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Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women
Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions

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A Dissertation

Submitted to the PhD in Leadership and Change Program of Antioch University

in partial fulfillment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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This dissertation has been approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD in Leadership and Change, Graduate School of Leadership and Change, Antioch University.

Dissertation Committee

- Elizabeth Holloway, PhD, Committee Chair
- Lize Booysen, DBL, Committee Member
- Dorothy M. Schulz, PhD Committee Member

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Who I am today and what I have been able to achieve was because of the shoulders of those I was able to stand on to discover my own truth, while building on the lessons of others who have gone before me. This dissertation journey would not have been possible without the strength and resilience of the group of “badass” women who made it to top executive leadership positions in policing.

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Dedication

To my maternal grandmother (Nene) and my maternal grandfather (Dada) who have both transitioned: I thank you for bringing into the world, the woman I call mommy, ma'am, Joanie, Justice, Rev. This study is dedicated to my mommy Joan.

Mommy, you represent a significant role in my life and on this PhD journey. Because of you mommy, I am who I am today. You represent woman as leader, and with resilience and drive you ensured that your children understood the importance of self-respect and of achieving beyond all odds. With that resilience, you ensured that we understood the role of education in becoming a better person, a more caring person, a person who would give back to a society that needed care and love. Thank you, mommy!

Abstract

The world of women in law enforcement is a thought-provoking one that has received increasing attention both in academia as well as in practice over the past few decades. Even more intriguing, and despite advances in the profession, is the low number of women in executive leadership positions in law enforcement. There is a vast underrepresentation of women in top executive leadership positions across the 18,000 law enforcement agencies in the United States. The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the complex journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions. Embracing a positive psychology approach, the study used grounded theory in combination with situational analysis to answer one overarching question: What have been the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank? This allowed for a comprehensive exploration of the micro, or individual level factors, alongside the meso or macro factors, encompassing larger group interactions, social structures, and institutions, that from the women's perception had been critical in their leadership experiences. The study offers a theoretical model—*A Web of Intersections*—as a framework for understanding the complex journey of women, and the social processes and multiple intersections they have learned to navigate that can in combination, help them to advance to top executive policing leadership positions. The women in this study are agentic and not simply following the lead. They are active, deliberate, and intentional participants in their own journeys, making critical and strategic decisions that can gain entry to policy decision-making that can result in sustainable change. This dissertation is available in open access at AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive, <http://aura.antioch.edu/> and OhioLINK ETD Center, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>

Keywords: Grounded Theory, Situational Analysis, Executive Leadership, Policing Culture, Women in Policing, Intersectionality, Equity, Inclusion

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Chapter I: Introduction

Women in law enforcement have received increasing attention both in academia and in practice over the past few decades. Despite their advances in the profession, there are few women in executive leadership positions in law enforcement. As of 2000, there were fewer than 200 women leading United States police departments and sheriff's offices; of that number, 157 were police chiefs and 25 were sheriffs (Schulz, 2004).

Within the United States there are approximately 18,000 law enforcement agencies with roughly 15,000 representing the most common type of law enforcement agencies, specifically local police, and sheriff departments (Reaves, 2015). However, despite the large number of law enforcement agencies, and although a career in law enforcement has increasingly become a viable path for both sexes, women are still vastly underrepresented in the profession. In 2001, the National Center for Women and Policing (2002) reported a 10.7% representation of females in agencies with 100-plus sworn personnel; an increase across a 29-year span between 1972 and 2001 with decreasing trends posted in 1999. In 2005, women held 11.6% of police officer positions (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2006). Eight years later in 2013, that number rose to 12.2% female representation of full-time sworn personnel, compared to 87.8% for males (Reaves, 2015).

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) report, *Local Police Department, 2013*, highlighted a meager 4% increase over a 26-year span between 1987 and 2013 across all agencies (Reaves, 2015). That report also showed that among local police departments, about one in eight police officers were female, including nearly 1 in 10 first-line supervisors (9.5%); and an estimated 3% of local police chiefs were female, including around 7% of the chiefs in jurisdictions with 250,000 or more residents (Reaves, 2015). Based on data from 2014, the FBI's Uniform Crime Report

(UCR) showed 11.9% full time enforcement officers as female (FBI, 2015). The most recent numbers for female representation in law enforcement was reported in the 2017 UCR, which indicated that 12.5% of full-time sworn officers were females (FBI, 2018). This latest figure is from across 13,128 of the 18,000 agencies within the United States and shows a 0.6% increase from the 2014 numbers. With the numbers remaining relatively stagnant, many have questioned why there are so few women in law enforcement sworn positions, with much of the research concentrating predominantly on the challenges and barriers women face in this male-dominated profession.

However, through my years of working with a number of law enforcement agencies in the United States, seeing first-hand the workplace dynamics experienced by women in this male-dominated space, and engaging with the literature at the intersection of women, law enforcement, and leadership, I have grown to appreciate the levels of complexity surrounding women in law enforcement, and, more so, women in top executive policing leadership positions, an area that has not been fully developed in the literature.

My interest throughout this empirical exploration has been in trying to understand this complexity. Therefore, to appreciate and accurately represent the lives and journeys of women in top executive policing leadership positions, a multidimensional approach was utilized because numerous factors, as reported in the literature, can and do have an impact on women's promotional advancement. In fact, there are many stories of women suing police departments after being bypassed for a higher-level position either due to sex or racial bias or promotional discrimination (Corsianos, 2009; Horne, 2006; International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1998; Schulz, 2004). Horne (2006) affirmed that these discrimination lawsuits have forced

changes, and in some cases have resulted in court-ordered consent decrees, a mutually binding agreement that require agencies to change their policies and how they conduct business.

I was interested in understanding what the journeys of women in police executive leadership positions look like. However, I shifted from a focus on the challenges, pathology and problems women have experienced, embracing a positive organizational psychology approach, looking at meaningful experiences and interactions of human thriving (Peterson & Seligman, 2003; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). In other words, I sought answers to questions about the factors that have elevated them to the top:

1. What is it that helps women to advance in policing to gain the top executive leadership position?
2. What assumptions did women in policing have when they made the decision to pursue advancing up the ranks?
3. What are the many ways that women navigate when they are moving forward in their careers?
4. What is happening when a woman in policing moves to an executive leadership position?
5. How does she understand what is happening to her as she moves through the ranks to an executive leadership position?

I was interested in getting answers to these questions by asking one overarching question of the women with whom I had engaged throughout my dissertation study: What have been the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank? Important for this study was an understanding of the situation at the micro, meso, and macro levels, looking at societal forces of social culture and policing that from their perception had been critical in their leadership experience.

The limited research in this area (reviewed in Chapter II) and the questions above, suggested the use of an exploratory research approach that would consider the breadth and depth

of this phenomenon while capturing the rich details of each individual's lived experience on her ascendance to the executive policing leadership position.

Purpose and Rationale

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the complex journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions, with the goal of generating knowledge that can help to create a path that may bolster the advancement of women into top positions.

Avra Siegel, then Deputy Director of the White House Council on Women and Girls, suggested that the "law enforcement profession as a whole will continue to improve as women bring their skills and experience to leadership roles in law enforcement organizations across the country and around the world" (Siegel, 2011, para. 5). This indicates an intriguing and significant paradigm shift, a fundamental change in assumptions: moving away from women being historically unwelcome in a male-dominated police culture that had limited roles for women, especially at the leadership level, to a time and place of women police officers earning a measure of recognition through their ability to perform essential police functions. With this change, has come a rising level of optimism concerning the progress of women in policing (Carlan & McMullan, 2009; DeJong, 2004). However, the fact still remains that even with the growing optimism and numbers of women entering the police workforce, gender equality, gender integration and opportunities for women to advance, and participate in forming police policy have been strongly resisted (Price, 1996). In spite of the current environment of a slow but steady increase in employment equality, there is still a lag in female inclusion and female involvement in leadership positions, materialized by the inability of women being an integral part of and having a voice in the policy decisions in law enforcement. Gender inequality and inequity still appears to be a defining aspect of law enforcement.

Although there have been advances for women in the workplace and in law enforcement, there is still a substantial gap in the leadership and policing literature regarding women as leaders in policing (Koeppel, 2014) and about the journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions. Kringen (2014) explained that the majority of research on women in policing has typically tried to understand the role of gender in policing. And much of the available literature has been valuable in articulating the challenges and barriers women face in law enforcement (Cordner & Cordner, 2011; del Carmen, Greene, Nation, & Osho, 2007; Guajardo, 2016; Gültekin, Leichtman, & Garrison, 2010; Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Kurtz, 2012; Kurtz, Linnemann, & Williams, 2012; Lonsway, 2008; S. E. Martin, 1994; Sousa & Gauthier, 2008; Yu, 2015). For studies that looked more closely at women in law enforcement leadership, or promotional advancement/aspiration among females in law enforcement, the focus has still mainly been around the barriers women experience in attempting to break the glass ceiling and gain promotional advancement to achieve leadership positions in law enforcement (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Derks, Van Laar, Ellemers, & De Groot, 2011; Gau, Terrill, & Paoline, 2013; Guajardo, 2016; Haarr & Morash, 2013; Yu, 2015). The literature shows that women across a broad spectrum of male-dominated careers, experience similar challenges of gender bias, promotional discrimination, and being forced to adopt male characteristics (Casey, 2014) by becoming one of the “good ole boys.”

The Problem

Notwithstanding advances of female involvement in law enforcement, and even with evidence that women and men are equally capable of doing police work (S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007), there is still widespread bias in police hiring, selection practices, and recruitment policies which continue to keep the number of women in policing at a very low percentage (National

Center for Women and Policing, 2002). In a 2011 White House briefing entitled *Advancing Women's Leadership in Law Enforcement*, it was acknowledged that “although women make up 47 to 50% of the workforce in the United States, they constitute only up to 20% of the law enforcement workforce—officers and civilians—and are underrepresented in the management ranks” (Siegel, 2011, para. 3).

Although there has been progress for women in law enforcement in the 21st century, growth is slow (Horne, 2006). Both International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP, 1998) and National Center for Women and Policing (2002) reports acknowledged that women police officers are underused and undervalued in law enforcement. Gender inequality and perceived lack of opportunity and support to achieve leadership positions still exists. Female officers still face gender discrimination and a “brass ceiling” (Schulz, 2004) that inhibits promotion. There is acknowledgment that female police officers have come a long way since their inclusion into the field in the 1800s. Despite the progress however, women police officers are still faced with both internal barriers (sexual harassment; being compared to male peers; lack of leadership; lack of mentoring; male dominated police culture; lack of promotional opportunity; organizational structures; tokenism and; underrepresentation) and external (family/maternity commitment; forced litigation; lack of legislation and; socialization) ones (Grace, 2012).

While an article in the *New York Times* (Mroz, 2008), suggested that female chiefs of police are no longer a novelty, with a new wave of female police chiefs being more readily accepted into the top jobs the remarkably low number of women in leadership positions in law enforcement in the United States must be acknowledged. Mroz (2008) suggested that at the time of his article only 1% of all police chiefs across all agency types were female.

Situating the Problem

Even with the advancement of women to leadership positions, to say they continue to lag behind their male counterparts is a gross underestimation of the current landscape. Statements like “women must be seen and not heard,” and “a woman’s place is in the home,” are not only all too familiar but may have been embraced and adopted by women, consciously or unconsciously, as guiding principles. In some cultures, such statements may be becoming a thing of the past, with women having active roles in both the home and the workplace, exercising transfer of roles and responsibilities across both. But in other spaces there is anecdotal evidence of such sentiments persisting in male-dominated professions.

The landscape for women in policing in the United States started shifting with an expansion of the traditional women police officers’ responsibilities that primarily involved the handling of women and children (Schulz, 2003). This was facilitated by a sequence of events. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act. In 1969, President Nixon issued Executive Order 11478, which dictated that the federal government could not use sex as a qualification for hiring and which resulted in both the Executive Protective Service and the Secret Service hiring female agents. And, in 1973, the Crime Control Act, an amendment to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, stipulated that agencies receiving federal funds were prohibited from discriminating in employment practices. (Schulz, 1995). This all culminated in 1972 when Congress passed Title VII an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited employment discrimination based in race, color, religion sex and national origin. The implementation of the equal employment standards afforded women the same opportunities as men in the workforce, leading to the number of women police officers increasing in the late 1970s (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007). This extension of Title VII paved the way for women to increase not

only their numbers in the profession, but also their responsibilities, “transitioning women officers from social workers to crimefighters” (Schulz, 1995, p. 131). Women now had equal opportunity for patrol duties (Sulton & Townsey, 1981), in hiring, recruitment, promotions, and working conditions, including responding to violent situations (Cuadrado, 1995).

Indeed, the rapid rise in women’s labor force participation was a major development in the labor market during the second half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, although women’s labor force participation increased dramatically from the 1960s through the 1980s, there was a slowing in the 1990s, reaching a peak of 60%. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2011), reported that in 2010 there were approximately 65 million women in the labor force, and 53% of these were concentrated in three industries: education and health services, trade, transportation and utilities, and local government. Women continue to be overrepresented in some industries and underrepresented in others. Valoy (2013) observed that although women make up half the United States population, they are only 13.2% of police officers, 2.6% of construction workers, 13% of executive chefs, 24% of engineers and scientists, and that 11% of U.S tech start-ups have female founders or CEOs. Of the Fortune 500’s CEOs, only 20 are females. By 2016, women participating in the labor force declined to 56.8%. In that same year, women accounted for 52% of all workers employed in management, professional, and related occupations, 34.7% in professions related to justice, public order, and safety activities, and 34.4% in national security and international affairs (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017).

In sum, while there have been advances in the United States regarding gender participation in the labor force, there is still a conspicuous shortfall in female participation in some careers, including law enforcement, with female representation across the profession still

remaining relatively stagnant at 12.5% (FBI, 2018), and women executive leadership suspected at being at around 3% (Reaves, 2015).

Research Approach

The main goal of this work was to understand the journey of women to top executive police leadership positions, helping to infuse the discussion of women moving to the top by articulating the factors that helped to elevate these women in a male-dominated profession. This was done by using grounded theory (GT) in combination with situational analysis. Lee (1999) suggested that an underlying assumption in GT is that social phenomena are complex. Accordingly, the specific steps taken to study complex social phenomena need to be flexible. Women in law enforcement executive leadership, while seemingly a simple topic, is steeped in complexity needing a methodology that allows for flexibility. Chapter III makes the case for and nature of GT in greater detail.

Positionality

People create stories in their lives and chart paths from different experiences and from others. Often, things that cannot be understood get ignored because such situations cause imbalance in lives. For many, this imbalance causes cognitive dissonance, having conflicting attitudes, beliefs and/or behaviors. This causes a feeling of discomfort for many women, leading to transformation both in how a situation is perceived and in the beliefs around that situation, possibly changing behavior, to restore balance. For some, the journeys needed are clear, while for others, it takes more time to get there; but when they do, they become more in tune with their surroundings, gaining a clearer vision and path, and a better understanding of where they need to be.

I grew up in that patriarchal society where edicts like, “women should be seen and not heard,” and “a woman’s place is in the home,” prevailed. My journey crossed spaces of abuse and challenges, spaces of extreme self-reflection and sustained growth, spaces I never knew I would experience as a child growing up in a fairly rural area in Jamaica, spaces where women were never included, but where women of power and strength stepped in with a strong voice to change the status quo and fight against female abuse, and against gender inequality and gender inequity.

Decades later, I found myself working across many law enforcement agencies within the United States that are navigating, developing, building, or sustaining programs geared towards providing a more appropriate response to persons with mental illness who come in contact with law enforcement. In this space, I experienced firsthand the gender dynamics in an extremely male-dominated profession. I sat in rooms with law enforcement rank and file officers as well as executive leaders. During these encounters three things became glaringly obvious: there is a small number of women in law enforcement; there is a miniscule number of women in top executive policing leadership positions; and, when women were in the room, they had a diminished voice in situations where their male counterparts of equal or higher position in the agency were present. This evoked the same experiences I knew as a child—women (in law enforcement) were being seen, but not being heard. I thought this was a perfect opportunity to merge my academic life with my career path, and my passion to change the gender biases I had experienced growing up. I began to focus my academic work around the topic of women in policing, and more specifically, women in top executive policing leadership positions. I wanted to understand the extent of the research being conducted around this topic of women in top executive policing leadership positions, trying to get a better understanding of women’s decisions to join law enforcement and the journeys they have experienced getting to the top. This curiosity took me to where I am today,

trying to understand the research question articulated earlier—What have been the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank?

Definition of Key Terms

The following definitions of terms will help provide clarity throughout this study. This research will engage in a space where titles and ranks are of utmost importance to those involved and provide an indication of status and power across the profession. Familiarity with the jargon used and worth of each position is important to understand the journeys of these women.

Law enforcement department/agency: According to the U. S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (n.d.), law enforcement is “the generic name for the activities of the agencies responsible for maintaining public order and enforcing the law, particularly the activities of prevention, detection, and investigation of crime and the apprehension of criminals” (para. 14). Within the United States, law enforcement is fragmented among different agencies at the local, state, and federal levels of government. The majority of agencies—12,766 as of 2013 according to Reaves (2015)—are local police departments operating at the municipal level. Other public law enforcement agencies include sheriff’s departments organized at the county level; state police, federal law enforcement agencies, and special law enforcement organizations with specialized jurisdictions (including tribal police). This does not include the private security industry, which is another essential component of American law enforcement (Willis, 2017).

The following is a description of the different law enforcement agencies.

Federal police: Federal law enforcement have the responsibility of enforcing directives of the federal courts. For the most part they do not engage in the activities that local and county police normally provide. Their primary duties involve investigations and control of federal crimes. They are also responsible for protecting federal property and federal officials. They

sometimes provide training and logistical support for state and local police (Cox, Marchionna, & Fitch, 2017).

State police: All states have some type of state police agency. In addition to basic tasks, many provide statewide communications of computer systems, assist in crime-scene analysis and multijurisdictional investigations, provide training for other police agencies, and collect, analyze, and disseminate information on crime patterns in the state. State police have the responsibility of traffic enforcement on the highways, particularly in the area outside of city and township limits. Some focus almost exclusively on traffic control, and others maintain more general enforcement powers. Typically, they are empowered to provide law enforcement services anywhere in the state (Cox et al., 2017).

County police: County police are essentially municipal police that operate on a county-wide basis, but do not have any of the nonlaw enforcement roles of the county sheriff. Less than 1% of all local departments are county police (Walker & Katz, 2008)

Municipal and local police: Local police departments represent 77% of all law enforcement agencies. This is comprised of 98% municipal and township police departments (Reaves, 2015). Municipal police play a more complex role than any other level of law enforcement, one heavily influenced by the external environment. Cities and big cities represent the most complex environments. City police have the heaviest responsibility for dealing with serious crimes, which are disproportionately concentrated in cities. They are also responsible for difficult order maintenance problems and sometimes required to provide a wide range of emergency services. The typical municipal department is in a small town. Slightly less than 50% employ fewer than 10 sworn officers. Small town and rural police operate in a vastly different context than big-city police (Walker & Katz, 2008).

Law enforcement officer ranking: law enforcement officers are individuals who ordinarily carry a firearm and a badge, have full arrest powers, and are paid from governmental funds set aside specifically for sworn law enforcement representatives (Reaves, 2015). Law enforcement officers are differentiated on the basis of rank, which is used to establish position hierarchy. An officer carries his or her rank and is restricted to roles assigned to that rank until promoted. Agencies employ a strict organizational ranking system as a chain of command that identifies who communicates with whom and identifies lines of authority as a way of maintaining discipline, and forwarding communication (Cox et al., 2017). Departments exhibit staggering variety in the way they are organized, with some having four to five rank levels, whereas others have 10 to 12 rank levels (Maguire, 2003). Ranks in a municipal department from the lowest to the highest, typically include¹:

Police officer. This is the most common of sworn officer positions. Police officers fulfill a variety of roles to help maintain public safety. They often respond to emergency and nonemergency calls, patrol assigned areas, obtain warrants, arrest suspects, and testify in court

Police detective. Police detectives assume investigative function and are typically assigned to a specialized unit or division—such as narcotics, gang activity, or robbery.

Police corporal. Corporals are entry-level supervisors. They typically supervise a small group of administrative workers and maintain patrol and investigatory responsibilities. They may assume duties of police sergeant in case of absence. Many departments do not use this rank.

Police sergeant. Sergeants supervise a squad of officers or detectives. For departments without corporals, sergeants are the first-line supervisors. They typically coordinate activity at

¹ This compilation is based on paraphrasing of several online sources: Flavin (2019), Los Angeles Police Department (2020), OnlineWVSU (2020), and U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2020).

crime scenes, and assume roles that help maintain professional standards, making sure department policies and procedures are applied to law enforcement activities.

Police lieutenant. The police lieutenant is generally a middle management position and typically in command of a group of officers and subordinate supervisors. The rank also assumes administrative roles, such as preparing budgets and maintaining supplies. Lieutenants act as a conduit between upper management and lower ranks, taking broad directives from superiors and translating them into actionable items for lower ranks. They often serve as assistants to police captains and may assume that position as commanding officer in case of absence.

Police captain. Police captains are considered commanding officers and manage specific divisions or districts within the department. They ensure compliance among officers and detectives with regards to department policies and standards, prepare and monitor programs and budgets and train personnel. In some metropolitan departments, the rank of police captain is the highest rank achieved by civil service promotion. Ranks above captain may be appointed by the chief of police. In some departments, there may also be police deputy inspectors, inspectors, majors, and police colonels.

Deputy police chief. The deputy chief is often found in large municipal areas and may serve as the bureau commander, responsible for the effective administration of a bureau or division of police such as patrol, investigations, and technical staff personnel.

Assistant police chief. This position is under the direction of the police chief and is common in large metropolitan departments that may have multiple assistant chiefs.

Police chief: The chief of police is the highest-ranking officer in a police department, and the top authority of the police department. The police chief is responsible for planning, efficient administration, and operation of a police department. In the United States, a police chief may

report to a mayor, a city manager, a civilian oversight board made up of politicians, an airport manager, or a college president (Schulz, 2004).

Police commissioner. The police commissioner is the CEO of a department, and is not a uniformed officer and is sometimes called a police superintendent. This position is more common in some larger metropolitan areas and is an appointment by the city's mayor to oversee a large police department or, in some jurisdictions, multiple public safety-related departments.

Equally important for this study is an understanding of the definitions of different levels of inquiry on which this study will be based (Blackstone, 2012; Clarke, Friese, & Washburn, 2018; Kelle, 2007)

Micro-level. This will include an examination of the smallest levels of interaction, looking at the individual, their personal motivations or identity, the role of human action and agency, and the interactions of the individual with people around them, in small group settings.

Meso-level. This looks at larger group interactions and behaviors in the workplace, for instance at the departmental level. This level of interaction falls between the micro- and macro-levels.

Macro-level. At this level is an examination of social structures and institutions, for instance the institution of policing. At this level, the study will look at large-scale patterns.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter I outlines the area for investigation, discusses possible research questions, and examines the purpose and rationale for this work. This chapter situates the problem in the broader issues of gender roles, a brief history of women in policing, and the contemporary landscape of women leaders in law enforcement.

Chapter II examines the literature around women in law enforcement, and, more specifically, the journey of women into positions of leadership. This chapter also provides a review and critique of the methodological approaches used in the study of women in law enforcement.

Chapter III presents the methodology used for this study, discussing the methodological fit of grounded theory, and providing an overview of the GT process involved in investigating women executive leadership positions in law enforcement. The chapter also provides details on the sample and analytical techniques used.

Chapter IV reflects the dimensional analysis interpreted from the data obtained from participant interviews.

Chapter V presents the situational analysis and maps interpreted from data obtained from participant interviews, expert artifacts, documents, and observations throughout the study.

Chapter VI presents a theoretical model for understanding the complex journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions.

Chapter II: Literature Review

To Review or Not to Review: Literature Review in Grounded Theory Research

In 1967, Glaser and Strauss published the original version of their work, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. The authors' intent in this seminal work was directed "toward improving social scientists' capacities for generating theory that will be relevant to their research" (Levers, 2013, p. vii). The goal was to discover an emerging theory that fit, worked to explain a process, and was understandable to those involved in the process. Glaser and Strauss were of the belief that while not everyone is equally skilled at developing a theory, everyone nonetheless could generate useful theory. They defined the researcher as an observer rather than a creator, external to the process. The researcher, without forcing the data to fit the theory, remains "open to what is actually happening" (Glaser, 1978, p. 3). Glaser and Strauss argued that identification of this theory can only be done if the researcher remains objective, removing any personal influence on the data. The researcher should also allow for participants' perspectives to come through rather than the researcher's, allowing the theory to emerge in its true sense (Glaser, 1978). The researcher observes an emergent theory that transcends and simplifies the data. The emergent theory is an imperfect apprehension of reality and is one of many theories that could emerge as research moves closer to the 'real' reality (Annells, 1997).

Since its inception to the present, grounded theory has evolved, and with its evolution have come increased discussions and concerns about the review of literature and the most appropriate time for that review to be conducted (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). For many who are from a conventional quantitative world, the literature review provides a window into the phenomenon being studied and serves a number of purposes. The literature review for a quantitative study aims to refine the research question, determine gaps in earlier research, and

identify a suitable design, and data collection method for a planned study (Hallberg, 2010). In contrast, the “when” and “how” of the literature search for qualitative studies is not as clear cut; certainly, grounded theory researchers have a difference of opinion on the appropriate time for the review to be conducted. Unlike its use in quantitative research, a literature review in grounded theory is not used as a theoretical background, but somewhat as data to be used by the analytic strategies of the researcher (Ramalho, Adams, Huggard, & Hoare, 2015).

The fathers of the methodology, Glaser and Strauss (1967), and later, Glaser (1978), advocated delaying the review of literature until after completion of the analysis. Their argument was that researchers should not be seeing their data through the lens of earlier ideas—that is, through “received theory” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 10). Instead, the researcher needs to remain as free and open as possible to discover (Thornberg, 2012). Glaser and Strauss suggested ignoring the literature of theory and focusing on the area under study in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated. In fact, the authors saw conducting a literature review prior to data collection as a constraining exercise rather than as a guiding one.

Critiquing the dictum. Charmaz (2014) and Thornberg (2012) rejected the assumption behind the argument for delaying the literature review that researchers remain uncritical of what they read and are easily persuaded. This is an underestimation of the “researcher’s ability to reflect upon the links between extant theories and concepts without imposing them on the data” (Thornberg, 2012, p. 245). Many authors rejected the dictate, arguing that Glaser and Strauss naively viewed the researcher as a *tabula rasa* (Dey, 1999; Layder, 1998). However, Glaser and Strauss (1967) did address that critique in their previous work, articulating that the researchers do not come to the research, nor do they approach reality, as a blank slate, but rather that they must have a perspective that will help to distill relevant data and abstract different categories from

scrutiny of the data (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Strauss and Corbin (1998) later acknowledged that researchers bring to their studies a substantial amount of experience in professional and disciplinary literature. But Glaser (2012) continued to hold fast to his dictum that grounded theorists should ignore the literature to avoid contamination by existing ideas, arguing against reading on the topic of interest, at least not in the field related to the study (Ramalho et al., 2015).

With the evolution of grounded theory, many have challenged the dictum to delay the literature review (Chalmers, 1976/1999; Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2005). Charmaz, an author associated with the constructivist version of grounded theory, argued against Glaser and Strauss's epistemological and theoretical foundation (Charmaz, 2000, 2006; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001), refuting the objectivist and positivist stance of previous versions of grounded theory.

Constructivism argues that meaning is created through the interaction of the interpreter and the interpreted (Crotty, 1998), a stance Charmaz (2000) supported, claiming that her approach to grounded theory "recognizes mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed" (p. 510). Charmaz (2014) acknowledged that grounded theorists often receive harsh criticisms for not giving due credit to the work previously done, reinventing the wheel, and reproducing common sense categories. She argued for the grounded theory researcher to give earlier works their due, and for scholars to complete a thorough, sharply focused review of the literature that strengthens the researchers' argument and credibility (Charmaz, 2014). She encouraged using the literature review without allowing it to stifle creativity or strangle the theory that will emerge through the grounded theory research. For her, "the literature review gives you an opportunity to set the stage for what you do in subsequent sections or chapters" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 308).

Thornberg (2012) also opposed the position of dismissing extant theoretical and research literature and called instead for an informed grounded theory. Thornberg identified several

problems with delaying the literature review, including that it would make it impossible for researchers to conduct studies in their own areas of expertise because it is virtually impossible to “unlearn” what researchers have been immersed in during the course of their careers.

Responding to the conundrum. To respond to this conundrum and controversy with the discourse of grounded theory methodology, El Hussein, Kennedy, and Oliver (2017) suggested that the literature review for grounded theory should involve a multistage nonlinear approach to the literature. The authors introduced a framework offering a reflexive, dynamic and integrative process for novice grounded theory researchers conducting a literature review “that allows the researcher to minimize preconceptions while maintaining the original intent of grounded theory methodology” (p. 1199). They argued that “emerging grounded theory researchers should acknowledge the importance of some level of literature review to guide scholarly exploration and generation of new knowledge” (p. 1200), and asserted “that grounded theory is best supported by a preliminary and iterative literature review characterized by a dynamic, reflexive, and integrative (DRI) framework” (p. 1201).

In the first stage of grounded theory research, the researcher should identify the gaps in the research, as this will lead the researcher to justify the need to conduct his or her research. Conducting this early stage literature review will also capture the “meso and macro perspectives that potentially shaped the thinking of the participants” (El Hussein et al., 2017, p. 1200). The participants’ lives are a bigger picture than immediately recognizable in everyday life, and it is the task of the grounded theory researcher to capture and explain the participant’s bigger picture and show how it relates to their everyday life as brought to light through participant observations and interviews This should be followed by the DRI framework that

provides a systematic approach establishing clarity regarding the rationale, while iteratively reconnecting to the researcher’s purpose of applying grounded theory. This

check-in guides the researcher to determine if the literature review informed concept generation that is grounded in data from the studied concern, behavior or process while minimizing preconceptions. This process requires critical appraisal identifying *why, what, when, how, and the extent* of the literature review. (El Hussein et al., 2017, p. 1201)

The Current Literature Review

For this dissertation, it would be naïve to ignore previous studies; and as someone who has been immersed in this area of research, it would be impossible to attempt to ignore the knowledge that I have accumulated over the years. It is also commonly argued that grounded theory is an effective research strategy for topics that have been subject to relatively little research and about which there is a paucity of knowledge (McCann & Clark, 2003; Payne, 2007). Women in top executive policing leadership positions fit this because there has been relatively little research done on the topic. Hallberg (2010) insisted on a fine line between avoiding the use of literature before study begins and being informed so that a study has enough focus. With the limited research specific to women in top executive policing leadership positions, I saw the review of literature as a way of gathering relevant data in order to appropriately put the study into context. Hallberg also argued that grounded theory researchers can mitigate against contamination by maintaining theoretical sensitivity throughout the grounded theory research.

Theoretical sensitivity refers to “the ability to understand and define phenomena in abstract terms and to demonstrate abstract relationships between studied phenomena” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 161). Originally, Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued for the researcher to be theoretically sensitive, a skill that is in continual development over the years of researchers’ thinking in theoretical terms about what they know. This provides “theoretical insight into his (sic) area of interest and an ability to make something of the insight . . . [allowing researchers] to conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data” (p. 46). Charmaz (1996) believed that any “worldview, disciplinary assumptions, theoretical proclivities and research

interests will influence his or her observations and emerging categories” (p. 32). This she saw as the researcher using their “background assumptions, proclivities and interests to sensitize them to look for certain issues and processes in their data,” which can then be used as “points of departure to look at data, to listen to interviewees and to think analytically about the data” (p. 32). Charmaz (2014) stated,

With this type of sensitivity, grounded theorists discern meanings in their emergent patterns and define the distinctive properties of their constructed categories concerning these patterns. Thus, theoretical sensitivity enables grounded theorists to construct analytic codes leading to abstract concepts that have clear empirical indicators and can be distinguished from other concepts. (p. 161)

Literature Review Related to Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions

This literature review begins with a brief history of policing in the United States, which is meant to assist the reader to understand the culture and context of law enforcement and to grasp the complexity and dynamic nature of women in top executive policing leadership positions. It then explores the world of women in policing, looking at their entry and evolution into the profession, and the impact of gendered expectations. It concludes by looking at women’s promotional aspiration and their emergence into positions of leadership.

A brief history of policing within the United States. American policing is a product of English heritage, which placed a high value on individual rights, the court system, various forms of punishment, different law enforcement agencies, and the English common law (Walker & Katz, 2008). This system evolved in a period of reactive rather than proactive policing, with no strategies in place for preventing crime or discovering criminal behavior (Uchida, 1989). In situations that would appear to demand a proactive response, male police responded to criminal behavior only when requested by victims or witnesses (Monkkonen, 1981). Three features of American law enforcement endure from the colonial period: a tradition of limited police authority, a tradition of local control of law enforcement agencies, and a highly decentralized and

fragmented system of law enforcement (Walker & Katz, 2008). In the United States there are over 18,000 law enforcement agencies today that are subject only to minimal coordination and little national control or regulation.

Modern American policing was established in the 1830s and 1840s, during a time of immigration, urbanization, and industrialization (Walker & Katz, 2008). Between the 1830s and 1900, American policing was defined largely by political influences of the time, marred by inefficiencies, corruption, and lack of professionalism among other features. During this period, police departments had few-to-no personnel standards, and only rarely did departments offer recruits any formal preservice training. New officers were generally handed a badge, a baton, and a copy of the department rules—if such rules existed—and then were sent out on patrol duties. Supervision was weak or nonexistent and officers easily evaded duty and spent time in establishments unrelated to work duties. Officers were selected almost entirely on the basis of their political connections; they had no job security and could be fired at will based on who had political power. Jobs in the police force were awarded mainly through patronage, or rewards from politicians to their friends. Consequently, the composition of the departments largely reflected the ethnic and religious make-up of the cities. If and when a new ethnic group assumed political power, that drove who was hired and what the department looked like. The majority of those hired were men, with a few female matrons, but no female sworn officers until the early 20th century (Walker & Katz, 2008).

Culture and context of law enforcement. Law enforcement as an institution is largely defined by its culture, organizational structure, and the organizational environment. That range of factors, internal and external to the organization, impact how it operates. Police culture has been and continues to be the subject of much interest (Chan, 1997; Nhan, 2014; O’Neill, 2016), largely

due to the impact it is believed to have on police behavior. While there have been decades of research focused on police officers and police work, there is strong argument that to fully understand either, the organizational context and culture must be comprehended (Wilson, 1989).

This culture was seen as,

A set of beliefs shared by police officers that stem from an adoption to hostile working conditions and are reinforced through a process of socialization and solidarity . . . [and is] frequently described in such terms as monolithic, homogenous, authoritarian, suspicious, cynical, pessimistic, macho, elitist, misogynist, distrustful, insular, socially isolated, and highly resistant to change. (Workman-Stark, 2017, p. 20)

Law enforcement as a bureaucracy. Similar to other large-scale organizations, police departments share three important characteristics: “a complex and contradictory normative environment, a variable clientele and resource base, and a bureaucratic structure” (Lundman, 1980, p. 6). The idea of a pure bureaucracy was developed by Max Weber (1922/1968) with the bureaucratic form of leadership being defined as the ideal way of organizing government agencies. Peak (2010) summarized Weber’s six major principles or characteristics of a bureaucracy as:

1. A strict hierarchy that is formalized by the leadership and strictly adhered to;
2. an organization controlled by immutable rules, regulations, or laws;
3. structured along the lines of specialties where people with like talents are grouped together;
4. having two missions: “Up-focus,” meaning it focuses on the board of directors or stockholders or “In-focus,” which means the organization serves a product-oriented goal such as increasing profits market share;
5. having impersonal bureaucratic leadership that is about performance, not the worker; and
6. employment based on the most technically proficient.

With the current focus of women in top executive positions as applied within the context on policing, I am compelled to think of a system that is tightly coupled (Burke, 2011), a system of

power, and one that exhibits the major characteristics of a bureaucracy. Within policing there is a hierarchy of authority and chain of command, an administrative staff, division of labor, specializations with clear career paths, compensation related to one's position, continuity of operation and employment, and use of contracts or agreements which specify in advance a person's obligations to the organization (Cohen, 1977; Walker & Katz, 2008).

Further understanding of police departments requires looking at the structural control and coordination mechanisms established in an agency. Within organizations there is a level of formalization which is the extent to which an organization is governed by formal written rules, policies, standards, and procedures (Maguire, 2003). A major organizing element of policing is that police departments rely on written rules and regulations, collected, and pushed down to the staff in the form of Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) manuals or policy manuals (Walker & Katz, 2008). Such documents dictate how work should be conducted and articulate any changes and practices within a department, providing strict guidelines for all personnel. The agency is also governed by a centralized power structure, one in which the decision-making capacity within the organization is concentrated in a single individual or small select group. This power structure allows for organizational control and accountability (Maguire, 2003) to some degree.

Power dynamic in law enforcement. Probably the most popular and prevalent scheme of understanding social power was as suggested by French and Raven (1959) and expanded on by Raven (1986). These authors identified six power bases: *coercive power*—threat of punishment; *reward power*—promise of monetary and /or non-monetary compensation; *legitimate power*—drawing on one's right to influence; *expert power*—relying on one's superior knowledge; *referent power*—emphasizing the target's identification with influencing agent; and *informational power*—providing reasons or supporting evidence.

Decades later, Bal, Campbell, Steed, and Meddings (2008) argued that there were, in fact, seven bases of power that leaders can leverage: position, charisma, relationships, information, expertise, punishment, and rewards. Within law enforcement there are multiple power bases at play; however, because law enforcement agencies and the nature of the profession are still largely hierarchical and bureaucratic, more credence is generally given to coercive and legitimate power bases.

Leaders at all levels in law enforcement have access to power, with the ultimate power and deciding voice being reserved for the individual at the very top who leads the organization. This includes the female executives who were engaged in this study. Power is normally thought of as the control high-level leaders employ from their positions within the organizational hierarchy. “The ability to exercise power by influencing authority to bring about change in . . . [a law enforcement agency] is considered a major component of leader success (Schwarzwald, Koslowsky, & Agassi, 2001, p. 273).

Throughout the history of law enforcement “the police chief is viewed as an autonomous professional who dictates policy and runs the police department as s/he sees fit” (Maguire, 2003, p. 43). While that autonomous power has shifted somewhat with the involvement and working relationship with local government, many police chiefs still have autonomy over the types of control they employ over their departments (Maguire, 2003). This adds to the complexity of the policing environment because there is a constant play between the power of both internal as well as external forces, with the external environment having a variety of internal consequences; a reality that rang true for the participants in this study. Lansinger (2015) referenced this political influence that is closely tied to the position of chief of police, articulating how politically-charged the position of chief is and how impossible it is to separate politics from the position.

Within policing there is a dynamic of individual behavior, group behavior, culture, power, and politics. The behaviors of influential people within the organization, the power dynamics that exist, the formation of coalitions, and the strategic choices made by individual leaders, must not be ignored (Maguire, 2003). All such factors are influenced by the hierarchical structure on which police departments operate.

Law enforcement ranking system. Police agencies in the past adopted a quasi-military organization model (Uchida, 1989). This can still be seen in contemporary police agencies (Walker & Katz, 2008) across the United States, evidenced by a control and command emphasis, with subordinates carrying out directives given by supervisors. This model is characterized by a rigid rank and file hierarchy of authority, impersonality, and an authoritarian command system. Each is intended to foster strict and unquestioned discipline for swift mobilization and deployment in emergency and crisis situations (Jermier & Berkes, 1979).

Consistent with typical bureaucratic structure, the hierarchical, top-down control model remains the predominant form in policing agencies across the United States (Rahr & Rice, 2015). According to Jermier and Berkes (1979), this traditional approach to police administration is “largely grounded in the work of [O.W.] Wilson . . . who sought to divorce police operations from political influences and rationalize haphazard management practices. Wilson advocated for a pyramidal hierarchy to attain proper direction, coordination, and control” (p. 2). This strict organizational ranking system—while slightly different across departments—is used as a way of maintaining discipline, forwarding communication, and allowing for advancement. The rank is used to establish position in the hierarchy. A rigid hierarchical power structure is advanced by autocratic and transactional leadership styles, which still exist in many law enforcement agencies across the United States.

Autocratic leadership in law enforcement. A characteristic typically used to define a law enforcement agency is the command-and-control type of leadership. This type of leadership remains a constant across many law enforcement agencies, and in many cases falls squarely under the autocratic style of leadership. Autocratic leadership, also known as authoritarian leadership, is a style of leadership characterized by the leader's control over all decisions with no real space for input from group members (Peak, 2010). In this leadership style, the leader gives orders rather than inviting group participation. Autocratic leaders keep decisions and controls to themselves, expressing what they want and how they want it, directly to subordinates, who simply follow orders.

This leadership style involves absolute, authoritarian control over a group. Autocratic leaders are leader-centered and have a high initiating structure. Holden (2000) argued that the problem with autocratic leadership is the organization's inability to function when the leader is absent, repressing individual development and initiative because subordinates are not encouraged to make an independent decision.

Transactional leadership in law enforcement. While there is push for change to a less traditional way of policing (Rahr & Rice, 2015), the culture and bureaucratic nature of law enforcement agencies tend to what Burns (1978) referred to as a more transactional approach to leadership. Transactional leadership is a management style used by those who are more oriented toward bureaucracy and maintaining the status quo. This leadership style suggests that leaders respond to lower level subordinates' basic and security needs (Burns, 1978; Deluga & Souza, 1991). In this situation leaders and their subordinates are considered bargaining agents where relative power controls an exchange process as benefits are supplied and received (Deluga & Souza, 1991; Hollander, 1979).

The transactional style of leadership was first described by Max Weber (1947). Bass (1985) suggested that transactional leadership is comprised of two factors. First, contingent rewards describe the arrangement where work is exchanged for compensation. Second, management-by-exception characterizes how leaders monitor negative deviation of subordinates and intervene only when subordinates fail to meet objectives. With more concern of maintaining the normal flow of operations, transactional leaders use disciplinary power and motivate subordinates by exchanging rewards for performance (Ingram, 2018).

The complexity in policing culture. Chan (1997) did a comprehensive review of police culture literature and theory in the context of discussions around police reform. She argued that the existing conceptualizations of police culture were limited and under-theorized. O'Neill (2016) summarized Chan's four main criticisms:

- (1) that it does not account for differentiations in culture between or within police forces;
- (2) that little account is given of police officer agency in relation to how the occupational culture is adopted;
- (3) that little account is given of the role played by the wider context in which police officers operate in crafting their occupational culture, and
- (4) that the above elements leave little room for cultural change. (p. 476)

To address these shortcomings, Chan (1997) had developed an interactive model drawing from the work of others, each adding a component of her conceptualization. This pointed to the dynamic nature of policing, with its culture composing of different types of knowledge, knowledge that is not static, but varying throughout the different levels of the organization, and serving a different purpose depending on where you are in the organization. Chan's model stressed the relational aspect of policing, placing police actors at the center of her model, giving them agency, and defining them as "active interpreters of their world using their cultural knowledge to interpret and react to their structural conditions to produce and modify their practice" (O'Neill, 2016, p. 477). Chan's interactive model moved away from the simple codification of policing culture, and accounted for the much more dynamic, complex, and fluid

process of policing; an outlook needed as there continues to be increasing demand for change in policing practices, how laws are enforced, and how communities are being policed in the United States.

The changing culture in law enforcement. The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) suggested that law enforcement agencies should strive to create a workforce that "encompasses a broad range of diversity including race, gender, language, life experience, and cultural background to improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities" (p. 2). The Task Force also recommended a different way of doing law enforcement leadership, one that is "flexible, dynamic, insightful, ethical [leadership practices] . . . for a civil society to flourish" (p. 54) and emphasized the need to be more inclusive of staff in building the agency. This would be an enormous shift in law enforcement, because in many departments, leadership is still reserved for and encouraged among White males (National Institute of Justice, 2019), who have the ultimate say on how their organization will operate. The Task Force challenged leadership and encouraged change with the call for strong, capable, diverse leadership to create cultural transformation.

