated throughout the interviews and according to the participants, this is the type of confidence that a female leader in a male-dominated environment needs to survive and succeed.

The female police chiefs stated that they, too, believed that they understood the role of chief while still a deputy chief; however, they were surprised that some of the problems inherent in the position were more difficult than they expected. The chiefs specifically indicated three difficult areas: lone decision making, personnel issues, and the political aspects of the job.

It was clear that the deputy chiefs do have some perception of the difficult areas they might face as chief. Although, leaders will face different challenges during their tenure as chief, but it is possible that the deputy chiefs really can't understand what the position entails until they reach that pinnacle.

Discussion

Metaphor

As the data were collected, coded, and analyzed meaning had to be generated from the findings. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest a tactic of "making metaphors." This is a method of achieving integration among many diverse pieces of data. It is a literary device that compares similarities of data while disregarding their differences.

The five identified themes: female challenge in a male-dominated environment, personal characteristics of the female police officer and the female police chief, the

advantages of females in law enforcement, the participants' leadership styles, and advice to female officers reveal a complex experience. The experience of the five female deputy police chiefs and the five police chiefs is one that can be represented metaphorically by the dance step.

There are many styles of dance steps. There are dance steps that move forward, some that move backward, and some that move to the side. There are dance steps that are fast and those that are slow. Some dance steps are done with a partner, some alone, and some among a group of people. There are dance steps that are high stepping and loud and those that are quiet and small. The participants in this study have danced and will continue to dance many different steps in their law enforcement careers.

The women often had to dance alone to their own music to prove to the men that they were capable of handling the law enforcement job. They had to dance back to patrol when they received promotions. They had to dance quietly and softly when they made the promotion and their male counterparts didn't. They had to dance with a partner when they worked side by side with the male officers on the street. They always had to be one step ahead of the men in testing and proving they could handle the job. They continue to dance as a group with their communities, their city officials and their departments as deputy police chiefs and police chiefs. And as in the early dance contests, the participants in this study were left standing: they were the survivors.

During her keynote address to the 1988 Democratic Convention then Texas Governor Ann Richards pointed out the irony that while Fred Astaire received top billing Ginger Rogers did everything that he did. She just did it backwards and in high heels. (O'Gorman, 1994)

Counter Story

Gardner (1995) stated that there is a possibility of a counter story in every research paper. It is certainly possible that the participants in this study may have presented a positive image for this study rather than portray themselves or other women in a negative light. The participants indicated that they faced harassment during their rise to the top, but through perseverance they made it. On the other hand, it may be that they are down playing their difficulties to reach the top and may be giving the wrong impression to those women who attempt to enter this career field. They are emphasizing that anyone can overcome the adversities; they did.

The participants also indicated that they were mentored throughout their careers, but by men not women. They stated that they have mentored women and that they continue to mentor other women who are advancing through the ranks of their departments. However, as the literature showed women often don't want to help other women succeed (Heim, 1992). Only interviews with the participant's staff and co-workers could show if the participants are successful mentors.

Conclusion

Today's policing is not the same as it was twenty to thirty years ago. Policing is no longer just dealing with drunks and brawls. As the criminals become sophisticated so must the police departments. Today's crimes include Internet, computer, and white-collar crime. This type of crime requires different styles of policing—brain over brawn—one in which women are well suited. One size no longer fits all.

Women entering the field of law enforcement need to understand that a law enforcement career is dangerous, stressful, and filled with challenges. Officers risk their

lives; they are the first to arrive at the scenes of homicides and suicides; they make decisions that separate children from their parents; they carry weapons; they have the authority to kill if necessary. They certainly deal with society's ills. Law enforcement is an occupation that requires sacrifices from individuals and families. A woman's beliefs and ideas about life are challenged, and it is easy to become cynical, cold, and hard.

Women who want to be leaders in law enforcement must begin their rise to the top when they walk into a department as a rookie officer. According to the participants they were watched and evaluated throughout their careers. Women must learn to network early in their careers. Like men, they must attend meetings, meet the community, join community boards and network with the city leaders in order to promote to chief. The police chief position is a highly political position that is selected by the municipal and community leaders. Female officers that are able to prove themselves to their peers must now prove to outsiders that they can handle the job.

Women lead less than one percent of all police departments today. A police department is a rigid hierarchical environment, and it often takes an officer twenty to thirty years to promote through six to eight levels to reach the top position. Today only 14.3 percent of all sworn officers in policing are women. It is clear from the numbers that it is going to take some time for women to gain numbers as police chiefs.

Men often use the term ambitious when they talk about being promoted and moving to the top of the organization. It was interesting to note that these women did not use the term ambitious; instead they used the term committed. They repeatedly stated that women need to be committed to the job; they need to care about their employees and

their community. Ambition might get one to the top of the organization but being committed might keep them there.

The participants earned their way to the top and have had to earn the respect of their communities, municipal leaders and their staff. They were not afforded the gift of the “white male privilege” where respect is given merely by one’s presence. But it is possible that not having the privilege was an asset. Even though the “privilege” may confer power, it does not necessarily confer moral strength. Those who haven’t depended upon this conferred dominance may have developed traits and qualities that may never develop in those who do (McIntosh, 1988).