The same year, Rahr and Rice (2015) called for a more caring, compassionate, and empathetic type of leadership, a shift in the way law enforcement leadership goes about its business. Rahr and Rice recognized that with law enforcement seeking to attract more highly educated individuals, a coercive top-down leadership model will no longer have a place in policing. Yet five years later, the hierarchical, top-down control model remains the major structure both within agencies and out on the street, encouraging the rank and file to not question authority, clinging to the belief that "fear of punishment for rule violations leads to greater rule adherence and better police performance" (p. 6). While "many still believe that an abundance of

rules leads to fewer mistakes and greater accountability” (p. 6), it is important to understand that though well intentioned, “this style of leadership has the unintended but powerful consequence of conveying a distrust of officers by their leaders” (Rahr & Rice, 2015, p. 6). Law enforcement leaders are being encouraged to recognize the importance of rebuilding trust among their staff and within the communities they serve. This can only be achieved by changing their way of operation, which includes changing the way they lead, especially encouraging more diversity and flexibility among leadership.

The policing landscape has been shifting from the idea of police as warrior, to the police as guardian (Rahr & Rice, 2015). This shift in culture and the loosening of the bureaucracy has become more about humanizing the workplace and putting a face to the people they serve. Many agencies are experiencing some change in leadership, with a more transformational leadership approach being adopted across agencies (Northouse, 2016; Offermann, Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994; Österlind & Haake, 2010; Rosener, 1990).

Women in Policing

The presence of women in policing remains a relatively exceptional yet intriguing phenomenon, with the integration and growth of women into the profession being noticeably slow. This stagnation has led to increased research regarding women’s experiences. This section begins by exploring women’s entry into the profession, their gendered role assignments, and expectations. It then delves into the literature around the challenges women face, and the dynamics experienced in recruitment, retention, promotional opportunities, and advancement. This section concludes with a closer look at women moving up the ranks and women as leaders in policing.

In the 1800s, police departments were established in the United States, with the 1840s seeing women being hired as prison matrons in the New York Police Department (NYPD) to handle women and children held in correctional facilities and institutions for the insane. The police matron movement, as it was defined, did not get much attention from historians, police departments or government officials, but rather from private women's groups who argued that women were necessary for the proper handling of women and juveniles (Schulz, 2004). And, according to Schulz (2004), police matrons became a common feature in big city police departments throughout the rest of the 19th century. Leevy (1948) discussed the role of police matron and the importance of that position in understanding juvenile delinquency:

Today in modern American cities the local governmental officials are attempting to furnish a new type of service, connected with the police department or in some cities with the welfare department. This service is known as the Police Matron. This type of human aid service, as the police matron is sometimes called, is an outgrowth of the demands for a better understanding of youth and their problems connected with the juvenile courts and of the child welfare departments of some public-school systems. (p. 1)

Leevy (1948) also suggested criteria that should be used for the selection of police matrons, one of which was that the individual be a woman. By 1910, the United States had its first sworn woman officer (Vila & Morris, 1999); but inequities followed the policewoman in how she was treated compared to her male counterpart (S. E. Martin, 1989). And more than 50 years after the acceptance of the first sworn female officer, women in policing were still being selected according to separate criteria from men, and were limited to working with women, children, and typewriters (S. E. Martin, 1996; Vila & Morris, 1999).

By the mid-1920s, 145 U.S. police departments had hired women police officers to handle clerical duties, working with juveniles and female victims and prisoners, and handling missing person cases (Shores, 1997; Vila & Morris, 1999). Women were also expected to act as "municipal mothers" (Myers, 1995) a title many used officially or unofficially, with duties that

included “preventing lewd and immoral acts in public places, helping families in crisis, and sheltering youths from violent or morally offensive movies” (Vila & Morris, 1999, p. 77).

The changing face of American policing began in the mid-1960s; until then police departments remained majority White males from blue collar backgrounds with little more than high school education (President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967). The predominantly White and male structure of the profession had a major impact on the norms of the police subculture and on the perception of the police by racial and ethnic minority communities (Skogan & Frydl, 2004).

Historically, an all-male and virtually all-White occupation, the early entry of women into policing was severely limited, consisting largely of social service type roles in which women had to meet higher standards for policing employment than their male counterparts, but received lower wages, were restricted to special units, and were assigned primarily to clerical, juvenile, guard duty and vice work (Schulz, 2004). In 1971, with approximately 500,000 sworn police employees nationwide, fewer than 12 were women officers patrolling city streets (Lundman, 1980). The landscape shifted slightly in 1972 when Congress passed an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited states and local agencies from job discrimination based on sex. Police departments were now required to hire women for jobs on an equal basis with men but made marginal progress in hiring female officers (S. E. Martin, 1989). In fact, it was often under court order that many departments eliminated discriminatory policies (Lundman, 1980). Consistently however, women in policing in the 20th century were assigned to juvenile units or Women’s Protective Bureaus, jobs that required women police officers to handle only cases involving women and juveniles (Horne, 2006; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007).

With discriminatory policies and practices breaking down, by 1979 there was a significant increase in the number of women entering law enforcement, with “87% of municipal departments serving populations over 50,000 [assigning] women to patrol, and women officers comprising a mean of 3.38% of the sworn personnel in these departments” (S. E. Martin, 1989, p. 313). Sulton and Townsey (1981) reported that in fact, the proportion of women in policing, particularly minority women continued to increase.

Although it is widely recognized that the United States policing has seen dramatic increases in women joining the profession over the last 50 years, Cordner and Cordner (2011) acknowledge evidence that a plateau effect has set in. Both the FBI’s UCRs and the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) surveys of local law enforcement agencies with 100 or more personnel, indicated the initial increases and current stagnation of women in policing in the United States (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

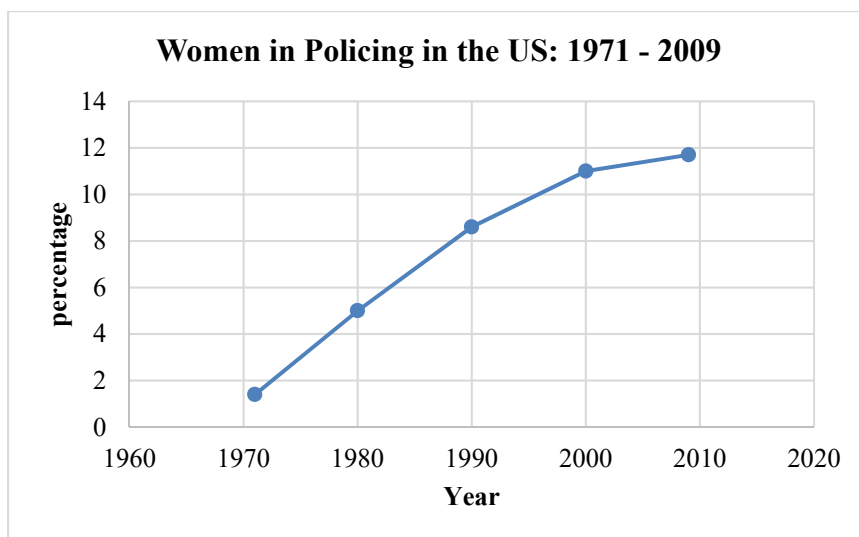


Figure 2.1. Uniform Crime Report data on percentage of women in policing in the United States 1971–2009. Based on publicly available data found in Cordner and Cordner (2011, p. 208).

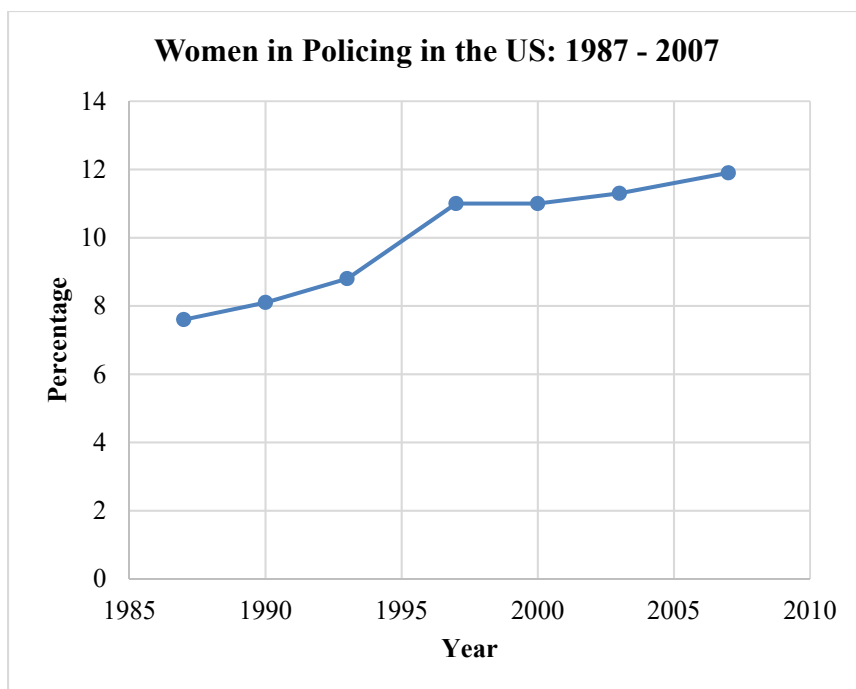


Figure 2.2. Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) data on percentage of women in policing in United States 1971–2009. Based on publicly available data found in Cordner and Cordner (2011, p. 208).

The shift, yet stagnation, in female entry into policing has meant that there are still many firsts in policing as late as the 1980s; women were now working undercover in vice units, patrolling city streets in cars and on motorcycles and some even had supervisory roles in municipalities, having greater representation in larger departments more so than those smaller in size (S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Rabe-Hemp, 2018).

Yet, despite increasing numbers and expanded roles, and notwithstanding significant changes in laws and policies in the United States that helped to open doors for many women in the field on policing, many challenges still remain, with women still being judged based significantly on their sex (Corsianos, 2009), which continue to have a part in defining the role of women in law enforcement, influencing gendered role assignments and expectations.

Gendered Role Assignments and Expectations

The study of gender roles emerged within the discipline of sociology in the last half century. With it came an interest in the definition of gender and how society categorized individuals based on gender. This societal categorization determined how members of society would be defined and treated, and what status and roles they were assigned. The status of male and female was described as a master status which meant that all aspects of an individual's life would be affected by being male or female (Lindsey, 1997).

The definition of gender is of growing complexity in the 21st century as gender, and what it means to be male or female, is constantly being debated. Bell and Nkomo (2001) pointed out that gender is not simply a biological categorization. Gender, rather, is a system of classification distinguishing men from women; as well as a set of “assumptions and beliefs on both individual and societal levels that affect the thoughts, feelings, behaviors, resources, and treatment of women and men” (p. 16). Eagly and Carli (2007) critiqued gender being used as a classification tool. They explain that this leads to stereotypes or social constructions of what it means to be categorized under a certain gender.

Classifying a person as male or female evokes mental associations, or expectations, about masculine and feminine qualities. These associations become pervasive and influential even when people are not aware of them . . . Even without conscious awareness of them, these mental associations guide people's thoughts and behaviors and help maintain traditional arrangements such as men's predominance as leaders. (p. 85–86)

Eagly and Carli (2007) discussed the two connotations that predominate in people's associations about women and men: the communal and the agentic. In the agentic, there is an association with assertion and control, which men tend to elicit being especially aggressive, ambitious, dominant, self-confident, and forceful, as well as self-reliant and individualistic. By contrast, communal associations convey a concern with the compassionate treatment for others.

Women are typically seen as eliciting communal associations, being more affectionate, helpful, friendly, kind, and sympathetic as well as interpersonally sensitive, gentle, and soft spoken.

Caleo and Heilman (2013) expanded the argument on gender stereotypes and their implications for women's career positioning and progress; they found that gender stereotypes result in discrimination, doing this in two primary ways. First, stereotypes are descriptive of what men and women are like. This function "promotes negative expectations about women's performance by creating a 'lack of fit' between the attributes that women are thought to possess, and the attributes considered necessary for success in male-type positions [like law enforcement]" (p. 143). The second function, defined as prescriptive, stipulates what men and women should be like, and "establish normative expectations for men's and women's behavior, resulting in a devaluation of women who violate gender norms" (Caleo & Heilman, 2013, p. 144). An understanding of this argument around gender roles and expectations is crucial for a more comprehensive understanding of the definition of women in the male-dominated profession of law enforcement.

Women in policing doing gender. Much of the resistance to women's entry into policing is related to the nature of the job, the occupational culture, and the manner in which these are used as resources for "doing gender" (S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). *Doing gender* is a sociological concept coined by West and Zimmerman (1987), meaning that gender is a routine accomplishment in everyday life, referring to an action rather than a definition of who we are. Gender, for West and Zimmerman, is not simply what a person is, but rather a product of a social interaction and something a person does in that social interaction. It is important to note that in the everyday practices through which individuals interact, gender is constantly redefined and

negotiated and “how men and women ‘do gender’ and how they contribute to the construction of gender identities is determined by a process of reciprocal positioning” (Poggio, 2006, p. 225).

Combining sociological, gender, and organizational studies perspective, an increasing number of studies have explained the growth and dynamics of professional occupations since the mid-20th century (Crompton & Le Feuvre, 2000; Hearn, Biese, Choroszewicz, & Husu, 2016). Out of that has emerged the concept of *gendered professions*, which describes a complex system of power relations (Scott, 1999), and a combination of direct and indirect discriminatory processes (Crompton & Le Feuvre, 1992), which aptly characterizes the policing profession.

Research has shown that when women enter gendered, male-dominated professions, they are required tacitly to accept male definitions of work and the behavioral scripts designed by and for men (Martin, 1994, 1996). Consequently, when women enter different roles in policing, their job tasks and service styles remain gendered. There is a pervasiveness of gender in all aspects of social life. Double standards for female and male leaders are perpetuated in law enforcement and hinder women's efforts to achieve their full potential in policing (S. E. Martin, 1996). The literature shows that often women face challenges when working in male dominated organizational cultures because to achieve success, women typically have to adapt to the organizational culture by taking on male attitudes and values (Carli & Eagly, 2001).

Gender role expectations, performance, and challenges. Much research confirms that women still encounter challenges across male-dominated careers, with many pointing to similar experiences with race and gender bias, on-the-job and promotional discrimination, and women being forced to adopt male characteristics.

Focused on untangling the impact of race and gender on Black women police officers, S. E. Martin (1994) found that the experience of discrimination was widespread. To explore the

perspectives, experiences, and structural barriers Black women officers confronted while working alongside White female and Black and White male co-workers, she used qualitative in-depth interviews with 106 Black and White officers and supervisors. Most females interviewed believed they had experienced discrimination as police officers. The majority of females reported experiencing sex discrimination, with a majority of Black women reporting experiencing racial discrimination. Half of the Black women acknowledged that they experienced both racial and sex discrimination, with that combination leading to unique problems and perspectives for Black female police officers.

To further explain the current status of women in law enforcement, Seklecki and Paynich (2007) conducted a national survey of female police officers to “provide information pertaining to employment motivations, experiences, and attitudes of female law enforcement officers and to provide information regarding the low levels of female representation in this field” (p. 17). A large percentage of women in the survey “felt they were treated worse and were less welcomed to the career than their male counterparts, [but believed they] performed most job-related functions as equally good as or better than their male counterparts” (p. 22).

Recent research has focused on areas of progress and remaining challenges women face. Lonsway (2008) found that the single most prominent barrier for women’s careers in law enforcement was the “good ole boys” network or the negative attitudes towards women in the profession. Lonsway conducted interviews with 217 men and 47 women and found that negative and sexist attitudes of co-workers were identified as the major problem facing women who had been sworn in as police. The study also found a prevailing attitude that women do not belong in law enforcement, and are not respected, or considered to be equals within the profession, and they are not accepted. The double standard for performance suggesting that women must constantly

prove themselves and outperform their male counterparts to be seen as equal, still remains for women in law enforcement.

The intersection of gender and police role has remained a focus in recent years, with researchers looking at the dynamic relationship and the impact on how women experienced the workplace. Rabe-Hemp (2008a) looked at female officers through the lens of an ethic of care to understand the nexus between gender and officer behavior. She delved deeply into the importance of officers' gender in predicting behaviors utilized by police in everyday citizen interactions, and sought to uncover answers to the following questions: Does officer gender impact police behaviors? How does officer gender impact encounters? What is the role of organizational culture in maintaining gendered policing behaviors? Rabe-Hemp found mixed support for the general hypothesis of gender-specific responses. Women in the study were much less likely than men to utilize extreme controlling behavior, such as threats, physical restraint, search, and arrest. Interestingly however, there was no support for the argument that women are more likely than men to use supporting behaviors.

In another publication, Rabe-Hemp (2008b) explored how female officers identified with police and gender roles. Using interviews from a sample of 38 female officers with varying police experience, Rabe-Hemp found that most women believed they brought distinctive characteristics to the task of policing compared to male counterparts. Women in this study described themselves as better than male officers at serving women and children, especially in victimization situations. Most participants believed that citizens saw them more as police officers rather than as women, with only a small minority articulating that gender was most salient to the citizens they interacted with. According to Rabe-Hemp, women in her study “actively resisted and reified stereotypes as both women and police officers in their description, including a continuum of behaviors from

being a ‘hard-ass’ to expectations of being ‘sweet,’” (Rabe-Hemp, 2008b, p. 10). Overall, the study revealed that women did both gender and police work concurrently in their everyday jobs.

Recruitment, Retention and Upward Mobility

The growth of a profession is largely influenced by its recruitment and retention practices and the ability and space to promote to higher positions. Seklecki and Paynich (2007) conducted a study of employment motivations, experiences, and attitudes of female law enforcement officers. Their sample population consisted of all females employed at law enforcement agencies listed in the National Directory of Law Enforcement Administrators, Correctional Institutions, and related agencies. A baseline *n* of 2,000 were sent surveys; 531 were returned. The data showed a broad spectrum of reasons for pursuing a career in policing, for leaving the profession, and the participants’ perception of treatment at work, compared to male counterparts. For a majority of those who responded to the survey, entry into the profession was motivated by wanting to help others and because the job allowed for enough variety and excitement on a daily basis. Women stayed on the job for that continuing desire to help others, but also because being a police officer provided job security. The survey revealed that the majority of women had no intention of leaving the profession; but for those who planned to leave, the main motives included personal and political reasons and pursuit of another career in criminal justice.

Seklecki and Paynich’s (2007) study provided much needed information to the “why so few” question. Cordner and Cordner (2011) wanted to answer the question by looking at the obstacles to recruitment, selection, and retention of women police. They sought a better understanding of why employment of women police officers in the United States was relatively low and no longer seem to be increasing. Using a quantitative approach, they found that female officers placed more emphasis on the male-dominated culture of police academies and

organizations as obstacles to recruitment and retention of females into the profession. Chiefs from the three contiguous metropolitan counties in southeastern Pennsylvania, who were also study participants, agreed with female officers on the various factors that impacted the hiring process. The general consensus among the police chiefs was that “departments do not specifically attempt to attract women applicants or treat them differently during the hiring process” (p. 214). However, there were factors that could begin to change the status quo which both the women officers and chiefs agreed on. These included: more targeted recruitment of women; less stress in the police academy; provide mentors for women applicants; provision of mentors for women officers; more family-friendly policies; and departments taking stricter stands against sexual harassment. These factors were crucial information, as many began to explore the path to promotional aspirations for women in the profession.

Sousa and Gauthier (2008) investigated gender differences in officers' perceptions of job satisfaction, barriers to career advancement, and the general workplace environment of policing. Overall, officers were satisfied with their careers, with female officers being generally represented in rank structure. The study supported the findings of other studies, with perceptions of female officers having to work harder than male counterparts to be perceived as equals. Female officers also experienced unfair treatment which impacted transfers, access to upper management, promotion, and representation in senior positions and in special units.

Haarr and Morash (2013) further explored power and upward mobility within agencies. They found that rank creates legitimate and expert power that may enable women to confront gender problems in the workplace. Their study also illustrated the organizational benefit of having increased number of women in leadership positions in a male-dominated organization and occupation. The 21 in-depth, career course interviews drew a diverse female sample from two

metropolitan departments, selected using a purposive sampling method focused on three distinctive topics: discrimination in police work, harassment in the workplace, and coping strategies. The study revealed how rank and tenure affected responses to negative actions and attitudes of co-workers. The power that came with rank enabled women to take on unique approaches to addressing workplace discrimination and harassment. High-rank women used coping strategies that provided some protections from assaults on their identities and negative treatment from coworkers. The findings also showed that certain coping strategies may enable some women to move up in rank. While most women put up with negative treatment at the beginning of their career, as they became more seasoned officers, or moved up in rank, they developed different coping strategies to deal with the gendered treatment they experienced. Women in this study consistently felt compelled to respond to officers' tests of their abilities.

Adding to the subject of promotional aspiration of women in policing, Gau et al. (2013) used multiple-agency data to assess the impact of demographics, work environment, and organizational factors on patrol officers' promotional aspirations. The study found that the most consistent and strongest predictors of variations in police officers' promotional aspirations and experience were gender, race, and education. Job satisfaction and organizational size were also significantly related to variation in police officers' promotional aspirations and experience.

Women moving up the ranks in policing. Policing in the United States is a bottom-up occupation, with almost all of the nation's police supervisors, managers, and executives climbing the promotional ladder from the rank of officer, deputy, or trooper (Vila & Morris, 1999). Yet, despite the slow but steady increase of women in sworn positions in the first half of the 20th century, very few women ever rose to a rank above entry level. This was attributed to the fact that the new cohort of women hired did not have enough time on the job to acquire seniority to allow

for significant upward movement into supervisory positions. In fact, as of 1978, women represented fewer than 1% of personnel above the rank of officer in municipal agencies serving populations of more than 50,000 (Sulton & Townsey, 1981).

Beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many women police officers sought promotional opportunities similar to those available to male police officers. But because it was not until 1968 that women were even assigned to routine patrol duty (Vila & Morris, 1999) they were often disqualified from ranks that specified patrol experience. In addition, many promotion exams specified that the applicant had to have been in the rank of “police officer” or “patrolman” and because women were in the rank of “policewoman,” they were told this was an automatic disqualifier. Reinforcing the separation between male and female officers, police administrators asserted that women could only be promoted within their own bureaus because they had not had the “full police experience” of being on patrol.

Existing research on women in law enforcement has challenged perceptions about the limited capabilities of women to perform policing duties, including their physical and emotional fitness. Studies have demonstrated that women are capable of participating in the full range of law enforcement activities, including patrol, response to hazardous situations, academy academic performance, physical capabilities, physical training receptivity, handling of violent confrontations, and serving in leadership positions (Price, 1996). However, despite confirmation of female officers’ capabilities, studies point to factors that limit women’s promotional aspirations. One such factor is tokenism.

Since the publication of Kanter's (1977) *Men and Women of the Corporation*, the concept of tokenism has influenced the study of women who work in male-dominated jobs. Kanter suggested that women's position in non-traditional male-dominated organizations would improve

if their proportions were substantially increased and their token status eliminated. Kanter observed that tokens are faced with high visibility, problems assimilating into the group, isolation, and performance pressures that are as a result of a combination of these factors. Zimmer (1988) found that tokens were more visible than the dominant group and that this increased visibility exaggerated differences from the dominant group, which led to women's qualities being distorted to fit pre-existing opinions of them and that these pre-existing opinions were rarely positive.

In their attempt to expand the work on tokenism by exploring other factors that might impact women moving up the ranks, Archbold and Schulz (2008) investigated female police officers' reactions to tokenism and the impact of tokenism on their promotional aspirations. Based on qualitative, unstructured face-to-face interviews, their work supported some of the work of previous studies; but their findings contrasted with Kanter's (1977) original description of tokenism. Archbold and Schulz suggested that tokenism in the workplace is more complex than previously described, and that the perception of tokenism and awareness of token status by female police officers was widely present in the police agency they studied. The findings also suggested that most female police officers were strongly encouraged by male supervisors to participate in the promotion process but that this encouragement sometimes dissuaded some from seeking promotion. In fact, when study participants were asked where they would be in five years' time, more than one-third stated that they would be in patrol, not showing any expectations of promotion. More than half the women in the study acknowledged being treated differently from their male counterparts and felt they had been treated like tokens at some point in their law enforcement career. Women in the study also believed they had to work twice as hard as their male colleagues. Despite these findings, most of the respondents reported not feeling isolated at

work because they were women working in a male-dominated profession and many believed that promotional opportunities were available to them.

The increasing interest of researchers in the experiences of women in leadership positions in law enforcement led to Guajardo's (2016) agency-specific longitudinal assessment of the degree of employment disparity between females and males in the New York Police Department (NYPD). This study compared female officers in supervisory and command positions to their male counterparts and found that women had not made significant gains in obtaining supervisory and command positions during a 13-year span. Few female officers had advanced to supervisory and command positions. Some plausible explanations were the lack of significant gains, including that the annual attrition rates of male supervisors and commanders were small, allowing for few opportunities for females to advance. Other issues raised were a lack of new positions and a shortage of female applicants. An additional explanation for the small numbers was that the male-dominated police culture was a deterrent for female officers seeking supervisory and command positions.

Women as policing leaders. Through the years, women have slowly been promoted into supervisory ranks, but continue to be underrepresented, particularly in the highest ranks (S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). With law enforcement remaining a male-dominated profession, it is common to look at leadership through a gender-biased lens. There has been limited research on the multidimensional nature of the relationship among gender, leadership, and law enforcement. Although a career in law enforcement has increasingly become a viable path for both sexes, women are still vastly underrepresented in law enforcement, and even more so in the management ranks.

Research looking at women as leaders in law enforcement started as early as 1974, a time when systematic integration of women into policing across the United States had barely begun. At the time, Price (1974) looked at the leadership strength of female police executives, exploring how women's leadership potential compared to male counterparts. The study did not look at performance, but rather at selected personality traits which were associated with leadership. Price's research revealed that women police executives, as a group, exhibited more strength in leadership-associated personality traits than male executive as a group, with clear differences between the two groups on some general personality traits. The study also indicated that female executives had different personality trait levels dependent upon department affiliation. It was not until the 2000s that a significant increase in empirical research focused on women in executive leadership positions, or women at the top.

It is impossible to ignore the role of gender when exploring women in policing leadership. Silvestri (2003) explored the gendered world of policing leadership and provided an in-depth look into ways of rethinking organizational change. She provided insights into the making of police leaders, focusing closely on the processes involved in getting to the top. She also explored the idea of doing leadership and examined how women in leadership saw themselves both as women and as members of the organization. Silvestri brought to the fore the "smart macho" culture that dominates the policing profession, but also looked at how women are involved in developing new conceptualizations and styles of leadership.

Schulz (2003) added to the literature on women in top executive leadership positions by describing their career paths to their present positions. She looked closely at the demographics and the background information of women police chiefs. Her study examined the characteristics of the departments the police chiefs led, and whether they were selected for their positions from

inside the department or whether they came from outside. The data were collected through an anonymous survey administered to 157 police chiefs and 25 sheriffs who were identified as executive leaders. This survey was probably the first census of female executives, and their responses provided the first “collective snapshot” of women who held chief executive officer rank in American law enforcement agencies.

Based on her research, Schulz (2004) coined the term *brass ceiling*, which provided the most comprehensive look to date into the lives of women who lead law enforcement agencies. Using data from more than 200 women in police agencies and sheriff’s departments across the United States, Schulz looked at the changing role of women in this male-dominated profession, providing portraits of a number of women who have broken the brass ceiling. She not only examined the challenges women faced but provided insight into some of their methods used to overcome some of these challenges. In the context of their emergence as leaders, Schulz examined the lived experiences of these women, sharing their collective personal histories, looking closely at family backgrounds, race, ethnicity, age, marital status, education, and career service. This study raised the subject of whether the playing field for women was finally level; some women to whom she spoke thought it was, others, not so much. The book focused on the women who have,

caught the brass ring and have broken through to the top in a historically and stereotypically male world, in a business where rank is literally signified by wearing—in the shape of stars, bars, and badges—and where those brass insignias are a constant visible symbol of one’s achievements in the organization. (p. 205)

In response to the question of why there were so few women in leadership positions, Schulz (2004) found many answers. A leading reason was that women seemed to be less interested in a policing career than men, a possible response to society or the departments’ lack of embrace of equality. With fewer women seeking employment or upward mobility, there will be

fewer women at the top. Schulz also found delays in decisions surrounding promotional aspirations, which led to delays in women moving up the rank due to number of factors. Schulz believed: “Increasing the numbers of women in upper management in addition to those who are already chiefs will increase the pool of women who are likely to receive serious consideration for job vacancies” (p. 208).

Policing has been changing over the last decade or so to a more community-oriented model, and along with the change there have been calls for a different type of leadership in policing. Silvestri (2007) studied women as change agents, attempting to fill the gap in the literature on the gendered nature of management and leadership in police organizations. With the increasing number of women in law enforcement, there is the potential for a shift in how policing is carried out. Silvestri suggested that as leaders adopt a more transformational leadership style, they are able to motivate others by “transforming their individual self-interest into the goals of the group” (p. 41). She collected data from 30 semi-structured interviews carried out among women in senior police ranks in Britain to determine they were able to command authority; inject a higher degree of emotion into doing leadership and use different approaches to leadership than those traditionally associated with the police organization. The study found that women have both adapted to and adopted new styles of working and exercising leadership. Despite recognition that transformational styles are beneficial to the police service, and, while the leadership style of the women in the study closely resembled that of transformational leaders, there was little evidence to suggest that police leadership styles were changing. To the contrary, much of policing leadership remains transactional. Silvestri believed that working as active gendering agents, women in leadership ranks hold the potential to shift some of the more cumbersome obstacles that have made organizational change in policing impossible up to now.

Haarr and Morash (2013) also explored the power that came with rank and whether rank led women in law enforcement to take on unique approaches to tackling discrimination and harassment, with a resulting impact on the whole organization. Using a sample of 21 women police officers from two departments in a metropolitan area of a southwestern (U.S.) state, they found that as women became more experienced officers or moved up in rank, they used different coping strategies to deal with the gendered treatment they experienced. The study also uncovered that higher-ranking women used coping strategies that provided some protections from assaults on their identities and negative treatment from coworkers.

Chapter Summary

This exploration of the literature allowed for a deeper understanding and clearer picture of the complex relationship between gender and leadership in the dynamic and complex profession of largely male-dominated law enforcement. The review showed that as the status quo of law enforcement changes, there is increasing demand for more gender and racial diversity in law enforcement (del Carmen et al., 2007), with a call for more women in the profession and a call for more women in leadership positions (Kurtz, 2012). Some studies have indicated that with the increase of women entering law enforcement, it is undoubtable that the culture of policing will change (Cordner & Cordner, 2011; Dash, 2011), with women utilizing a more transformative leadership style which is increasingly welcomed within the profession (Silvestri, 2007).

The question remains however: why are there still so few women in positions of leadership in law enforcement? Some explanations include lack of opportunity and openings for promotional advancement; that the male-dominated culture places formal and informal barriers for female officers; that female officers who are seeking career advancement face resistance and hostility from male officers and supervisors; and the difficulty in finding mentors, including the

lack of women leaders to act as mentors for those interested in promotion. All these lead to too few women being promoted into positions of authority (Gau et al., 2013; Guajardo, 2016; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Irving, 2009; Morash & Haarr, 2011; Yu, 2015). Archbold and Schulz (2008) similarly reflected on why opportunities for promotional advancement in police departments are severely limited. They argued, however, that with so few women reaching the ranks beyond patrol officer, it is critical that police administrations continue to think about ways to increase female presence in upper ranks.

While there is a growing body of research related to women in law enforcement, there is still limited research focused on women in executive leadership positions, resulting in a paucity of explanations as to why this remains the case. This provides an opportunity in my research to both expand the literature regarding women in executive leadership positions, by using a methodology that accounts for the complex lives and journeys of women at the top, and by intentionally exploring the context and environment in which their journeys take place to determine the range of differences experienced by these women.

Chapter III: Methodology

The study of women in law enforcement is punctuated with complexities. The research, reviewed in Chapter II, has shown the diverse pathways women have followed to enter and move through the ranks in law enforcement. This calls for further exploration and a more comprehensive examination of women in executive leadership positions in law enforcement and makes it imperative to employ a methodology that has the flexibility to capture the intricate lives and journeys of women to the top. The topic required a methodology that could help to unpack the overarching question that was posed to these women: What have been your experiences as a woman leader in policing as you have progressed in the profession to executive rank?

Given the complexity of the question, this study used a grounded theory approach in combination with situational analysis. Grounded theory is especially advantageous when researching complex, unfamiliar, or as-yet ill-defined settings. Situational analysis seeks to understand this dense complexity of context (Clarke et al., 2018), providing for a more in-depth comprehensive analysis of the lived experiences with consideration of the macro and meso forces of social culture and policing that have been critical in their leadership experiences. Taking such an approach allowed for an understanding of the interplay between internal and external, personal, and social forces.

Is Grounded Theory the Right Fit to Explore Women Executive Leadership in Policing?

Methodological fit speaks to the internal consistency among four elements of a research study: the research question, the prior research done on the topic, the research design, and how it will contribute to the literature (Edmondson & McManus, 2007). Using Edmondson and McManus (2007) as a guide, this study fits within the intermediate phase of theory development. The extant literature reflected a provisional explanation as to the factors that have elevated

women to top executive positions, thus presenting the possibility of introducing a new construct while proposing relationships between this new construct and established constructs.

Lee (1999) wrote that the main purpose of grounded theory studies is to “generate new theory or conceptual propositions, and the main application of grounded theory technique has been the examination of phenomena that are not well understood” (p. 45). Few studies have focused on women law enforcement executive leadership (Maurya & Agarwal, 2013; Price, 1974; Schulz, 2004; Silvestri, 2003; Silvestri, 2007) and none have used grounded theory. Rather, between 1972 and 2012, according to Kringen (2014), research on women in policing focused primarily on job experiences and much less on job opportunities and job performance and women’s place in a male-dominated profession (Cordner & Cordner, 2011; Guajardo, 2016; Haarr & Morash, 2013; Lonsway, 2008). The word cloud in Figure 3.1 depicts a sample of peer-reviewed studies from 1974 through 2015, focused around the main areas of interests for this dissertation, specifically the intersection of women and law enforcement while also illustrating that female executive leadership in law enforcement has not received sustained focus. This supports Koepfel’s (2014) argument that despite the increase in research around understanding leadership styles and effectiveness for men and women, there is still a substantial gap in the leadership and policing literature, specifically regarding women as leaders in policing.

conducting ongoing interpretations” (as cited in Lee, 1999, p. 45). This meant that using grounded theory allowed for the examination of data that was “inductively derived, deductively tested, inductively and deductively revised, and retested again against additional empirical data” (p. 46).

Grounded theory is applicable to many organizational issues and situations (Lee, 1999) that involve complexity. Women in law enforcement executive leadership is a complex phenomenon, needing a methodology that is flexible and allows for continuous exploration, revisiting, and revising of concepts. Using grounded theory enabled me to uncover the thinking and decision-making of women who are involved in taking on or being chosen for executive level leadership roles, and potentially introduce theoretical propositions that further understanding of the complex interaction of these women situated in the context of policing in the United States.

Symbolic Interactionism

Annells (1996) argued that an understanding of grounded theory is partly dependent on the symbolic interactionism’s theoretical underpinnings. Heath and Cowley (2004) agreed that grounded theory is rooted in symbolic interactionism, with its aim to develop explanatory theory concerning common social life patterns. Symbolic interactionism is both a theory about human behavior and an approach to inquiring about human conduct and group behavior (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). In symbolic interactionism, individuals are self-aware, able to see themselves from the perspective of others, and, therefore, adapt their behavior according to the situation. Social interactions create meaning and shaping of society on individuals (Heath & Cowley, 2004).

George Herbert Mead (in Mead & Strauss, 1956) is recognized for the foundational work on symbolic interactionism. Mead argued that the mind is a result of the exchange of social acts, with language being the most complex of social acts in which people participate. In fact, Blumer

(1937/1969) coined the term *symbolic interactionism* and is recognized for foreshadowing Mead's approach (Benzies & Allen, 2001). Three basic assumptions underpin symbolic interactionism:

First, people, individually and collectively, act on the basis of meaning things have for them . . . Second, meaning arises in the process of interaction among individuals . . . [and] third, meanings are assigned and modified through an interpretive process that is ever changing, subject to redefinition, relocation, and realignments. (Benzies & Allen, 2001, p. 544)

Symbolic interactionism, therefore, offers a theoretical viewpoint for examining how individuals interrelate and how they interpret people in their lives and objects and how this process of interpretation leads to behaviors in particular situations. Symbolic interactionism and grounded theory have strong compatibilities with both the theoretical perspective and the method assuming agentic actors, the significance of studying processes, the emphasis on building useful theory from empirical observations (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007).

Brief History and Evolution of Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is strongly associated with the foundational work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Their pioneer study, *Awareness of Dying* (Glaser & Strauss, 1965), was the first published study employing what was then a new, cutting-edge research method. Conducted across six hospitals, the study allowed for the observation of various aspects of dying. The researchers observed ongoing activities, sitting in the nurses' stations, attending staff meetings, and talking with patients, as well as with nurses and physicians at work (see also Andrews, 2015). Death at these locations was "sometimes speedy, sometimes slow; sometimes expected, sometimes unexpected; sometimes anticipated by the patients, sometimes unanticipated" (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, p. xi). Through this research, the authors intended to contribute toward creating end-of-life care that was more rational and compassionate (Andrews, 2015). According to Andrews (2015), the "theory that emerged from this intense investigation presented an eye-opening view of how patient care was affected by the awareness level of the dying process by nurses, physicians, and

patients” (p. 4). Glaser and Strauss termed this new method, grounded theory, because it was grounded in the real-live experiences of people. An understanding of grounded theory method is reliant on a recognition of the method’s ontological, epistemological, and methodological perspectives and the identification of the relevant paradigms of inquiry within which the method resides (Annells, 1996; Greckhamer & Koro-Ljungberg, 2005; Levers, 2013).

The post-positivist paradigm. Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) original formulation of grounded theory in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, presented the theory as fitting within the post-positivist paradigm (Levers, 2013). The authors’ intent was “toward improving social scientists' capacities for generating theory that will be relevant to their research” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. vii). They believed that while not everyone is equally skilled at developing theory, nonetheless, everyone can generate useful theory. They argued for adopting a different perspective on how theory can be generated. They acknowledged that in sociological research, a lot of effort and prominence have gone into theory verification, typically associated with quantitative research, at the expense of theory generation which is better pursued with qualitative research. They insisted, however, that qualitative and quantitative data are both needed for the verification and generation of theory. They focused on highlighting the generation of theory rather than the verification of theory and wrote to provide students “a defense against doctrinaire approaches to verification, and to reawaken and broaden the picture of what sociologists can do with their time and efforts” (p. 7). Bryant and Charmaz (2007) described this early work, which took the time to lay out the strategies for qualitative research, as “the grounded theory mantra” (p. 32); in its simplest form, it articulates that “theory emerges from data” (p. 32). In the original version, the goal was to unearth an emerging theory that explained a basic social process, a theory

that fit and worked to explain a process and was understandable to those involved in that process (Levers, 2013).

Fitting within the post-positive paradigm, Glaser and Strauss (1967) saw the researcher as an observer rather than a creator external to the process. The researcher, without forcing the data to fit the theory, was to remain “open to what is actually happening” (Glaser, 1978, p. 3). Identification of this theory, as originally conceived, can only be done if the researcher maintains a stance of objectivity and allow for participants’ perspectives to come through rather than the researcher’s (Glaser, 1978). Working in this space, the researcher removes any personal influence on the data and allows the theory to emerge in its true sense. The researcher observes an emergent theory that both transcends and simplifies the data. The emergent theory is an imperfect apprehension of reality and is one of many theories that could emerge as research moves closer to the “‘real’ reality” (Annells, 1997, p. 385).

The interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm is “guided by the researcher’s set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22), and is seen as in “opposition to the post-positivist paradigm” (Levers, 2013, p. 3). Goulding (1998) described grounded theory as the “missing methodology on the interpretivist agenda” (p. 50). This she attributed largely to misconceptions regarding both the principles of the method and the two eventually distinct and divergent approaches associated with the original authors Glaser and Strauss (1967). In the interpretive paradigm there is a focus primarily on recognizing and narrating the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). In this paradigm, “knowledge is relative to particular circumstance and exists in multiple forms as representations of reality” (Benoliel, 1996, p. 407). Levers (2013) argued that interpretivists accept multiple meanings and ways of knowing and

acknowledge, as Denzin and Lincoln expressed it, that “objective reality can never be captured. . . . [One can] only know it through representations” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5). Interpretivist analyses attempt to describe, explain, and understand the lived experiences of a group of people. The tradition relies on knowledge from the inside, starting with and developing analyses from the point of view of the experiencing person (Charmaz, 1996, p. 30).

The constructivist paradigm. The constructivist version of grounded theory is associated with the work of Charmaz (2000, 2002, 2014). Greckhamer and Koro-Ljungberg (2005) argued that in this version, Charmaz and her colleagues claim to transfer grounded theory to a different epistemology and theoretical grounds. While constructivism sees the usefulness of grounded theory techniques, it is against Glaser and Strauss’s epistemological and theoretical foundation (Charmaz, 2000, 2002; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001), refuting the objectivist and post-positivist stance of previous versions of grounded theory. Constructivism sees meaning as created through the interaction of the interpreter and the interpreted (Crotty, 1998). Charmaz (2000) supported that stance claiming that her approach to grounded theory “recognizes mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed” (p. 510). As Crotty (1998) stated, research from a constructionist paradigm acknowledges that “truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of engagement with the realities in our world” (p. 8).

Charmaz (1996) believed that the grounded theory method explicitly unites the research process with theoretical development. However, she broke away from the original argument of leading grounded theorists (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1976; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in that their methods were “compatible with traditional positivistic assumptions of an external reality that researchers can discover and record” (Charmaz, 1996, p. 30). For Charmaz, grounded theory could link traditional positivistic methods with interpretive methods in fields such as psychology

that embraced quantification. She stated that grounded theory “offers systematic approaches for discovering significant aspects of human experience that remain inaccessible with traditional verification methods” (Charmaz, 1996, p. 30).

Situational Analyses—Taking It a Step Further

Situational analysis, attributed to Adele Clarke (2003, 2005), puts a postmodern spin on grounded theory. In Clarke et al. (2018) she and her co-authors suggested that the development of situational analysis was to restore and broaden grounded theory. In doing situational analysis, the researcher uses three main cartographic approaches to analysis, making three kinds of maps to frame and analyze the situation of inquiry:

1. Situational maps lay out the major human, nonhuman, discursive, affective, geopolitical, and other elements in the research situation of inquiry and provoke analysis of relations among them.
2. Social worlds/arenas map lay out the major collective actors (social worlds, organizations, institutions, etc.) and the arena(s) of commitment and discourse with which they are engaged in ongoing negotiation in the situation of inquiry.
3. Positional maps lay out positions taken, and not taken, in discussions, debates, and extant discourse materials in the situation and inquiry vis-à-vis particular axes of difference, concern, and controversy about important issues. (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxiv).

Clarke et al. (2018) also indicated that, similar to grounded theory, situational analyses can be produced through in-depth interviews and/or ethnographic observation. However, situational analysis also encourages the inclusion of existing discourse materials found in the situation under study, as data to be analyzed. This was extremely important working in a law enforcement setting, providing the ability to engage with and analyze policy and procedure documents and/or directives and other relevant documentation that may shed more light on the situation being explored. Situational analysis is grounded in the concept of “the situation,” taking the nonhuman dimension into account as well. It allows researchers to pull together studies of discourse and

agency, action and structure, image, text, and context, history, and the present moment in an effort to analyze the complex situations of inquiry.

Study Design

Despite the advancement of women in policing and the increase—albeit small—of women in leadership roles in policing, there is scant literature on their individual journeys to the top (see Chapter II). To further unravel the journeys of women to law enforcement executive leadership positions, I used a grounded theory approach in combination with situational analysis. This section provides information on the data collection process, study sample and participant selection, interviewing process, coding, and coding team design, memoing, and data analysis process.

Data collection. Data was gathered through in-depth interviews with women from around the United States who were currently serving or who had served in law enforcement executive positions. Archival data was also used to gather relevant information for this study including but not limited to local agency documents, governmental reports, public documents, websites, internet and other media sources, newspaper articles, court briefings, and interviews with subject matter experts.

Study sample and inclusion criteria. The study population consisted of women at executive leadership positions in a variety of types of police departments. While there is data suggesting an estimated 3% of all local police department chiefs are female, and in jurisdictions with populations of 250,000 or more, an estimated 7% of the chiefs are female (Reaves, 2015), I had not been able to locate a comprehensive list of female executive leaders to achieve a more systematic sample selection process. For that reason, and due to the very low numbers of women at this level of leadership in policing, a purposeful sampling technique was used to ensure the

researcher captured a diverse enough sample, across a diverse age range and mix of races, using the following inclusion criteria:

- Must be female;
- must be over the age of 20 years old;
- must be or have been in an executive leadership position in a local police department, a municipal police department, or a university police department; and
- must be or have been a Deputy Chief, Assistant Chief, Chief of Police, Deputy Commissioner of Police, or Commissioner of Police

Purposeful sampling. The study employed a purposeful sampling technique in which I “intentionally [selected (or recruited)] participants who [had] experienced the central phenomenon, or the key concept being explored in the study” (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 173). Purposeful sampling began from my knowledge of and connections with women in executive leadership positions. That was combined with targeted outreach at conferences and through social media to women who satisfied the criteria for inclusion in the sample. I utilized various sampling strategies including maximal variation technique, “in which diverse individuals [were] chosen who [were] expected to hold different perspectives on the central phenomenon” (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 174). Practically, this was done by attending and recruiting from two major practitioner-based conferences that represent different racial and ethnic groups: The National Association of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) conference and the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) conference. The sampling also involved recruiting through a snowballing or chain-referral technique (Coleman, 1958), a nonprobability sampling technique used to locate potential subjects that are not easily located. Technology and social media were also be used to recruit participants, for instance, through social media such as LinkedIn.

Recruitment of the purposeful sample. The recruitment of the purposeful sample began with potential participants being invited to participate in the study through announcements at major law enforcement executive conferences. An announcement was created (see Appendix A) that informed potential participants of my interest in the area of women in executive leadership positions in law enforcement. This announcement was read at relevant sessions at the two major law enforcement conferences. Interested parties were asked to contact me directly at the end of the session or leave a business card in a container that was strategically placed at the back of the room on exit, and I would follow-up to confirm interest and eligibility. That same announcement was posted on my LinkedIn (the professional engagement network) page and shared through a private message sent directly to potential participants on LinkedIn. Individuals were asked to send me a personal message either through LinkedIn or via email, if interested. The announcement language was also shared with male chiefs of police and others who had familiarity with my area of interest and offered to assist me in the recruitment process. Individuals who received the announcement language were asked to share with other potential candidates and provide them with my contact information.

With interest established, a list of 40 potential participants was generated. A formal written invitation (see Appendix B) via email and/or LinkedIn personal message was disseminated. Twenty-one confirmations of interest were received through email, text message, phone call, or through face-to-face communication. Once confirmation was received, participants were sent a follow-up email arranging logistics for the face-to-face interview (Appendix C). Half way through data collection, the face-to-face in-person meetings were changed to virtual interview using Zoom Video Conferencing. This was done because it was becoming increasingly challenging to get on the schedule of the participants; on two occasions, I had flown to the

participants' locations but on entry was told the participants had to cancel due to unexpected work-related emergencies.

Sample demographics. With female representation at the defined executive levels being a comparatively small number across the 18,000 law enforcement agencies, it becomes easy to identify individuals if given very basic information. With that being the case, extreme caution was exercised to protect the identity of the women throughout this process. Only aggregate level data is being presented here, representing the reality as of the time of the interviews. Of the 21 participants included in this study, 17 were still active in an executive level position. The age range of participants was from low 40s to low 60s, with average age of 53 years. Participants worked in medium to large departments, with the average number of years in position at the time of the interview being 4.1 years. Participants were mainly in local or municipal departments, with four participants having leadership positions within a university police department. Of the 21 participants, eight identified as being Black or African American, eight as White, one as Hispanic, one as Native American, two as Hispanic and Black, and one as White, Black, and Native American. Nineteen of the 21 participants were married or in a domestic partner relationship, with participants typically having 1 to 2 children ranging in ages from two years to 38. The participants were highly educated, with three having a doctoral degree, 17 having master's degrees, and one having a bachelor's degree.

Theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling was also conducted. This is sampling "based on properties and dimension of concepts" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 85) and not people, per se. The main principle of theoretical sampling is that the "emerging categories, and the researcher's increasing understanding of the developing theory, now direct the sampling" (Morse, 2007, p. 240). It is a method of data collection particular to grounded theory and is "based on concepts

derived from data and serves the purpose of collecting data from places, people, and events that will maximize opportunities to develop concepts in terms of properties and dimensions, uncover variations, and identify relationships between concepts” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 134).

Theoretical sampling is open and flexible, providing space to “follow the lead of the research and direct data collection to those areas that will best serve the developing theory” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 134). From the beginnings of grounded theory, theoretical sampling has played a fundamental role and is a strength of this methodological approach. Theoretical sampling is also important for situational analysis and will later lead to information relevant to the application of this approach in this study. For this study sampling of subject matter experts was conducted, as a way of probing and triangulating some of what was heard from the participants’ narrative. The voices from this sample for the situational analysis does not show up in the grounded theory dimensional analysis. Table 3.1 outlines the participants’ demographics for the sample for the situational analysis.

Table 3.1

Demographics of Sample for Situational Analysis

Participant	Area of Expertise or Position Held	Sex
SS1	Former captain, major metropolitan police department, now career strategist	Female
SS2	Auxiliary police at major metropolitan police department, social media, and marketing specialist	Female
SS3	Former policy advisor in the federal government	Female
SS4	Chief of Police	Male
SS5	Deputy Chief of Police	Male
SS6	Federal law enforcement representative	Male
SS7	First responder psychologist and academic	Male

Participant	Area of Expertise or Position Held	Sex
SS8	Peace commission representative, and former civil oversight of law enforcement representative	Male
SS9	Chief of Police	Male
SS10	Program manager for major university center on policing and public safety/homeland security specialist	Male

In-depth interviewing. Of the three possible types of interviews used in qualitative research—unstructured, semi-structured, and structured interviews—this study used unstructured interviews which provided, I would argue, the richest source of data for theory building. This allowed participants to speak uninhibitedly about issues most significant to them. More open-ended and unstructured discussions gave them more control, allowing the participants to determine what to talk about, in the order they wanted, and at a depth and pace they dictated (Corbin & Morse, 2003). During the course of the interview I directed the conversation through the use of guiding or probing questions, as was required to achieve clear responses and explanations to questions asked. This was done while still respecting the interviewee having the lead in articulating her journey, yet also staying alert to the drifts and shifts of the interviewee’s narrative and assessing why she might have shifted the topic.

With the prior consent of the participants, interviews were recorded to avoid distractions of notetaking and to ensure information was accurately captured for analysis. Having experience with conducting in-depth interviews, I was well aware and prepared to manually capture additional insight in situations where participants, while agreeing to be recorded, may have offered more information after the recording device had been turned off, for whatever reasons. Being mindful of that, I paid keen attention to document the session at the earliest possible convenience to avoid missing other relevant and pertinent information. Throughout the recorded

interviews, brief notes were also written as a way to probe further into information the participant had shared.

Data Analysis Process

In qualitative data analysis, preparing the data means “organizing the document and visual data for review or transcribing text from interviews and observations into word processing files for analysis” (Creswell & Clark, 2011, p. 206). Grounded theory research is unique, in that data analysis begins with the first pieces of data collected (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). That is, “research analysis ideally begins after completing the first interview or observation and continues that way throughout the research process” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 69). This is defined as an integrated approach and allowed the researcher to “identify relevant concepts, validate them, and explore them more fully in terms of their properties and dimensions” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 67). Given the diverse and large volumes of data that arose, NVivo, a qualitative data analysis computer software package by QSR International, was used for data analysis. Designed for qualitative and mixed-methods research, NVivo accommodates large and diverse volume and sources of data, providing a place to store, organize, and retrieve data efficiently (NVivo, n.d.).

Coding. A code in qualitative inquiry is a “researcher-generated construct that symbolizes or translates data . . . [a] word or phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldana, 2016, p. 4). Coding is the process through which the data are organized into some theoretically meaningful structure (Lee, 1999). Saldana (2016) noted that “coding is just one way of analyzing qualitative data, not *the way*” (p. 3). According to Saldana, there are six particular coding methods for consideration as part of a grounded theory study: in vivo, process, initial, focused, axial, and theoretical coding. These were further categorized into first and second cycle coding methods.

First cycle coding methods. In Vivo, Process, and Initial Coding are defined as first cycle coding methods, used for the beginning stages of data analysis to “fracture or split the data into individually coded segments” (Saldana, 2016, p. 55). At the completion of the first interview, after reading and digesting the transcript, I began a process of initial coding. This process involved assigning a code, which was most often “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence capturing, and /or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldana, 2016, p. 4). This initial coding disaggregated qualitative data into discrete parts to provide a more nuanced understanding, examined them, and compared them for similarities and differences (Saldana, 2016).

Second cycle coding methods. The second cycle methods—focused, axial, and theoretical coding—are coding processes used in the latter stages of data analysis that

literally and metaphorically constantly compare, reorganize, or “focus” the codes into categories, prioritize them to develop “axis” categories around which others revolve, and synthesize them to formulate a central or core category that becomes the foundation for explication of a grounded theory. (Saldana, 2016, p. 55)

In this second cycle, when a more focused coding process was conducted, axial coding provided the researcher the ability to assemble the data in new ways after initial or open coding (Creswell, 1998). Axial coding refers to the assignment of empirical indicators to one category at a time (Lee, 1999). Through this coding process, the data was “presented using a coding paradigm or logic diagram in which the researcher identified a central phenomenon, explored causal conditions, specified strategies, identified the context and intervening conditions, and delineated the consequences for this phenomenon” (Lee, 1999, p. 57).

Dimensional analysis. The experiences of the participating women were further understood by using dimensional analysis. Schatzman (1991) devised this approach following from his critique that grounded theory lacked clarity in defining the methodological procedures or

steps needed to appropriately undertake the process. Schatzman saw dimensional analysis as an “alternate method for the generation of grounded theory” (as cited in Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996, p. 313), providing a “schema that can subsequently be used to structure and analyze the intricacies of phenomenon of ordinary life as well as in complex scientific problem solving” (Kools et al., 1996, p. 314). This was used in the study analysis at a point where the designation of dimensions allowed for a more complex and expansive way to examine the data to determine “what all [was] involved here?” (Schatzman, 1991, p. 301), in the lives of these women who had risen to the top policing executive positions. During this stage, data was organized in an explanatory matrix that was used as a corner stone of the analytic process, providing a framework that helped to move analysis beyond description and into a realm of explanation (Kools et al., 1996). The aim of the dimensional analysis process was to “discover the meaning of interactions observed in situations” (Kools et al., 1996, p. 316).

Corbin and Strauss (2015) argued, “meaning is not inherent in words” (p. 88), but rather, that words take on meaning when they are given by the participant. I remained vigilant in taking the data provided through interviews or other sources, to thinking carefully through the experience and the situation, making use of my own life experience in this space, and remaining sensitive, which is the ability to “carefully listen and respect both participants and the data they [provided]” (p. 77). Through this process I assigned codes that best denoted my interpretation of the meaning intended by the participants. Throughout the coding and analysis process I moved from initial coding to focused and axial coding by way of a constant comparative process. This process was further strengthened by use of a common grounded theory tool, analytic memo-writing, which was utilized through the process.

Memo-writing. Charmaz (1996) describes memo-writing as the analytic notes written to “explicate and fill out categories, the crucial intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers” (p. 28). This helped to elaborate processes, assumptions and actions that were subsumed under my codes. Saldana (2016) also stresses the importance of analytic memo-writing, the process that documents reflections on “your coding process and code choices; how the process of inquiry is taking shape; and the emergent patterns, categories, and subcategories, themes, and concepts in your data—all possibly leading towards theory” (p. 44). This was an integral part of my research process, where memos were used alongside initial coding and axial coding to help define dimensions and relationships among these dimensions (Benson & Holloway, 2005; Holloway & Schwartz, 2018). Memoing, an exercise of documenting thoughts, ideas, issues, and experiences with the data and defining categories, also helped to generate codes and became part of the constant comparison process.

Constant comparison. Throughout the data collection and analysis I engaged in a process of *constant comparison*, which was the “act of taking one piece of datum and examining it against another piece of datum both within and between documents in order to determine if the two data are conceptually the same or different” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 94). Charmaz (1996) argues that to “generate categories through focused coding, you need to make comparisons between data, incidents, contexts and concepts” (p. 42). Charmaz believes it is important to compare different people (such as their situation, beliefs, actions, experiences), different points in time data for the same individuals with themselves, and to compare categories in the data with other categories. This constant comparison allowed me to group conceptually similar data, “to reduce data to concepts, to develop concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions, and to differentiate one concept from another” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 94).

Coding team. To further enhance the qualitative process, a coding team was formed to support the systematic analysis of the data that was collected and to enhance trustworthiness, an important criterion for rigor in qualitative research. *Trustworthiness* refers to the ability of an inquiry to persuade its audience, including the researcher, that the findings are worth paying attention to, and worth taking account of (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The conventional criteria for trustworthiness of research are internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, there have been arguments that the concepts of reliability and validity associated with quantitative research, are not pertinent nor related to qualitative inquiry; they are firmly aligned with the positivist view (Rolfe, 2006). Lincoln and Guba (1985) anticipated and responded to this kind of argument and suggested a shift in language and a replacement of conventional quantitative formulations to four new terms that more appropriately fit qualitative research: credibility (replacing internal validity), transferability (replacing external validity), dependability (replacing reliability), and confirmability (replacing objectivity). They also suggested operational techniques that can be used to adhere to these criteria of rigor. These include: “prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and member checking, to establish credibility; thick description, to facilitate transferability; and auditing, to establish dependability and confirmability” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219).

This coding team served the purpose of peer debriefing, performing consistent checks of the data. The team consisted of myself, as the primary researcher, along with two additional multidisciplinary team members who were involved in the coding of interviews conducted throughout the data collection process. Very clear guidance was written and provided to team members regarding the coding process (see Appendix D). The first nine interviews were coded by

the coding team, including the researcher, independently, comparing codes as the team advanced through the process. The researcher coded all nine, while each team member coded a total of six interviews independently. The first three interviews (P1, P2 & P3) were coded using line-by-line coding which promotes a more trustworthy analysis that “[reduced] the likelihood of imputing [our] own motives, fears, or unresolved personal issues to [the] respondents and [the] collected data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 94). The second set of six interviews were all coded by the researcher, and two sets of three (P4, P6 & P9; P5, P7 & P10) were coded respectively by the other two members of the coding team using focused coding. The focused coding categorized the coded data based on thematic or conceptual similarities, looking for the most frequent or significant initial codes to develop the most striking categories in the data corpus (Saldana, 2016). The coding team met at consistent intervals to review each individual’s coding process, compare and discuss codes used by individual team members, review initial code book and emerging themes, and clarify any major inconsistencies that surfaced throughout the process.

Situational analysis. Situational analysis was used to construct the “situation” during the process of axial coding. The situation, broadly conceived, became the “ultimate unit of analysis, and understanding its elements and their relations is the primary goal” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxv) of situational analysis. Following Clarke’s (2003) lead, the situational analysis was used to complement the traditional grounded theory data analysis of a basic or key social process (action), with several alternatives centered on cartographic situational analyses emphasizing,

1) maps of key elements of the situation, variations, and differences; 2) maps of social world and arenas in meso-level discursive negotiations; and 3) maps of issues and discursive axes focused around differences, and positionality, and relationality, generating sensitizing concepts and theoretical integration towards provocative yet provisional grounded theorizing. (pp. 558–559)

The situational maps present “visual representations of elements surrounding the phenomenon of women in top policing executive leadership position. The maps “specify all the

major elements in the situation under study, broadly conceived” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 104). The maps also “lay out the major human, nonhuman, discursive and other elements in the research situation of concern and provoke analyses of relations among them” (Clarke, 2003, p. 554). During the axial coding process, these maps were “used to examine the nature of the relations among different elements of the map—relational mapping” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 104). “Situational mapping [were] particularly relevant to understanding the intersection of macro institutional structures and the marginalization and exclusion of individuals and groups” (Holloway & Schwartz, 2018, p. 43). At this stage in the process, the coding team looked for larger concepts within a framework and began to identify and develop messy maps which later lead to refinement, through use of social worlds/arenas maps and positional maps. Social worlds/arenas maps are “ecological cartographies of the major collective commitment, relations, and sites of action in the situation. These maps lay out all of the major groups, organizations, institutions, and other collective actors, and portray their relative sizes and key relations” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 104). The positional maps,

plot positions articulated, and not articulated, in the major discourses in the situation (e.g., interviews, reports, websites, documents, media coverage, etc.) about issues of contention. Positional maps detail core debates in the situation to reveal the full array of positions taken and not taken in the data. (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 104)

It is important to note that much of what happened at this stage was dependent on the data that was received.

Ethical Considerations

During the research process there are many matters that call for ethical consideration for both the researcher as well as the participants as active partners in the process. For a grounded theory study using situational analysis and conducting in-depth interviews, alongside document review and observational analysis, it is imperative to develop an atmosphere of mutual trust,

obtain consent, and maintain confidentiality throughout the process (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Furthermore, participants are volunteers and their belief systems and values may differ significantly from mine.

Gaining permission for data collection. Researchers require permission to collect data, not only from the individuals being interviewed, but also those in charge of locations where additional information will be collected to bolster the situational analysis. My research posed an unusual situation. Whereas in most cases the permission needed at the individual and situational level would have been sought from different individuals, for this study, the same individual had dual roles. With the main sample being women in executive leadership positions across multiple agencies, these women not only served as respondents or participants for this study but also held the power over the permission to use and release any additional departmental documentation that was needed for a more comprehensive assessment of the situation. Thus, I had to ensure that I sought and received permission when relevant, at both the individual as well as the departmental level.

Informed consent. A researcher can never be certain why an individual agrees to be a research participant. All that can be done is ask potential participants if they are willing to participate in a study and, then, be sensitive to their nonverbal as well as verbal responses (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). In light of that, participants were provided information regarding the study and asked to sign a consent form (Appendix E) to ensure willingness to participate in the study. The form was retained by the researcher with a copy provided to the participant. Participants were also reminded throughout the course of the study of confidentiality safeguards and their right to withdraw at any time.

Protecting the identity of participants. As was discussed in previous chapters, women in executive leadership positions in law enforcement represent a comparatively small number in the 18,000 law enforcement agencies. Thus, there was a particular sensitivity to sampling this population as others could, with minimal effort, identify respondents with basic information presented within the study. Although there was an expectation of no more than minimal risk to the participants, I was particularly careful to protect the identities of the women throughout this process. This was done by stripping all documents of identifiers and using study codes on data documents rather than using identifying information.

Cross-racial conversations. Due to the small number of women in these positions, and the fact that there are multidimensional factors to take into consideration when exploring women in law enforcement, there was an anticipation of some level of cross-racial conversations coming to the fore during data collection. It was important to be aware of this possibility and I was prepared to navigate potentially challenging conversations, while also being clear on my role and responsibility as a researcher—not as a practitioner in the field with the skills to provide guidance in areas of discomfort.

Personnel, departmental, and external tensions. Women in law enforcement executive leadership positions also have to navigate a very rigid, militarized, male-dominated space, and with that there are instances of tension and barriers that women experience both internally as well as externally. Again, it was anticipated that this reality could potentially lead to challenging conversations during the data collection process. Similar to the previous anticipated situation, throughout the research, I strove to clearly establish and articulate researcher roles and responsibility, and worked within my limits as a researcher.

Chapter Summary

The chapter described the proposed methods that were used to explore the complex lives and experiences of women in law enforcement executive positions. The methodological fit was established for the use of grounded theory in combination with situational analysis. This was further supported by providing a brief history of the evolution of grounded theory from the original work of Glaser and Strauss (1965) through to the postmodern spin of situational analysis discussed by Clarke et al. (2018). The chapter also provided a detailed explanation of the study design, looking at the population of study and the sample selection technique of purposeful sampling, as well as the methods of data collection and analysis.

Chapter IV: Findings—Dimensional Analysis

This study used a grounded theory (GT) approach in combination with situational analysis, resulting in the findings presented in both this and the next chapter. This chapter reflects the dimensional analysis interpreted from the data obtained from participants' interviews. This was a micro-level analysis with a focus on the social processes and the conditions under which they transpired. Using the narratives from participants' lived experiences, the study begins to parse an understanding of the journeys of women in police executive leadership positions. Taking a positive organizational psychology approach to explore the research question—what have been the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank?—the study focuses mainly on the factors that elevated these women to the top, and not the challenges they have experienced, which is well documented in the literature. By the end of Chapter IV there will be more clarity around the micro-level forces that help women to advance in policing and gain top executive leadership positions. What are the assumptions women in policing have when they make the decision to pursue advancing up the ranks? What are the many ways that women engage when moving forward in their careers? What is happening when a woman in policing moves to an executive leadership position? How does she understand what is happening to her as she moves through the ranks to an executive leadership position?

There is no doubt that women in top policing executive positions is a growing phenomenon; participants in this study shared the perception of society being “more open to embrace that reality” (P21).² However, there was also a recognition and articulation among the participants, that despite this growing phenomenon, there are some, both within and outside of

² The participants were each assigned a designator from P1 to P21; at the end of each quote, this number, which designates an individual participant, is provided allowing the reader to recognize which interviews were accessed in the meaning making here.

the department who still believe women should not be in such high positions of power (P2, P6). Women are still expected to work twice as hard and over qualify, just to be seen as equal to their male counterparts (P6, P7, P11) with men still benefiting from having a gender and race that is seen as ideal for the position (P16, P21) in this White male-dominated profession with the ever present ole boys network (P19). And even though women prepared themselves and made sure they checked all the boxes, often they would hear “they are just not ready yet” (P17). After all these years, the numbers still remain consistently low: “That's by design. I tell people this all the time, there are gatekeepers in place to make sure we stay in place. And until you deal with structures, like we're doing here, that number will never get higher” (P2).

The analyses that follow helped untangle the complex journey of women officers to top positions of power, giving us a more comprehensive understanding of their experiencing and their thinking through their progression. The co-creation of theory arose from the stories of real people, living real experiences, recounting as best they can. This was coupled with the researcher's understanding and articulated as best to represent the participants' journey as situated in a wider reality that also has significant impact on this journey. This analysis which relates to culture, context, and time, constructs, or reconstructs both the participants' and the researcher's way of thinking. The results of analysis represent the researcher's interpretive understanding, rather than the researcher's explanation, of how the participants create their understanding and meaning of reality (see Hallberg, 2006).

The data for this analysis came in response to the interview question: What have been your experiences, and how have you made meaning of those experiences in your progression to your current position? Entering the conversations with this question, caused hesitation for some of the participants who commented of how broad the question seemed: “Wow! That's a really broad

question and I understand why you do that. We could be here all day” (P17). However, many voiced their appreciation for the approach I was taking in an attempt to understand the social processes through their individual lived experiences, as well as the impact of the broader space and context within which they operate (meso and macro): “That’s really amazing, that grounded theory methodology. You always hear the other methodologies that are taken to get data or information and report on scientific research and everything, but this one is amazing” (P1). “I am grateful that you’re doing it from an asset base versus the deficit model thinking and what are those positive things that we had to do, that we had to put in place. So that’s been interesting” (P11).

This method gave the participants the space to tell their stories the way they wanted to, at the pace they wanted, starting from wherever they thought was important to them—and important for me to understand—“I’m going to start before law enforcement because I think it’s important and it’s an important story” (P5). One participant pushed me to not just think of women broadly, because the journey of women of color would be a starkly different journey because her reality would be very different from her White colleagues: “If we talk about women in general, I think what I have to do is usually put this in my own historical context” (P2).

There was one participant who thought the question a bit daunting and so an additional prompt was given in such situations: Tell me about your journey to the top and help me to understand what got you there and what that all meant for you?

Grounded Theory Dimensional Analysis

This chapter looks at the meaning making through the dimensional analysis process, a period of organizing the data into discrete categories according to their dimensions. An explanatory matrix has been created and displayed as Table 4.1 to help in understanding of the

emergence of a framework from the data gathered. This explanatory matrix, considered the “cornerstone of the analytic process” (Kools et al., 1996), provides the researcher with a conceptual structure to examine the relationship among the dimensions, moving analysis beyond description and into realm of explanation. It helped to differentiate the distinctive characteristics of the identified dimensions into various conceptual components such as context, conditions, processes, or consequences.

The context indicates the boundaries of inquiry—that is the, the situation of environment in which the dimensions are embedded. Conditions are the most salient of dimensions. Conditions, by nature of their relative importance to a given phenomenon, have an impact on actions and interactions. Conditions are dimensions of a phenomenon that facilitate, block, or in some other way shape actions and/or interactions—the processes of a given phenomenon. Processes which include intended and unintended actions or interactions that are impelled by specified conditions. Finally, consequences are the outcome of these specific actions and/or interactions. (Kools et al., 1996, p. 318)

The analysis is centered around the core dimension of *Wanting Change*, with all other primary dimensions—*Being Visible*, *Making Opportunities*, *Taking Chances*—“stand in relationship to the core dimension as conditions, action/interactional strategies, or consequences” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 14). The primary dimensions in this study are however not listed in the explanatory matrix among the properties of the core dimension. This was my conscious decision when going through the constant comparison process and recognizing that there were other conditions, processes, and consequences that were important for an understanding of the core dimension. However, it is important to note that the primary dimensions are certainly being impacted by, filtered through, or having impact on the core dimension, and vice versa, and will be discussed against that understanding.

Grounded theory is a research methodology based in a context, and the theories and models are inductively extracted from the analysis of contextual data. This means that the researcher has to be sensitive to the context and the situation. Knowledge of this context was a

key aspect in interacting with participants and collecting data. While context is included in the explanatory matrices below, it is important to note that it will not be discussed in this chapter, but in Chapter V. Chapter V will explore further into the situational analyses which seeks to understand the dense complexities of women's journeys to top executive policing leadership positions, broadly conceived. The dimensions and its properties discussed in Chapter IV are conveyed through the use of direct participant quotes. These quotes provide the meaning and give rise to the language that exist and helps to elucidate the interplay between individual agency—the capacity of a participant to act independently, making their own free choice, and organizational structure. At the end of each quote, there is a number which matches to an individual participant to allow the reader to recognize which interviews were accessed in the meaning making. To secure participants' identities all descriptors of names or places have been scrubbed from the narrative, and where necessary for more clarity, generic terms have been inserted to not lose meaning of the intended statements. To help the reader track the different elements or properties within the explanatory matrices, I have italicized and title case for all dimensions and italicized and sentence case for properties (conditions, processes, consequences) of each dimension.

Table 4.1

Explanatory Matrix for Understanding the Journey of Women Reaching the Top

DIMENSIONS	PROPERTIES		
	Conditions	Processes	Consequences
Wanting Change (Core Dimension)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for change in the profession • Strained police-community relations • Palpable atmosphere of discrimination and harassment • Legitimate power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being self-aware • Learning to lead • Having a higher purpose • Doing it for the right reason 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moving up the ranks • Recruited or assigned to higher position • Women brought in to clean up stuff • Different type of leadership • Greater commitment to service • Self-actualization
Being Visible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of experiences • Exposure and engagement opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being heard • Intentionally showing up • Being at the table and having a voice • Saving a seat for a sister 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discriminated against and harassed • Pigeonholed • Supported • Shoulder tapped to advance career
Making Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other avenues for career development • Special assignments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being flexible • Collaborating • Being supportive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-rounded career • Visibility • Negative impact on family
Taking Chances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive leadership • Changing environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being strategic • Being courageous • Having grit and determination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition • Gender role perceptions

Dimensional Analysis Findings: Core Dimension

The core dimension is the central phenomenon around which all other major and minor categories relate. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), it should be a concept that is sufficiently broad and abstract that summarizes in a few words the main ideas expressed in the study, in order to be used as the overarching concept typing all other categories together; it should appear frequently in the data; it must be logical and consistent with the data and; it should grow in depth and explanatory power as each of the other categories are described and defined (p. 189).

“You are the future of policing.” That is what prompted one participant in her quest to change careers and apply for a position as a police officer. She had engaged extensively with law enforcement in her community, both in formal and informal capacities, and wanted to make a difference. Having very different backgrounds and experiences and diverse reasons for becoming a police officer, the participants are in their current executive leadership positions because ultimately, they *Wanted Change*. Table 4.2 presents the core dimension, *Wanting Change*, the processes that further characterize the core dimension, the conditions in which the processes emerge and their consequences. In the sections that follow, I will describe the properties of the core dimension, *Wanting Change*.

Table 4.2

Properties for Core Dimension of Wanting Change

DIMENSION	PROPERTIES		
	Conditions	Processes	Consequences
Wanting Change (Core Dimension)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for change in the profession • Strained police-community relations • Palpable atmosphere of discrimination and harassment • Legitimate power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being self-aware • Learning to lead • Having a higher purpose • Doing it for the right reason 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moving up the ranks • Recruited or assigned to higher position • Women brought in to clean up stuff • Different type of leadership • Greater commitment to service • Self-actualization

Wanting Change: The condition. The desire for change emerged from the following evolving conditions: need for change in the profession, strained policing-community relations, palpable atmosphere of discrimination and harassment, and having power. These conditions are the driving forces for women wanting change and recognizing that in order to achieve change they needed to be in positions of power. These conditions demanded action, which in many cases lead to consequences or outcomes. For each of the dimensions, I will attempt to walk the reader through this constant interplay.

Need for change in the profession. Policing has changed in recent years and continues to evolve. However, participants were driven by a desire for further change in policing, both as a profession and at the departmental level, “trying to change the profession for the better” (P8). There was a recognition that there is a greater possibility for change the higher up the rank one went.

I think the higher up you go, the more impact you have. The more opportunities you're given to direct policy or at least give the chief or the city manager or the city council advice and recommendations. And until you get to that point, you're battling in a bureaucracy and a system that's just very hard to overcome at a lower level position. (P9)

With the evolution of policing, this need for change at the departmental level and more broadly was being recognized not only by the participants, but also their superior at the time, with participants being assigned to specialized units to act as change managers:

The chief at the time recognized the need for change, and the tremendous impact a woman could have on policies, being given the opportunity to voice concerns on matters that affected them most. He said, "The policy office needs a change. It needs to have people assigned there that have a variety of different skill sets, that know the department and they've been in different units. It's changing from what it used to be—all Ivy League students working in the policy office." (P1)

There was also an argument for women to be involved in the policy decisions, recognizing that who is at the table making policy really have an impact on the outcomes of those policies and how its implemented, and how it impacts whatever issue you've designed it for. (P2)

Wanting change also meant the need for a more diverse workforce. "I bring a very different perspective because my lived experience is far different than many of you in this room. And because of that, the way policy is informed is going to be different" (P17). All the participants were very much aware of the minute numbers of women in the profession and the even smaller percentage at the leadership level. By and large, they wanted more diversity in the room and across the profession at all levels. For all participants, it wasn't just a matter of adding more women, but also paying attention to the diversity of women being added and the inclusion of these women into positions of power at the decision-making level. "The majority of the studies have been on 'why can't we get more women as police officers?' And, not enough looking on how to get more women into leadership positions" (P17).

"Representation and seeing women at higher ranks is important for women to know and understand the possibilities that exist" (P10). Women constitute 12% of the profession and

represent approximately 3% at the leadership level. With that reality, in many cases women are not represented and therefore do not have a role in decision-making. But the profession continues to be challenged at all angles due to this reality:

I think the effort by some agencies and even cities to recognize the need for change, to recognize the need for diversity. Because it's almost like our industry was pushed up against the door to say if you aren't going to make some changes in this whole leadership thing and your method of operation, then law enforcement is going to have a hard time with trust in the community. (P21)

Some participants made a very conscious decision to increase the representation of women far above the national average in their own departments and appealed to others to do the same.

I hope that the women who have gone down this path... making that conscientious, purposeful thought to bring other women up and move women throughout this field. If you look at my department and you look up the make-up of the demographics of my department, we're almost 40% women. We have almost the whole United Nations in my police department. I hope that other women out there that are doing what we're doing. (P13)

That diversity brought with it a different perspective, one that could respond to the growing need for change in the profession.

Strained community-police relations. The strained relationship between the community and police was a condition that led many participants to where they were at the time of the interview, in a position of power that could have an impact to create change. Participant 1 recognized that the community wanted to be heard, and, in response, she created a satisfaction survey translated into seven different languages and had recruits actually call individuals from the public that had interacted with the police. This allowed them to “take the temperature in the community about what they thought about the police” (P1).

Participant 5 spoke about the marginalization of some communities, and acknowledged the trauma some communities, “some vulnerable communities,” have faced at the hands of police.

I want people to understand us and know us and for us to know them, and to know their concerns and their histories with law enforcement. And for us to be empathetic to that and

understand that we have an ugly history with the community and not everybody has been treated great by the police department and we have to fix that together. Not just us. We can't fix this by ourselves. We have to mend those fences. (P5)

In response, not only did she do active outreach to marginalized communities, but also created a video for her department that spoke about the importance of having a healthy and trusting relationship with the community, which will more likely lead to greater cooperation. “And if they cooperate, we use less force. And when we use less force, we get hurt less. I try to tie all these reasons for having a good relationship, not to mention, that’s probably why you started in policing, with their needs” (P5).

Participant 18 experienced firsthand mistreatment based on color, having seen her own family being pulled over as a child and her father being talked down to and him not saying anything, which “caused something to rise up” in her.

Palpable atmosphere of discrimination and harassment. Gender discrimination and harassment in policing, while seemingly less than in the past, nonetheless still exists. The participants in the study, in one way or another, have experienced this discrimination and/or harassment and believe that this is one area where change is needed and a reason for them continuing to move through the ranks to positions of power to effect change. Discrimination and harassment also show up as a consequence in one of the three primary dimensions of *Being Visible*, with the idea that more visibility leads to more opportunities for others to exercise discriminatory practices or harass the participants. As a condition, Participant 3 articulated that the cultural climate in policing is “still not able to embrace and support females.” And she thinks that “people still have a hard time *taking chances* on us” (P3). And another similarly observed, “No matter how much you push, you could only go so far because they only see you as the woman first” (P7).

In fact, some of the participants have had to have file lawsuits, “a horrible experience where they tried to intimidate me, parked their undercover van down the street from my house, called former employers and tried to get dirt on me. There was nothing, but they were making people's lives uneasy” (P3). This did not stop her from moving forward with the process, which served its purpose.

The lawsuit served its purpose. What was interesting, in that once it was filed and the word got out, these women who had formerly worked there called and said, "I will need to tell my story. Can I give a deposition?" We had these women come out of the woodwork to give depositions, unsolicited. They wanted to tell their story and every story had shades of the one before it. They were all so similar. (P3)

And even after Participant 3 moved to another department, at every step of the way every promotion was challenged. Some of the other participants also experienced hostility the higher up the ranks they went, all of which drove them further to *want change*:

The higher I went on the career trajectory, the more hostility I was receiving. Where before people didn't perceive me as a threat, and I was one of the guys and I was a good worker and people were happy to have me in their units. When it became evident that I would be competing with the men at the higher ranks, that's when I really started being subjected to outward hostility. (P10)

And in general, a number of participants just did not feel welcomed at different points of their journey. “As a female, entering this career, I thought that everything was equal. That they would just be so happy to have me there because I knew what I was bringing to the table. I knew I could do this work” (P21). However, some quickly realized that “the profession is not as welcoming as it claims it is. They really are still not interested in women and minorities in this field. This is still a White male, Republican, conservative profession” (P11).

And there was an added layer of discrimination followed by challenges for participants of color, who have had to prove far more.

I think, as we move up the rank, being a woman definitely has its disadvantages, but being a Black woman, I think, is even worse. And that's because they seem like they have to find a place for you. I'll give you an example. I was working in information technology and a

deputy chief came and says, "Hey, the chief wants to promote you to deputy chief. He just has to find a place for you." I said, "There are already places. All he has to do is pick one." He goes, "No, we're looking." (P7)

I've even heard, not just with as far as being a woman goes, but I've heard as far as in a lot of different places, "Oh, African American folks aren't necessarily ready for leadership positions yet because their administrative skills aren't as strong." (P17)

And then I was surprised to see that there were people there that didn't welcome this African American female, and this intelligent African American female. I think the intelligence and the level of education, I think, was even more of a threat as an African American female coming into a male dominated environment that was traditionally run by White males, very few White females at the time, and certainly not strong African American females in leadership positions. (P21)

There was also discrimination associated with participants' sexual orientation. For those who identified as lesbians, one of whom was located in "a very conservative city, predominantly White, and so I had a lot of struggles, one, in the conservativeness of the city and in being a lesbian and being out." On many occasions throughout their journey, these participants also did not feel welcomed:

I was chief. The males—the other chiefs and the sheriff—they were bros. They didn't really hug me, or they didn't really welcome me. I wasn't the first female—I was the first lesbian. I don't know that there had been one before. They made a deal out of it in the paper. No big thing. I did tell them that. When they asked me, "The lady that pinned you is your wife?" and I'm like, "Haven't all the other chiefs had a wife? How am I different? I'm just like them." (P4)

But there was acknowledgement that the struggles experienced due to society's characterization of what is acceptable was still different for some more some, than for others.

I thought, as a woman and as a lesbian in a male-dominated field, I've had to deal with my life over the last 30 years and what that's been about. Thirty years ago, it wasn't cool to be gay. It wasn't okay to be out. All that comes along with that. And I was thinking, African Americans have to go through life with this identifier on them. I could pretend I'm not gay. You can't pretend you're not African American. I cannot imagine what's that's like being judged constantly. (P13)

Legitimate power. Police executive leaders have legitimate power and the authority to effect change in the society in which we live which requires an interplay between agency and

structure. Having that awareness, the participants in the study knew that if they wanted change, they needed to go to the highest possible position; a position that would give legitimate power to have impact at the level that they were striving for.

It was a big step, but I realized that it was needed. They didn't have anybody—there was no other female and a lot of times they hadn't even considered this other perspective. When I knew that, I knew how powerful my voice was and how powerful it was as a female, that I needed to step up and bring that other experience to the table, then I was like, "I need to be at the table permanently." (P8)

As we look at the tail end of my career, I know I'm in a position to impact change. I can exercise my sense of civic duty, my sense of community, my sense of equity in the work environment, not just racially, but gender-wise as well. (P21)

And there is great respect that comes with having this high-ranking position: "you get invited into people's worlds that the ordinary person doesn't get to step into. And it's unfortunate and sad in some situations, but it's also a great opportunity to make a life better" (P3). "My role as a leader, as a law enforcement professional, as a lesbian in the community" (P5), allowed her and others the privilege of touching so many things:

I value people. I treat all people with dignity and respect. Perhaps that was some of the drive. I saw so many bad bosses, bad leaders. I didn't want to work for them. I wanted it to be me. Whether or not I thought I was capable, I still took the test. It was important for me to do that. I wanted the top. (P4)

Influence for me has become intentional. I'm very cognizant of how I influence others in giving of my time and coaching and mentoring and counselling and all those things in just having a relationship, knowing their families. All things and places that are influential. Even in the community. I am super community involved. (P5)

This executive leadership position that "put people in the most powerful positions was also connected somehow politically to the establishment" (P10).

Wanting Change: The processes. To achieve the change they wanted, the participants described processes of action or interaction that would allow them to get to the change they wanted. This included being self-aware, learning how to lead, having a higher purpose, and doing things for the right reasons.

Being self-aware. Wanting change starts with knowing self; it's about understanding and having conscious knowledge of one's own desires and feelings. But it goes beyond knowledge and into action with the possibility of failure, knowing that failure can lead to growth that is needed for actual change to take place:

Knowing that you need to change doesn't do you any good if you don't change. It doesn't do you any good to know if you're not going to do something about it. Action is what matters. I think what's critically important is for people to take the time and to understand that it's fine. Failure is fine. It's great. Failure is great, actually. You might not get promoted. It was a failure in a sense that I didn't get promoted, but I had the most growth. Probably starting right then I started to have growth. (P5)

Being self-aware also means knowing one's limitations and the behaviors that might affect how one comes across to others. "A tremendous amount of self-evaluation starts to happen around what you think you can provide or not provide or what your limitations are" (P2). Being self-aware is an acceptance of those limitations and a recognition that one must behave differently to get to the *wanted change*:

I finally realized what my issue was, and that I was the problem. I didn't have any emotional intelligence. I lacked understanding of myself, had no self-management, no social awareness. It was also partially that I don't have a lot of empathy. Naturally, I don't. That has to do with my upbringing. I think I wouldn't have become a chief had I not made it past that hurdle of making people a priority. Because I'm very task driven, I'm very outcome oriented, I'm not people driven. I'm not relationship driven. Those just weren't important to me. (P5)

I had to teach myself how when I'm talking, to break the lines in my face. So, I say the word "easy" to remind myself. When I go into a room, I would sit in the back in a corner or sit off by myself. I had to change that behavior as well. I had to make sure that I didn't do that. I would tell myself, "sit in the middle of the table." I tell myself when I walk in a room, "speak to at least three people. Just make sure, before you go sit down at your table, you walk around, and you speak to three people." (P7)

Participants also understand that at the stage of executive leadership what they say and how they behave is closely watched and is directly linked to success or failure, and one's ability to impact change. Participant 14, knows that at this stage in her life, she is definitely trying to be

more self-aware of how others perceive or how others receive what her intentions are, what her goal is:

I am purposely trying to continuously evaluate myself. This is a time in my life that I am becoming more self-aware and recognizing that everything I say is amplified to others. Often something that I'm not trying to amplify. It may be something very simple, but I have to be very careful what I say to others in a group and what I say behind closed doors. I have to tell my staff, "Don't take this as the gospel. Just be patient with me as I think out loud so you can understand what I'm thinking, but I need your help. Because if what I'm thinking is perceived, or you're taking it the wrong way, I need to trust you to speak up and tell me about how it sounds. Because I'm going to tell you, but I don't need you to lack any confidence to confront me, because you're helping me learn how it's being received, and you're helping me learn if I'm projecting it correctly." (P14)

Learning to lead. Wanting change was directly linked to the type of leadership these women exemplified.

The older I got, the more I realized that in order for me to be successful, I really needed to know myself, be comfortable with my leadership and not try to be externally defined. So authentic leadership has been something that I've grown into. I think people can hold leadership positions, but I think to be most effective, that authenticity is key. (P15)

Part of *learning to lead* meant deep introspection and understanding your faults and to be vulnerable about it. Participant 5 publicly points out everything she does wrong to her staff because she wants them to know they can point it out about her, and that she will be okay with it. She wants them to be comfortable telling her when she "screws stuff up."