Women who want a career in law enforcement should be able to walk into a police department and work free of harassment and bias from the officers and the community. It will take strong, confident women working together to change this systemic problem in law enforcement, but women are one step closer to making this change when a female reaches the position of deputy chief of police or police chief.

In conclusion, the participants in this study appeared to be open and honest. It was apparent to the researcher that they were very committed to their departments, their fellow officers and their communities. They admitted facing obstacles and struggling at times during their careers but they also talked about the fun, the rewards and the self-satisfaction. They are not shy, self-effacing, overly-sensitive females. The female participants entered into a career in law enforcement motivated by strong personal values, they persevered in male-dominated, hierarchical environment and were successful. They exemplify the new style of policing.

Recommendations for Additional Research

Based on the findings of this study and the questions it generated, the following recommendations for additional study are presented:

1. A study that compares the leadership styles of men and women police chiefs.
2. A replication of this study focusing on black and Hispanic women trying to succeed to the top position in a police department.
3. A replication of this study focusing on black and Hispanic men trying to succeed to the top position in a police department.
4. For comparative purposes, a study to determine if it is easier for a female to be elected sheriff or appointed a municipal police chief.

Epilogue

It is the hope of this researcher that this study will contribute to a better understanding of the role of female deputy police chiefs and female police chiefs in the male-dominated municipal law enforcement agencies. Also, it is hoped that this understanding will assist law enforcement to help bring about law enforcement agencies where men and women are hired and promoted on an equal basis, where women are treated with respect, and where their contribution to law enforcement can be recognized and valued.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Participant Contact Letter

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

(Date)

(Name of participant)
(Address)
(City, State, Zip Code)

Dear (Participant)

My name is Sandy Wells and I am a doctoral student at Colorado State University. Under the supervision of Dr. Timothy Davies, I am in the process of my dissertation which is titled "Women in Policing, The Experiences of Female Police Chiefs and Deputy Police Chiefs." This is a qualitative study using in-depth interviews to explore the question of what your experiences have been on your journey to Chief of Police. I feel that the information gained from these interviews will be helpful to women who wish to enter into a career in law enforcement and to law enforcement agencies ability to increase female officers.

You are one of the few women in the United States that has earned the status of Police Chief and I would like to interview you for this study. The interviews will be held in Baltimore, Maryland during the National Association of Women in Policing. I will call you in the next few days to see if you would be willing to participate in an interview that will last approximately one to one and a half hours.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (719) 583-6149. Thank you for considering my request.

Sincerely,

Sandy Wells
Doctoral Candidate
School of Education
Colorado State University

APPENDIX B

Consent Form

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY
INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

TITLE OF PROJECT: Women in Policing – The Experiences of Female Police Chiefs and Deputy Police Chiefs

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Timothy Davies, Ph. D., School of Education, Colorado State University (970) 491-5199

NAME OF CO-INVESTIGATOR: Sandra K. Wells, Doctoral Candidate, School of Education, Colorado State University (719) 544-9771

CONTACT NAMES AND PHONE NUMERS FOR QUESTIONS/PROBLEMS:
Sandra K. Wells, (719) 544-9771
Timothy Davies, (970) 491-5199

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH: The purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of the experiences of female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs throughout their career in policing. The qualitative interview research method will be used resulting in a description of themes and patterns of the experience. The research will be conducted in Colorado and Baltimore, Maryland by interviewing female police chiefs and deputy police chiefs. The research question we will seek to answer is “ What are the experiences of female police chiefs and deputy chiefs of police?”

PROCEDURES TO BE USED: At the beginning of each interview a signed consent form will be reviewed and signed by the participants, with a copy given to each participant. The interview will take approximately 1 to 1½ hours and will be audiotaped. In addition, some field notes may be taken. If necessary a follow-up phone call will be made for additional information. The data will be analyzed for the development of themes and patterns. These themes and patterns will be discussed with the participants to be sure that the experiences described are accurately reflected. Upon completion of this process on all interviewees a comprehensive analysis will be made. When the dissertation is complete the audiotapes will be destroyed.

RISKS INHERENT IN THE PROCEDURES: There are no known risks. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, but the researchers have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.

Page 1 of 2 Subject initials _____ Date _____

BENEFITS: There are no known benefits associated directly for you as a participant in the study, but the information gained from you should be helpful both to women who wish to have a career in law enforcement and to city police agencies.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Confidentiality of the individual names will be protected. The names of the participants will be known only by the Investigator and the Co-Investigator and all materials relating to the interviews will be kept in confidential files and will be accessible to the Investigator and Co-Investigator. Upon completion of the dissertation the audiotapes will be destroyed. No other materials will identify the names of the participants.

LIABILITY: The Colorado governmental Immunity Act determines and may limit Colorado State University's legal responsibility if an injury happens because of this study. Claims against the University must be filed within 180 days of the injury.

Questions about subjects' rights may be directed to Celia S. Walker, Office of Regulatory Compliance, (970) 491-1563.

PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Your signature acknowledges that you have read the information stated and willingly sign this consent form. Your signature also acknowledges that you have received on the date signed, a copy of this document containing 2 pages.

Participant name (printed)

Participant signature

Date

Witness to signature (Project Staff)

Date

Page 2 of 2

Subject initials _____ Date _____