Learning to lead meant thinking not only about self, but to recognize the power of high-ranking positions, and understanding the potential harm and damage that can be done from that position of power, understanding the possible wider impact:

At this point in my career, I believe it's about giving back. What I say here is that my goal is to shine your star so when your name is called, when you're ready. Because for this chief's job, I didn't apply. They called me and said, "We want you to be the chief." Sometimes people see something in you that you don't see in yourself, but it's because you're ready. Make sure you stay focused and stay in a place where you're learning, you're growing, and people will see that. I don't think I've ever been labeled as -- the angry black woman. I have tried hard not to carry that label, but more or less carry the label of someone who is a servant leader. And by that, it means that it's not about me, it's about purpose and it's about me influencing, impacting, and imparting. Influence where I can,

impact in this profession and in my community, and impart knowledge when I can. That has always been my focus and my goal. (P18)

Learning to lead as a process also meant an understanding that they can't do it alone. They need support and to "onboard my partners to be a part of a team" (P13). It also meant a recognition that all along the journey, "a lot of my learning is really learning from other people" (P2). Participants would always keep themselves in positions to learn from others:

Putting myself in training positions, and then watching others. Because I do believe when you watch others, you can learn from their mistakes and you can also learn to say, this is the type of leader I want to be, this is the type of leader I don't want to be. (P18)

I learned through my leadership journey that you're only as good as those who work for you. You have to really demonstrate a genuineness to people to make sure that they understand that yes, we are getting paid to do something, but you actually care, that you recognize that they're not just a number, they're not just a resource. They're a person and they have families and there's a reason why we have said and signed up to do the things that we really do. (P19)

Having a higher purpose. Wanting change for the participants was an acknowledgement that "this is bigger than me" (P3). It is a realization "that I'm not just doing this for me, I am doing this for all the women that are coming after me. I'm trying to change the profession for the better" (P8). Some believed that the "why we police?" is super important, and "why we want to lead is this higher calling of contribution and giving a path for somebody else" (P20).

I was being prepared for something greater and I wasn't able to appreciate that until I walked into it. "If not me then who, if not now then, when?" When we're going through it, we're not always able to see it. We're not always disciplined to stand still and say, "Okay, this is for a reason." Now, in my role, and as I've gotten older and I've matured, I recognize that when I feel a little bit of a rumble coming or if I'm going through something, it's for a greater purpose and that my purpose is far greater than myself. (P17).

And for some, that *higher purpose* was guided by a higher being or higher power, a belief in something or someone that would guide them through and make a path for them.

I know the day I was sworn in and they asked me if I wanted to say anything, and I just made one statement that my goal was to please God. And if I keep that my focus, it doesn't

matter what people say about me, what they think, I'm going to keep my focus on that, and I believe I'll always do the right thing. While I have the right heart, it may not come out right, but my heart is in the right place. (P18)

Everything that I've had an opportunity to achieve in terms of this ascension, we'll say, it just kind of unfolded before me. And I think "what the hell is that about?" It's like the universe is kind of conspiring, and I just had to be aware of it. I consider it like it's a consciousness versus a drive, but the drive and the work ethic made it possible. It's like, I didn't pick it. Kind of the universe said, "Hey, you're supposed to be here," and I just said, "Oh, okay, cool." (P20)

Having faith helped them keep focussed on the higher purpose and acceptance that they were supposed to be where they were.

I accepted that job offer. [That was] within three years of me first saying, "I'm going to do things to be a chief, I was a deputy chief." And I was like, "Okay God, I guess you're about to send me into a gauntlet." That was another hard challenge, to be able to come to a department that had never had anyone from the outside come in. It was a very serious challenge, but I had grown enough through my previous experience to realize I've got to build trust and relationship with people from the inside. That's my responsibility because when you build that trust, people believe in you and then they can make an effective difference in the community, and not be defensive, understanding I am the outsider. (P14)

Doing it for the right reasons. The participants in the study "approached policing in a different manner, doing it for the right reasons" (P4). Ultimately "to have a national impact on law enforcement and the community. I want the community to love us the way that I love them and to see us the way that I see us" (P5). Participants wanted to be able to influence some kind of change:

When you hear about police officers, you're like, "Oh my God, they're awful and they're this." I believe, "Don't complain if you are not doing anything about it." I think this is kind of my way of doing something about it. Although, I did not think I would have risen to the level that I had and had the influence that I have. (P7)

Growing up on the police department, recognizing certain things, "That's not right," and being confident enough to say, "I'm not going with the flow. I don't need to go with the flow when I identify things that aren't right." But also, as I went up through the ranks, recognizing, "I'm okay standing by myself, and speaking up on the masses when I'm going to get ostracized." (P14)

Wanting Change: The consequences/outcomes. Consequences of *wanting change* led to the participants moving up the ranks, being intentionally and aggressively recruited, women being brought in to clean up stuff, a different type of leadership, a new narrative, greater commitment to service, and self-actualization.

Moving up the ranks. *Wanting change* materialized into participants being intentional about *moving up the ranks* and doing what was necessary to achieve career advancement to higher positions where they would increase their ability and power to make change happen. *Moving up the ranks* is a consequence that is consistent across all dimensions, with being visible, making opportunities, and taking chances, all leading to participants moving up the ranks. For these participants however, there was a level of intentionality which also meant knowing who you are and what you are capable of doing, building a profile and a brand:

Know who you are. Know your sweet spot. Know your wheelhouse. What we do is rely on our occupation to evaluate us and say, “Okay, she is coming for this position, let me see what she has done.” They rely on evaluations that your other supervisors do. But you should know your profile so when you start to move up the ranks, you know what type of leader you are, and you know what you can do best for the agency. (P1)

Moving up the ranks meant testing and passing exams at the lower level; and appointments at the higher level, a more intense process, in some situations going before a panel. Despite the challenges they faced at every rung of the ladder, and the obvious show of discrimination, these women persisted and kept pushing themselves to move forward. “For me, it was really important to continue to excel and not just be where I was. I always wanted to promote” (P4). Participants would do a job, but were always looking where they could go next:

I reached the rank of lieutenant by my tenth year. I still had 15 more years to go. I said I might as well keep testing. Turns out that I was a pretty good tester and so when I took the captain’s exam, I came out number one, and deputy chief, I came out number one. (P10)

The first opportunity to get a star, be a division chief, was an interesting experience. They had one position open. Myself, a male colleague, and probably five other people, interviewed. There was a community panel that would advise the chief. I went in and did

what I normally would do, I assumed. I apparently, made it difficult for them to choose and they weren't expecting that because they had the position pegged for the White male colleague. They made him. The Black community was outraged and were very vocal in the paper that we were in that room and we knew what needed to happen. (P2)

Moving up the ranks often meant stepping outside of their comfort zone and moving to new opportunities in other departments. A move that some defined as risky but knew that “at the end of the day, if you want to get things done and accomplished, you got to be willing to take risk to do it” (9).

My biggest move was when I decided to come over here. I had gone to supervisor school with somebody who was working here. They contacted me and told me about the position here and asked me, “Would you be willing to come over here? This department really needs to come into the 21st century.” I said, “Well, I don’t know. I hadn’t thought about it.” That’s a big move because working forever at a city. I loved what I did. I love the people. I’d worked in every single department you could think of. I did everything from the tactical end, to the personnel end. It would be a different change. I could make a difference, different challenge. I thought about it. There was a part of me that was like, “Well, that’s a risk.” (P6)

Participant 8, while not joining the profession with the intent of moving up, quickly realized it was necessary because her theory around who was in the profession and their capabilities was totally wrong. When she came to that realization, she knew she needed to step up:

I never thought I wanted to be in a position of power. I always came in with the thought that all the males around me knew so much and they were so good at what they did. I quickly saw that they didn’t, and they were making it up as they went along, and they weren't really as smart as I thought they were. These calls that I see them handling and I don't like the way they're handling them; I need to do more. I serve the community that I grew up in and I’m familiar with it and I wanted to actually make a difference. That's when I first got the idea that maybe I can promote, and I can have an effect on other officers and staff. (P8)

Participants also recognized that to have the legitimate authority and power to make certain decision, to impact change, they needed to *move up the ranks*. “A lot of times, I didn’t have the authority to make certain decisions because of my position. So, as we went through, I decided, I should probably try to promote again” (P8).

I didn't like a lot of things that I saw, but I felt that the leadership, at a critical time evolved quick enough to make meaningful change and so I wanted to be a part of that. I had a lot of people of higher ranks really take interest in me and really help me with promotional issues and protocols to get promoted. (P9)

Recruited or assigned to higher position. With so few women in policing and more so in positions of leadership, the small pool allows for an intentional and aggressive level of recruitment as “many departments want to throw women in the mix all the time, but it doesn't mean they actually wanted me for the job” (P3). It's all about the optics; how it looks, especially when there is a charge for visible change. “Several agencies that were specific about we're looking for a female leader to run our organization, and I kept saying no thank you because, I was in no hurry to leave my department” (P19). Many have seen over the years, recruiters reaching out to them, making the offers seem very attractive:

The recruiter, I'll tell you they did a magnificent job with pointing out all of the characteristics comparing to my current department; they're CALEA accredited³ and their police philosophy within their organization. All of the things that were similar to where I was and where I loved. Highlighting the city website, the department, which all looked like it was a great place to work. (P19)

In policing one can either get promoted or be assigned to a higher position. With the participants *Wanting Change*, their motivation, their drive, their visibility all put them in situations to being assigned to positions of power:

When Chief chose me to be assistant chief, it felt good. Chief had a chance to send me back, as far back as lieutenant. Because assistant chiefs are just lieutenants assigned as assistant chiefs in our civil service structure. So, I could have been knocked back to captain or to lieutenant, but he retained me and of course that makes you want to work even harder for somebody, right?” (P16).

³ The Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies, (CALEA, n.d.), is a credentialing authority through the joint efforts of major executive associations in law enforcement. It's main purpose is to provide professional credentialing services in the field of public safety, to establish standards to improve professionalism and services in law enforcement. Participating in the accreditation process is voluntary, and accreditation through CALEA is highly regarded.

Women being brought in to clean stuff up. With so few women in positions of power in policing, their recruitment in many cases, were in an effort to bring her in to departments to clean stuff up. “For me, there was an expectation that I’m going to come in here and fix 150 years of things that had been institutionalized well before I was even thought of. One person. That’s a very heavy and unfair burden” (P17).

The county, at the time, was having a lot of issues, always in the media with not so good press. He said, “Just come. Just put the application in. I’ll wait for you to finish the National Academy.” He made me a conditional job offer while I was finishing up, and I was conflicted, because I really was comfortable with where I was and was not interested in leaving. Then I remember talking to a very close friend and he said, “Remind me again why you’re doing what you do, why you work?” I said, “Because I want to make a difference.” (P14)

And women in many cases are brought in when departments are at their very worst point, without much support to achieve success. Ryan and Haslam (2007) called this phenomenon, the “glass cliff.” They argued that women are brought into leadership positions during periods of crisis when the likelihood of failure is greatest. This is discussed in greater details in Chapter VI. “We are put in these positions, but are we really not supported, or put in a position to be successful and thrive?” (P17). The participants argued for a different way of approaching women’s inclusion:

Yes, we can handle that. We can do that. But we will really change the course of society when we start bringing women into organizations that are already okay, and that don’t need major reform efforts. Because then you don’t spend your time fixing so much, you will spend your time demonstrating how much of a visionary you are and how well you can take the organization to the peak. (P19)

A different type of leadership. Many participants voiced the opinion that women brought something different to the profession:

It is the ability to be approachable, to be collaborative, to speak up, speak out, show out if you need to, and then sometimes just to be there. There is something special that’s brought to the table when you have women, not just in policing, but when you have women in leadership positions.” (P2)

You make the most of the opportunity and you let them know that I'm going to be present, I'm going to be positive, but I'm not going to just do the status quo. If you're looking for the girl who's just going to do the status quo and just give you what the next person did, I'm not that person. You keep on pushing. (P7)

Women's style of leadership, and how it compares to their male colleagues is often a topic of discussion when women in policing get together.

I think back now, and I think of some of the things that we did or that we had to do in order to make a difference. As a female, we could talk the bad guys, the guys that were ready to fight all the male officers; I could talk to him into a pair of handcuffs. I could talk to him into my backseat, where the guys had to fight with them. We could use our verbal skills to de-escalate situations because we weren't trying to overpower them. We didn't have to puff our chest out to show who was the toughest. (P6)

Women brought passion and empathy to the position, having a vested interest, with deep involvement and taking what they do personally.

There's a lot about society norms and government that I don't necessarily appreciate and so I want to do it in a way that I think I can show more love and more even keel-ness. That's another reason, I think, I wanted to be able to do what I think is right. Approach policing in a different manner, which I think is needed. (P4)

We're more creative, we think outside of the box, and I think we have a sense of passion about even family and how we treat our employees and that kind of thing. It's not just checking off the box, we look at the health of the organization as a whole. And I think we're more connected to the community because we are the community. I'm an African American female. I'm a mother. I'm a wife. I know what it's like to be discriminated against. (P21)

Greater commitment to service. Much of what got them here was their *wanting change* which led them on a path of greater commitment to service, "service to others or a profound understanding or desire to do things or create products or things that make a difference, that impact other people" (P15). Some were raised to be "service oriented, raised to be inclusive around race and gender and difference; learning in the process to serve self so I can be of greater service to others" (P20). Throughout the interviews, there was a general sense of a *greater commitment to service*:

I've always been one of those people that's somewhat committed to service. I always wanted to give back. Policing, at the end of the day, is really about service. Of all the things we're doing is providing a service, mostly, to people who are vulnerable. So really focused on service, always wanting to serve and always willing to work hard. (P12)

And despite, knowing that in many situations women were not welcomed, or experienced discrimination or harassment, some participants stood their ground and stayed the course:

I know that I got ostracized as "she's going to be the butthole that speaks up all the time." I was okay with that because I know the rules, and you can't do anything to me because I have knowledge. You can't intimidate me. I don't want a position more than I want justice. I am not going to look the other way and just to have an advantage more than I want justice. (P14)

Self-actualization. Self-actualization, according to Maslow, represents growth of an individual towards fulfilment of the highest needs—achieving one's full potential. For participants, the ultimate consequence of wanting change and achieving fulfilment is reaching self-actualization, but recognizing there is always the potential for more outside of the profession:

I say all the time I'm not going to be a chief of police forever. I had this great opportunity to be as influential as possible for this time period in this environment. That doesn't mean that's the pinnacle of my life. I hope it's not. I know God's got a lot more for me to do. But every step of the way, taking that opportunity to just say, "What is my responsibility in this position?" (P14)

I've reached this level of self-actualization on Maslow's hierarchy of needs, but there's got to be another level somewhere. I don't know what that level is, but I just don't feel like it's time to stop. I'm constantly thinking in terms of what next, what's the next great thing that I could do. The next challenge that I could take on that could be meaningful. There's so much more that we can be if we just imagine it and envision it and set the path towards it. (P21)

That potential for more led this participant to make the radical decision to change gears and move back to her community to help have an impact on the political arena:

My community needs me right now. I'm going to go home and when we talk about the presidential elections, we're all going to be in on this one. This will never happen again. It will never happen. I don't care who it is, but it won't be this. It will never happen again. And there's going to be a fight. I keep telling people every day, I say, "We're going to fight to get this back." They have no intentions to giving up the power, the freedom to say what they want to say. They don't want to be driven back underground. We're going to have to come together and go to work. It is going to take some work. (P2)

Summary for Wanting Change. Participants in this study were all driven by wanting change either within the department or within the community in which they served, and in the profession more broadly. For the participants, there were many aspects of the profession that needed change. Wanting change is what pushed the participants to increase their visibility, make opportunities where ones weren't available to them, and taking chances, which all resulted in them moving up the ranks to positions of power, despite being faced with challenges, despite having to file lawsuits, despite being harassed and being discriminated against throughout their journey. They knew that the only way to achieve the level of change they sought, was to move to executive level positions that afforded them legitimate power to make and have an impact. Only then would they be able to enact change at a level that would be significant for their department, community, and the profession.

Dimensional Analysis Findings: Primary Dimensions

The key process in dimensional analysis is the construction or novel reconstruction of the multiple components of a complex social phenomenon (Kools et al., 1996). Each of the three primary dimensions—*Being Visible*, *Making Opportunities*, *Taking Chances*—discussed below, is an abstract concept with associated properties, representing a component of the phenomenon under study as identified by the researcher from the voices of the participants. This is all in an attempt to address the question, “What ‘all’ is involved here?” (Schatzman, 1991, p. 310), which will reflect the researcher’s interaction with and interpretation of the data.

Being Visible

Dimensions and explanatory matrix for Being Visible. Increasing visibility and being seen was a recurring theme throughout the interviews. Participants thought it was “really important” (P12), and accepted that in order to get promoted, to get assignments, to get

opportunities, to make changes, to move up the ranks to have the power to change the current status quo. The explanatory matrix below in Table 4.3 shows the different properties that exists across conditions, processes and consequences or outcomes of *Being Visible*. Participants needed to be visible, and this was not confined to the four walls of the department or their immediate surroundings. Being visible for the participants meant showing up and out when necessary, being present, being vulnerable in order to show connection with others, the department, the community and more broadly, “You got to be visible; you have to step out of your comfort zone” (P1). To achieve change, one needed to move up the ranks to positions of leadership, one needed to be known and that could only happen when she was being visible, “You are visible and accessible, or you should be, like nobody else in the city” (P5).

Table 4.3

Properties for Primary Dimension Being Visible

DIMENSION	PROPERTIES		
	Conditions	Processes	Consequences
Being Visible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of experiences • Exposure and engagement opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being heard • Intentionally showing up • Being at the table and having a voice • Saving a seat for a sister 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discriminated against and harassed • Pigeonholed • Supported • Shoulder tapped to advance career

Being Visible: The condition. *Being Visible* was influenced by the conditions of diversity of experiences, and exposure and engagement opportunities.

Diversity of experiences. Having the opportunity to increase the diversity of their experiences gave participants the platform to be visible, and in the process taught them different skills and increased their knowledge; experiences they would be able to use as they moved up

within the organization, “Every position that I was in, I learned something different that I would be able to use later as I was moving up within my organizations” (P11). Every opportunity that came along, no matter how “ugly” it seemed, participants stepped in to further build their resume:

I literally took every ugly job that there was so there was not a single position, in the city that I had not worked at some rank. If you talked to almost every woman who have risen to the top, they will tell you, “I’ve worked every aspect of the organization and agency.” It is not a single track through a single area of expertise. We have to have broad expertise in every area. And I can guarantee you my male counterparts do not have and will not have to do the same things. (P11)

Majority of the participants in this study held a variety of positions at every rank. This was just something they knew they had to do to even come close to being considered for a position, despite being well qualified, sometimes more so than their male colleagues, and having the necessary experience to do the job:

I think one of the things that stands out for me, is the variety of positions that I’ve held at every rank. With each step up the ladder, I had a variety of roles and positions. When I look around me at some of my colleagues, I always felt that my professional past was a bit more comprehensive. There are some, particularly, male counterparts, that might have spent their entire police officer experience on the night shift and then somehow got promoted. And managed to get promoted further having strictly a one-dimensional experience. Whereas, I think my own progression really has relied, in many ways, on a diversity of experience in different roles. (P15)

Exposure and engagement opportunities. Being visible also means having or being given opportunities to be seen. So, exposure and engagement opportunities were an important condition for participants to increase their visibility. For some this happened at different levels of their career:

After the Criminal Justice Bureau, I had a sergeant come to me and say, “We would love to have you in the press office. We're having a tough time with the African American media and we would like representation in our office. And the Commissioner would also like for you to actually be the mistress of ceremonies doing the promotional ceremony.” (P1)

Participants were able to get exposed to different or unique opportunities because of progressive leadership, a condition that shows up later in another primary dimension of *Taking*

Chances. These progressive leaders believed that women should have equal opportunity to be exposed to positions that were typically reserved for male colleagues.

He is what we would consider a progressive chief at the time. It was his belief that women needed to be exposed to those positions that are typically male dominated, where women don't get in and you need to go in and understand what that role is. That's why I ended up at the gang unit. That's why I ended up in IT designing the records management system. (P2)

These progressive leaders also recognized the importance of working with the community. This came from a very intentional strategy to engage and reengage with the community, to connect and build trust between the department and the community, one of the six essential tenets of community policing:

He wanted to collaborate with other community organizations to start a Family Justice Center. Since I was the sergeant of the unit, I would be a project manager for it. It was that confidence that he showed in me, because it was a huge undertaking. It was a huge project, from just the very beginning, planning stages, to what we want this to look like, all the way to now, where everybody is aware of it and everyone goes there. It's just wonderful to have been given the opportunity to build it and to see it from beginning to end. (P8)

And still, for others, they were exposed to assignments that were significant to their career advancement. Some had the opportunity to work directly in the Chief's office, even though they were at significantly lower levels in their career that did not typically have access to the Chief:

My first promotion to sergeant, I got a phone call asking would I be interested in working in the chief's office as a community liaison. That came from just my volunteer work in all the communities and being visible to leadership and to the chief. The Chief was attempting to make entree into some of the communities that they would not necessarily allow police in. But it gave me exposure to every aspect and workings of a police department because I was embedded in the chief's office. (P11)

This exposure and engagement were not just confined to the department. And some believed they were called in and got further opportunities for exposure because they had allowed themselves "to be exposed in many different areas, again, not only internally, but externally. I've been very, very engaged in the community on my own time" (P18).

One of my projects was to work with the state Supreme Court to implement a multi-charge traffic citation because at the time, we just had single charge traffic citations. So, I got to design the whole thing and it ended up being the model that was kind of replicated throughout the State. That was a fun project. I got to interact with assistant chiefs and other commanders, got to write quite a bit, which is a strength of mine. And the nice thing about having that as a strength is you don't have to be present for people to see your work. It's like you are a little ambassador or you are emissary that does work in the world. (P16)

I was picked out very, very quickly and provided some opportunities. It was my job executing those opportunities. One of those was a police fellowship in Washington D.C. for a year at the Police Foundation. Getting to know and learn how PERF, the Police Executive Research Forum, was created from the Police Foundation. They normally send lieutenants to executive police fellowships; I was selected by the chief and sent as a sergeant. I did that and that opened up a world of opportunities from policing on a national and international standpoint. (P19)

Being Visible: The processes. Being visible is important, because if you are not seen, you won't be known. Participant 18 stated, "They have to know your name. But you have to be willing to direct the ship and put yourself in positions where they can see you and hear you. Because sitting at the table means nothing if you can't talk."

Being heard. One of the processes of being visible is using your voice and being heard.

This has to be a deliberate and intentional practice in order to be visible:

We have to become deliberate about it [being visible] because you could easily sit there at that table all day, you're there, but you're not being heard, nobody is paying attention, whatsoever. Or you can assert yourself. I don't mean like the overly, but there are times when you need to get a point in, that point is going to get in. That's just the way you have to do it. You have to sort of assert yourself, otherwise, you just won't be heard. It doesn't matter who your audience is. (P12)

This was prompted by others along the way, senior colleagues who recognized that the participant had tactical skills, better than their male colleagues, that weren't being recognized accordingly. And this was simply because that weren't being vocal enough to be heard and associated with the behavior:

I had a mentor who was a captain. He said, "I've been watching you on tactical scenes and you do all the same things better than the guys do and I can't figure out why you don't have a reputation for being really good tactically," and he said, "I think I figured it out. You're not on the radio enough. You're doing it behind the scenes." And he said, "Try this,

try getting on the radio and just state what the objective is for the next phase of operations and do that every time there's going to be a change or a different phase.” I did it and it worked. I started getting a reputation for being really good tactically. (P16)

Participants also recognized that while it was intimidating as a female to talk in certain settings, it was nonetheless important to do so, but preparation was key:

You can talk, but if you have no knowledge, if you're not bringing substance, it's pretty much like having icing and no cake. You must be credible with your conversation. It's very important to be seen, but it's equally important to be considered credible because what you're doing is setting the tone for those who will follow you. (P18)

A lot of our young and up and coming females are afraid to talk at meetings. I was not. I usually had feedback, I had input. If I knew what the topics were that were going to be discussed, I would do homework behind the scenes on them so I might be ready to chime in with content not being afraid to be heard. (P12)

Intentionally “showing up.” There has to be an intentionality to achieve visibility. And participants knew they needed to “show up” in order to be visible. Participant 13 puts herself in “positions to be lucky.” By that she meant, working really hard and never turning down an opportunity: “If someone said, ‘Do you want to go to this training or we'd like you to do this,’ I said, ‘Sure, I'd do it’” (P13).

Intentionally showing up can take many forms, but it is never about self. For Participant 20 it meant that “you are there when you are.” It meant being present, being in the moment, being mindful, and engaged, “It's about the people, the mission. It's about the bearing, the tact, the comportment, the compassion. It's not about my comfort or my confidence. It's about me being in the space with people” (P20). “Because every day, every minute, you're on an interview, and have to make the most of the opportunity. You let them know that I'm here, I'm present, I'm going to be positive, and I'm not going to just do the status quo” (P7).

Intentionally showing up and *Being Visible* were also credited for building credibility for the participants as well as their organizations:

If I go to IACP or when I've gone to IACP, I'm on the board with city chiefs at the table. Any kind of presentations, I'm going to get involved with that. And I'm going to be on the legislative committee. Not because I want a lot of extra work, but because being seen helps my own credibility, but more so, the organization's credibility. (P12)

Some participants were encouraged by others to be more intentional about showing up, because "no one's seen anybody that looks like me in charge" (P7).

The first deputy chief, the first woman to ever have this job, worked in this office. She retired there. She was probably the first female that reached out to me and just said, "Look, I know you don't see it now and I know you probably can't even vision it now. But you've got to put yourself out there because so many times we just want to do our job when there's not a lot of people that look like us and it doesn't seem like they've opened their arms and they're accepting us. Then what you end up doing is you just find your little niche, find something that you're good at, be the best at that, but you're not trying to promote as I promoted up." (P7)

Being at the table and having a voice. Having a seat at the table was vitally important for these women's visibility and promotional advancement that could lead to the power and position to achieve systematic change. "I certainly at times thought about giving it up, but I'm really passionate about what I do. There are some things that I am fully committed to in this profession. One is that women have a place at the table" (P3). But it was more than just being at the table. Equally important was for them to exercise agency and have a voice when given the opportunity to be at the table.

I had my experiences of being quiet in the room because I was just happy to be in the room. Not going to rub anybody the wrong way. That was early in my supervisory kind of capacity. It wasn't until I had a couple of trials and prevailed and was victorious in those trials that I realized that I need to be a voice. I need to show people that in my world, you're going to do the right thing. And if you don't do the right thing by me, I'm going to fight you. I'm not going to just fight you, I'm going to fight for other people, as well. (P21)

Many times, the participants were the only woman at the table, but they never allowed their voice to be silenced. This served as a benefit, with some believing that is what kept them from moving slowly up the career or promotional ladder, because they always made sure their voices were heard, "whether people wanted to hear it or not" (P18).

Participants didn't see themselves as simply being tokens, or just having a seat at the table, but established their voice and demanded respect and support:

Where I come from, officers are the example. We're not the exception. We set the standard for how you should be acting as a citizen. There are no separate laws for us. We abide by the same laws that the public does. As I told my boss, I didn't come here to be a puppet. I didn't come here to be a token and just have a seat at the table. I have a voice. I'm the chief and you're above me. If I make a decision and you want that person here, you can overturn that termination and bring them back. But, when they do something, they kill someone, I'm going to stand up at the press conference and say, "on this day, I did my due diligence and this officer his badge was taken away, and he can no longer be an officer. And on this day, the city decided they wanted to bring this person back and now this person has killed their spouse." See, when you talk like that, they don't want to change it because they know that it could fall back on them. (P19)

The participants demanded respect, all while assuaging fear of the men who thought that more women were being given so much more opportunities:

Several of the men said, "It's like women are getting all these opportunities." I said, "Is it at the deprivation of men?" I said, "Here's how I view it. We've had a table, and people have a seat at the table. And largely, when we looked around that table, it was largely a male dominated table. I haven't taken any seats away. I haven't asked men to leave the table. I put in a few extra leaves on that table and brought up some more chairs. And so now women have different opportunities, equal opportunities. So, you look left and you look right, and you look around the table, and there might be more women, but it's not at the deprivation of men. It's not as the theory of scarcity, it's abundance. There's joy and success and opportunity for everybody." (P20)

The participants were also encouraged by others to be at the table, being present, representing self and others. Because of their visibility, participants were often asked to represent leadership. This expectation initially caused fear, but eventually was something they got used to the higher up they went and the more exposed they got:

Four and a half years ago, I was afraid to sit at the same table. My very first meeting, my Chief said, "I'm going to have to go to a counterterrorism meeting. You're going to have to sit at the table for me." I was like, "me?" And my Chief said, "Yeah, you're a deputy chief, get up there." I remember sitting at the table, that big round table that they have with all the chiefs, and right next to me was a well-known, respected Chief, who's one of my Chief's good friends and mentor. I was sitting there as a new deputy chief and I was like, "Oh my God. I'm right next to him. Why am I sitting next to him? I was like, "Do not say or do anything stupid or embarrass your boss." That was all I was thinking the whole time. Now, fast forward, we are in 2019, and I'm out to dinner with the same Chief I sat beside

four years ago and now we're just chuckling and talking. We're very comfortable. I'm no longer intimidated. We talk on the phone. But four and a half years ago, I was afraid to sit at the same table. I liked that my Chief trusted me to be there and had complete confidence in me. (P12)

Saving a seat for a sister. This was an intentional and strategic act that would allow more women to be both seen and *heard*. This was an act of organized support, because so few women are typically represented in the room or at the table, a group of participants spoke about the importance of saving a seat for a sister. What that meant, was when they went into meetings, they would ensure that there were other seats available at the table for other women by literally putting a place holder at an empty seat:

I always put my bag on the seat next to me. And when someone says, "Hey, is this seat taken?" I say, "It is. I'm sorry." And when I see a woman, whether I know her or not, I go, "Hey, come. I've saved you a seat." And I say, "Save a seat for a sister. You have to be at the table or you're on the menu. We got this, girl." That became a movement of saving a seat for a sister. Because research informs that if you have three women on a board, it changes the conversation. (P20)

This was described as being "essential for the success the other person" (P11). It was a more intentional and orchestrated support at the top.

The thing about being the first, there were so many to the left of me, to the right of me, that came before me, and each one, you would hear something about them that caused them to quit. My big thing was I'm not giving up until there is a path. Or if it's not a path, then I will look behind me and if there's the person that's in the next seat waiting, I will help her to move up, knowing that she's next for this seat. (P7)

But there was also a recognition that the person for whom they are saving the seat must "really, really, really want to be in this seat and not because someone else thinks that you should do it or because somebody else looked out for you" (P19).

Being Visible: The consequences/outcomes. The dimension of *Being Visible* came with a number of outcomes, some positive and others not so positive, including participants being discriminated against and being harassed, pigeonholed, having less time with family, supported, and shoulder-tapped to advance career.

Discriminated against and being harassed. Discrimination and harassment were ever present experiences in the journey of many participants to the top. Participants believed that many still did not think women should be in law enforcement and certainly not in leadership positions. This was nothing new, and many before had experienced the very same attitude.

I learned from them going in, so I knew the hurdles I had to take. I knew the mountain was going to be very steep when I decided that's what I was going to do. Because the females that were ahead of me had already warned me, "This is what's going to happen to you. They're going to try to make you quit. So, know that going in. It's not you, they're going to try to make you quit. Don't let them. You're better than that." (P6)

The mere fact that you entered the profession as a woman, created an instant target on your back, which was followed by inappropriate gestures or comments, often passed off as a joke:

When I first started in law enforcement, women weren't accepted. So many of the men didn't believe that women had a place in policing. In fact, my first locker was in the men's locker room. You can imagine seeing all these men walking around in their underwear grabbing themselves, trying to get a reaction from you. (P6)

When I got out of field training and was on my own, and I really liked the squad I was in. And I found out because of rotations, we rotated every three months back then a shift, and because I was the newest person, I got moved from the squad. The sergeant that was going to be my sergeant came in and said in front of my current sergeant and the lead police officer that I would do really well in the squad as long as I remembered the squad motto. The squad motto was "I and I." I said, "I don't know what that is." He said, "Intoxication and Intercourse." (P16)

For some the discrimination was persistent and ongoing at every rung of promotion. They would test, be first or second on the list for promotion, and then the list would be "killed." That meant, the position would not be filled even though you had women who were qualified after passing their promotional test:

Same story as before. Only difference, the captain's test is only an assessment center, there's no written. It's your ability to go in front of your peers and to demonstrate you're ready to be a captain. I finished second the first time. They killed the list because the number one person on the list got into legal trouble and they didn't want to jump him or make him, which they had the legal authority to do. They could have jumped that person and made the next two. But, the next two happened to be women. So that would have been two women captains made the exact same time, so they chose to kill the list. (P2)

Experiences of discrimination happened blatantly the higher up the participants went, because they believed, men were intimidated by females moving up the ranks and being in charge.

I do believe that many times that the men get intimidated by females in our position, and sometimes they do things they probably shouldn't do or act a fool, say things they shouldn't have. They don't want to be shown up by a female. Maybe that's their "macho-ness" coming out. I think they tend to still do that. And I think it's sad, but it still happens. Sometimes more frequently than it should. Instead of learning to see us as an equal, they have a tendency to think otherwise. (P6)

Positions that participants were clearly qualified for or served as interim with expected transition into the permanent position never materialized:

I was the interim chief for a significant number of months. I was doing a decent job and had a high probability of getting the permanent position. You kind of put yourself out there, because you recognize there's no guarantees because I thought I was pretty competitive. Then we get down to this process and the process was squishy at best, and I assumed I was in it. They had a big search committee and all this stuff going on, and then I wasn't. Like I didn't make the top three, seriously? I really got snubbed very publicly. I would say I was surprised, but it didn't even surprise me. (P12)

This discrimination happened both internally and externally. This was especially obvious when the participants joined a department as an external candidate for a high position.

It's not the same when putting yourself out there for another pretty big department. To put yourself out there publicly is really a big leap, especially for that agency. It was just, again, "Stay in your lane, little lady," type of thing. When they said that to me, I was like, "Okay, watch this," and here I am. But it's nuanced, they won't put it out there in writing, obviously, but there's still very clear perception of who should be able to be in what positions. We get in positions, but most times, we're not empowered to do our jobs. (P17)

Which was further exacerbated by the fact that some agencies had never in their life time seen a woman in power and more so, "anyone who looked like me in power" (P19). In such situations, the good ole boys' network came into full effect. "Me being in the position was just not going to happen" (P19).

The city manager was upfront, he said, "I'm going to tell you, the good ole boys' network has been in this organization for decades and I need it to be eliminated because when the last chief was on administrative leave, I got all types of anonymous letters about women

being cursed at, yelled at, there were doors slammed in their faces, issues that they shouldn't have had, talked down to, slapped on the behind." (P19)

This discrimination even led to insubordination, but the participant knew she had to act swift and certain, even though unfortunately, the insubordination was never addressed:

There was one particular thing that happened early in my career as I was moving up the ranks. A very popular male officer challenged me and disobeyed an order that I gave him, and I know people were watching to see what I was going to do about it. When I confronted him about it, he was like, "I know that you told me that, but I just wasn't going to do it." I was like, "Okay. Thank you," let him go and I just went to my computer and I typed it up as an investigation and sent it to our Internal Affairs and said, "This needs to be investigated for insubordination." The investigator in the Internal Affairs unit cleared him, said he didn't do anything wrong. (P8)

Pigeonholed. Being visible made the participants' abilities and capabilities more apparent.

This sometimes led to an unintended outcome of being pigeonholed. It meant sometimes being forced into positions, or not being recognized for anything other than what the other party envisioned. In many cases, the participants were steered towards crimes against persons, sexual assaults or crimes against children, typical positions that have aligned by gender across the history of policing. Very seldom were they steered towards opportunities that were defined as positions for males in the department, "We are never steered towards homicide. We're not steered towards robberies. We're not steered towards SWAT, any of them. It's always domestic violence, sexual assault cases. Those ones in which they think we'll do better" (P11).

And although women are getting access to leadership positions, even at that level there is still a tendency to push them into gender-specific roles:

Women are in leadership, but when we get to leadership positions, are we put in the administrative roles or are we put in the manly man roles? Are we running SWAT teams, are we over at operations? Ultimately, we get pigeonholed. We get put in admin something or other services. (P17)

Women were being pushed into roles that were not considered launch pads; and it was important for them carve out their own path:

The next position that comes open is what we call Mops and Brooms, so administrative things. Naturally, they came to me and offered me that. What I did was, when he called me and asked me to take it, I said, "I'm going to take it under one circumstance," and you could hear a breath on the other end. It was called the division chief of administration. I said, "Two things have to happen before I even begin to say yes. One, I'm not going to be in charge of just ordering stationery, cars. I want the academy, I want the technology bureau," and these are all places I had been, "and you needed to change the name to the Division Chief of Research and Training Technology," which he did. (P2)

Some had to be intentional and create their own roadmap to mitigate against being pigeonholed, with an acknowledgement that all positions are important as they move up the ranks, but there must be balance:

I had to kind of create my own roadmap, so to speak, because I knew where I was lacking experience wise. It didn't necessarily mean that I couldn't do it, it just meant that nobody took the time to put me there because I've been pigeonholed because I've fixed all these other things, but you're making me top heavy in the admin stuff. But the admin stuff is what you need as a chief. So, you have to have that balance. (P17)

Supported. Being visible led to participants getting more support, a welcomed change. Even though it has been a challenging journey for all the participants, they knew they had that support and it made all the difference in the world. "It made those moments of feeling different, feeling disrespected, feeling somewhat marginalized by the guys, that much better, because I knew I had the support at the top" (P3).

Support came in many forms and under many labels, whether that be mentoring, networking, or sponsorship. Many of the participants conveyed that it was not so much the type or label that was attached to the support, but the fact that there was support. "Mentorship versus sponsorship versus networking. As you get to certain levels, it's almost as if there's no one thing. It's all important" (P2). Support was described as essential and helped each participant along their journey:

He was my mentor. He taught me this thing, "You react too quickly. You need to be patient and go slow and evaluate and ask questions. You need to listen and be encouraging." That value of having the support from every single aspect of your life.

From your family support, to the mentors and that responsibility to be the shoulders for the next future. (P14)

There is the Women Leaders in Law Enforcement, WLLE, conference. That is really the go-to place for networking and for really promoting women in law enforcement and supporting women in their roles, regardless of what it is, but supporting them and helping them network and really find mentors. (P3)

She really did sponsor me. She is sponsor because she brings credibility. That's what a sponsor does. She brought credibility to anything that we were a part of. She was so well regarded in our profession. She would bring me along with her. That kind of sponsorship goes a long way. It opens doors. Not that I think I was any more or less competent beforehand, but I just wouldn't have been invited had it not been for her. (P12)

For some it was about having intentional and targeted support, because the everyday experiences and realities of those at the top differed based on a number of factors:

There's an organization called NAWLEE, which is the National Organization of Women Law Enforcement Executives, which is founded by women who are White. They typically aren't minority. We are not given the same opportunity, so oftentimes we find ourselves then creating our own circles of support where we can have the very candid conversations, then I don't have to talk to you about what does it feel like to be a minority woman in this field. There are some things that you already know about me without having to ask. (P11)

Support came from many people both internal and external to the participants' departments, whether it be a progressive chief, or colleagues, or friends:

I was thankful that I was with a progressive leader. The fact that I was a woman and I was Black was never important. He recognized me for I brought to the table, how I treated people. He understood and knew the importance of making sure that his leadership teams encompass women and minorities all at the same time when he was promoting. That was hugely beneficial. (P19)

The support now is from my peer sisters who are chiefs. Us being able to say, "Hey, how are you doing?" or us being able to go to a conference or go to a meeting and pull aside and say, "Are you good? You good?" Just to say, "I get it. I get it." She's able to then provide that support of like, "I know. I can imagine. Your life is crazy busy. My life is crazy busy. Stay focused. Don't get distracted." That support is powerful right now. To give genuine support in this position across the board and being sincere about it, that's huge. That makes a big difference. (P14)

And support came through many avenues, whether it be family or community. One participant's grandmother taught her a life lesson that has kept her grounded, "No matter what happens, you either make the best of it, or it gets the best of you" (P6). Others commented,

To have support in family is absolutely essential. It's about them understanding the rigors, understanding my own self-care, understanding that sometimes I don't want to be the boss. When people ask me, "How do I prepare to be a chief?" I said, "Well, you've got to increase your capacity for disappointing people and for the sacrifices it takes to be present and show up for people." Family understanding the sacrifices that it takes to serve in policing is extraordinary for us to progress. (P20)

My partner was a primary support throughout most of my career. And now in this role, as Chief, with the demand of this position and how much space it takes up in my life, my wife has become the biggest support system that I currently lean on. None of these are free-standing, like there's obviously a network of support, but it's just kind of what to look for at any given time to have the right support when needed. (P15)

Support was sometimes aligned by race and gender, but in many situations it was not. "It's not to say that there weren't men along the way that were my mentors. There were some men that were mentors and there were some women that worked against me. Saw me as competition" (P21). It came in the form of a White male supporting a non-White female. "Surprisingly, every time it's almost always been a White male. It has never been another minority female or minority male, even though they were in those positions" (P11). But some admittedly got more support from their male colleagues along the way. "Not surprisingly, I have more male mentors in this profession that I can attribute my success to along the way" (P3). Having support from male colleagues was seen as significant for achieving success and career advancement:

I think the ultimate compliment that we can ever get is for somebody to say, "I'll go through that door with you." Men don't hesitate to say that to each other, but when there's a guy that says, "I'll go through that door with you," that's our ultimate compliment no matter if you're a male or female. When we get the guys on top that says that, I think that's the ultimate. That means that we're equal. We are equal. It's just we've had to come a tougher path to get here. (P6)

It wasn't other women; it was White men. Why they picked me, I have no idea. I was a hard worker, there's no doubt. I did a lot of good work. I did a lot of different things. But for whatever reason, the leadership team always singled me out. I always received the best

training. I was put in positions where I could help with innovation and problem solving, training, recruiting. They gave me positions that I wanted because I'd be the first in. I don't know if that was luck or they knew that I would get the job done no matter what, I don't know. I'm still working for one of the guys here that always made sure that we worked in partnership. (P9)

The important thing was there was support, that was needed, that made a difference, that absolutely helped them along their journey. But there is also a recognition that this is sometimes a lonely journey, and in some instances, one has to be self-sufficient.

Shoulder tapped to advance career. *Shoulder Tapping*, as constructed from the various comments received from the participants, is when someone in authority sees something in you, sees a pathway for your career, where you can add value, and they are willing to leverage their agency, leverage their position and power, to provide support to push you further to advance your career and ultimately advance the profession. But when it happens, you must be ready to receive it and act on it, or it will be a lost opportunity:

Winston Churchill, in essence said this. "To every man there comes in his lifetime that special moment when he is figuratively tapped on the shoulder and offered a chance to do a very special thing, unique to him and fitted to his talents. What a tragedy if that moment finds him unprepared or unqualified for that which would be his finest hour." (P20)

Participant 20 believed that *Shoulder Tapping*, when appropriately done, it is somebody that says, "Hey, girl, you got to turn right here. You may not want to, you may not see it, but this is right for you and right for your progression, and the meaningfulness of this progression in your ability to contribute." And she believes *Shoulder Tapping* is absolutely essential to get you through the labyrinth—this dynamic, complicated, irregular network of passages, this complex maze:

This book, *Through the Labyrinth*, is remarkable. Because what this said to me Nikki, was there are three waves of this feminine experience. Eagly and Carli talked about this. We couldn't get into policing at all. And then, we got in, but then there was the glass ceiling. And now we're stuck in this labyrinth. (P20)

And to be able to navigate the labyrinth successful, *Shoulder Tapping* was essential to get you into certain doors, or to give you access to certain opportunities. And when you are tapped you have the utmost responsibility to represent well, the person who tapped you:

Tapping on the shoulder is saying, “Hey, you're coming in and I'm going to help you improve and be better.” It's beyond just mentoring. It's not that she just gave me good advice. She really gave me that credibility, brought me to the table, introduce me to the right people, and then I had the wherewithal not to mess it up. It's like, “Okay, now I'm here, what am I going to do? How do I pay it forward?” (P12)

When you are shoulder tapped, you do it and you do it the best you can. Because the person that shoulder taps you is showing you, they think you have the ability to do it and they're giving you their credibility. Others will know, “[Shoulder tapper] thinks I can do it. In fact, she's thrown her support my way.” That's important. (P20)

There is an intricate dynamic to Shoulder Tapping, which could have significant implications for the person in authority who is doing the tapping:

I shoulder tapped a few strong women who I thought would be good in the job. I did the same thing for others so I could recognize their leadership ability, knowing that it might be hard for them to see it. It so happens, one of the girls I had shoulder tapped didn't really come to fruition as was expected. Another Chief brought it up, “It's really important when somebody stakes their reputation on you, you make it worth its while. Because they really did believe in you and trust in you and it's hard for us.” I really repeated it, looking at the one and I said, “Yes, it's very important you recognize when someone knows that you have the talent, skills and abilities to do the job.” Because it's hard. It's not so much my reputation, but it's theirs, too. It can be really damaging. That's why I think it is important to be a good representative of the person who tapped you. (P4)

While there was a recognition of the importance of Shoulder Tapping and an appreciation for the significance of the practice, there was also a realization that in some way, it is gendered:

I think, though, that every time I've been tapped, it was quiet, and they didn't tell anybody. Whereas when they were selecting their men to tap on the shoulders to say, “I'm interested in you,” they were just, “Hey, this is the new person we're bringing in. Welcome them into the fold.” It's almost as if they tell somebody, and there is the ability to sabotage because of how it was presented. It's a very quiet tapping. It's Morse code. It's not, “Hey, I'm interested in you.” (P11)

Summary for Being Visible. *Being Visible* was conditioned on the opportunities to have diversity of experiences and exposure and engagement opportunities. That created somewhat of a reciprocal feedback and opportunity loop. *Being Visible* not only benefitted the participants but benefitted others around them. It allowed for participants to be heard and seen, and for intentional bonds to be formed. But it also caused participants to experience hurt and harm from being discriminated against and harassed, an experience many were able to wade through and come out on top, staying focused on their larger goal of *Wanting Change*.

Making Opportunities

Dimension and explanatory matrix for Making Opportunities. As the participants moved up the ranks it became clear that they needed to make opportunities for themselves because unfortunately things were not equally available for females as it was for their male counterpart. The more they wanted change, and the more the participants became visible through engagement with others internally and externally, the more they became open to the possibilities that truly existed, opportunities that were not always made clear or accessible to them. Participants accepted that not all opportunities would be offered to them equally or equitably, and that therefore meant opening their eyes, accepting the reality and *Making Opportunities* for themselves, opportunities that could propel them forward on their journey to the top.

Table 4.4

Properties for Primary Dimension Making Opportunities

DIMENSION	PROPERTIES		
	Conditions	Processes	Consequences
Making Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other avenues for career development • Special assignments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being flexible • Collaborating • Being supportive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-rounded career • Visibility • Negative impact on family

Making Opportunities: The conditions. In order to *Make Opportunities*, it required having other avenues for career development, and special assignments.

Other avenues for career development. Participants recognized that to have a chance and even be considered for higher rank positions they needed to be prepared and have diverse experiences and opportunities. This however was not always available to women. And, because of that women sought out and engaged in opportunities outside of their profession, but opportunities that could compliment their experiences and build their resume as they set their sights on moving up the ranks:

I'm involved with this organization here which is research facing and at the intersection of policing. So, if you're not finding avenues within your agency, you can leverage your training and experience into other avenues relating to policing. So sometimes you might have to think more broadly because the avenues are limited because there's only one director, there's only one chief out of an agency that may be 1,000 to 3,000, 10,000. So, you have to be creative on these other avenues to fulfill your career development wants and dreams. But you have to think beyond the traditional ones. (P10)

That desire to *Make Opportunities* took some participants into other policing spaces that allowed them to increase their skillset and visibility, which ultimately benefited their own department through the development of a more comprehensive public safety approach:

I'm an assessor for CALEA [Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies]. That affords me the opportunity to go out into the country and see what everybody is doing great and bring it back here. I started doing that. Then I went to my boss and I said, "Hey, I'm thinking it's time for another move." He says, "We really don't want to move. What are you thinking about?" I said, "I'd really like to start a little bit bigger umbrella, public safety umbrella. Bring in emergency managers. Bring in environmental health and safety and make it more of a public safety as opposed to just the police." That's when I got my promotion to Assistant Vice President for Public and Environmental Safety. (P13)

The participants did not wait for opportunities to be handed to them, but instead were actively seeking other opportunities and taking advantage of every opportunity they could to advance their career. They also went into spaces that were probably not popular or places that

were unexpected. They explored opportunities in the private sector and academia, recognizing that there was so much they could learn that would become increasingly helpful to navigate the business side of policing:

I learned the most from private sector networking. I was given the opportunity to do some really cool year-long processes with regional chamber of commerce with private sector women and then transitioning to executive men and women from across the region. I still find I learn so much from the private sector. But then also, I always learn a lot from partnering with academics. Always. (P9)

A lot of it was self-initiated. I was taking advantage of every opportunity, even at my own expense, sometimes. I would pay for training. I would take online courses. I would do things to improve my ability to compete in this industry. I also made sure that I didn't just expose myself to police kinds of environments. I did a lot of work with corporate, like Coca Cola, leadership kinds of symposiums and things of that nature, so that I could understand business. Because policing is a business. (P21)

Some participants stepped up and inserted themselves into controversial areas and areas where others did not want to be or touch:

I took on the issue of whether local law enforcement agencies should get involved in the 287G statute with ICE, with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement. I put together a conference of all major city chiefs and sheriffs to talk about our stance on signing that mandate and helping ICE with immigration laws. We spoke about the impact that would have on communities' trust with local law enforcement. That experience taught me a lot about my profession, regarding this controversial issue. That was one of my major projects and was a great experience that opened up the doors of my executive development. (P19)

It was a recognized fact across all participants, that once they got to a certain level, there are a lot of leadership courses that they had to take to even be considered for executive level positions. Unfortunately, however, participants oftentimes, as women and more so as women of color, did not get the same level of support or access to opportunities as their White female or male colleagues. This led to many "taking the bull by the horn" and paying out of pocket to achieve success in training or educational opportunities that were regarded as essential for getting to the top executive position:

It was interesting that I had to learn about a process differently than everybody else. They had relatives there who knew about the process and could guide them. I actually paid to go

to a test prep, I actually paid to get prepared for it. I had no idea there were classes available for that. That wasn't made available to people who looked like me (referring to her race). (P2)

I realized I wasn't going to get it any other way. I had to make a path for myself. So, I paid for that training on my own. It's called SMIP [Senior Management Institute for Police] through the Police Executive Research Forum. I paid \$10,000 of my own money for that. I was the second person in their entire history to have paid for it themselves because I knew I wouldn't get it any other way and most chiefs applications ask for that or for the FBI National Academy. I've wanted to go there my whole career. I'm capable. I'm able to do the physical fitness. I would excel there. But I've never been sent there because I'm not one of these anointed that they are grooming for these jobs. (P10)

Special assignments. Having the space and opportunity available for special assignments was also important in the journey of these women to the top. And while these were few and far between, and not readily accessible to women, participants were encouraged by mentors to always seek out and “put in” for special assignments:

He said, “keep your eyes open for opportunities, special assignments, things where you will get a chance to distinguish yourself. I feel like you have the potential for a lot of upward mobility, and I would support you in any way I can.” That was significant. Then I put in for special assignment like that sergeant had advised me pretty early on. I think I had a year and a half on when the walking beat opened up downtown, so I put in for that. I did a really long memo of interest that I didn't think was remarkable but apparently was unusual at the time. (P16)

These special assignments were rarely sought after by women. But for these participants, when the assignments became available, they were assertive and put their hat in the ring for consideration. These special assignments helped participants to distinguish themselves and changed the way that they present with and to other people:

I saw them and I said, “Oh my gosh, I want to do that. They have taps on their shoes. That's so cool.” I went for it. I wanted it. And, I was selected. I was an officer, a sergeant and then a lieutenant in the Honor Guard for just under 15 years. It became kind of my identity and gave me so much credit. This was a significant part of my growth and development. It is showing up for people. It is being disciplined. It is honoring people and their sacrifice and the ideals at the cost of your own personal comfort, getting past my own emotional or physical discomfort to show up for people to stand in that place was really affirming. (P20)

Many of the participants represented the first or the only on these special assignments. And they were able to step in boldly and make changes, having support of leadership in their respective departments to carry out a defined mandate:

I was assigned to the press office, I was the first African American female, and African American to ever hold that position. I was an adviser to the top and all other executives in the department. I worked in that unit 24 hours a day, seven days a week. I changed the whole process there. I engaged every executive in this department and made them feel comfortable and realize that we were a resource to them. Making sure we were branding the department. (P1)

And for others, they got it through volunteering because they otherwise would not have gotten the opportunity through an official assignment:

Then you find yourself at certain points volunteering, because they wouldn't assign it to you. They're like, "Who wants to do this?" and you find yourself volunteering. I was a commander and I remember sitting in, and the chief was going to go on vacation, and they were like, "But the [major racially charged] decision is coming out. Who wants central division?" Everybody's just sitting there, all quiet I didn't want it either because you knew whatever the verdict, central was going to be the hub of all the protests. So, I was just like, "I don't want it, but if I'm going to move to the next step, they have to see me sitting in, and running the operations bureau." So, I raise my hand. (P7)

Making Opportunities: The processes. The processes of *Making Opportunities* include being flexible, collaborating, and being supportive of others. This primary dimension was defined by reciprocal relationships that helped the participants establish their own path to the top positions.

Being flexible. The participants in the study recognized the importance of being flexible throughout their journey:

In some respects, it's planned, but in some respects, it's being flexible enough to just go, "Okay, we're going to deviate from the line a little bit. We're going to go over here, but we're going to come back to here," and kind of stay the course (P13).

Like anything else, participants believed, if you are not willing to be flexible, you will not grow:

I think, for me, flexibility has to be that nourishment to that tree. I won't grow as a person, as a leader, as a good citizen, community person, if I am not flexible. I think watching, being open to learn, being open to move to different areas to learn, different shifts, not being resistant to change, and not always liking it, but not resisting it. And finding a way to make a positive out of any negative situation, again, whether I learned from it, whether I was able to add it to my toolbox, whether I was able to share with others. I am always willing to continue to personally grow and to do that I must be flexible (P18)

And that flexibility allowed participants the opportunity to enter into spaces they typically would not have access to:

Historically, they don't bring in outsiders. This department, like many others, just doesn't do it. And so, to be here, also, sends another message as a woman of color in law enforcement, a woman specifically. And that is the ability to show how flexible we truly are when you invest in us, to expose, support and lift up; then you get the kind of work products that I hope I have done while I've been here. (P2)

Collaborating. Making Opportunities also came about through *collaborating* with others in order to achieve change. Participants saw this as a natural style of women's leadership. And for the majority of participants, this was typical of how they conducted business as usual. However, for some participants, they had to intentionally collaborate and formalize the process, because this was just not a natural way of operation in a police department defined as having a militaristic top-down type of culture. But these participants understood and recognized the importance of taking such an approach and instituted that practice within their departments, which is not always easy: "I am very collaborative. I have created all sorts of mechanisms internally and externally for input, feedback, communication, transparency. I acknowledge when I don't know something. And that's hard. That's very hard in this position" (P15).

And through collaboration, participants have opened up spaces and opportunities to empower their staff, building the process from the bottom up, brick by brick, until it represented what they envisioned, an environment where staff was comfortable sharing ideas, while respectfully challenging others:

We do some amazing things here now. It took us a while to get there, but we have. I'm very proud of my folks. They'd say, "We need to do this because of this." "Well, show me how it's going to work." And they'll put together a proposal. And I'll say, "Show me how it's going to work. How are you going to make that work? How are you going to fund that because I don't have the general funds?" I want them to think critically, because I'm not going to be here forever. You need to come with me. I want you to learn how to do this so that when I'm not here, you can pick up and move on and take this next step." (P6)

It also meant a recognition of the harm and hurt being experienced within their own department due to trauma experienced prior to their arrival. This participant came into a department that had experienced an officer involved shooting which crippled her staff, forcing her to find opportunities to mindfully rebuild confidence in a system that had turned its back on them:

I had that along with everything else and a department that was, I would say, in a traumatic coma kind of, and factions. The two shooters were told, "You can't talk to anybody about this," and they were hurt. They were really just emotionally traumatized. Nobody had given them what they needed to deal with this. They were in emotional turmoil. Then you had all the protests out here, they shut down the freeway, they shut down city council meetings. It was a pretty volatile time. And then they brought me in. (P3)

Community engagement for all of the participants was important in *Making Opportunities*. "Oh, that's huge for me. I cannot diminish the impact that we can have in the next generation when we're engaged in a community" (P18). And a big part of *Making Opportunities* was about systematic repairing of the broken relationship between police and the communities they swore to serve. This involved intentional engagement with the communities that had lost trust in law enforcement:

We are a part of the community. You should let the community know when you are experiencing an issue. The community should be aware of what's going on where they live 24 hours a day and you just work there for eight hours. What it ended up leading to is, I finally got everybody—Blacks, Latinos, Jewish, Muslim—everybody in one room and so they all know what each other is doing. They collaborate on all kinds of stuff. I get to integrate policing into that. They get to talk to me about their distrust with law enforcement and how we can fix that. Our community should be aware and be a part of the problem solving—there's a problem here, tell us what's going on. (P1)

There was a need to work more closely with the community to elevate feelings of safety, and to make both the officers as well as the community “feel like we are a part of the fabric of the community” (P3); all while simultaneously changing the culture within their own departments sometimes:

I came in, and the community loved it, because they saw a difference from that previous regime of “driving-while-Black” abuses, and there were a lot of people leaving and a lot of things changing within the department. I started having the department move towards community engagement although they did not really know what that looked like. Whereas, I had been so accustomed to true community engagement, and listening to the community and being involved with the community on my previous job. When I came, they saw a difference. “We’re just not at the event standing against the wall.” No, you are supposed to be really truly engaged with the community and listening to them and have a relationship with them. That’s the difference. (P14)

And in many cases, the community embraced this change and made it known:

Oh my God, they were sending in letters and emails and all kinds of stuff about, “I’ve lived here for over 25 years and since this chief has come into place, this is the first time I’ve seen officers get out of their cars and walk up the street and actually introduce themselves and I know who it is that works in this department.” (P19)

Being supportive. Making Opportunities also meant a recognition of the space and need to help other people, other women along the way. Women in policing still endure tremendous hardships, and many instances women were snubbed, passed over, or just not considered. For these participants, this provided a space to make opportunities that would help others on their journey, and in turn would help the participants achieve their own goals on their journey to the top:

I think it’s super important that we help other people. When we see people that have value, which can manifest itself in a million different ways. It’s not just leadership value, but there’s all kinds of different value. But to see people that have value and to help them reach their potential is huge. I took those things and applied it to women. In my state, we started a women’s network. It was for us to be able to recruit and train and retain and get women into promotional opportunities. (P5)

No woman of color had ever finished that high. From that came the allegations that I had cheated. I actually paid to get prepared for it. After I went through that first experience, what I had promised myself was if anybody ever needed help doing this, I would do it and

never charge them. My entire career, I must have done hundreds of people. But I never charged because it wasn't right. (P2)

The participants acknowledged how important support was for them coming through the ranks, with others having time to talk with them or providing guidance when needed, “there was always someone who was keeping an eye on me, even if I wasn’t aware at the time” (P2). They shared that they had an obligation, a responsibility from where they sit, “To, perhaps, guide through the labyrinth, men and women in ways that they may not see” (P20). Participants in the study willingly made themselves available, with the purpose of helping others along the way, which made opportunities to improve their own leadership throughout their journey to the top:

I tell even the young women that I’m mentoring that you never eliminate yourself. You look them in the face and force them to eliminate you. That means being prepared. Understanding your profession. Always learning about your profession. Being a lifelong learner. (P11)

For the most part, I let people know I have an open door, and I’m always happy to help them, answer their questions, talk about what I do to prepare for promotional processes. I’m open, pretty transparent and people seek me out. (P16)

I still mentor several lieutenants, sergeants, and officers at my old department, even some women, who are professional staff. I’m still on chats and on call, listening to what they're asking me about, to help them further their career. (P19)

Making Opportunities: The consequences/outcomes. *Making Opportunities* led to having a well-rounded career, increased visibility, but in some instances had a negative impact on the participants’ family situation.

Well-rounded career. *Making Opportunities* benefited the participants by ultimately creating for them a robust resume that shows all the experiences and qualifications that would define a *well-rounded career* throughout their journey. *Making Opportunities*, made these women capable of stepping outside of their roles to take on or explore new areas. And, it made the participants qualified for tasks that were once reserved for male colleagues, giving them the confidence to successfully execute:

It worked. I'd been on the tactical teams. I've worked in personnel. I've worked on the streets. I've done the investigations. This position, when I came over here, I had to go back and do all that again. I had to go back and teach them the tacticals and how we're going to do active shooters. (P6)

Making Opportunities also opened unexpected and unique opportunities for women, even though they often did not get the respect equivalent to their male colleagues in a similar position:

I'm one of the few women in the United States who could run a SWAT team, a formalized SWAT team, and one of the few minority women in the United States that could do that. When I first took over the SWAT team, I was told they wouldn't like me, that they wouldn't respect me because, they're like, "You're this little woman. You're going to be worried about your hair or your nails." I'm like, "I'm a girl from the hood, you don't seem to understand." But I had to prove myself. Where a male who's my same height and weight, there was never any questions about their capabilities and their competencies. (P11)

And despite the sacrifices that had to be made, for some it was worth it because they have had an opportunity to have a real impact in a world that needs change:

I go speak a lot trying to recruit women into the profession across the country. And the one thing that I tell them is I'm an example of a woman that is a wife, a mother, a professional, all doing all these things, and also climbing the ranks at the same time. You can have it all, but I've sacrificed a lot of family time, I sacrificed a lot of fun with my sorority sisters and things like that because of school and work, and school and work. (P19)

Visibility. This consequence or outcome for *Making Opportunities*, also shows up as a primary dimension *Being Visible*. *Making Opportunities* created a cycle, that lent itself to a reciprocal connection to *Being Visible*. The more a participant made opportunities, the greater her visibility. This reflects some of the consequences articulated earlier in *Being Visible* but is nonetheless still situated under the dimension of *Making Opportunity*.

Negative impact on family. Many of the participants in the study recognized the tremendous role their family had in helping them to navigate their journey to the top. But along this journey, these families have had to endure equally immense sacrifices and hardships. *Making Opportunities*, similar to other dimensions, increased the footprint of participants in the profession

both internal to their department and externally. This meant both participants and their families had to sacrifice a lot, including reduced time spent with each other as they advanced in their career:

I sat there and I started thinking about all the things, all the challenges that I had to navigate. And didn't tell anybody, some of them, kept them to myself; how I had to, actually, abandon my family sometimes to do what was right for this organization and the community. How I had to delay getting married because I had to study for the lieutenant's exam. (P1)

The impact on my families have been real and present. "Working long hours, not being home, not being able to cook dinner, sit down and talk to them, not being able to go on vacations. When you do go, you get called back. I've been there. That brings a lot of pain" (P1). While the overall experience has been extremely positive, there are instances which have caused real fear for their family's safety, "because my positions have always been very high profile. The sacrifices to my family and having to be very protective of my daughter and my family as well have been hard" (P11).

Being in this profession and moving up the ranks to positions of leadership became a lifestyle, and so even in the presence of their families they were still on the job:

When you make captain and above, it becomes a lifestyle. It's no longer a job. It becomes a lifestyle. You eat, you breathe it, you are off duty, you are on, on your off days you grab your family and you immerse them into those events. A lot of women don't want that because they have their other life at home, and the two shall not meet "I want to be the mom. I want my kids to grow up seeing me. I don't want to pull them every weekend for them to go into some type of police event. But that's what happened. (P7)

Participants believed that in order to succeed and move up the ranks, family had to be incorporated into work. And even though they tried to keep things separate, they learned very quick that was simply not possible, and to succeed family had to be a part of the journey. Some of the participants didn't have that and, in some cases, had to make very tough decisions, that would sometimes break their family apart. This was a hard balance to strike for some who came from

more traditional cultures where the woman was expected to be a wife and a mother, skillfully executing the duties those roles assumed:

You mentioned you're Jamaican. I am from a similar culture and so I had this more traditional kind of, even though I was an officer, at home I have more of a serve my husband kind of role. I wanted to be that full mother, too. But as I continued to promote, I realized that something had to give. I can't cook a dinner every single night, and that my husband was going to have to be more engaged. The best part of it is, he has stepped up. He takes on just as much as I do at home, well, probably not just as much. (P8)

Summary for Making Opportunities. *Making Opportunities* was something that the participants had to do, not being given equal access or opportunity as their male counterparts. This was situated in and facilitated by the conditions of having other avenues to achieve career development and having opportunities for special assignments. The participants understood that to *Make Opportunities* they had to remain flexible, putting themselves in positions to be lucky. They also recognized that it was never only about self, but *Making Opportunities* meant collaborating with others at different levels, a practice which benefitted the participants as well as others with whom they engaged. *Making Opportunities* led to participants having increased visibility, building a robust resume which defined a well-rounded career, and in some instances led to negative impacts on participants' families.

Taking Chances

Dimension and explanatory matrix for Taking Chances. *Taking Chances* and the way it is conceived of and carried out is highly related to gender. *Taking Chances* means taking risks and being courageous in doing so. It means having grit and determination which is strengthened by participants' resilience. Policing as a profession promotes and favors male risk-taking but shuns women who try to step into that space, often attaching labels to these women. Women may have a much bigger challenge when *Taking Chances* compared to their male counterparts. But the participants in the study knew that despite the high stakes, *Taking Chances* is needed for career

advancement. It is about the willingness to stand up; but also, the ability to withstand whatever comes their way.

Table 4.5

Properties for Primary Dimension Taking Chances

DIMENSION	PROPERTIES		
	Conditions	Processes	Consequences
Taking Chances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive leadership • Changing environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being strategic • Being courageous • Having grit and determination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition • Gender role perceptions

Taking Chances: The conditions. Participants believed things happened, and they progressed, because when opportunities came along, they took advantage of them, no matter how intimidating they seemed. That was aided by having support and guidance in the form of progressive leadership and because of the changing environment, in which women in leadership positions in policing is becoming more acceptable and celebrated.

Progressive leadership. Progressive leadership was also present in and showed support for participants who were *Being Visible*. There was a recognition that advancement to a high level of management was challenging without the support of leadership and opportunities to work in various areas of the department. Having a progressive leader also facilitated the participants Taking Chances. This was highlighted on a number of occasions as enabling participants and women in general to have more opportunities that have historically been reserved for male counterparts. And their presence, guidance and support were recognized and greatly appreciated among the participants, “Having that latitude—having that chief that supports you—I think that’s everything.” (P9)

The chief that hired me was progressive. He was the chief for a very long time, which is almost unheard of to last that long as a chief. I saw a lot of things that he did that were very progressive. The biggest thing he did was he always put people first. I wanted to do that. I wanted to be a change agent, where I had that buy-in he had. Because if you are making changes and you don't have buy-in from those below, it won't be impactful. And being progressive out of the box and innovative, it's all about knowing how to navigate that change agent responsibility. (P18)

These progressive leaders promoted positive and transformative change for women providing a path to greater empowerment, equity, and equality. "The chief at the time, put me in non-traditional roles. He is what we would consider a progressive chief. It was his belief that women needed exposure." (P1). And for others, the chief understood and tapped into the strengths of the participants, which led to a win-win situation, "He really spoke to my passion. I got free rein to do this program. He really allowed me to nurture my passion" (P3). This type of leadership was thoughtful and strategic:

I was thankful that I was with a progressive leader who understood and knew the importance of making sure that his leadership teams encompass women and minorities all at the same time when he was promoting. (P19)

But participants also recognized that there was some level of tokenism involved, "You found that you got picked sometimes only because they didn't have enough in their organization, so that leader wanted to be considered "progressive" (P7). Participants of color more so than others spoke about this dynamic, but were nonetheless appreciative of the opportunities that existed because of having a more progressive chief:

When I think of some of the more progressive chiefs back then, again, it was basically risk-free for them. We look at it as them being very progressive. And I am thankful for the persons who positioned me. Surprisingly, every time it's almost always been a White male. The ones who said, "I will take a chance on you," were often White males. Again, because they were forward in their thinking to think about the accolades they could get if they were successful at this. (P11)

But this new chief was a bit more progressive. I think it's the only reason why I got promoted. But he went a step further. Although we were one of the leading departments in terms of female representation, I know our chief took a look and said, "Okay, let's look at the plight of women." When you start looking, you have to ask: "but where are the women

in the organization, and we held the rank at lieutenant and below, and we weren't up in the executive rank.” He changed that. (P7)

Progressive leadership also extended beyond the walls of the department. Political figures also helped to change the course and environment for female involvement in positions of power, both inside as well as outside of the department:

Our mayor was very progressive. When he got here, all the boards of commissioners, they didn't have women on them. Maybe you had one, but he made sure that there was either a woman on every major board, the board of power and the board of sanitation and the board of equal opportunity. He put more women even on our police commission. Then he said, "I need more women in the top," so he made our first assistant chief. (P7)

Changing environment. Participants spoke of the changing environment that was now positioning women as effective leaders and role models in the profession. Participants were generally happy to see the progress that has been made through the years, which has opened up positions of leadership for women, “I'm thankful that I've been able to see so much progress for women in this field. It's kind of becoming almost common now where women have been hired in leadership roles, and it's a good thing” (P18).

I've seen embracing women in leadership positions, especially over the last decade, to push women in chief's positions. So that there is more of an even or balanced kind of approach to what it is we're dealing with, all of the strain in relationships and communities. The effort to recruit more women in our industry, especially, in major cities. You got some small towns that still haven't embraced that. (P21)

Yet, there was still a need for a more structured and intentional approach to get more women into the profession:

I intentionally watch for people in the organization and predominantly for women, because I was interested in mentoring women and bringing more women along. I was an assistant chief, I think, and it was the first time I realized when a female officer said to me, “It's important for us to see you, to have you sitting at the table knowing that you represent us.” (P5)

There was an agreement that having more women in the profession would help to tackle stigma at all levels. But there was also an acknowledgment that it's not just about having more

women, while that is good, but it must also be about getting more women at the table where policy decisions are made, and into positions of power, where they are not afraid to make changes. There was need for deeper structural change, and “It’s going to take more women to do it, frankly” (P13).

You’ll have some that know that law enforcement as a whole would be better with more women leaders. And we can truly say we’ve come a long way and if we were to actually give women a chance in law enforcement to make a difference, not to simply come in to fix a problem. Law enforcement would be in a better position than where we are now with the communities that we’re serving. Because the communities are asking for more. They’re talking transparency, legitimacy, and accountability. They are looking for a type of leader who is not afraid of the moving political climate. Us women, we don’t operate in gangs like that. There is no club to hide behind. If you’re doing something wrong, then there are consequences to that. We don’t care who you are friends with, who your mother is, who your daddy is, who your uncle is. (P19)

Many participants remained cautious, recognizing that as a profession there was still a far way to go. We are still seeing in the media stories of the “first,” “the first female chief,” “the first African American female chief,” “the first woman to lead.” While these achievements should certainly be celebrated, participants recognized their own responsibility in making sure more women got into policing and into more positions of power broadly, “I have a role—it’s not optional. Some people like to just say, “Let me just move on.” For me it’s not optional” (P2).

Participants all believed and articulated the need for a change in the current status quo:

We have to work towards getting more women involved in leadership roles, not just the police department, but in city governments and other places, because we’ve got to make it happen and we’ve got to stay with it and stay the course and be the role models. I have a daughter who’s 20 and I certainly want us to be a role model for her and for her generation. That’s so important. (P3)

Taking Chances: The processes. *Taking Chances* was achieved through participants being strategic, being courageous, and having grit and determination.

Being strategic. Participants stated that as they moved up the ranks, they had to be more strategic. Some characterized it as “putting self in position to be lucky” (P13).

I put myself in positions to be lucky. By that I mean, I worked really hard. I never turned down an opportunity, if somebody said, "Do you want to go to this training or we'd like you to do this," I said, "Sure, I'll do it." I never turned down anything along the way and I think it got me into other spaces. When the chief's job came open, I think I put myself in a position to be lucky by building resources and relationships with the right people who went to bat for me. I was sitting there as a female with my master's degree, having been to the FBI Academy. The chief before me had a sexual harassment complaint. He was a White male and an external candidate. I was from the inside. I was perfectly aligned. (P13)

Being strategic was important for every stage of their journey and that meant even

knowing when and to whom you share information:

You have to understand when you are sharing that if this is something that's close to you that could be hurtful for you in the future, you'd have to share with somebody that can put a lid on it and not share with other people. Transparency is important operationally. But when it comes to being personal, sometimes everything should not be shared. In law enforcement they say CYA. When you're doing reports always CYA. That's something that was preached to you in the Academy. CYA was Cover Your Ass. My acronym is Cover Your Assets because if you don't, it can cost you. Cover your assets. So be strategic in everything that you do. (P18)

It was also important to understand the current climate and what was important to community and for departmental growth. This allowed them the opportunity to *Take Chances* and to *Make Opportunities* on big issues, issues that mattered, which led to the participants creating programs or strategic response systems, which led to them being *recognized*, a consequence of *Taking Chances*:

I had the sex team. And that's when Megan's Law came out and the 2-90 registrants. I'm like, "We're going to do a taskforce." I always tried to take what I had and mimic to what the boys had. It wasn't so much so that I can show up, but it was to show them that we can do it. And you can bring the women in, and here's my operations plan and here is what we're going to do, and this is what I have. They look at this plan and they're like, "Okay." I remember when I did my first 2-90 registrant taskforce, I had FBI, the DEA. The captain showed up and he was like, "What's all this?" and I was like, "I told you, we are doing the taskforce." He goes, "Yeah, but I thought it was going to be a couple of officers, you guys were going to go out and register some." I'm like, "No, we're going to put people in jail. I got sex offenders." (P7)

I designed a gang prevention program. And I did my presentation on that in how to do community involvement and how to have a multi-prong approach using a community social justice approach to address at-risk youth, and making change. It struck a chord. Because I was reached out to and they said, "This is what this community needs. This is

what this department needs. Can you come and make a difference? Would you come at least and go for a ride along and see if you're interested? Because from everything that you talked about, I think you could take the same type of principles and apply them here." (P6)

Being courageous. *Taking Chances* does come with its fair share of challenges, because again it can lead to participants being seen, heard, recognized, and targeted. The participants all knew they needed to be courageous to survive and thrive in the profession as a woman, and even more so as a woman that was moving up the ranks. That courage meant participants had to be confident in themselves and the decisions they made:

I would imagine you're going to hear a lot of that. That kind of confidence, you do have to have it because you have to make very difficult decisions about personnel, about critical incidents that happen in the community. (P5)

I think I've always conducted myself like I was in charge. As a sergeant, I acted like a lieutenant. As a lieutenant, I acted like a captain. It was an arrogance, but it was a confidence. And the confidence was because I'd learned from my experiences. (P18)

And without courage, the journey would have been an extremely difficult one. Participants noted that if they hadn't been in control, situations they found themselves in would have gone significantly different and not in a good way:

When I got to the detective bureau, that's where the big boys are. There were guys there that were detectives, I was a sergeant. They had 25 years, I had ten. How do you handle that? I would be crazy to tell you that I didn't have any fear in me at that time, but I wasn't going to let it control me. The first thing I did is I sat down, and I wanted to hear what everybody did. I wanted them to tell me their story, so that broke down that wall. (P1)

Being courageous also meant being a little bit fearless and a little bit willing to rock the boat. That meant taking calculated risks, "You got to be a doer, at the end of the day. You got want to get things done and accomplished. You got to be willing to take risk to do it" (P9). And this willingness to take calculated risks demanded having the courage to do so without worry about what others would think, say, or how others would react:

If I had been overly concerned with my bosses not liking me, I wouldn't have taken as many risks, but I wouldn't have been able to open non-traditional doors. Because I pretty

much didn't have a career trajectory in my job that people were supporting me on. So, I took risks and tried different things that opened other doors that led to opportunities that I normally wouldn't considered. (P10)

I think if I'm reflecting back on my progression and the experiences that have now culminated in this role, the ones that sort of stand out, the common thread for all of them is about taking risks; taking risks to put myself out there for various opportunities, which includes trainings and development and expending my knowledge and understanding of this profession. But also, kind of putting myself out there for opportunities for different positions. (P15)

Being courageous is a process like many others, a process that would wax and wane,

being on a continuum:

I did the things others didn't want to do and it went well for me. I took chances at things where if you fail, like a murder investigation, it's pretty important you don't fail that thing. That was intimidating. But I did other things that if you failed, not too many people would be harmed, but you would have great success. Purpose. I needed a purpose. (P4)

Having grit and determination. Angela Duckworth (2016) defined grit as “perseverance and passion for long-term goals.” For many of these women, there was a certain level of persistence and resilience that kept them going despite the harsh environment they often faced:

That takes dedication and drive and hard work and perseverance. I think you don't have to have advantage or money or know the right person. You have to get your ass out and work hard, and you will make things happen. (P5)

Leadership for these women was defined by drive and determination, which was cemented by a need and want for change:

Because to be a true leader in any field, there's some commonalities within the drive and the determination, and the heart that we have to succeed. We know it's there and we're not going to let anybody hold us down. We're not going to let them stop us. And it's that drive that's in any champion. (P6)

And this is a lesson, having “straight driving grit,” that participants were willing and eager to pass on to other women in the profession:

Straight driving grit. This journey is marked by pure grit. I tell even the young women that I'm mentoring that you never eliminate yourself. You look them in the face and force them to eliminate you. That means being prepared. Understanding your profession. Always learning about your profession. Being a lifelong learner. When I say grit and

determination, I mean grit and determination. If it meant staying up two, three nights when you should not be to make sure that there were deadlines met That you attended classes. That your work product was a work product that they could not say anything about. That your skillsets far exceeded anybody else's. (P11)

Taking Chances: The consequences/outcomes. *Taking Chances* was a way for participants to achieve their goals. But it was not an easy thing to do. Taking chances would lead to participants being recognized and often time shuffled into gender defined spaces. Participants throughout the journey still experienced discrimination based on gender. There were still stereotypes that caused harm and translated in negative actions by colleagues and others, which became especially evident when the participants decided to *Take Chances*.

Gender role perception. Taking chances throughout their journey led to experiences dictated by gender role perceptions, that is, the expected attitudes and behaviors that society has dictated are acceptable based on a person perceived sex:

I will say this, though, when you're up there, that's the fear—that we're going to come with drama, the women are not going to get along with other women, you're going to have the jealousy piece; all the things that you don't really, or at least they say, men don't bring. But men bring their different dramas. But for us, our drama is a drama that they don't want to hear. (P7)

In some cases, causing hurt for participants:

But being the assertive, confident woman in a conservative police department, mostly, male because that's what most police departments are. I can tell you so many stories about where that hurt me. (P5)

But despite how they were being treated by male counterparts, it was important for the participants, that women prove to the men that they are just as capable, and to provide support in times when needed, because at the end of the day, they all had the same goal, to go home to their families:

It's very important, as a woman, to prove to the men around you that you could hold your own and support them. They want to go home at night just like I want to go home at night. I had an advantage. I'm 5'10" so I'm not little. Back then, I was a lot skinnier than I am now, but I was athletic. I had that presence about me that I think was an advantage, but I

really saw how some women were treated: this is a profession that is 90—whatever —% men. Women come and go, but it's 90 percent men most of the time, most of the places. (P13)

And some participants shared they never thought they were being treated any differently because of gender, but acknowledged actions that would tell a different story:

I don't feel like they ever treated me like I was a woman, which is, I think, a good thing for me. They treated me like I was one of them. I will say from time to time, people offered to carry things that were heavy. I'm like, "Great. If you want to hurt your back, it's golden for me." But I haven't really felt it. In the army as well. I didn't feel like I was treated differently. The only times I feel different was when they gave us smaller stripes than the guys. Like, "Cute, we got the girl kind." (P4)

Participants were also focused on not accepting the negative labels or perceptions, but rather, embracing who they were and their vulnerabilities. They recognized that the type of leadership that women brought to the profession was needed, and was being embraced in a profession that needs a more collaborative and compassionate approach at times:

Things like being vulnerable and acknowledging mistakes and participatory collaborative leadership approaches that once upon a time in a male dominated structure were viewed as weak and ineffectual have since proven otherwise. So that's an example of how if I'm going to be like me, I'm not one who pounds my fist on the desk and barks out orders. (P15)

And, despite the negative realities, women experienced in this White male dominated profession, they all at some point in their interviews articulated their belief and conviction that women brought something different and special to the profession. And even in some situations, they caused their male colleagues to acknowledge as such, indicating a change in the environment and a willingness to treat women as equals, capable to doing the job, just as well and in some situations, even better:

We bring something to the profession that is not too common and a way of looking at the world through the lens of, from my experience, relationship building; seeing the human behind the badge, seeing the human on the street, approaching things from a collaborative, non-egotistical, non-testosterone-fueled way. (P3)

We have a different skill set I think, eventually, some of the guys started realizing, “Hey, wait a minute. Maybe we’ll let her do the talking because it happens a little better when they talk.” Some of the guys started realizing that. They also realized that we could hold our own. So, things started changing. (P6)

And the fact that women brought something different and special, one participant even suggested a percentage by which to increase the number of women in policing, a percentage that if achieved would lead to changes in the profession, one of the driving forces behind them wanting to move up the ranks, to have a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive work force:

There is a book I read that if you can get 20 percent of the people at the table to be female, then the woman's voice will be heard and that it just can't be dismissed. So, I would love to see us hit, at least, 20 percent in policing, ideally 50 percent. Really, we’re more like social workers than we are like action heroes. And the profession needs that. (P16)

Recognition. People recognize the admirable role women play in policing, even though they are underrepresented in top executive leadership positions. This recognition allowed the women in this sample to rise despite the challenges they experienced, “I was being recognized” (P14). And this recognition felt good, and gave them the added push needed to continue their journey:

When she said, "You can do this and you can do better," it made you see that someone saw me, they recognized me, and they believed in me. And I think everybody has to have that. Because there’s so many naysayers or so many people knocking you down, or there are so many people telling you “No.” I don’t know good, bad, or different, because maybe that's how they’re thinking. And then when you hear sometimes that one person tells you, "You can do it," you start believing in it and start achieving it. (P7)

Participants understand that by taking chances there is a greater possibility of being recognized, which is also facilitated by being more visible. This recognition can be intimidating, and they see the impact on younger females who are coming into the profession who tend to be silenced by the fear of being recognized. But despite the fear, courage is needed to stand up, take chances and be recognized, and the participants encourage this among women in their

departments, because they understand all too well the importance of recognition on their journey to the top:

Right now, some of the meetings I go into now, the newer employees coming in, the newer younger females are still in those very vulnerable state; not speaking up and saying something, wanting to, "I'm afraid of what's going on." All a lot of us older ones will say is, "Think about what you want to say but you absolutely better say it. There's nothing keeping you from saying the word. They didn't bring you here to sit in silence." And so, it's teaching them to be okay with that space and to do that. It's still needed. (P2)

This recognition was sometimes attached to race and the perception of who should be in what spaces:

I got there early, and I was walking in. I was just about to walk into the rear courtroom, but I stopped, I heard them talking. There was this guy there explaining to the room, "We have a Black female chief. She's short, she wears her hair back. I tell you right now, do not disrespect." But he had to describe what everybody should be looking for, and he says, "I don't know if she's going to be in uniform or if she's going to be in civilian, but you better recognize her." But would they have done that? You know what I mean? They're kind of managing expectations for me before I come in. But I think that's the role when you're making the path, coming forward. (P7)

There was a general sense of respect among the women in this sample. Respect for the profession. Respect for the work they did. Respect for each other and a recognition of what they have been able to accomplish. Recognition and respect for what they have added to the profession, a profession that needs change:

I think that when we get to the point where we can work side by side and we recognize the great strengths that we each have, that's when we have a great society. That's when we have a great law enforcement. Because not one person has the strengths across the board. But when we can complement each other, that's when we make all that progression. It's because we know what we do best. (P6)

Summary for Taking Chances. *Taking Chances* was important for the participants who were carving out their path for career advancement. It allowed them to get into spaces they

otherwise would not have gotten into. *Taking Chances* defined who they were as women in the profession and as leaders in their own right, capable of accomplishing and thriving in a profession that was never designed for women. These women understood that Taking Chances allowed them to learn and to teach others in the process. *Taking Chances* is important for change to occur, the driving force behind each of the participants moving up the ranks to positions of legitimate power.

Dimensional Analysis Conclusion

I think your mind and your soul will just help you write. You will tell it the way that you are supposed to tell it and I have to believe that whatever that looks like and sounds like, it's going to be right and perfect and I can't wait to read it. (P20)

That above statement from Participant 20 helped me to accept the challenge placed before me to tell the stories of these women who have elevated to top executive policing leadership positions. It was a reminder, that this Chapter was meant to articulate the researcher's interpretation, presenting a micro-level analysis of the data collected through interviews in an attempt to begin to understand the complexity of the phenomenon. Chapter IV presented an in-depth examination of the GT dimensional analysis for his study. It presented a core dimension, *Wanting Change*, around which the analysis was centered. This is what emerged as the main driver of women moving through the ranks to positions of legitimate authority—to top executive policing leadership positions. Their complex journeys were supported and facilitated by primary dimensions which emerged from the narrative of the lived experiences of these 21 participants. The primary dimensions—*Being Visible*, *Making Opportunities*, *Taking Chances*—all played a critical role in the journey of women to top executive leadership positions in policing. The analysis revealed a web of connections, influence and impact across core and primary dimensions.

However, what became abundantly clear during the analysis for Chapter IV, is the complexity of the phenomenon, which demanded further analysis into the situation. For a more accurate articulation of the complex phenomenon, there must be a comprehensive interpretation

of the context in which these women work and live. Chapter V, through situational analysis delves more deeply into the context, to untangle and construct the “situation.” Used to complement the grounded theory dimensional analysis in Chapter IV, Chapter V is centered on cartographic situational analyses, mapping key elements of the situation, variations, and differences. The chapter presents the social worlds and arenas at the meso-level, creating a bridge between the individual social forces and the macro-level forces which identify differences, positionality, and relationality, generating sensitizing concepts and theoretical integration towards a grounded theorizing.

Chapter V: Findings—Situational Analysis

This chapter explores the context of the complex phenomenon of women in law enforcement leadership. As earlier articulated, the study used both grounded theory (GT) as well as situational analysis (SA) to understand what is happening in this space. This was in an attempt to uncover the thinking and decision-making of women who are involved in taking on or being chosen for executive level leadership roles, as well as the forces known or unknown to the participants, that might also have played a role in their ascension to the top.

The chapter looks more closely at the meso and macro forces that impact women who have made the decision to move up the ranks to the top executive leadership positions. Situations presented here were those the participants considered significant to their experience; but there are other situations that were selected from the analysis of discourses surrounding the phenomenon. The data for the SA started emerging from the in-depth interviews with the women under study. But being grounded in the concept of “the situation,” the data were also collected through ethnographic observations as well as “*extant discourse material*—narrative, visual, and/or historical—found in the situation under study” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxv). Also included in the data analysis were imagery, documents, websites, social media postings, written new articles, reports and other sources relevant to accurately represent the journey of these women to the top. Additional interviews included were ones conducted with individuals selected through theoretical sampling to triangulate findings uncovered through dimensional analysis in the GT approach or the discourse analysis.

Part of the intrigue of using SA was the intentional expectation of also looking closely at nonhuman as well as discursive elements in the situation, “going beyond the idea that only humans ‘really’ matter or ‘matter most’ in a given situation” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxv). A

recognition of my own involvement, knowledge, and intersectionality in this space also became critical in the interpretation of the findings and was also examined through a lens of abduction and reflexivity. Pretending I am coming to this research as a blank slate is unrealistic and irresponsible. My knowledge and prior experience helped me to enter this space more prepared than a researcher new to the approach, thereby engaging in a kind of imaginative thinking that was needed for this research process (Clarke et al., 2018) and that helped me sift through the intricate web and sometimes chaos-meaning, and thereby, to theorize and begin to put together and present in Chapter VI, a robust explanation for the phenomenon under inquiry.

Embracing also the critical social justice edge that SA offers, having deep feminist and antiracist roots and commitment (Clarke, 2006, 2008, 2012), the analysis presents distinctive concepts and maps to “help analytically grapple with power in both its solid and fluid form” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxv). Moving from explanatory matrices as presented in Chapter IV, to situational maps, broadens the analytic focus of GT to include the key elements that describe the situation being examined. Through mapping the data, this chapter constructs the situation of inquiry empirically.

The situation per se becomes the ultimate unit of analysis, and understanding its elements and their relations is the primary goal. Thus, SA deeply situates research projects vis-à-vis relationalities among individuals, collectives, organizations, institutions, nonhuman objects, discourses, technologies, cultural symbols, images, histories, and so on. (Clarke et al., 2018, p. xxv)

The Abstract Situational Analysis Mapping Processes

The sections that follow present the different maps created through the SA process, exposing the key elements, discourses, structures, and conditions of possibility, pointing to factors at the meso and macro levels that help advance our understanding of the participants’ complex journey to the top.

The situational map. This first mapping exercise presents a visual representation of elements surrounding my phenomenon of interest. The process started by tacking back and forth between what could be deemed as the most important aspects or practical details of the different forces that emerged from the empirical data, thinking through more abstract ways of conceptualizing, to capture the swath of data collected and explored. Women in this study found themselves in situations where there were many forces pulling and pushing at them. These forces were either propelling them forward, or simply keeping them where they were, because of the diverse narratives that exist around women as leaders, and more so women as leaders in policing. This process helped me to examine the situation more broadly.

The analysis started by constructing messy versions of a situational map. This was an interactive, iterative process, with many versions of a messy map being constructed by brainstorming all the “potentially pertinent human and nonhuman, material, and symbolic/discursive elements” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 128) in this particular situation, as framed by the participants in it, and my own interpretation, emersion, and ongoing, constant analyzing in this space. Clarke et al. (2018) argue for the researcher to also be reflected on this map because “by doing research on this situation, [I] become part of it . . . will influence it, and [my] participation may well affect [me]” (p. 128). This is one manifestation of the enhanced reflexivity that is integral to the interpretive turn and very much a part of constructive GT and SA (Clarke et al., 2018).

Throughout the iterative process involved in creating this first situational map, I spent many hours with the data and discourse and thoughtful absorption and engagement with the materials. The messy map did not remain static, codes were added, edited, or removed as needed, and in some situations, various elements initially considered germane lost their significance as the

research progressed. But even with the exclusion of some elements, it can be observed just how complex this situation is from this seemingly simple visual in Figure 5.1. It was, however, important to leave some elements off, because it would just have become too unwieldy, and so, in order to make the map more manageable and to enable a clearer focus on particular situations, Figure 5.1 depicts the latest version of a messy map that includes “major human, nonhuman, discursive, historical, symbolic, cultural, political, and other elements in the research situation of concern that also provoked analysis of relationships among them” (Clarke, 2009, p. 211). This is followed by Figure 5.2 which shows the ordered situational map illustrating the ordered chaos in the phenomenon under inquiry, with a more detailed explanation to its creation and purpose.



Figure 5.1. Abstract situational map: Messy map showing contextual factors.

The ordered situational map. The map presented in Figure 5.2 helped me to organize the elements shown in Figure 5.1 and to identify other elements that might have been missing but potentially pertinent for a more comprehensive story. This allowed me to examine the “situation” of inquiry more critically, systematically, and thoroughly, a process that was guided by the categories suggested by the abstract situational map provided in Clarke et al. (2018). These suggested categories forced me to dig deeper into the data that was collected through interviews, and gathered through exploration of a diverse set of archival and other data, to answer the following questions: Who and what are in the situation? Who and what else may matter in the situation? Who else was involved? What other elements may make a difference in this situation? What elements seem to make a difference in this situation? What other material things were involved? What social institutions were involved? What elements were invisible to the situation? What were the controversial issues in the situation (considering the later need for axes for developing positional maps)? What discursive constructions of the environment, local communities, the government, researchers, and other key phenomenon were circulating?

The process was facilitated by memoing throughout the entire period of mapping, making sure to document when “new insights signal shifts in emphasis or direction, and detail directions for future data gathering and specific theoretical sampling” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 130). Temporal elements for instance, slowly emerged throughout the process, and if not for the memoing, or ordered map forcing me to think more broadly, some elements that were important to the participants’ journey to top leadership positions might not have been recorded and included in the analysis. What this ordered situational map also confirms is the complexity involved in this space of inquiry.

<p><u>INDIVIDUAL HUMAN ELEMENTS</u></p> <p>Nikki Smith-Kea Progressive chiefs Male leaders Female leaders Colleagues Partner (on the job) Spouse/significant other/intimate partner Chief Senior leader Sworn staff Other females (outside of policing)</p>	<p><u>NONHUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTANTS</u></p> <p>Gun Uniform/Stripes/Stars Bearcat/Tactical gear Police vehicle/Sirens Hierarchy Policy/Protocols/Procedures/SOPs Technology Social Media Hollywood Mindfulness Recruitment videos Training curriculum Photos of leadership lining the walls in departments Photos of women in gendered positions wearing skirts and handbags</p>
<p><u>COLLECTIVE HUMAN ELEMENTS/ACTORS</u></p> <p>Family Community Unit Division Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) Police Foundation Good ole boys' network National Association of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives (NAWLEE) International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) Command College FBI National Academy (NA)</p>	<p><u>IMPLICATED/ SILENT ACTORS/ ACTANTS</u></p> <p>Children Parents (of participants) Civilian (non-sworn in department) County executive City manager Mayor Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)</p>
<p><u>DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL AND/OR COLLECTIVE HUMAN ACTORS (as found in the situation)</u></p> <p>Women as caring/caregivers/nurturing Motherhood as a sign of not being available/capable Women as not being able to support male partner in fights</p>	<p><u>DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF NONHUMAN ACTANTS (as found in the situation)</u></p> <p>Media showing women as meek Increasing media coverage of first woman to lead a police department Increasing media coverage of first Black woman to lead a police department</p>

Woman should be below male spouse in career
 Women as weak vs men are strong
 Women can't lead
 Women as mother figures
 Women as petite/small
 Women as having baggage
 Pregnancy as a sign of not being available
 Pregnancy as a sign of vulnerability
 Blacks as not being qualified/capable
 Women not being strong enough
 Women should take care of the household/family/children

POLITICAL/ ECONOMIC ELEMENTS

Demand/Supply
 Politics
 21st Century Policing
 Community Policing
 Technology vendors
 Federal government
 State government
 City government
 County government
 Chamber of Commerce
 Laws
 Legal forces
 Bureaucracy
 Financial stability
 Income

TEMPORAL ELEMENTS

Work life balance
 Ferguson
 Virginia Protest
 Me Too movement
 Black Lives Matter
 Klu Klux Klan rallies/ protests
 Conservatism
 Radicalism

Increasing depiction of women in positions of power in policing in Hollywood
 Portrayal of leadership in the media

SOCIOCULTURAL/SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS

Socio-economic status
 Middle class
 Generational values
 Education
 Gender roles/ stereotypes
 Diversity
 Generational affiliation
 Inclusion
 Sexuality
 Gender
 Physical stature
 Race
 Religion
 Faith
 Age

SPATIAL ELEMENTS

Department location
 Geographic location
 Community
 Local police department
 City police department
 Urban
 University police department
 Department size (physical and staff)
 City
 County

<u>MAJOR ISSUES/DEBATES</u> <u>CONCEPTS (as found in the situation)</u>	<u>RELATED DISCOURSES</u> <u>(HISTORICAL, NARRATIVE, AND/OR VISUAL)</u>
Female retention	Civils rights movement
Women as capable to lead	Women's Suffrage
Brass ceiling	Racial inequality
Glass ceiling	Gender inequality
Intersectionality	Diversity
Gendered support	Inclusion
Gendered mentoring	Conservatism
Warrior vs. Guardian	Radicalism
	Gender discrimination
	Race discrimination
	Sexual orientation discrimination
	Anglo American/Saxon Heritage
	<u>OTHER KEY ELEMENTS (as found in the situation)</u>
	Networking
	Sponsorship
	Push and pull

Figure 5.2 Abstract situational map: Ordered map

The social arenas/world map. A social worlds/arenas map, a tool deeply rooted in the Chicago School social ecology theories (Clarke, 2009), is represented in Figure 5.3. This depicts the spaces and forces, or the larger social milieu within which women in policing exist and journey to executive leadership positions. Strauss (1976) and Becker (1982) defined social worlds as groups with shared commitments to certain activities that build shared ideologies about how to go about their business and share resources of many kinds to achieve their goals. They offer “interpretations of the broader situation” (Strauss, 1976). We “cannot assume directionalities of influence; boundaries are open and porous; negotiations are fluid; discourses are multiple and potentially contradictory” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 14). The social worlds/arenas map “offers an organizational ecology of the collective entities in the situations as a whole” (Clarke et al., 2018, p. 203). The difference between the social worlds and social arenas being

the social worlds are narrower in scope. That therefore means, there is the potential for several social worlds within one arena. According to Clarke et al. (2018), social worlds are:

groups of varying sizes that generate a life of their own, for example, a recreation group, an occupation, a theoretical tradition, or even a discipline. They generate shared perspective that form the basis for both individual and collective identities and for commitment to collective action. (p. 71)

The social worlds/arenas map represented in Figure 5.3 presents a visual reminder that policing can be defined as an intricate web of social worlds and arenas that overlap, with a certain level of fluidity across identity and meaning-making segments. This mapping process helped me to recognize and understand that universes of dialogues cannot be taken out of their experiential environment or detached from their possible social uses in a specific situation (Cefai, 2016). They are situation-dependent (Clarke et al., 2018).

The social worlds/arenas map helped to illuminate the power dynamic constructed from the universes of discourse, with the focus on collective action. Considering the data gathered and presented in Chapter IV, the map helps to unravel the interrelatedness between the individual social processes and conditions and the context or situations which drive decision-making moments, in an attempt to provide a theoretical explanation of the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank. It begins to connect the way in which the participants organized in relation to larger structural situations that exist in the phenomenon under inquiry, either by acting [out], producing, and responding to discourses (Clarke, 2005, p. 109), as seen through what emerged as the core and primary dimensions discussed in Chapter IV—*Wanting Change, Being Visible, Making Opportunities, Taking Chances*—which all played a critical role in the journey of these women.

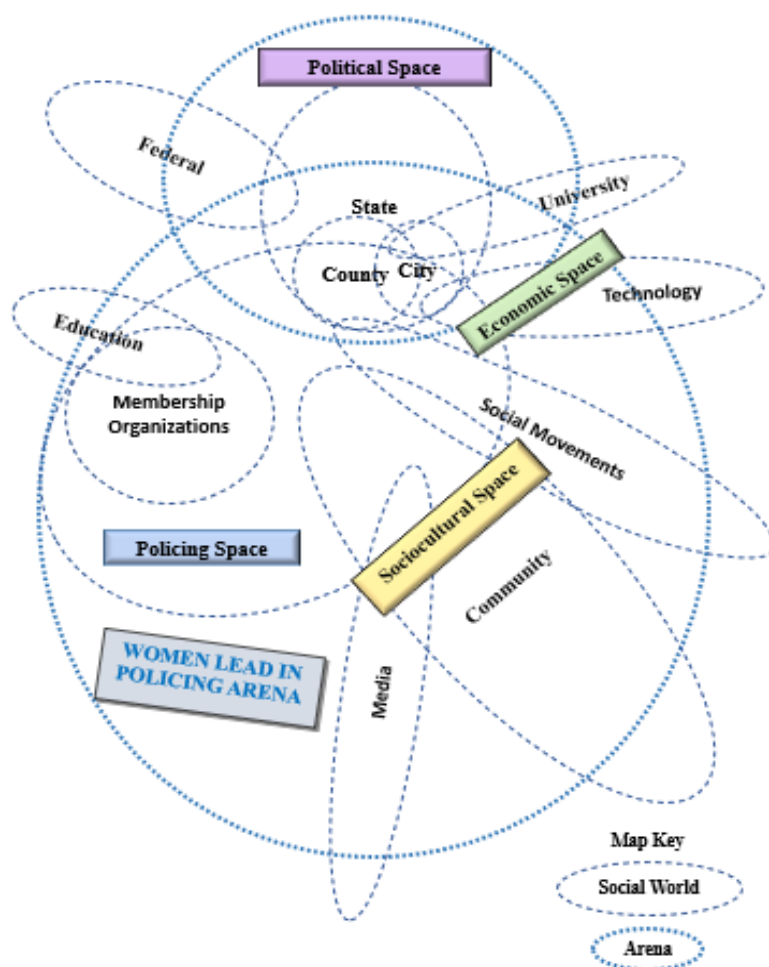


Figure 5.3. Social Worlds/Arenas map of Women Leading in Policing Arena.

The *Women Lead in Policing Arena* is encompassed in a permeable border to indicate that women can and do move in and out of this space, operating in different social worlds and other arenas, an indication of the multiple selves these women navigate each day. We all go about our lives having an integration of a diverse set of experiences which is seen as being one unit. But, this one unit is a “proliferation of selves that vary across social context” (Harter, 1999, p. 690). That therefore represents a diversity of realities and experiences that help to define the individual, that becomes a part of who they are in this space of policing and on the journey to becoming a top policing executive leader. The structure and layout of the social worlds/arenas map shows what

from the participant interviews and multiplicity of data sources emerged as key forces in the *Women Lead in Policing Arena*. The sizes and placement of each is aimed at telling a story of connections, influences, and power. Note that there are others that could be included and that would further elucidate the intricacies and complexity of this space but would become increasingly difficult to manage and overwhelming for the analysis and for the reader. So, what is depicted here shows the most salient in the interpretation of the research based on the participants' own language and from the triangulation done from interviewing a theoretical sample as well as exploring the other sources of data mentioned previously. What is illustrated in Figure 5.3 encompasses and impacts the primary dimensions discussed in Chapter IV and adds to the reasoning behind these participants *Wanting Change, Being Visible, Making Opportunities, and Taking Chances* to enable their rise to top policing executive positions.

Situational Analysis Domains

In order to move into the analysis using a more systematic approach, having a plethora of information to consider from the previous maps, it became necessary to organize in a manner that captured the social worlds, positions, elements, and places of conflict into categories for ease of analysis. Domains were created and represent a grouping and overlapping of social worlds. This allowed for focusing the research on explaining the interactions across the various social worlds in relation to the social arena of *Women Lead in Policing*, of which they constitute to create a space that is both complex and dynamic. Reflected in Table 5.1 are four domains labeled *Policing Space, Political Space, Economic Space, and Sociocultural Space*, with overlap across all four domains, each impacting one another. This demonstrates that the space in which these participants exist, survive, and thrive is impacted by a multitude of factors. Also included in Table 5.1 alongside the four domains are the forces at the meso and macro levels that were represented in

the messy (Figure 5.1) and ordered maps (Figure 5.2), as well as the social worlds/arenas map (Figure 5.3), with most representing macro level forces, a small number representing meso level forces and two defined at both the macro and meso levels. The elements in Table 5.1 provide a richer description of each represented force within each domain. The elements help with examination of the social ties and the patterns of interaction that have an impact on the phenomenon under study. Throughout this analysis

The decisions and actions of officers are situated within these larger contexts, and they affect the quality of policing . . . Neighborhood and city-level factors affect both the decisions of individual police officers and the features of their departments. Police citizen encounters in a neighborhood context that seems to independently affect how they are conducted, and community factors affect police resource allocation decisions . . . At the city level, issues like how many officers the taxpayers will support are locally determined matters that are affected by a range of political, economic, and crime factors. Local political cultures and the priorities of political leaders affect policies and spending levels as well. The police are importantly impacted by other parts of the criminal justice system, as well as by state and local legislation. (Skogan & Frydl, 2004, pp. 16–17)

Table 5.1

Situational Analysis Matrix

Domain	Forces (meso and macro)	Included Elements
Policing Space	Policing culture (c)	Hierarchy, authority, bureaucracy, policies and procedures, conservative, Anglo-American/Saxon heritage, education, recruitment, retention, promotion,
	Legacy of oppression (c)	The isms of policing, racism, sexism, classism, ageism, heterosexism, cronyism, hegemonic masculinity, male-dominated, good ole boys' network, discrimination, harassment, stigma
	Cultural shift (a)	Warrior vs guardian, Community policing, Presidents' 21 Century Task Force
	Imagery (b)	Historical images, pictures lining the walls and behind the glass box preserving images of women's entry into policing, women in

Domain	Forces (meso and macro)	Included Elements
		skirts with purses holding their guns, pictures of male leaders along the walls, thin blue line
Political Space	Political influence (a)	Federal, state, county, city, influential people, conservatism, radicalism, police militarization, geographic influence, state, county, city, university, good ole boys' network inside and outside of department, progressive and influential leadership, urban, rural, suburban, conservatism, radicalism
	Imagery (b)	Definition of policing through imagery, politics and the militarization of policing, guns, Bearcat, recruitment videos, police vehicle, stripes, uniform, badge
Economic Space	Economic influence (a)	Supply and demand, recruitment, retention, inclusion, education, value equation/substitution
	Technology (a)	Militarization of policing, technology vendors, body worn cameras, gunshot detection systems, automated license plate readers, facial recognition software, drones, sophisticated data platforms
Sociocultural Space	Community (b)	Legacy of oppression, Community Policing, communities of support, community engagement, social networks, family, mentors, membership organizations, Ferguson, Virginia protest
	Social empowerment (b)	Women's empowerment movements, communities demanding a change in status quo, Me Too Movement, Time's Up movement, social justice activism
	Media (a)	Increasingly acknowledgment and celebration of women in positions of power in policing, Hollywood, social media, hashtag (#)

Note. (a) are macro forces, (b) are meso forces, and (c) are both macro and meso.

The analysis that follows will walk the reader through the labyrinth of pathways, connections, and interrelatedness explained under an overarching domain that increasingly illuminate the meso and macro forces that have impacted the journey of women to top policing executive positions. The four interrelated domains—*Policing Space, Political Space, Economic Space, Sociocultural Space*—are presented individually for clarity.

The interconnectedness of the social worlds, clustered to form a domain, will be represented through analysis of relevant forces and the discourse elements that exist within the situation of inquiry, and when relevant, imagery will be inserted which has been a medium by which policing has been defined. It is evident from the different maps presented and the content in Table 5.2 that the level of complexity in this space cannot be fully articulated in this one research project. The intention will be to present the data and understanding of the specific relationships to the women in this study who have reached the top, and when appropriate or relevant, connecting back to the primary dimensions described in Chapter IV dimensional analysis. The overall connection of all components will be described in the theoretical modeling in Chapter VI.

Each force discussed will be grounded in a quote, where relevant, from a participant in the purposeful sample representing the women being studied. This will be delineated by the use of an uppercase “P” followed by the number which represents a particular participant, for example “P3.” This is done to connect to Chapter IV, which identified some of the forces and elements being discussed in the present chapter. There are also quotes throughout from theoretical sample representatives. These are delineated by the use of uppercase “SS” followed by the number which represents a particular participant, for example “SS3.” There are also relevant quotes from other discursive narratives.

Domain: Policing space. The first domain, *Policing Space* (Figure 5.3, center left), as shown on the Situational Analysis Matrix helps us to start uncovering the context in which these women worked and thrived and moved to top executive policing positions. *Policing Space* is a context created by the overlapping expectations of multiple worlds. The social worlds/arenas map shows the complexity of the *Policing Space*, with a large number of arenas represented and overlapping, having different sizes. The size of the oval or circle in the figure indicates the level of impact, with larger spaces perceivably having more impact on these women's journeys. Not all social worlds/arenas impacting the *Policing Space* will be discussed here, with some being elaborated on in other domains. Table 5.2 shows the forces under the domain *Policing Space*, and elements included. A discussion of policing culture, legacy of oppression, and imagery of the profession follows with reference to the participants' narratives and data gathering for the SA.

Table 5.2

Policing Space Domain

Domain/Context	Forces (meso and macro)	Included Elements
Policing Space	Policing culture (c)	Hierarchy, authority, bureaucracy, policies and procedures, conservative, Anglo-American/Saxon heritage, education, recruitment, retention, promotion,
	Legacy of oppression (c)	The isms of policing, racism, sexism, classism, ageism, heterosexism, cronyism, hegemonic masculinity, male-dominated, good ole boys' network, discrimination, harassment, stigma
	Cultural shift (a)	Warrior vs guardian, Community Policing, President's 21 Century Task Force

Imagery (b)

Historical images, pictures lining the walls and behind the glass box preserving images of women's entry into policing, women in skirts with purses holding their guns, pictures of male leaders along the walls, thin blue line

Note. (a) are macro forces, (b) are meso forces, and (c) are both macro and meso.

Policing culture. The challenges inhibiting the advancement of women have been well documented in the literature (see Chapter II) and revealed in the interviews conducted for this study. These challenges included the lack of opportunity and openings for promotional advancement; the male-dominated culture placing formal and informal barriers for female officers; female officers who are seeking career advancement face resistance and hostility from male officers and supervisors; and the difficulty in finding mentors, including the lack of women leaders to act as mentors for those interested in promotion (Gau et al., 2013; Guajardo, 2016; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Irving, 2009; Morash & Haarr, 2011; Yu, 2015).

I walked into a culture that I just wasn't ready for. Male dominated, a lot of racism, a lot of sexism, a dominant culture. Other groups, even though they were from different backgrounds, kind of mirrored the dominant culture. (P9)

These challenges occur in a policing culture that affects the political and social environment and in turn is affected by these environments (Fyfe, 1995). A hegemonic masculinity practice that legitimizes male dominance in society and justifies subordination has been provided as an explanation of policing culture (Fielding, 1994). This "macho cop" culture of the police has the potential to impact the career choice for women police officers (Westmarland, 2001). SS1, who ended her career as a captain at a large metropolitan department on the east coast, shared her experience with the macho cop culture that impacts females' entry and advancement in the profession. During her time as an officer she witnessed,

Men were the decision makers. They're seen as stronger. The majority of the units were run by men. When women came on, you would hear talks about women not really being

cut out for the job or are only being brought on to avoid gender discrimination claims. The environment and the way everybody was thinking in the department was based on the male's perspective. (SS1)

Bernard (1978) believed that women's inclusion in policing seemed to have increased when female officers assumed the dominant male cultural attitude such as achievement and competitiveness and rejected female behavioral traits. In fact, Parsons and Jesilow (2001) attributed the stereotypical masculine attitudes to persistent beliefs that in order to be successful in law enforcement, women had to "deny their feminine nature" and operate in a manner that was "tough, unemotional, and decisive" (p. 43). SS8 supported this claim and believed that the women who were more successful were those that emulated the masculine way of being:

The command and control, sort of the warrior ethos, and when I think in terms of women who are older, they definitely present that way. They're very good at kind of fitting in and have very macho approach to everything; I have no weaknesses, I have no vulnerabilities, I know exactly what I'm doing. (SS8)

What was clearly articulated throughout the interviews was that this culture of masculinity still permeated the policing profession. And innate masculinity is still deeply embedded in law enforcement culture, with an established framework that continues to dominate the field and marginalize women police officers (Crank, 2004). SS5 believed that because of this culture of masculinity, sometimes women as a minority may think instead of being themselves, they have to be overly assertive, much like what he has to do as an African American in a profession that's still in some ways resistant to diversity:

It's no different than me being Black and thinking "You got to do more. You got to be more." And so, I think that it's more challenging in the woman's mind once she gets to that level. She has a commensurate amount of pressure on her because she has to do more and she has to be more because if she fails or if she makes a mistake, it's going to be completely looked at differently than if there was someone else that made the mistake that wasn't a woman." (SS5)

The policing culture is built on the practice of conservatism, was also a recurring theme throughout interviews with the study participants. Participant 11 believed that "they really are still

not interested in women and minorities in this field. If you're known as this person, you then get labeled liberal, progressive. This is a White male, Republican, conservative profession.” The policing culture is oftentimes described as being built on male, conservative and racialized norms and values (Haarr, 2005; McCarthy, 2013), a culture in which those who do not fit with male values and norms are rejected (Myers, Forest, & Miller, 2004), and what some participants and others from the theoretical sample, who were interviewed thought was a reason for women not having the opportunity and ability to be included in positions of leadership. This White male conservatism is often reminded of and celebrated at the highest levels of government. In a speech at the National Sheriff’s Association Winter Meeting, then-Attorney General Jeff Sessions stated,

I want to thank every Sheriff in America. Since our founding the independently elected Sheriff has been the people’s protector who keeps law enforcement close to and accountable to people through the elected process. (He added) The office of Sheriff is a critical part of the Anglo-American heritage of law enforcement. We must never erode this historic office. (Wochit News, 2018, 0:15)

Legacy of oppression. Women who lead in policing, survive, and thrive in a space that is marred with a *Legacy of Oppression* that is deeply rooted in the culture of policing. This *Legacy of Oppression* has resulted in a practice of exclusion within the institution of policing, as well as within individual police departments for people who might have been seen as different, unacceptable, or incapable, weak, or meek. This type of narrative has impacted minority and more specifically women’s entry, acceptance, and inclusion into the profession as was discussed earlier in Chapter II. *Legacy of Oppression* was also revealed during the participants’ interviews, and is articulated in Chapter IV under the core dimension of *Wanting Change* and primary dimension of *Being Visible*, with participants sharing stories of discrimination and harassment.

I get back to the department and immediately there is a very palpable sort of atmosphere of discrimination, harassment. It was very challenging. Their field training program was a stress program and I always felt like they’re trying to make it really hard for me. (P3)

J. Martin, Lang, and Olafsdottir (2008) argued that this Legacy of Oppression in the form of stigma operates at the micro, meso and macro levels. At the micro level, everyone holds multiple coinciding social locations and personal characteristics—a tenet of intersectionality which will be discussed in greater details in Chapter VI in relation to theoretical propositions—which influences how they are perceived. Much literature exists on the stigmatization of women in male-dominated professions including policing (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Lonsway, 2008; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Seklecki & Paynich, 2007) that had a direct impact on the participant’s journey to the top executive positions of leadership. At the macro level, stigmatization is shaped by media and the cultural and historical context within the community. For these authors, the cultural and historical context “provides an overarching ideology by categorizing stigmatized groups and providing clues to appropriate responses” (J. Martin et al., 2008, p. 6).

Over a century later, the matron legacy continues to define roles and responsibilities in police departments. Kurtz et al. (2012) found that many officers (both women and men) endorsed stereotyped views of women officers as better equipped to deal with children, physically weak, emotionally sensitive, and maternalistic. A common theme was that women police lacked physical strength and power, which translated to women being a liability. The authors also found that a gendered division of labor continues, with women notably excluded from police functions defined by masculinity. Women were also excluded from social activities outside of the workplace which enabled a “masculine culture to dictate the segregation of women” (p. 255). The authors concluded that modern policing continues to reinforce gender-based stereotypes, and even though formal policies may not restrict women to stereotypical roles, informal behavior within the social milieu insidiously assumes this function. SS6 agreed with this believing that “some of this

is always going to be tied to gender roles and the normalization of predominantly male versus female roles in society and in the profession” (SS6).

The culture can also be defined by the isms in policing. According to Amicus Policing and Law Enforcement (2017), writing on the website of the *Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review*, it has long been observed that police departments have functioned to reinforce racial and class inequality. The article spoke of the legacy of racism and other isms that are woven into the history and culture of American policing. This is a fact that cannot and should not be neglected or ignored, even if one is taking a positive organizational psychology approach to understanding the journey of women to top policing executive positions. This profession has a persistent legacy of racism, sexism, cronyism, ostracism, authoritarianism, inequality, inequity, and social injustice both within and outside of the brick and mortar of the department. According to Workman-Stark (2017), there are “a set of beliefs shared by police officers that stem from an adoption to hostile working conditions and are reinforced through a process of socialization and solidarity . . . [and is] frequently described in such terms as monolithic, homogenous, authoritarian, suspicious, cynical, pessimistic, macho, elitist, misogynist, distrustful, insular, socially isolated, and highly resistant to change” (p. 20). This culture and history are what have impacted the inclusion and treatment of women as not being capable. This has been reinforced by research finding that to be accepted, female police officers need to prove that they are capable, credible, and trustworthy (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Haake, Rantatalo, & Lindberg, 2015). SS8 thought that

In addition to the issues of sexism and misogyny that exists broadly in our society and I think are even more concentrated in law enforcement and the current military model, there is just that idea that’s so pervasive, the idea of scarcity. Every time a woman comes in, every time a person of color comes in, that person is “taking one of our slots.” To the extent that policing and law enforcement in this country has been the domain of men and very largely—not largely, but significantly, men of Irish and Italian descent. There’s a real kind of club. (SS8)

Skolnick (2008) argued that the culture defines what it means to be a police officer, with officers displaying traits of skepticism, cynicism, and mistrust of outsiders. There is a stigma associated with policing that has resulted in the fraught relations and mistrust between police and the community. What this has also led to over the years is a recognition that things must change, with an intentional shift to a different way of policing.

Cultural shift. Even with the participants being in a space still permeated by a culture of masculinity and dominated by males, and having a legacy of oppression, there were consistent references about a shift in the culture, and the importance and key leadership responsibility of leading change. This theme reverberated throughout the interviews, both among the 21 female participants who have reached the top, as well as 10 participants from the theoretical sample. But there was still a realization that “as time changed, society changes, acceptance changes, but no matter which way we look at it, it’s still a male-dominated field and we have to realize that” (P6), and some, especially smaller geographic spaces still had a long way to go (SS1; SS5).

I think the effort by some agencies and even cities to recognize the need for change, to recognize the need for diversity; it’s almost as if our industry was pushed up against the door to say if you aren’t going to make some changes in this whole leadership thing and your method of operation, then law enforcement is going to have a hard time with trust in the community. I’ve seen embracing women in leadership positions, especially over the last decade, to push women in chief’s positions. So that there is more of an even or balanced kind of approach to what it is we’re dealing with, all of the strain in relationships and communities. The effort to recruit more women in our industry, especially, in major cities. You got some small towns that still haven’t embraced that. (P20)

Alongside this realization and acceptance of resistance from some, there was an uplifting of Community Policing as one shift in policing. The practice of Community Policing echoed throughout the interviews, and was identified as one response to that call for change. In fact, this effort was largely supported by the Federal government, with the establishment of the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Title I of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-322, “the 1994 Crime Act”), with a mission to advance the practice of

community policing through information sharing and grant resources (James, 2019). Community policing is defined as,

a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime. (COPS, 2014, p. 1)

In 2016, a report from the U.S. Department of Justice highlighted a promising practice for increasing diversity. It argued for an agency's organizational culture to be guided by community policing, procedural justice, and cultural inclusivity, especially in communities that historically have had negative interactions with law enforcement. The report stated that this would facilitate a culture that prioritizes community policing strategies, with the potential of encouraging individuals from said communities to not only consider, but also apply for jobs as officers. "Such a culture invites individuals who may not have previously considered law enforcement as a viable career option to view the profession as an impactful and meaningful way to serve their community" (U.S. Department of Justice Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2016, p. 25). Three years later, as highlighted in a National Institute of Justice 2019 report, participants in a summit focused on women in policing: breaking barriers and blazing a path, called for the reframing of the profession. The participants criticized stereotypes of policing as masculine and violent, calling for a shift in emphasis toward community policing, valuing relationships, and increasing trust. It was believed that this shift would "increase the appeal of policing for women, more accurately portray policing's mission, and result in a stronger, more effective police profession" (U.S. Department of Justice Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2016, p. 25). But this shift in culture has to be intentional; it has to be more than simply a recruitment effort for the optics of it. It needs to look also at inclusion and advancement. And this "has to take place in spaces of influence" according to SS5.

So when they give it their attention, that means that they are advancing it through training to say, “hey, community, city manager, city leadership, police department, this is important enough for us that we need to devise a strategy to elevate this minority group in our organization because we believe in that.” That may be through training focused on executive level development, fellowship programs in Washington, D.C., PELI (Police Executive Leadership Institute) program for major city police chiefs. That represents a governing body that says, “this issue is important enough for us in policing that we need to advance it from a professional development standpoint.” In doing so, we are [being] intentional. (SS5)

SS10 believed that “people are concerned about the perception that there is diversity.”

And for SS8 there needs to be a change in “the definition of leadership within policing and law enforcement.”

Imagery (silent actants). There are significant visual elements in most if not all situations of inquiry, and these fully deserve our attention in qualitative inquiry (Clarke et al., 2018). For this research, visual discourse analysis has been used to complement the analysis of the identified domain. Mirzoeff (1998) argued that the postmodern is a visual culture. Therefore, for this analysis, where appropriate, extant visual discourse materials have been brought in and discussed as a complement for the situational analysis.

Symbols as imagery define power and authority in policing. They define hierarchy and expectations. They define the gendering of the profession. The meanings attached to symbols and images in policing can motivate, inspire, cause harm and pain, and change perceptions. The concept of “police” itself invokes a visual object. This element of imagery did not emerge as a space to highlight and explore until very late in the analysis. The filling in of the ordered map forced me to go back through the participants narrative, the discursive narrative, and my own emersion into the world of policing. What emerged was a kaleidoscope of images, silent actants that play a part in the everyday life of women in policing, an important representation of context and history if exploring this space of the women who lead in policing.

Figure 5.4 and other images in police departments across the United States offer a storied and shared legacy of past and present definitions of the profession, each department's historic journey, and the line of leadership within each.



Figure 5.4. Poster: History of the American police officer. Officer's title from left to right include: Rattle Watch 1700s, Commissioned Officer 1800s, US Marshall 1870s, Roundsman 1900s, Patrolman 1920s, Motorcycle Patrol 1950s, Detective 1960s, State Trooper 1970s, City Police 1990s, and S.W.A.T. 2000s. From "History of the American Police Officer Print," by History America, n.d. (<https://www.historyamerica.us/history-of-the-american-police-officer-poster/>). Copyright by History America. Used with permission.

Lining the walls of many departments, these pictures tell an extensive story of a White, male, conservative profession, a gendered profession, displaying unequivocally the exclusion of anyone different. In departments around the United States, the line of images also provides a timeline of the later inclusion of minority males as leaders and the occasional female representation towards the end of the mounted line of images. This serves as a temporal and real reminder even today of the limited representation of diversity of race and gender in the profession.

Along the walls are also images like those depicted in Figure 5.4, that tell a story of the shifts in culture, and a definition of what it meant and still does mean to be a police officer in the United States. Images of leaders or past chief executive officers, typically is a portrayal of a long line of White males, and depending on the geographic location, the only difference may be those

brandishing facial hair—a beard and/or mustache—and those who are clean shaved. And that even, the facial hair, is a symbol that represents how some see their own policing leadership journey.

What you see up in the northeast, which is not common here, police officers with beards. You still won't ever see me in a beard as an executive. If I'm off on vacation, yeah, I'll grow it out, but we are a paramilitary organization. But in the northeast, you see cops with beards, you might see tattoos and now that's kind of the norm in the northeast. (SS4)

In the past, facial hair has been a sign and privilege of leadership and positional power, but much more prevalent today across the rank and file in certain geographic locations. As recently as December 2019, the issue of facial hair was being grappled with based on an opinion piece in the *Houston Chronicle* (“Allowing Police Beards,” 2019), by a Southern police department making the decision to allow its officers to grow beards. This decision, as suggested in the editorial, may have prompted some grumbling from “old-school” members of the force and even some of the more traditionalist segments of the community, but recognizing the cultural and generational differences that were already being accommodated in workplaces across the city, county, state and nation, the Chief announced the decision to allow beards.



Figure 5.5. Madison police chiefs over the years. From “Madison police chiefs through the years,” by A. Arnold, 2019. (https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/crime_and_courts/madison-police-chiefs-through-the-years/collection_0d453460-4133-5ec5-b699-75a754229853.html#1). Copyright 2019 by the Wisconsin State Journal. Used with permission.

There is also a shifting in the culture of what it means to be a female in policing. Palmer (2020) reported on the decision of the new and first female Commissioner in Philadelphia to change the nail polish policy:

“It’s the small things that allow us [women] to feel not only welcome but supported,” she said. “It’s one thing to recruit me and say, ‘Oh yes, we want you.’ But if there’s no support system in place to say, ‘Not only do [we] want you, but we celebrate you and we recognize that you bring [something] different,’ . . . we’re not going to get the people that we say that we want.” (para. 4)

Imagery also tells the story of work spaces where women police were never allowed, for example, historical images of elite units, like motorcycle units or mounted patrol (see Figures 5.6 and 5.7).



Figure 5.6. San Francisco's motorcycle police, circa 1940. From “100 years of the San Francisco Police Department in Uniform,” by Bob Bragman, 2016. (<https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/When-a-Chinese-American-woman-broke-the-SFPD-10813823.php#photo-12033538>). Copyright 2016 by the San Francisco Chronicle. Used with permission.



Figure 5.7. Indianapolis Mounted Patrol in front of the former City Hall in the 1920s. From “A Rich History of the IMPD Mounted Patrol Unit,” by Indiana Metropolitan Police Horse Patrol Association, n.d. (<https://impdmountedpatrol.org/history-impd-mounted-patrol/>). Copyright 2016–2018 by the Indianapolis Metropolitan Police Horse Patrol Association. Used with permission.

In historical photos in which women are depicted, they are represented as ladies in skirts with well-coiffed hair, and purses to hold their small pistols—and White women dominate almost all early photos of women police (see Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8. Chief Michael Mitchell with a group of female San Francisco Police Department recruits on March 16, 1950. From “San Francisco police and fire stood guard through early challenges,” by Peter Hartlaub, 2018. (<https://www.sfchronicle.com/oursf/article/Our-SF-Police-and-fire-stood-guard-through-early-6601129.php>.) Copyright by the San Francisco Chronicle. Used with permission.

In fact, until 1989, when Participant 2 graduated the academy and started working in her department, there were no uniforms being made for females.

We had to fit ourselves into men's clothes. They weren't making women's uniform pants or women's vests. I had to be given a man's vest, I think it was a medium. It wasn't made for me. It wasn't only until about probably seven years later [1996], I went and actually got fitted for a female bulletproof vest. And then we started getting women's pants. We could clearly see somebody was probably saying something is not right. I don't remember who that would be. (P2)

In historical photos, male colleagues brandished their weapons, a symbol of privilege and power, while women tucked away small pistols in their shoulder purses (see Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.9. Women police officers standing beside male colleagues. From “The LAPD: Historical Photo Gallery.” (<https://www.lapd.com/historical-photo-gallery>). Copyright 2020 by the Los Angeles Police Protective League. Used with permission.

These images serve as a constant reminder of who and what have been important in the profession. Although shifts in power and the definition of what it means to be a police officer have been in motion in some departments, there remains discrimination, male and White privilege and power, that is evident in the images of a gendered profession that still exists. Participant 11 stated that “they really are still not interested in women and minorities in this field. . . . This is a

White male, Republican, conservative profession.” And Participant 21 believes while there is some change, the profession still has some ways to go:

I’ve seen embracing women in leadership positions, especially over the last decade . . . The effort to recruit more women in our industry, especially, in major cities. You got some small towns that still haven’t embraced that. (P21)

Domain: Political space. The interviews with the participants brought to light the influence of the *Political Space* (Figure 5.2, top center) on the institution of policing. As reviewed in Chapter II, policing leadership and policing has always been a highly political and politicized institution. Policing as an institution is part of several different systems of control, including the political system, which ensures public control through the implementation of laws. Sullivan and Rosen (2005) claimed that it is virtually impossible to isolate an explanation of what police do from what they are *meant* to do—the moral and political context in which they operate. Especially in the United States, where there is no centralized overseeing body, police policy is determined through their elected representatives. Political control of law enforcement agencies represents one of the central dilemmas of policing a democratic society. On the one hand, the people have the right to control government agencies, but on the other hand, politics historically has been the source of much corruption and abuse of law enforcement powers (Walker & Katz, 2008). Reflected in Table 5.3 is the domain *Political Space*, and elements included under each force. Following Table 5.3 is a discussion of the forces of political influence, militarization, and imagery of policing.

Table 5.3

Political Space Domain

Domain/Context	Forces (meso and macro)	Included Elements
Political Space	Political influence (a)	Federal, state, county, city, influential people, conservatism, radicalism, police militarization, geographic influence, state, county, city, university, good ole boys' network inside and outside of department, progressive and influential leadership, urban, rural, suburban, conservatism, radicalism
	Imagery (b)	Definition of policing through imagery, politics, and the militarization of policing

Note. (a) are macro forces, (b) are meso forces, and (c) are both macro and meso.

Political influences. The political influence recognized in this study stems from the organizational complexity of police departments and the role of public officials controlling the powers of leadership.

It's not so much with race in my agency than political connections. So, the people that are in the most powerful positions are connected somehow politically to the establishment. That means that there is a lot of politics within the police department. In my state, the police departments tend to be a bit political because the police directors are political appointees. In my agency, the chief is also appointed so there is a lot of political involvement. (P10)

Policing as a profession is largely defined by the symbols that are attached to the profession. The police themselves are symbols of the political system. They are the most visible manifestation of power and authority in society; and that visibility puts police executives in many situations in a reactive position, ensuring that they are responsive to the political leader who has been strategic in that appointment.

When you look at city managers and city leaders, they're very strategic and they're very influential. Because every city wants, number one, they want better building, number two, they want to be brave, and then number three, there's politics as it relates to running a city. Think about this, it will always be a narrative. I don't think it's a negative narrative, but as

a political leader, being able to say, “this is the first Black woman police chief or this is the first woman police to chief,” is a big thing. That city wants to advance that story. Why? Because it’s still relevant today. (SS5)

Through interviews with the study participants, it was discussed that women were often recruited and put in positions of leadership during times of crisis. According to P19:

The city manager there was looking for a major reformer, was looking for someone to come and fix a lot of things. They call, and they are very persistent. They kept calling, they kept emailing, and I turned them down five times. I did the meetings with the city manager. He was very upfront. He said, “I’m going to tell you, the good ole boys’ network has been in this organization for decades and I need it to be eliminated because when the last chief was on administrative leave, I got all types of anonymous letters about women being cursed at, yelled at, there were doors slammed in their face, issues that they shouldn’t have had, talked down to, slapped on the behind.

Such appointments by political leaders who wanted to get things fixed, often put women in situations where they are forced to navigate the glass cliff. Ryan and Haslam (2007) asserted that, as women have been breaking through the glass ceiling, they are faced with a new obstacle that is limiting their success: “the glass cliff” (p. 549). Their theory suggested that women are more likely to be appointed or nominated for positions of leadership during periods of crisis or downturn, at times when the risk of failure is highest. Throughout the participant interviews I heard stories of women who, having broken through the brass ceiling (Schulz, 2004), were then in riskier and more precarious leadership positions compared to their male counterparts (Bruckmüller, Ryan, Rink, & Haslam, 2014). In many cases, these were situations in which women were faced with subtle and not so subtle forms of gender discrimination.

Some saw political influence as a way for change to happen, especially in situations where organizations are slow to respond to community needs and demands for diversity.

I think it plays the biggest role. In terms of being the fix, absent something like a consent decree, the other thing that really drives police decision making is the mayor. If you set that expectation that the force is going to be composed of a certain percentage of women, and that women are going to have equal opportunities, true equal opportunities, that will get done, or at least it will get better. It might not be what we want it to be. And then the inverse, I think the lack of action in politics certainly contributes to it. (SS3)

It all depends on the real proactive or active council members and I could say at least in our city, very engaged council members, who really listen to the community. And if you look at council themselves, they're very diverse. We have more people of color serving and we have more women serving on our council. So those are the things that they identify with and really push for. (SS4)

Imagery of militarization. The imagery in departments—the badge, the uniform, the gun, the stripes, the stars, the Bearcat, the body worn camera, the sirens—are potent visual reminders of the structure, hierarchy, and culture, the inclusions and exclusions, the ultimate power of the police in maintaining the existing social and political system. With attitudes towards the police being influenced by people's attitudes towards the political system (Walker & Katz, 2008), women in policing are operating in a space of increasing militarization with the public placing judgment on individuals who serve because of a painful history between police and citizens.

There was an encounter once at her (P11's daughter) school in which the headmistress says to me that she did not want me coming to school in my uniform or with my gun because it just made people uncomfortable. I said, "That's interesting." And I told her I would gladly not wear my uniform or my gun, as long as, the same restrictions were placed on any of the doctors that were showing up there with their scrubs on or their stethoscopes because it was making me uncomfortable. (P11)

Bittner, as early as 1970 noted that, "the conception of the police as a quasi-military institution with a warlike mission plays an important part in the structuring of police work in modern American departments," (Bittner, 1970, p. 52). And the National Research Council's Committee to Review Research on Police Policy and Practices (Skogan & Frydl, 2004) argued that the roots of militarism extend well back into the history of policing, with the attacks of September 11 possibly accelerating an already existing organizational posture which was now being supported by the highest political office in the country. Post 9/11, there was Federal authorization, through Section 1033 of the National Defense Authorization Act, that allowed for the provision of surplus military equipment being transferred to state and local law enforcement agencies with an aim of improving agency effectiveness and officer safety during drug

interdiction and counterterrorism activities (Else, 2014). The U.S. Defense Logistics Agency (n.d.) stated that “to date, thousands of Federal, Tribal, State, and Local Law Enforcement Agencies have participated” (para. 1) in what is known commonly as the 1033 Program, which authorizes the U.S. Secretary of Defense to provide surplus military equipment.

According to Klockars (1988), militarization serves three purposes: it bestows honor and respect on the occupation of policing; its narrative focus on fighting a war on crime empowers police to assign moral urgency to the practice of policing; and it allows for the relationship between police chiefs and local politicians to resemble more closely the relationship between military generals and national politicians. The examination of police militarization has focused on Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams (see representation in Figures 5.10 and 5.11), developed in the mid-1970s in response to hostage or barricade suspects incidents that patrol officers could not handle sufficiently (Phillips, 2017). And with the change in equipment, the American Civil Liberties Union (2014) report argued that there is a paralleled corresponding change in attitude whereby police conceive of themselves as being “at war” with communities rather than as public servants concerned with keeping their communities safe.



Figure 5.10. Police militarization: Members of the Washington State Patrol Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) Team. From “File: WSP SWAT team.jpg,” by E. Rios, 2013, *Wikimedia Commons*, (https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:WSP_SWAT_team.jpg&oldid=371221993). In the public domain.



Figure 5.11. Police militarization: North Penn Tactical Response Team of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. From “File: SWAT team.jpg,” by T. McAteer, 2008, *Wikimedia Commons* (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SWAT_team.jpg). Creative Commons License (CC BY-SA 3.0).

Considered an elite team, SWAT represent the “last vestige of male dominance in law enforcement as an assignment that remains grounded in traditional masculine notions of policing” (Dodge, Valcore, & Klinger, 2010, p. 218). And although they have become a prominent feature of modern American policing, there are only very few females team members. In their analysis of why women rarely serve on SWAT teams, Dodge et al. (2010) examined the viewpoints of a sample of 30 male and 31 female police officers on the gendered aspects of SWAT assignment. They found that whether implicitly or explicitly, and regardless of gender, among the 61 participants there was agreement that the presence of women on SWAT teams present a variety of challenges.

Domain: Economic space. Women in policing are impacted by broad economic forces in society (Figure 5.3 at top right), and most recently, by the economic downturn of 2008. In 2011, Community Oriented Policing Services (2011) published a report on the impact of the economic downturn on American police agencies. The report discussed the impact of the 2008 recession on

law enforcement services, without expectations being lowered just because agencies have fewer officers and limited budgets. A phenomenon that is still being felt across a number of agencies, including agencies that the participants in the study represented, is having departments that are not at full staff capacity and not seeing that change in the near future. The report argued that law enforcement leaders need to start identifying different ways to deliver police services with the dramatic budget contractions, and more importantly, verbalize what the new public safety models will look like to their communities (Community Oriented Policing Services, 2011). Table 5.4 shows the domain *Economic Space*, and elements included under each force. Following Table 5.4 is a discussion of the forces of economic influence and technology, referencing elements under each.

Table 5.4

Economic Space Domain

Domain/Context	Forces (meso and macro)	Included Elements
Economic Space	Economic influence (a)	Supply and demand, recruitment, retention, inclusion, education, value equation/substitution
	Technology (a)	Militarization of policing, technology vendors, body worn cameras, gunshot detection systems, automated license plate readers, facial recognition software, drones, sophisticated data platforms

Note. (a) are macro forces, (b) are meso forces, and (c) are both macro and meso.

Economic influence. With a decentralized law enforcement institution, resource allocation rests on local governments, with each department dependent on its own funding sources (PERF, 2013). The economic crisis that began in 2008 impacted policing infrastructure in agencies of all sizes, serving urban suburban, and rural areas and lead to “civilians being laid off, training programs cut back, ‘and hiring slowed down,” (PERF, 2013, p. 32). This forced police

executives to adapt to a “‘new normal’ . . . spending a good deal of their time coping with changes—trying to identify the functions and units of their department where budget cuts will cause the least damage” (PERF, 2013, p. 32), all while police chiefs were becoming more concerned about increasing levels of crime resulting from the economic downturn. The *Final Report of the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing* recognized and the connection between public safety and economic health in communities, recommending that “law enforcement agencies adopt community policing strategies that support and work in concert with economic development efforts within communities,” encouraging agencies to work with “local, state, and federal partners devoted to enhancing the economic health of the communities in which departments are located” (President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015, p. 46).

I was an acting lieutenant because the economy crashed and the chief there says, “I can’t give you the position, but I can give you the responsibility.” So, I managed up to 75 people. I actually did the duties of a lieutenant and captain over there without the official title. So, if you were to look at my resume, I had the responsibilities and the duties. (P6)

The financial benefit of working in a policing department was also articulated throughout interviews, having financial and job security (P2), with police officers being the “highest paid out of a municipal budget” (P10), with “equal pay no matter the gender” (SS10). In another report, on advancing diversity in law enforcement, the U.S. Department of Justice Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2016) stated that “jobs in law enforcement create new pathways of economic opportunity for men and women motivated to serve their community and work hard to provide for their families and lift themselves into the middle class” (pp. 7–8). But there is also an argument that the “profession did not pay as well as other industries” (SS6). This, TS6 believed, forced women to consider what he called a “value substitution.”

There’s probably a calculus at some point of whether the work is worth the pay, [with] many folks sitting here going, “This is as hard as I want to work at this level. I don’t want to have to do that work that’s required of an executive.” And as a result, it could be a

value substitution thing; I don't need any more money than this. I don't need any more hours than this. And that may vary by gender or race, I don't know. (SS6)

Work-life balance and self-selection were other themes that emerged during interviews from the theoretical sample as a reason for women not wanting to advance to higher levels:

Law enforcement community very often does not work from 7:00 am to 4:30 pm. If you're an executive, you certainly don't do that. And as a result, one of the recurring issues is work-life balance. At the end of the day, the question you really have to look at is whether the calculation of the appropriate work-life balance is the same for males as it is for females. The question is, do female self-select out of certain professions or the possibility of executive management because the sacrifice becomes one they don't want to make because they want to have a family, they want to child rear, they want to do other things besides the actual profession they're in. (SS6)

This opt-out phenomenon expressed by SS6, which is an argument for women leaving positions of power and leadership explained by the supposed rejection of said power and leadership, has long been rejected. Rather, corroborating the findings of this study, Merrill-Sands, Kickul, and Ingols (2005) found that women want leadership and power; women are redefining leadership and power in collaborative and inclusive ways and towards positive ends for society; and, women are still not satisfied with their opportunities to exercise power and leadership in organizations.

The profession as a whole is also dealing with the issue of supply and demand. Policing has been recognizing the role of both men and women as integral to having an effective and efficient profession. Jones (1986) wrote about the decline in recruitment, and relatively favorable rates of pay that make it difficult for police officers to find equally well-paid occupations outside of policing. This is exacerbated by the shrinking job market in general, governed by the laws of supply and demand, that leaves less opportunities for promotional opportunities for ambitious officers. Wilson (2012) in a review of 150 works on police recruitment and retention, organized around the demand for police, the supply of police, and how systematic and episodic changes affect each, found that agencies face a threefold challenge in meeting the demand of officers:

attrition is likely to increase; sources of new recruits might be decreasing; and police responsibilities are expanding.

The profession is in crisis. The way that we've been doing policing in America isn't working and people are realizing that it's time for categorical shifts. That coupled with the fact that they can't get bodies in the door to even sit for an assessment is forcing people to think differently about the roles of different people in policing. Women will benefit from that. I think the passion and the interest has always been there for women in the ranks, but now they've got a bigger platform because [the profession] does not have a choice. (SS3)

Technology. Rapidly changing technology is ubiquitous, impacting the profession and the participants in this study. There is a recognition of the pervasiveness of technological developments in policing, with the institution of policing, like many others, having to keep up with the pace, as technology increasingly reaches into every aspect of the profession. Both P12 and P5 spoke of the importance technology innovation plays in the profession, "I think it's really important to engage on the national front, to always think ahead and be visionary. What's the innovation? What's out there, technology-wise?" (P12).

I met with the career advisor. Mesa had a career advisor program. I met with the career advisor. He put me on a five-year plan. When I was brand new. He said, "What do you want to do?" and I said, "I want to be a motorcycle officer." He said, "Okay, you need to take this class, this class and this class." He followed this thing called the Training Triangle, which I still use when I coach people. I had to take two classes for my current seat that I sit in, I had to take two classes for a future seat I want to sit in, and then I had to take a leadership class, whether I wanted to be a leader or sergeant or anything at any point, I had to take one class and then one on technology. That was kind of the thing. (P5)

A visit to the National Law Enforcement Museum served as a reminder that law enforcement embraced the use of new crime fighting tools or technology as far back as the early 1900s. A plaque on one of the exhibits stated,

The use of new crime fighting tools took off in the early 1900s. The first patrol cars and improvement in communication made patrolling safer and more efficient. Two-way radios, common by the later 1930s, meant officers could be quickly dispatched in direct response to citizens call for help. At the same time, however, the patrol car isolated the police and reduced officers' internal contacts with law-abiding citizens. (*Embracing Technology*, National Law Enforcement Museum. Transcribed from exhibit by author, March 2, 2020)

There is a link between organizations, environments, and technology designed to increase the organization's capacity to intake and process information, and this technology is "embedded in social organization and has social meanings attributed to it; it changes organizations and occupations and is shaped by them" (Manning, 1992, p. 351).

Technology, in a real sense, is transforming policing in fundamental respects. New and emerging technologies are playing an increasingly crucial role in the daily work of frontline police officers, equipping them with enforcement and investigative tools that have the potential to make them better informed and more effective. (Roberts, 2011, p. 72)

From 911 calls for service, to the democratization of data, to closed circuit television, and the tools and technology needed for day-to day crime fighting or for specialized tactical teams, to cell phones now capturing encounters, technology and policing are now intimately intertwined. Manning (1992) argued that technology might affect organizational structure by shifting the distribution of power within the policing rank-hierarchy, generating new tools for management, and shifting balance of information centralization. Policing effectiveness, efficiency, transparency is also now heavily dependent on the use of technology.

Calam (2017) stated that policing is a "vital element in any properly functioning society" (p. 3), but the institution of policing must keep up with changes in society, including the rapid growth and embrace of technology. Technology provides an opportunity for law enforcement to "use advanced analytics to deliver more effective policing including crime fighting" (Calam, 2017, p. 7). In an increasingly technologically advancing world a "differently shaped and skilled workforce and new operating model of police forces are needed" (Calam, 2017, p. 9). SS6 saw technology as an equalizer when it comes to the disparities within the profession:

Because there's no evidence that I'm aware of that suggests that males are better at technology than females or vice versa. What I'm saying is that technology is permeating the profession and as a result, there's more reliance on people that have the skills needed rather than whether they are a minority or a woman or whatever. If I have somebody who can analyze data and can leverage technology to help us, then all those other demographic

factors don't matter. You see what I'm saying? So, technology might actually be a mediator variable in this. (SS6)

There is also a recognition that despite technology advances, the public still expects to see a human body being responsive to calls for service, and the “public attachment to visible, local policing [remains] strong” (Calam, 2017, p. 9). Police departments have to achieve a complicated and intricate balance between understanding and reassuring the communities they serve, yet knowing that “expensive specialist capabilities that they increasingly need will often best be delivered regionally, at state level or nationally” (Calam, 2017, p. 9). In this progressively more technological space, Calam (2017) called for police departments to make an “integrated transformation effort that engages the whole workforce” (p. 10). This requires them,

to equip their workforce with the skills and expertise needed to meet . . . challenges” . . . 2. Put data analytics at the heart of the organization . . . 3. Integrate technology to maximise performance . . . 4. Optimise processes and structures . . . 5. Collaborate with other agencies to get the best outcome for citizens . . . [and] 6) improve engagement to gain public trust. (pp. 10–14)

But the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) cautioned that

While technology is crucial to law enforcement, it is never a panacea. Its acquisition and use can have unintended consequences for both the organization and the community it serves, which may limit its potential. Thus, agencies need clearly defined policies related to implementation of technology, and must pay close attention to community concerns about its use. (p. 33)

Participant 12 emphasized the importance of thinking ahead and being a visionary, knowing what the latest innovation is, what the latest technology is, what can be adapted, what the best practices are, “constantly moving forward and driving forward just gives your agency more credibility” (P12)—which ultimately helps the organization.

Domain: Sociocultural Space. Cox et al. (2017) presented a clear visual representation of the *Sociocultural Space* (Figure 5.2, center right) and everyday life of police officers across the United States:

Tens of thousands of American citizens don uniforms, pin on badges, and name tags, and strap on equipment belts that may carry firearm and Taser, extra ammunition, handcuffs, pepper spray, and a baton. These citizens assemble at distinctively marked locations and disperse from these locations carrying radios, and cell phones in clearly marked and equipped vehicles designed to make them easily identifiable. They go forth as police officers providing services, maintaining order, and enforcing the law in large metropolitan, suburban, and rural areas as well as on college campuses, on the borders between the United States and other countries, in airports and harbors, and in dozens of other settings. (p. 6)

These individuals, including the 21 participants in this study operate in and out of a social milieu, navigating between and across people, physical, and social conditions, defined physical spaces, rigid geographic boundaries, as well as in virtual spaces and events that comprise the environment in which they survive and thrive while moving up the ranks. Loader and Mulchay (2003) argued that the most comprehensive study of policing should examine the degree of fit between policing as an organization and practice with the sociocultural milieu in which it is embedded. Reflected in Table 5.5 is the domain *Sociocultural Space*, and elements included under each force. A discussion follows of the forces of community, media, and social empowerment movements, referencing elements under each.

Table 5.5

Sociocultural Space Domain

Domain/Context	Forces (meso and macro)	Included Elements
Sociocultural Space	Community (b)	Legacy of oppression, Community Policing, communities of support, community engagement, social networks, family, mentors, membership organizations, Ferguson, Virginia protest
	Social empowerment (b)	Women's empowerment movements, communities demanding a change in status quo, Me Too Movement, Time's Up movement, social justice activism
	Media (a)	Increasingly acknowledgment and celebration of women in positions of power in policing, Hollywood, social media, hashtag (#)

Note. (a) are macro forces, (b) are meso forces, and (c) are both macro and meso.

Community. There was a recurring theme expressed by many of the participants interviewed for this study, acknowledging the sordid past and a legacy of oppression between law enforcement and the community.

I want people to understand us and know us, and for us to know them, and to know their concerns and their histories with law enforcement. And for us to be empathetic to that and understand that we have ugly history and not everybody has been treated great by the police department and we have to fix that together. Not just us. We can't fix this by ourselves. We have to mend those fences. (P5)

At its core, policing has been about regulating and controlling space with complex configurations of inequality and injustice which reinforce patterns of power and privilege of White masculine hegemony (Crawford, 2018). The *Legacy of Oppression* discussed earlier under the domain of *Policing Space*, also exists in large part outside of the walls of police departments and defines policing and the criminal justice system in the United States. In a report from the Vera Institute of Justice, a key take-away highlighted that,

Racial disparities in the criminal justice system are no accident, but rather are rooted in a history of oppression and discriminatory decision making that have deliberately targeted Black people and helped create an inaccurate picture of crime that deceptively links them with criminality. (Hinton, Henderson, & Reed, 2018, p. 2)

This legacy is widely articulated in academic literature, with historians explicating the class and racial bias that existed in policing (Johnson, 2004). Others have written about a criminal justice system that has produced racism, inequality, and insecurity (Muhammad, 2011), having a wide reach in a carceral state, especially in communities of color (Butler, 2017). Both within and outside of departments, the relationship between police and communities, especially communities of color, and the history of American policing strategies cannot be separated from the history of the nation as a whole. “Our police, and all of our other institutions, must contend with many bitter legacies from that larger history. No paradigm—and no society—can be judged satisfactorily until those legacies have been confronted directly” (Williams & Murphy, 1990, p. 13).

Despite the strained relationship between police and the community, the participants in this study acknowledged the history and spoke extensively about their relationship with the communities they served. There was intentionality behind engaging the community, getting the community involved, and improving police-community relations. Building relationships and trust with the community and having support from the community was lifted up as being important part of their journey to the top.

Then the community got wind and a lot of community people came forward. There were letters and emails and phone calls. I heard from the staff, so no way to verify or validate this, but I heard they were getting hundreds of emails a day. Even the union came forward and said, “We want one of our own.” Then there were a bunch of women, who just came forward because they really felt like there was injustice. They set up this big petition, to try to get me back in. All these women groups, that I really wasn’t even that familiar with were like, “We’re not going to stand for it.” Everything is about relationships. (P12)

In particular, a number of the participants embraced the tenets of community policing and its three key components of community partnership, organizational transformation, and problem solving (Community Oriented Policing Services, 2014). There was recognition of the influence of community in determining

[who leads] the community today, through their elected officials, through the democratic process, the community can save the police chief job as was the case in Seattle, and the community can influence the government because, ultimately, they are the ones that put people in office. (SS5)

A similar theme that emerged in Chapter IV was also articulated among representatives of the theoretical sample—the theme of communities demanding more and different.

Also, the community I would say, expects it and now demands that the people that come before them in a leadership role are people of color, are women, are people who really represent that specific community. There will be more pressure in cities like ours that are very diverse, but I would venture to guess if you were to interview a chief of police somewhere in the Midwest or somewhere else, they wouldn’t have that motivation to diversify their ranks or their upward command staff as we do in our city. (SS4)

And in an increasing world of community activism, the women in this sample experienced support from community activists who “would have never stood up for us [in the past], who at

their own cost of being ostracized by their own community, stood up for the police department which nobody ever thought would happen” (P5).

And, according to SS5, change is taking place because society has transitioned over time having a stronger voice through advocacy and activism. SS8 believes there is a shifting in the narrative of policing and law enforcement in our society, “and the idea that the kinds of departments we’ve had have not provided the kind of safety and support needed,” and so departments are being forced to make changes, “And one of those changes is more women in leadership” (SS8).

Social Empowerment. Darlington and Mulvaney (2014), reviewing literature on women and power, highlighted four types of power. They concluded that there is *traditional power*, which simply means having power over others; *empowerment*, which refers to giving power to others or enhancing their power; *personal authority*, the power to be self-determining and make independent choices based on knowledge; and *reciprocal empowerment*, a combination of personal authority and empowerment. The authors argued that women of various racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds practice a combination of personal authority and empowerment, which suggested a new model of reciprocal empowerment for women.

Participant P20 and others suggested that there is a sweeping movement of women supporting other women, a practice she said that she would have shied away from in the past for fear of being seen as different than or “other than;” but it is a practice she and others have embraced in recent years. For her, calling out misogynistic behaviors has been very impactful and supportive of women moving into positions they have not typically held. She now does what she and others call “Saving a Seat for a Sister,” the physical practice of reserving a seat for another female when they are sitting at tables of influence, a practice that is intended to invite people in.

One participant's observation was that: "There is an evolution of women supporting women. That has been a change. California has the Women Leaders in Law Enforcement. That has given women a permission to support other women that has made the most significant change" (P20)

Other participants argued that there is a cultural shift happening in a widening *Sociocultural Space*, a shift that was also discussed in the earlier domain of *Policing Space*. Here, that shift is being elevated by social groups and other agents such as the media. It is a period of recognition and change. SS3 argued,

There is a zeitgeist around the issue now. I think about the convening that we had, and people were just so willing to talk. There was a panel at IACP, and IACP is making women in policing a priority of theirs. The National Police Foundation is building an initiative around. We're at the very early stages of people being in a situation where they can't ignore this issue anymore. And as horrible as the recruiting crisis is, it could actually be advantageous because people can't get away with doing things the way that they've always done them and they need to think critically about who they're hiring, and who they're promoting. And I think this could be a really great opportunity for those of us who are advocating for better representation of experiences and promotion of women in policing. (SS3)

With the rise of social justice movements, like Me Too⁴, Time's Up⁵, and Black Lives Matter⁶, the community as an institution has embraced the responsibility, despite push back, of speaking up and out against inequalities in our society, including gender inequality. And with the rise of women in other industries like government, a shift continues, and demand grows for more women in positions of power and influence. This, according to SS5, has become a part of the "moral conscience in society," an issue that seemed to once be irrelevant, is now being elevated.

The influence of Bill Cosby being convicted, the influence of Harvey Weinstein being convicted. The Me Too movement, the change in how we look at human trafficking now

⁴ The Me Too. movement was founded in 2006 to help survivors of sexual violence, particularly Black women and girls, and other young women of color from low wealth communities, find pathways to healing (Me Too, n.d.).

⁵ "TIME'S UP Now aims to create a society free of gender-based discrimination in the workplace and beyond. We want every person—across race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, gender identity, and income level—to be safe on the job and have equal opportunity for economic success and security (Time's Up, n.d., para. 2)

⁶ The Black Lives Matter Global Network is a chapter-based, member-led organization whose mission is to build local power and to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes (Black Lives Matter, n.d., para. 1)

versus how it was previously defined as prostitution. I think that through advocacy, we are seeing not the same notion of historical civil rights. We're seeing a younger, more contemporary generation of people that say this matters at this particular point, and thing must change. (SS5)

Media. The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) discussed the "ever-expanding ubiquity of social media and its power to work both for and against policing practices and public safety" (p. 6). There was a recognition that implementation of "new technologies can give police departments an opportunity to fully engage and educate communities in a dialogue about their expectations for transparency, accountability, and privacy" (p. 31). The spread of text messaging has been become much easier with the explosion of social media and the ability to disseminate narrative of any nature to a mass of people never thought possible 20 to 25 years ago. This widespread use is changing and expanding who gets seen and how policing is done:

I had to adapt to social media myself. It's not something I was comfortable with. But the community members use that as their main communication tool. So, we have to adapt in law enforcement. We use it as a marketing tool, but we make sure that when we use social media, we're trying to show a different type of police department that is not only here to enforce, but to provide service and guide. (SS4)

Participants also articulated the importance of understanding the impact of the portrayal of women in the media. In a content analysis of primetime television crime shows from 1950 to 2008, Evans and Davies (2014) found an increase in representation on screen for both women and racial minority police officers in the earlier shows that mirrored real-world cultural shifts. However, by the 1990s there was an overrepresentation of women and racial minorities on screen that did not reflect the current reality. Taking into account the influence of the media in socializing and educating, Evans and Davies warned that this fictional overrepresentation may lead viewers into thinking that gender-based discrimination and inequity within law enforcement

is not a significant issue; this downplays the real sexism, racism, and other barriers that underrepresented groups in law enforcement continue to face:

Thinking back to the research on how officers are portrayed in the media, and if anything, there's an over representation of women officers in pop culture. So, I bet that the common person doesn't even know that there's a crisis of representation because from their perspective, the stories that they're told, there's always a woman on the scene. (SS3)

There is no doubt that media, and more specifically, social media is influencing every aspect of society. This is no different for policing, with the media highlighting the phenomenon of women in policing leadership, often portraying stories of influence. On any given day, there are headlines such as those in Figure 5.12.



Figure 5.12. Headlines highlighting women in police leadership positions.

It's a story of influence, it's a story of trial, but it's also a story of progression. The messaging now, is that this is the first woman, or this is the first Black woman, or this is the first Hispanic woman. But progression doesn't necessarily always mean we're moving forward. But it is forcing us to ask the question why? Like, why is this just now happening? (SS5)

Web of Intersections

After mapping the discursive narrative, forces, and influences of power, and silent actors in the situation, what was revealed was a space of interrelations and overlap with interconnectedness across spaces, all draped by a *Web of Intersections*. Women in policing operate in this web of intersections around gender, race, class, and sexuality. They navigate geographical location and political influences; conservatism and radicalism; money and power and who owns that power.

When I started this research, I knew I was stepping into a complex space, but I would never have imagined the scope, breadth, and myriad social, cultural, political and, economic influences. In my second interview, the participant's first question to me was, "Just women or women of color? Because those are different journeys" (P2). I went into this thinking the numbers of women in leadership positions were so small, and I wanted to understand women broadly and their journey into top executive policing positions; I was making the mistake of using the "centrality of White female experiences in the conceptualization of gender discrimination" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 144). I was challenged early, and rightly so, because the journey of these women is certainly not as homogenous as one would believe, and I was reminded, "you need to be true to their stories because they are all very different and they're very similar in some ways as well" (P2). Some of these stories are extremely complicated:

And what does that look like when I'm trying to navigate being a Black woman in position of authority, where a community has been heavily impacted by the Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazis and racist who just don't do well with women and, particularly, don't do well with minorities. (P11)

The *Web of Intersection* is the netting that holds the full heuristic model of dimensional and situational analysis in Chapter VI.

Situational Analysis Conclusion

This chapter explored and identified the context in which women in law enforcement survive and thrive on their journey to top law enforcement positions of leadership. What is clear is that there are a multiplicity of factors or forces that impact the phenomenon under study. This chapter, along with the previous one, moved the research closer to understanding the interrelatedness between the individual social processes and the conditions that drive decision-making, in an attempt to answer the question—What have been the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank?

Through a mapping process, complemented by an analysis of the discourse, the situational analysis identified four interrelated domains, each having multiple forces that are and have been influential in the lives and journey of the women who lead in policing. These are, *Policing Space*, *Political Space*, *Economic Space*, and *Sociocultural Space*. An examination of these spaces revealed the complexity of the space these women have to navigate to be seen, heard, respected, accepted, given opportunities to move to positions of leadership.

In Chapter VI, I will look more closely at the intersections that exist for women who are moving to the top executive leadership positions in law enforcement. I will move from a grounded situational analysis to present theoretical propositions as well as the visualisation and heuristic model created from the various sources of data and analysis presented in both Chapters IV and V. These will be grounded in the lived experience of the women in law enforcement who have move up to positions of executive leadership. The chapter will also share limitations of the study and discuss implications for practice and further research.

Chapter VI: Discussion and Conclusion

Women at the top of police organizations are a symbol, an iconic image often defined by others whether in the media or by Hollywood. The purpose of this study was to gain an intimate understanding of executive police women's lived experience on their journey to the top. New knowledge that has emerged from this study may bolster the success of other women into top positions in a White, male-dominated, masculine hegemonic profession. Taking a positive psychology approach to explore the research question—*What have been the experiences of women leaders in policing as they have progressed in the profession to executive rank?*—the study focuses on the factors that elevated these women to the top. There was an intentional decision not to focus on the challenges women have experienced as there is research documenting the unique barriers women police officers face. For this study, there was explicit recognition, acceptance, and celebration that there are women who have made it to the top of policing and an intent to uncover those factors that helped these women to survive and thrive on that journey.

Chapter VI is in some part a fusion of the previous two chapters. Chapter IV was focused on the micro-level of analysis, using the narrative around participants' lived experiences to deconstruct the journeys of women to top executive leadership positions in policing. Using data obtained from participants' interviews, the dimensional analysis in Chapter IV examined the social processes and the conditions under which these women worked. This presented a core dimension, *Wanting Change*, as the main driver of women moving through the ranks to top positions of legitimate authority. This was supported by the primary dimensions of *Making Opportunities*, *Taking Chances*, and *Being Visible*, which all played a critical role in the women's achievements. Chapter V, using a situational analysis approach, investigated at a general level, the social, political, cultural, economic, systems that women named as being significant to their

individual journeys. The situational analysis revealed four interrelated domains of influence—*Policing Space*, *Political Space*, *Economic Space*, and *Sociocultural Space*—that deepened understanding of the discourses that are prevalent in the lives of police women at the top of their profession.

Using the combination of grounded theory and situational analysis, I was able to discern meaning in emergent patterns and define distinctive properties concerning these patterns (Charmaz, 2014). This allowed for the creation of a preliminary theoretical model that captured the learnings in Chapters IV and V. The model is followed by four theoretical propositions grounded in and identified by the findings salient for the journey of women to the top. These propositions highlight the relationships between constructs that emerged from the participants narratives and the studied situations of significance to this phenomenon. In conclusion of Chapter VI, I will report on the study limitations and point towards implications for policy and practice, and future opportunities for research.

The Theoretical Model: A Web of Intersections

Throughout this exploration, the need to look at the intersections in the participants' lives and how they impacted their journey became evident. This exploration of the lives of women in policing surfaced issues of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality, as such factors complicated the journey of women to top policing executive leadership positions:

For women, it's one thing. For African Americans, it might be another thing. I was thinking about this yesterday. As a woman and as a lesbian in a male-dominated field, I've had to deal with my life over the last 30 years and what that's been about. Thirty years ago, it wasn't cool to be gay. It wasn't okay to be out. And I was thinking, African Americans have to go through life with this identifier on them that makes them that way. I could pretend I'm not gay. You can't pretend you're not African America. (P13)

As the research progressed it was clear that there were layers of interconnectedness and intersections of various factors experienced by the participants on their rise to the top. It was

difficult to represent graphically, the journey of these women in a way to show the dynamism and complexity of their journey on a static two-dimensional diagram. The participant's journey is a *Web of Intersections*, that is, an intricate interplay between internal and external factors. It encapsulates the micro, or individual level factors that are intimately intertwined across meso and macro factors which encompass larger group interactions, social structures, and institutions.

The discussion that follows provide an understanding of the layering of diverse realities that these women have experienced on their journey.

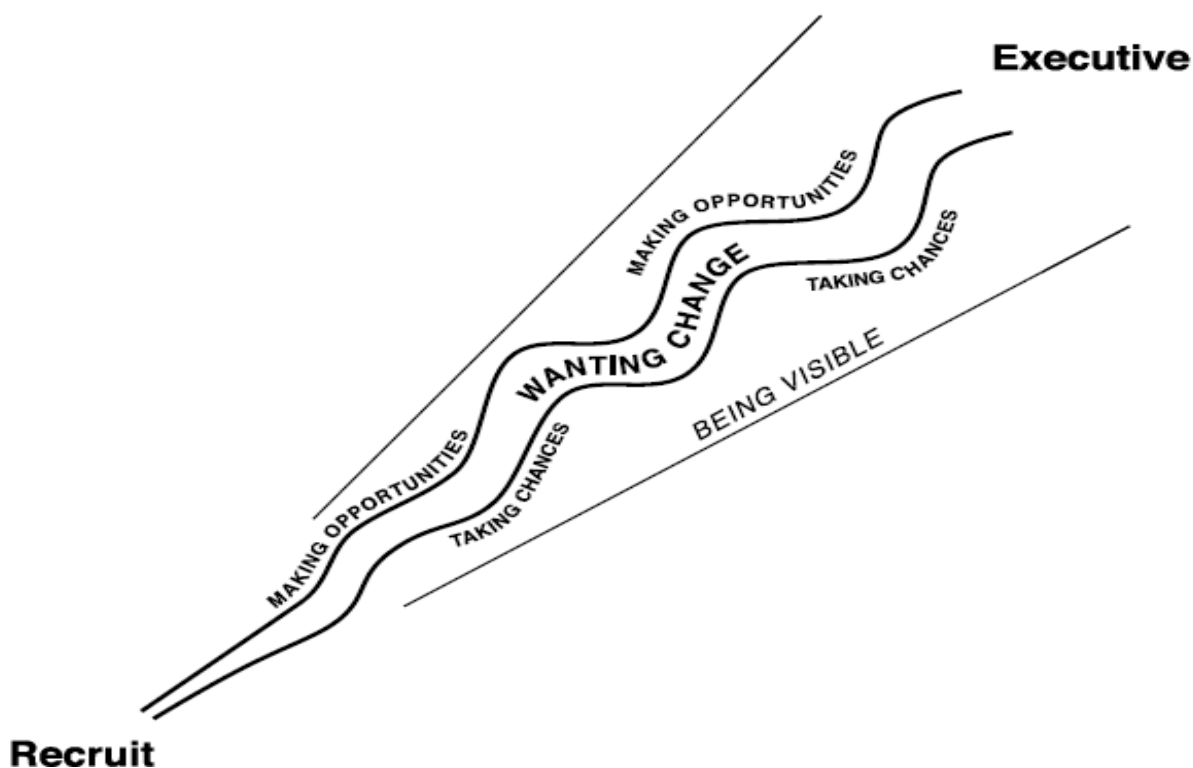


Figure 6.1. Dimensional core.

Figure 6.1 represents the dimensional core and factors discussed in detail in Chapter IV. At the individual level, these women are driven by *Wanting Change*. And this is an intentional, calculated, and deliberate movement that is both individual and collective as they progress towards the top. That *Wanting Change* ebbs and flows and is driven by personal experience and love for a profession that has not fully embraced or welcomed them. These women, despite the

challenges and the risks involved and being in a space of tangible inequities—with their male colleagues being afforded more opportunities for growth and advancement even when seemingly on equal footing in terms of qualification, experience, and skill set—have made the intentional decision to move up the ranks. This is a calculated choice they have made. And while they move in and out of *Wanting Change*, they recognize the need to “build a resume” (P6). If these women intend to move up the ranks, they have to show a diverse level of experience and expertise, even though they are rarely ever considered for opportunities within the profession they have embraced, which has not fully embraced them and is driven by a culture designed to keeping the status quo. These women are compelled along their journey to *Make Opportunities* and *Take Chances*, at the risk of being treated as a token (P7), losing it all (P14), or targeted:

Then I started taking more risks and then paying for this training that they wouldn't give me access to because I realized that I am capable of holding these executive level jobs. But it took me being targeted for me to realize that because it wasn't something I was aspiring to. (P10)

This intricate play is carried out, all while recognizing the importance of *Being Visible*. Note that as the women rise in rank, their becoming visible cone expands, while *Taking Chances* and *Making Opportunities*. There is an increasing understanding and acknowledgment of the importance of *Being Visible*, and an intentionality in increasing their own visibility. There is a purposeful and agentic movement by these women across a spectrum of exposure opportunities that will inevitably open more opportunities for intentional engagement and exploration. Through this process there is a continued widening of the visual frame—*Being Visible*—that can move them closer to the top where they will have a seat at the table, having legitimate authority and power to influence policy decisions and ultimately impact sustainable change. At the same time, they increase their vulnerability which makes *Wanting Change* the sustaining factor and drive to survivability.

This interplay among the dimensional factors is all taking place within the *Policing Space*, as is depicted in Figure 6.2. This is a space in which the participants exist, but in many cases are never fully embraced and accepted.

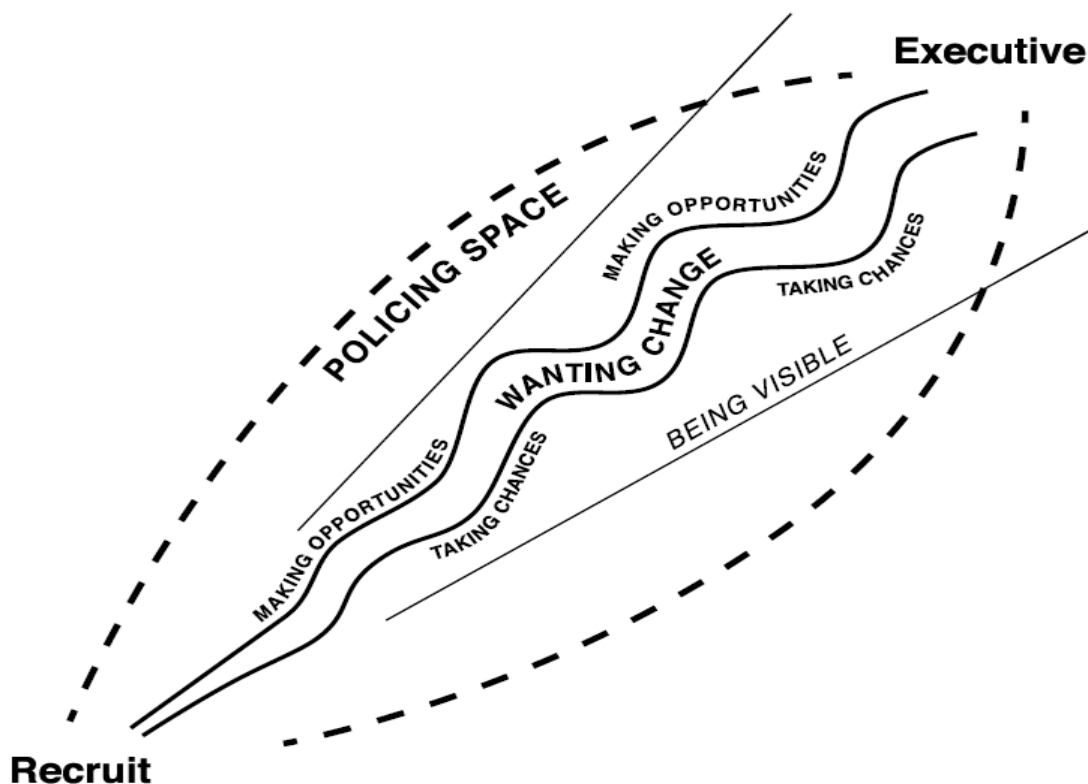


Figure 6.2. Policing Space.

This diagram shows the integration of the dimensional factors, as they sit in the situation of *Policing Space*. This is a space which has a significant power over those who are defined as members. As they move within the *Policing Space* from recruit to executive, there are different degrees of control or perceptions of control. When they enter the profession as recruits, there is a level of control that is defined by a hierarchical structure that punishes anyone who deviates. There is a systemic power based on a culture that is defined by brotherhood, “the good ole boys’ club,” and a “blue code of silence.” And being new to the profession and not fully understanding the culture that is not designed to embrace difference, there is an increasing restriction and hold

that the profession has over the individual. As they move to mid-level positions in their career there is a widening of that perceived control as they learn to navigate and become more familiar with the *Policing Space*, gaining a greater understanding of the opportunities that exist. At this level, they are taking more chances and making more opportunities as their want for change gets stronger and their recognition, importance and need for being visible grows. This process is helping them to achieve opportunities, which bring with it greater responsibility, legitimacy, and authority, while preparing them to be one step closer to the leader they have decided to become. This is a time where there is growth and the understanding of what is needed to survive and thrive in a complicated and complex space. That control is again somewhat tightened the closer they get to Executive level positions by both internal and external factors, in some cases, outside of the control of the individual. The participants recognize their visual frame has widened, and more eyes are on them and their behavior is defined, critiqued, and litigated the higher they go, forcing them to be much more self-aware since everything they say is amplified by others (P14). This is the two-pronged perspective on *Being Visible*. On the one hand they want and need to be recognized to move up the ranks. On the other hand, by driving for such visibility the risk is greater at every level. It is a tightrope they walk. One falter or sign of fear or weakness while in the spotlight can result in a fall.

Figure 6.3 shows the situational vortex that the women are drawn into and have to pass through as they move up the ranks. The details of the situational spaces are referenced and developed in Chapter V.

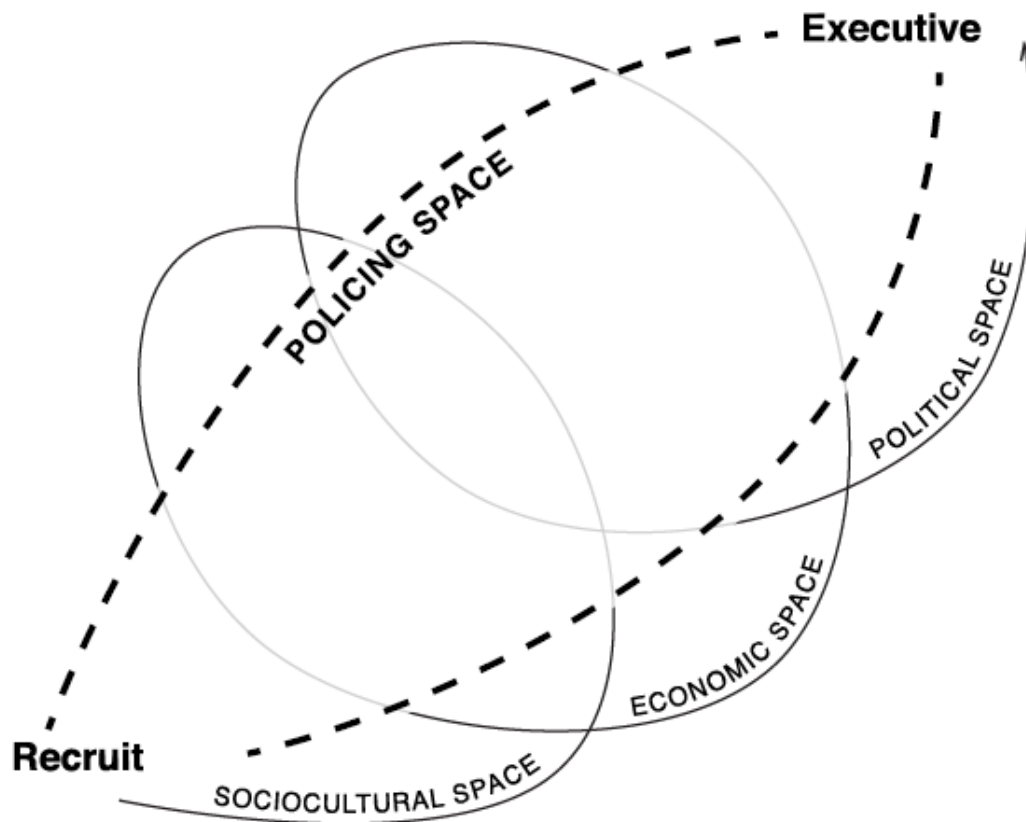


Figure 6.3. Situational vortex.

As recruits they are more involved and engaged in the *Sociocultural Space*. However, as they move up the ranks, they are now expected to learn, understand, and navigate new spaces. They must become familiar with the *Economic Space* during mid-level positions in their career. At this stage of their career, as was discussed in Chapter V, they are beginning to understand for instance, the role of technology and the economic power of technology vendors in driving practice. They are beginning to also understand the laws of supply and demand, the relationship between a product and the desire for, and price that others are willing to pay for that product. There is a myriad of intricate relationships being learned at this stage that is helping to prepare them for executive level positions where they will be fully immersed in the *Economic Space* and learning to navigate the *Political Space*. At the higher levels, they are still involved and engaged in the *Sociocultural Space*, but in a less hands-on manner as when they were recruits. At

executive level they now have to learn to play within a political system, among the “good ole boys,” and learn to navigate a space that is constantly reminding them that even though they are here, they do not fully belong and are not fully accepted or embraced. There are both internal and external factors that they will have to push up against and survive through in order to thrive. The woman, who is one of among approximately 12% representation across all agencies in the United States has to review her current self and her existing knowledge of the *Policing, Sociocultural, Economic, and Political Spaces*, against the definition of what is required to function at the next level to get to the top. She must constantly be vigilant of her own identity and values in juxtaposition to the situational spaces and what those forces demand from her or require as the ideal executive officer. It is not only about effective policing skills but rather about the capability to navigate and function effectively and efficiently within internal and external forces that create the vortex of the *Sociocultural, Economic, Political, and Policing Spaces*.

There are competing forces pushing up against each other, in a constant battle. On the one hand, there is a desire to keep the status quo of having low numbers of women over all and low numbers of women in leadership positions and positions of power. On the other hand, there is a need to change the status quo, forcing the institution of policing to show up differently, to recognize diversity as important, to recognize women as worthy and as equals, giving women a voice, increasing the number of women in policing to represent communities, and including women in the ranks of leadership—giving them a seat at the table where policy decisions are made for sustainable change. The totality of what is brought to bear in the full model is akin to a swirling vortex of independent factors that become intricately intertwined by each of these women’s individual experiences as situated in, and impacted by a continuous and expanding multiplicity of spaces and interactions. The theoretical model brings together individual elements

that would have perhaps been overlooked or minimized, and clearly illustrates the complexity when looked at as a system defined as a *Web of Intersections* shown in Figure 6.4.

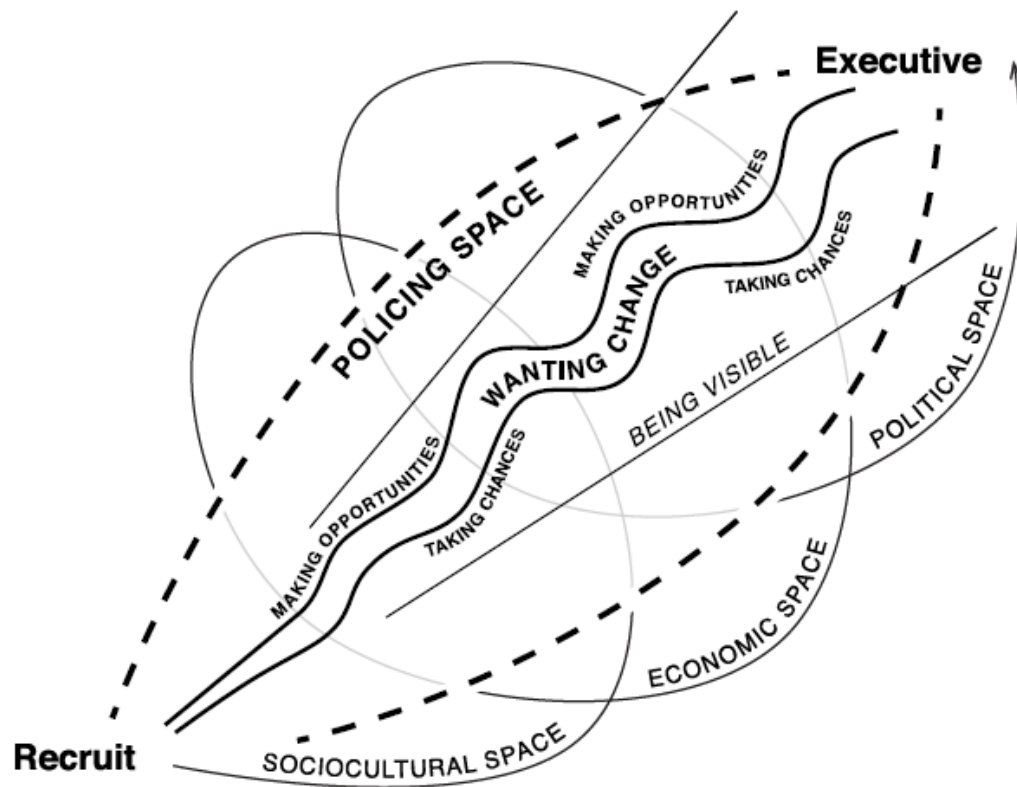


Figure 6.4. Web of Intersections.

This *Web of Intersections* is the larger construct that describes these women's passages and it speaks to the challenges of untangling and understanding a world that has never belonged to them, or embraced them. Yet in spite of that, they were able to, with determination, resilience, and agency, reach top executive leadership positions. The theoretical model suggests a dynamic labyrinth that is always present. They are not simply getting to another position and seeing that top position. They are constantly maneuvering through the situational vortex. Each time they move through parts of the vortex, it changes, as there is, in fact, no grounding in this vortex. At any given point in time, one or the other—or several spaces—may dominate, and they have to adjust and shift their social processes. For these women, it is a relentless process. They are not

simply in a context. They are in a situation and are active, agentic players in that situation that is dynamic, fluid and constantly changing.

The participants' lived experiences through this journey to the top are of greater complexity than immediately discernible, and this research captured and explained the participants' bigger picture, showing how it relates to their everyday lives. The participant's journey is a demonstration of an iterative and evolving process. It is representing the countless reviews and reflections of self that the participants in the study indicated having engaged in frequently, or as they approached each new level leading up to executive leadership position. These women seem to be constantly auditing the ever-changing situations (policing, sociocultural, economic, political spaces), and shifting actions and interactions to adjust to cultural norms and values, all while testing that adjusted self in the context of the situations. The woman then formally adopts the new self that is a product of feedback received as she tested her adjusted self. There is a constant movement and negotiation that these women have to participate in at various levels, while managing the expectations of what a woman should represent in policing both within and outside of the department and the profession. The women appear to engage in much more adaptation, adjusting how they show up in comparison to their male counterparts while trying to maintain credibility. This takes tremendous energy with the possibility of losing one's own sense of self. Wanting and making change for these women was about shifting the culture such that it reduces the need for this enormous amount of adaptation and adjustment for other women to follow, creating a more sustainable environment for women leaders in policing. Social processes—*Wanting Change, Making Opportunities, Taking Chances, Being Visible*—continue to drift and shift as they navigate the situational domains—*Policing, Sociocultural, Economic, and Political Spaces*.

Their journey is about challenges both from inside and outside of the department, and sacrifices made, while remaining resilient no matter how difficult. It is about their intersectionality and about navigating an unashamedly “male” space layered by a ubiquitous White culture. It was about inequalities and inequities, not having been afforded the same opportunities as their male colleagues, or in some situations their White female colleagues. It is about not having the same opportunities as their male colleagues no matter how competent, capable, and qualified they were. It is about the determination, resilience, agency, and grit they exercised. It is about the importance of being self-aware, and the intentional practice of self-leadership. It is about the need for support, no matter the form, but also understanding the loneliness of the individual journey. It is about a culture of sameness that rarely ever accepts or defends differences. It is about the systemic nature of a majority culture that creates structural inequities and perpetuates the under-representation of women and racial and ethnic minorities; with those who are not members of the majority culture being expected to conform to the norms of the majority.

The data gathered throughout this dissertation process showed the interplay, tension and polarization among these factors, forces, and silent actors. The data revealed that there are conflicting voices and narratives telling us who and what a woman should represent and what she should strive to achieve in policing; defining what positions she is suited for, or how far she should be allowed to go. There are strong cultural elements spanning centuries within and outside the *Policing Space* that have defined who and what a police officer should look like; especially in a profession with majority White conservative men with generations or decades of service, with perhaps very little interest in change, or respect for diversity and inclusion.

Theoretical Propositions

The research conducted provided evidence that helped to shape a theoretical model that can be further understood through theoretical propositions that point to the patterns that emerged between the dynamic participants' scripts and the studied situation. What this study has revealed is that these women's lived experiences and journey go beyond a language of mentorship, sponsorship, glass ceiling, brass ceiling, glass cliff, and tokenism. The study presents the reality that these women are not simply being acted upon, opportunities are not simply being handed to them, but rather, they are acting and being active and intentional participants in the journey. To expand the discussion, three theoretical propositions follow:

- Proposition I: Women make the decision to advance to top executive positions because they want change inside and outside of the profession, with their journey and positioning not just being happenstance, but calculated and intentional, showing a great deal of agency.
- Proposition II: Women are self-aware and intentionally practice self-leadership, all while recognizing and learning the importance of deliberately making themselves visible as they make the choice to move towards top executive positions.
- Proposition III: No matter the form, support is important for advancement to executive position for women in policing. This support can take many forms.

Proposition I: Women make the decision to advance to top executive positions because they want change inside and outside of the profession, with their journey and positioning not just being happenstance, but calculated and intentional, showing a great deal of agency. *Wanting Change* is the core dimension that imbued intentional and deliberate actions. This showed up in different ways and at different times in their lives. It impacted their

decision to enter the profession, and ultimately pursue higher ranks within policing. *Wanting Change* was not simply a cry from outside with these women looking on. For many, their decision to enter into the profession of policing was to be change agents. It was a deliberate decision to change the trajectory of their own lives or the lives of their families. A finding of interest that emerged was that a number of these women in executive positions, despite individual differences, had similar realities such as having a difficult childhood, abusive childhood relationships, dysfunctional family situations, and they experienced trauma. These adverse childhood events experienced by the participants in this study seemed to have driven them to choose a different path, determined to change the trajectory of their lives and not repeat past realities. Metzler, Merrick, Klevens, Ports, and Ford (2016), in research looking at adverse childhood experiences and life opportunities, and how that shifted the narrative of individuals, found that such adverse experiences were negatively associated with adult education, employment, and income potential. The participants credited such experiences in preparing them for challenging situations such as those they experienced when they entered and attempted to move up the ranks in policing. These women learned resilience in childhood. Prior to entering policing, many, during childhood, had already experienced challenges such as gender disparity, abuse, and harassment.

The participants' *Wanting Change* also focused within their own communities, and how they were being policed and how police enacted their authority within their respective communities and among people who looked like them. These women wanted something different from the profession and how it was being defined for their respective communities. They wanted to see a change in how business was being done, a change in the status quo. They want to build bridges and see better policing and community engagement (this was also a reason for entering policing). They want to establish a space of more authentic communication, cooperation, and

collaboration with community, with not just the police reaching out, but the community reaching in.

The decision to move up through the ranks to positions of greater authority and power was also driven by the want for change. They wanted policing to look different, to be different, to show up differently. There was acknowledgment that despite advances in the profession, women still experienced significant challenges due to race, gender, and/or sexual orientation. The cultural climate in policing in many situations was just not willing and able to embrace or support women, especially women who decided they wanted to move up the ranks. They experienced a palpable atmosphere of discrimination and harassment, with promotions being challenged, and they sometimes initiated lawsuits in response to the discrimination faced. There was acknowledgment that women were not being given the same opportunities or provided the same information as male colleagues, and for the minority participants, as their White female colleagues. But there was also the argument, that some just simply did not start from the same level of experience and opportunities as others and it was virtually impossible to have an equitable experience had they not taken chances and made their own opportunities, ensuring that they were being visible, seen and recognized.

These women wanted to see a change in how staff is treated. One participant suggested, “how we treat our own is truly reflective of how they treat the community” (P2). Many of the women recognized and spoke candidly about how women were being locked out of the places where decisions were being made. Many of the participants wanted to see changes in how decisions were being made, and to have the opportunity to be involved in and impact how policies are written—for instance, having a seat at the table and making decisions regarding gender responsive policies and recruitment and retention policies, considering diverse or mixed family

structures, gender identity, fluidity and diversity, and pregnancy leave. These women wanted to see more people who looked like them given opportunity in spaces that are typically not open to women or to women of color. They want to see a more diverse workforce.

What emerged from the study was that, women, in their desire to move to top executive leadership positions were deliberate and agentic. Their advancement was not simply happenstance. These women created and capitalized on career opportunities and in some situations designed meaningful experiences that would help propel their advancement. Their decision to move to the top was intentional and calculated. They understood the risks and they made decisions that helped to facilitate the journey despite the challenges they faced or knew they would face. These participants were intentional and calculated in *Making Opportunities* and *Taking Chances* with the ultimate goal of reaching to the top because they *Want Change*. This understanding challenged past research which saw women as being non-agentic, defined by gendered role assignments.

Role congruity theory. Role congruity theory proposes that there are two forms of prejudice: “(a) perceiving women as less favorably than men as potential occupants of leadership roles and (b) evaluating behavior that fulfills the prescriptions of a leader role as less favorably when it is enacted by a woman” (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p. 573). This leads to less positive attitudes towards female more so than male leaders and potential leaders, with evidence from research suggesting that these consequences occur “especially in situations that heighten perception of incongruity between the female gender role and leadership roles” (p. 573). In Chapter II there was reference to the association between gender traits and characteristics, with women having been described as communal and feminine as opposed to agentic or masculine (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Smith, 2010) which are typically perceived as behaviors associated with

policing leadership. In a discussion on the psychology of prejudice towards female leaders, Eagly and Carli (2007) pointed to the fact that this psychology is driven by conscious or unconscious mental associations of what it means to be a woman, or a man, or a leader: “People associate men and women with different traits, linking men with more of the traits that connote leadership. Such beliefs can make people conclude that no woman could have the “right stuff” for powerful jobs (p. 83). These attitudes and beliefs seem to permeate regarding who should be a leader in policing, and the participants in the study experienced negative attitudes and behaviors as the department and broader society decided and questioned a woman wanting to lead and eventually leading a police department.

Agentic women and communal leadership. Research by Rosette and Tost (2010) added to the continuing discussion about the existence of a female leadership advantage by identifying contextual factors that moderate the likelihood of the occurrence of such an advantage. Their study measured whether,

the perceived role incongruence between the female gender role and the leader role led to a female leader disadvantage (as predicted by role congruity theory) or whether instead a female leader advantage would emerge (as predicted by double standards and stereotype content research). (Rosette & Tost, 2010, p. 221)

Rosette and Tost (2010) predicted that “women top leaders who demonstrate success in their positions would be rated as more agentic, more communal, and as more effective leaders than men top leaders” (p. 232). What they found, was that “once women break through the glass ceiling, they may experience a leadership advantage relative to men” (Rosette & Tost, 2010, p. 233). Eagly and Carli (2003) argued that when women achieve success in top level positions, their communal characteristics are more likely to be considered advantageous because of the changing definition of what it means to be a good leader, and they are more likely to be viewed as highly agentic.

More recently, Offerman and Foyle (2020) stated that organizational research suggest that female leaders may “bring a unique constellation of leadership-related traits, attributes, and behaviors to the workplace that may provide advantages to their organizations” (p. 1). However, “reaping the benefits of female leadership relies on an organization’s ability to combat numerous barriers female leaders face that male leaders often do not, including gender based discrimination, implicit bias, and unfair performance evaluations” (p. 1). The authors believed that women bring positive virtues to the leadership enterprise, but “countering common stereotypes which harm women in the workforce is unfortunately still necessary in order to allow women with leadership talent their due place at senior levels in today’s organizations” (p. 19). The participants in this research showed that women brought to the profession a type of leadership that was different and necessary, supporting the authors’ claim that “leadership talent comes in different packages, many of which go beyond the traditional naïve image of a tall, attractive, White man” (Offerman & Foyle, p. 19).

The findings from my study also support Silvestri’s (2017) that working as active gendering agents, women in leadership ranks hold the potential to shift some of the more cumbersome obstacles that have made organizational change in policing impossible up to now. This belief showed up significantly across a majority of the participants despite the continued debate about the perceived role incongruence between the female gender role and the leader role that these women still come up against in policing.

My research took a positive psychology approach, which allowed for an understanding of these women’s journeys in terms of being their own agents. The participants in this study demonstrated agency throughout their respective journeys, without having them transform to exhibiting masculine traits. In fact, there were participants who made it clear that it was ok to be

female, to be feminine, embracing their identities and multiple selves, as that in no way impacted their ability to perform effectively (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010). There was the strong belief and articulation throughout that women brought something different to the table and that difference has benefited the profession. The ultimate driver was their *Wanting Change*, and these participants were not being shy to seek out and step into uncomfortable situations.

Proposition II: Women are self-aware and intentionally practice self-leadership, all while recognizing and learning the importance of deliberately making themselves visible as they make the choice to move towards top executive positions. With the number of women in policing and more so in policing leadership being so small, these women have experienced periods when there were no other women in positions of leadership within their departments for them to learn from, and emulate.

It's hard to imagine something you can't see. Like when I told you when I came in the highest-ranking person was a lieutenant so that's what I said I wanted to be, a lieutenant, and I got there at ten years. So, I think representation is so important. (P10)

With the small number of women, the participants quickly recognized the importance of visibility. From the very first interview, Participant 1 mentioned, "you got to be visible." At that point in the data collection, the significance of that seemingly simple statement was not even slightly understood. This quickly became a recurring theme across the interviews, and described in large part, as a deliberate and intentional act across study participants. This intentionality increased once they understood the importance and need for visibility, which was made apparent through their deep introspection, becoming more aware of self and their own positioning and worth. Their visibility, in many situations, was for a purpose and oftentimes planned. They did so by taking opportunities, and inserting themselves in spaces others might not have wanted, or been too afraid to embrace, because a minor slip could have caused an enormous fall with impossible recovery. This did not deter Participant 19, who took on the responsibility for determining

“whether local law enforcement agencies should get involved in the 287G statute with ICE, with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement” (P19). The participants were not being shy of seeking out and stepping into uncomfortable situations, an act that took a great deal of self-awareness and self leadership, being driven especially by the core dimension of *Wanting Change*.

There was also a recognition that there were times when they had to do it on their own. The journey these women traveled was oftentimes a lonely one, being the first female, being the only female, or only Black female. This forced them to become even more self-aware and introspective, practicing self-leadership while recognizing their own limitations. The participants understood the importance of their own self-leadership through their progression, because while they had support, in many cases they surpassed that support up the ranks. A part of that self-leadership brought with it a level of introspection and a “growth mindset” (P20) that helped the participants to “plan the work and be driven to the work” (P20). That self-awareness and self-leadership helped the participants to show-up differently, being mindful and present, and recognizing the sacrifices it takes to be present and to show-up” (P20).

Absolutely. I was always assessing and reassessing, and still doing that today. I’m always doing that. I’m always thinking about where I am and where I need to be. Never in comparison to my counterparts because that is so counterproductive. (P11)

Self-leadership. Manz (1986) described self-leadership as a process through which individuals control their own behavior, and by using specific sets of behavioral and cognitive strategies, they can influence and lead themselves. Furtner, Baldegger, and Rauthmann (2013) argued that to effectively lead others, an individual must first have a profound understanding of self. This was an idea the participants in this study embraced, engaging in a constant practice of self-reflection within a bigger space that has created its own perception or have been taught about what a police woman should be or do. Stewart, Courtright, and Manz (2019) defined self-leadership as “as a comprehensive self-influence process capturing how individuals motivate

themselves to complete work that is naturally motivating or work that must be done but is not naturally motivating” (p. 47). While it challenges many assumptions of organizational behavior and psychology and presents as an oxymoron with the words “self” and “leadership” reflecting seemingly incompatible perspectives (Stewart et al., 2019), the women in this study actively and intentionally practiced self-leadership.

As the study participants walked me through their individual journeys, it became clear that these women were involved in self-leadership early in their career, for some, even prior to entering law enforcement. This self-leadership is also agentic. They are making the decisions and not waiting for decisions to be made for them. They made the decision to become a police officer, even with the recognition of the potential toxicity of the *Policing Space*. They made the decision to move to the next level on the positional ladder, despite the constant barriers experienced. They made the decisions in order to make changes within and outside the walls of their respective departments.

With the current situation in policing in the United States and the call for reform, leadership development has been a big part of the discussion, with the argument for a different type of leadership. With the potential of moving away from what has been, the up and coming leaders must be willing to self-lead as they reimagine policing. Norris (2008) found that women were more likely than men to use behavior-focused, natural reward, constructive thought, and general self-leadership strategies. Examining the individual differences that may influence the use of self-leadership strategies, Norris’s (2008) study revealed that “a positive and significant relationship existed between general self-efficacy and natural reward, constructive thought, and general self-leadership strategies” (p.54). Women in his study had significantly higher self-leadership scores than men (Norris, 2008).

While I did not measure self-leadership per se, the women in this study certainly seemed to exhibit that quality, engaging in intentional and persistent self-leadership along their journey. Self-leadership did not simply happen once they got to top executive positions, but rather, was a continuous process through the labyrinth and the *Web of Intersections*, helping in their growth, professional development, and transformation in preparation for the top position.

Intersectionality. A part of their self-leadership and self-awareness was also the understanding of the overlay and interconnectedness within their own lives. They recognized that the interconnectivity of such social categorizations as gender, race, and class created systems of discrimination and disadvantage that they experienced first-hand. Throughout this journey, there was a constant reminder that any study exploring the journey of women must do so using an intersectionality lens.

Intersectionality was a major point of discussion at the *Research Summit on Women in Policing* hosted by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) in Washington, D.C on December 3-4, 2018 and to which I was invited to participate. The event was attended by nearly 100 sworn and civilian law enforcement officers from the United States and abroad. They included leading policing researchers, representatives from professional organizations and foundations, and federal partners. The purpose of the event was to understand the current state of research relevant to women in American policing, as well as to produce a research agenda to explore what women leaders in policing have identified as priorities in moving the profession towards parity, which was defined as “when fair and equal access is equivalent to women’s propensity” (NIJ, 2019, p. iii). Out of that gathering and articulated in the subsequent report was the call for “analyses [to] go deeper than a simple comparison between races, to include an in-depth understanding of the different experiences across each racial and ethnic group represented and explore the broader

societal and cultural contexts that may drive these differences” (National Institute of Justice, 2019).

Intersectionality stems from the critique that the understanding of a woman’s experience had been based largely on studies of White women, despite the fact that the experience of women is not homogenous. Intersectionality, conceived of by Kimberlé Crenshaw, was her way of “coming up with an everyday metaphor that anyone could use” (as cited in Adewunmi, 2014, p. 1). Coined more than 30 years ago, intersectionality was a way to help explain the oppression of African American women, “because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism” (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). Crenshaw believed,

many of the experiences Black women face are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race and gender discrimination as these boundaries are currently understood, and that the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women’s lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race and gender dimensions of those experiences separately (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244).

In a similar vein, a participant in my study explained,

We’re all women in this profession, we all have the same issues. Then when you go to the next category, our race, what we get from that may be different. It may take a different path. Because we’re both females, but a White female versus a Black female. Our experiences are different, our exposures are different, and all of us are the sum total of those experiences and the credible people that have been in our lives. And of course, that’s different for a White female versus a Black female. (P18)

Crenshaw (1991) spoke about structural, political, and representational intersectionality, which can all be extrapolated and become relevant for this research in a way I had not thought of when I entered this space. Structural intersectionality refers to the ways in which location of women of color at the intersection of race and gender determines the actual experience of the participants. Political intersectionality refers to how feminist and antiracist politics have paradoxically, often helped to marginalize issues. And representational intersectionality represents the cultural construction of women of color. In this treatise, she focused on how the

“representation of women of color in popular culture can also elide the particular location of women of color, and thus become yet another source of intersectional disempowerment” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1245).

Intersectionality has become a central tenet of feminist thinking (Shields, 2008). It promotes an understanding of human beings as shaped by the interaction of different social locations (Hankivsky, 2014). Based on their location along race and gender, people develop their identities and experience their lives no matter their group affiliation—dominant, subordinate, or both (McCall, 2005). Race and gender are not experienced as “separate or additive but as linked and simultaneous” (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010, p. 288). Subsumed under the construct of intersectionality are ideas of race and gender as “interlocking systems,” as “interdependent systems,” as “invisible categories,” or as “interrelated axes of social structures” (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010, p. 288). Many researchers argue this concept of inextricable social identities may be the single most important contribution of feminist theory to the present understanding of gender (McCall, 2005).

Being contextually bound, these multiple identities while independent, can be contradictory at times (Essed, 2001). Occurring within a context of connected systems and structures of power, interdependent forms of privilege and oppression are created and experienced simultaneously (Crenshaw, 1989). This rang true for participants in this study. This therefore means, that for the women in this study “inequities are never the result of single, distinct factors. Rather the outcome of intersections of different social locations, power relations and experiences” (Hankivsky, 2014, p. 2). This study was able to capture the multiple intersections these women experienced, which impacted their individual journeys, some more than others, depending on their respective characteristics.

Many White females would not have had the experience I had growing up traveling from Texas to Alabama two to three times a year. They wouldn't have experienced seeing how law enforcement treated my father. That impacted me, which they may not have had that impact. And they may approach things differently. They may be looked upon differently. But I am still the sum total of those experiences and the people who poured into me who look like me. (P18)

Proposition III: No matter the form, support is important for advancement to executive position for women, with different supports playing a different role at different times in their journey. For the women in this study, support came in many different forms, from many different sources, at different times, and was contextual. This meant that the type of support needed, sought, and utilized was dependent on the situation and where the participant was along her journey. Support came from family and from friends inside and outside of the profession. Support came through formal and informal mentorship programs, and from networking opportunities. Support came in the form of sponsors and the process of Shoulder Tapping. However, while there is an acknowledgment of diverse forms of support, what was made clear was that there was no one type or form of support that was a panacea for providing the participants the guidance and push or pull they needed as they worked towards advancing to the top executive positions. What was also made clear was that this was not a rescuing type of support, or the supporter having control that could potentially diminish the participant seeking support: These women were active in determining support needed and sought, being strategic with deciding who, when, and for what purpose, and relinquishing support when it was no longer instrumental or beneficial to their professional growth and advancement.

Using grounded theory in combination with situational analysis helped to untangle what the conditions were and the context that drove the success of certain kinds of support. This research is helping to refine the ideas in the literature, and pointing to the fact that any kind of

support at any time can be refined to understand what type of support at what time under what conditions is important and needed.

Family and friends support. For some of the women, family support was important on the decision to enter and begin a career in policing and that support emerged again at the higher ranks when the journey became lonely and when they were battling the many challenges as women in senior management positions. Support from friends outside the profession was characterized as being more relevant in the earlier years of career, but did not serve as a source of support as they moved to higher positions, simply because there was just not enough knowledge about the profession or the complex spaces the participants had to navigate.

Community support. Community support was something that showed up throughout the participants' journey, and was support that helped them through extremely challenging times, knowing that the community cared, respected, and supported their position. And in such situations, that support from community, helped the participants to focus on the importance of the decision to move to executive leadership positions. There were a number of participants who recognized and called out the support they got from male colleagues. They described this support as being important, and appreciated, with male colleagues providing guidance on how to navigate different spaces at different times. The support received from male colleagues, for the most part seems to happen further along their journey to the top. These male colleagues, in most cases described as being progressive, provided support for and stood up against the gender bias and indiscretions experienced by the participants and often would support their decision to promote to higher ranks.

Mentoring. The role of mentoring in recruitment, retention, and promotional advancement of women in law enforcement was a topic that emerged through the interview with participants.

Hassell and Brandl (2009) suggested that police administration can change the workplace climate through management, supervision, training, and mentoring. Irving (2009) believed that efforts taken must foster an environment that increases senior female managers who can serve as mentors for younger officers, which could potentially lead to a higher proportion of females achieving the highest ranks as well as positions in specialist areas. Cordner and Cordner (2011) found more than half of the women (56%) in their study believed that providing mentors for women police would increase the employment of women officers and reduce feelings of isolation women feel when working in law enforcement. Haarr and Morash (2013) also pointed to the importance of mentoring that encouraged or enabled women to challenge existing arrangements. Mentors provided support against disempowering responses of other people to women. They served not only as listeners and advisors, but mentors modeled what women could achieve, suggested to women that they could “make a difference,” and gave advice, opportunity, and encouragement about career advancement that could place women in positions of influence (p. 12). Yu (2014) suggests that assigning female officers to female mentors can increase job satisfaction and occupational success.

For this research, while mentoring was seen as important throughout the participants’ careers, the study participants shared the reality of not many departments having access to formal mentorship programs. For the participants, having access to mentors was important and appreciated. However, many of the participants were intentional about identifying and starting a mentoring relationship with individuals they thought could be beneficial to their decision to move up the ranks. There was admission that along the journey, for some mentorship relationships faded because mentors were no longer of value or beneficial after a certain point in the

participants' careers, especially in situations where they passed their mentors along the career ladder.

Networking. Networking is also important. In 1985, Kram defined networking as an individual's attempt to develop and maintain relationships with others who have the potential to assist them in their work or career. This definition describes networking as a proactive behavior that helps develop one's relationship patterns that are intended to support one's career development. Wolff, Moser, and Grau (2008) described networking as an individual-level construct that focuses on individual behaviors that are aimed at building, maintaining, and using informal relationships that possess the benefit of facilitating work-related activities of individuals by voluntarily granting access to resources and maximizing common advantages (p. 197). Forret and Dougherty (2004) defined networking behaviors as individuals' attempts to develop and maintain relationships with others who have the potential to assist them in their work or career (p. 420). Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, and Tsai (2004) defined a network as a set of nodes (or actors) and a set of ties (or relationships) representing some relationship, or lack of relationship, between nodes. These relationships provide social support and shared values, competitive advantages and information exchange, and improved performance and career advantages (Benschop, 2009). This was seen as important throughout an entire career, and that practice of networking became even more important as the participants made the decision to move to executive leadership positions, recognizing they needed to better understand the space and form relationships with those who were on a similar trajectory or had familiarity in different spaces. This helped to facilitate making opportunities and taking chances and increased their visibility.

In their critical review of the networking literature, Porter and Woo (2015) identified four different approaches to conceptualizing networking: networking for (managerial or leader) work

performance; networking as career management strategy; networking as a job search strategy; and networking as behaviors intended to develop and use professional networks. The authors went further to share two key insights into how and why people network. First, they suggested that networking may be viewed as a “strategic (i.e., rationality motivated) behavioral effort that involves the dyadic exchange of interpersonal resources, which are directed towards building and maintaining network relationships with specific network contacts and motivated by whether they have access to specific interpersonal resources” (Porter & Woo, 2015, p. 1481). Second, they elaborate on the literature of “networking as a behavior” (Porter & Woo, 2015, p. 1480). They found useful insight into this stream of literature that articulates the notion that specific networking behaviors serve particular functions with each networking relationship. Porter and Woo (2015) also articulated that “networking behaviors serve different functions at different stages of network relationship development depending on a few key psychological (social-cognitive) factors, such as the perceived nature of the network relationship and a need for specific resources” (p. 1481).

Sponsorship. Sponsorship was something the participants also recognized as being important. This showed up more in mid-management positions and higher. This seemed to be critically important as one moved into higher positions, because the sponsor was able to bring the participant into spaces she otherwise would not have had the opportunity to be in and provide her opportunities she otherwise would not have received. It was these sponsors that would “shoulder tap” the participant, a concept which emerged multiple times throughout discussions with the participants. This shoulder tapping was defined as someone “nudging you to go further,” or “being a voice in the room and speaking on your behalf,” or “opening doors for you.” Among the

participants who mentioned shoulder tapping, it seemed to have a big weight at critical times, and, in many instances, there was an association to the participants having progressive leaders.

Also important to these women is giving support to others. This act of helping others also helped the participants and gave them the space to make opportunities and become more visible.

Theoretical propositions conclusion. The theoretical propositions help to explain what is happening based on my interpretation of the findings from the study that are established from the perspectives and narratives of the participants, and the theoretical model that emerged. The propositions have heuristic value and warrant a better understanding into the intricate connections that describe a journey of complexity within the space these women occupy and their own positioning, as well as their career trajectory in the profession. The propositions open a window into ways in which we can further explore the actions and interactions of women in policing leadership, intertwined across larger group interactions, social structures, and institutions. The sections that follow will elaborate on the strength and limitations of the study, the study implications for leadership practice and change, and recommendations for future research.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

This study has both notable strengths as well as limitations. A strength of the study is that it used a combination of methodologies—grounded theory methodology and situational analysis—that allowed for a deeper understanding of a phenomenon that has not been widely studied. This combination of methodologies provided the tools necessary to uncover not only the individual level factors that would have associated with these women’s journeys, but also the factors at the meso and macro levels of influence. This approach unravelled the complexity of the space these women occupy and their own positioning, as well as their career trajectory in the profession.

Another strength of the study is the use of a diverse sample across race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, and geographic location. Across the participant sample of 21, there was as total of eight Black, eight White, one Hispanic, one Native American, two Hispanic and Black, and one who identified as White, Black, and Native American. And despite the study being focused on women, there were male voices reflected in the theoretical sample, also having diverse race and ethnic backgrounds. There was also geographic diversity, with sample participants from across 13 states, representing all regions. This diverse sample allowed for diverse thinking and education on a phenomenon that is not well studied. This diverse understanding is critical when thinking about study implications and future research.

Using grounded theory to understand women's journeys to law enforcement executive positions came with limitations. A limitation to this study, similar to other qualitative studies, is the small sample size, having a participant sample of 21, and a theoretical sample of 10. With such a small sample size, the findings cannot be generalizable, "an act of reasoning that involves drawing broad conclusions from particular instances that is making inference about the unobserved based on the observed" (Polit & Beck, 2010, p. 1451). However, Lincoln and Guba (1985) pointed out that, for qualitative methods, "the only generalization is that there is no generalization" (p. 110). It is important to recognize and appreciate that this small sample size, selected from a total universe of women in policing leadership at only 3%, allowed for a much more in-depth understanding of the participants journeys and the factors that helped them to strive and thrive.

Another potential limitation of the current study, is the restrictions of using a purposeful sampling technique to recruit study participants—women who had been or currently were in policing at the rank of assistant chief, deputy chief, chief of police or commissioner levels only.

With the sample not randomly selected this could impact internal validity with participants self-selecting into the study, adding confounding variables that could potentially influence the participants in the sample (Rubin & Babbie, 1989). This was controlled for by having prolonged contact with the participants to get to a point of saturation and through the use of triangulation to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

Despite limitations, this is the first study of its kind using a combination of grounded theory and situational analysis, while employing a positive psychology approach to explore the life and journey of women to top executive leadership positions.

Implication for Leadership Practice and Change

Women in policing, and in policing leadership is significant, with research supporting the benefits of having women, and a more diverse workforce. There is a growing body of evidence spanning nearly 50 years that provides support for increasing female representation in law enforcement. However, we are up against a tradition of marginalization of women in a profession historically defined by and designed for men. Despite the challenges faced by women, research has shown that women police officers are less likely to be named in a lawsuit or a citizen complaint and are less likely to use force or to be accused of excessive force (Lonsway, 2008). The mere presence of women police officers can reduce the use of force among other officers. And even while women police officers are met with the same rates of force as their male counterparts, there is evidence that shows they are more successful in defusing violent or aggressive behavior, overall (Rabe-Hemp & Schuck, 2007).

As we experience the current civil unrest sweeping the country as a result of the murder of George Floyd at the hands of one Minnesota police officer, while three others did nothing to diffuse the situation, there is a sense of urgency in the evolution of policing, and a call for major

reform in policing in the United States. These demands for reform include calls for increased diversity in American policing, at a time when United States law enforcement is experiencing a crisis in diversity, with severe underrepresentation of women and racial and ethnic minorities. Not only is there a call for diversity, but law enforcement leaders are being asked to lead with dignity and respect, restore legitimacy and accountability, and are being encouraged to recognize the importance of rebuilding trust among their staff and within the communities they serve. This can only be achieved by changing their way of operation, which includes changing the way they look and the way they lead, especially encouraging more diversity, inclusion and flexibility throughout the rank and file and among leadership.

This study challenged us to look beyond recruitment and retention, and to also focus on inclusion at all levels. This means policies should be implemented that will enable women and diverse populations to thrive while they move up the ranks, and not simply survive. Policies need to allow for flexibility and autonomy, which is crucial for retaining women, especially women with young children. Departments need to build partnerships, including formal, structured, and intentional support opportunities, recognizing a different type of support is needed at different points of a woman's journey to the top. There needs to be policies that support and celebrate more collaborative, and inclusive type of problem solving and leadership.

Policing also needs to foster a culture of professionalism that produces a work environment conducive to productivity, no matter the gender or background of officers. That means implementing policies for increased accountability that will call out and punish misconduct, biased, harassing, and discriminatory behavior that occurs both inside and outside the walls of the profession, by those who have sworn to protect and serve. It also means a need for increased legitimacy that is necessary and important for building trust on both sides of the

“police/citizen divide [that] is the foundational principle underlying the nature of relations between law enforcement agencies and the community they serve” (President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015, p. 1).

As was discussed in Chapter II, Silvestri (2017) argued that women have both adapted to and adopted new styles of working and exercising leadership, a theme that ran through this study analysis. Barta, Kleiner and Neumann (2012) provided arguments for increased diversity in the workplace since it can lead to tangible and measurable benefits, including increased creativity, increased productivity, and more effective and efficient problem solving. In 2015, the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing recommended that law enforcement agencies “strive to create a workforce that contains a broad range of diversity including race, gender, language, life experience, and cultural background to improve understanding and effectiveness in dealing with all communities” (p. 2). The findings in this study will add to and help to inform that discussion.

Wanting Change is what has driven and continues to drive the women in this study. With this demand for change, these women and others are poised to step in, having the legitimate authority to impact change. But support is needed both within and outside of the walls of their departments. Support is needed at the local, state, and federal level to encourage and demand an increase in diversity across policing in the United States; for a more diverse workforce to include more women at all levels, ensuring there is a representative number that have a seat at the table where decisions are made and policies are formed.

It’s hard to imagine something you can’t see. When I came in the highest-ranking female was a lieutenant. So that’s what I said I wanted to be, a lieutenant, and I got there at ten years. So, I think representation is so important. (P10)

The old adage “strength in numbers” has research support. Women in this study have the desire, skills, and tenacity for change. But the reality is the numbers are low. The theory of representative bureaucracy, according to Bradbury and Kellough (2011), suggests that “a public

workforce representative of the people in terms of race, ethnicity, and sex will help ensure that the interests of all groups are considered in bureaucratic decision-making processes” (p. 157). The theory posits that a minority group will follow the majority to avoid the risk of being marginalized and targeted. Riccucci, Van Ryzin and Lavena (2014) suggested that gender representation influences the perceived job performance, trustworthiness, and fairness of the agency, as does the agency’s performance. They also suggested that the symbolic representativeness of the police does causally influence how citizens view and judge a law enforcement agency, and, thus, in turn, perhaps their willingness to cooperate in the coproduction of public safety outcomes.

Riccucci and Van Ryzin (2016) reviewed work on representative bureaucracy and its implication for practice. They pointed out that,

- Representative bureaucracy can promote diversity within government organizations and, more broadly, social equity throughout the nation.
- Bureaucracies that are representative of the people they serve can enhance citizens’ trust in government and foster the achievement of democratic goals.
- Through its effects on legitimacy and trust, representativeness can influence the extent to which clients and citizens cooperate and comply with government, thus coproducing important policy outcomes.
- Increasing the representation of women and people of color in government can promote bureaucratic accountability. (Riccucci & Van Ryzin, 2016, p.21)

Increasing diversity and inclusion across law enforcement—that is, increasing the representation of women and people of color in departments and into positions of legitimate power—can promote bureaucratic accountability, breaking down the negative aspects of police culture as departments show a commitment to diversity. It will help to increase legitimacy in the eyes of the public, possibly improving interactions between officers and citizens.

Recommendation for Future Research

While there is a growing body of research on women police officers in the United States, this study explored an area that has not received much attention, looking more closely at women in executive leadership positions. Despite emerging research, significant gaps still remain. With the increasing knowledge of the complexity of the journey of women in policing, there is a need for expanding research in the area of women in policing executive leadership positions even further. Several potential areas surfaced during the research process that would be of benefit to the field as we try to better understand the life and journey of women in policing.

Although there is a shift to expand research around women in policing, most inquiry continues to be the focused broadly on the challenges women experience, and more specifically, on barriers in achieving promotional advancement in law enforcement. There is little work on ways of improving the current landscape or ways of helping women to achieve promotional advancement in policing. This is an opportunity for further research. With women in law enforcement expected to be the agents of change (Dash, 2011), how then can the research help to articulate ideas for women to have equal access to opportunities for successful entry into the profession, and equitable support from agency leaders to accomplish promotional advancement free from gender related barriers?

The role and process of support, in whatever form, emerged in this study as key to the participants' journeys and success. For these women, it was not simply about having a mentor or a network, or a sponsor, but the need for multiple types of supports that are channeled at different types throughout their career, when that particular type of support is most needed. There is need for further exploration into that phenomenon. What type of support is sought? When is that support sought? How do the different types of support work together to help women who decide

to advance to the top? What are the mechanisms that work together to ultimately propel women through the ranks? And what happens when a mentee exceeds the mentor and passes that mentor in rank on their way to the top?

With the number of women in policing remaining alarming small, there is a need for a better understanding as to why so few women are seeing policing as a viable option. Research needs to look at why there aren't more women coming into the field of policing. And with that expanded knowledge, there can be greater exploration into who stays, who leaves, and who considers, or not, to promote to higher ranks. With the call for more women in policing, coupled by the fact that women are leaving the profession, there needs to be research on what works to retain women. This research should look at the methods or practices for retaining women long term, for setting up women in the ranks to succeed, and test outcomes of increasing gender representation.

More research is also needed on the intersectionality of women's experience in policing, using the appropriate methodology that can capture the intricacies the researcher will have to account for. Research is needed that continues to challenge how we approach understanding race and ethnicity, and women's career in policing, particularly those in executive leadership positions in policing. Much of the previous research has focused on gender, without accounting for other factors that are linked and acting simultaneously, not experienced as separate or additive (Glenn, 1999). How do these "interlocking categories," "intersecting systems," "indivisible categories," "interdependent systems," (Proudford & Nkomo, 2006, p. 329) impact women in the profession? Studies including all these factors would paint a more accurate picture of the woman's lived experience and journey to leadership.

The challenge is not only about this area of study but also the methodology that is used. I was not able to find another grounded theory in combination with situational analysis study on women in policing. This opens a world of opportunities for this type of methodology to be employed to further understand the complexities of women's lives in a profession that has not yet fully embraced them. With the findings from this study, I became interested in and would encourage an understanding of women's journeys using a cohort approach, following women over the span of their careers to expand on the knowledge generated here to see what characteristics and social processes of a recruit determines her rise to an executive leadership position.

An interesting revelation from the research is that little, if any, positive organizational scholarship is being conducted in the study of women in policing. Much of the research focused on the culture and barriers women experience, which is in some sense the nature of research to point to the problem, rather than looking at how things have been done by those who can be defined as having succeeded. There is an opportunity for further research using a positive psychology to further explore the life and journey of women in policing by looking more closely at how women have survived and thrived, as a way to guide other women in similar situations.

Conclusion

My own personal journey of trying to better understand the life trajectory of women who have advanced to top executive positions in policing was an illuminating one, and one that will, no doubt, inform my own journey through spaces not typically defined for women and less so for women of color. The personal struggles I experienced throughout this dissertation revealed my own biases and the pushing force of a taught yet seemingly natural inclination to focus on the challenges and gaps which would have stifled, impacted, and impeded the journey of the women in this study. However, with the intentional decision to have this research take a positive

psychology approach, I allowed myself to be guided by the participants' narrative from the interviews, my own personal experience working with law enforcement across the United States, and the analysis of discursive data. This combination of data gathering steered this analysis, helping me to explore and better articulate the meso and macro forces that help to explain the shifts throughout their journeys and the many ways these women survived and thrived. What emerged was a push and pull of forces, a battle between what is and what should be, that cannot and should not be ignored or neglected.

The study has expanded the knowledge base and contributes to the larger discourse on women in policing executive leadership positions. It offers a framework to understand the complex journey of women to the top and the social processes and multiple intersections they have learned to navigate that can, in combination, propel them to top leadership positions. It argues that women are agentic and not simply following the lead, but are active and intentional participants in their own journeys, making critical and strategic decisions that gain them a seat and voice at the table where policy decisions are made for sustainable change. The conundrum we are faced with, as emphasized in much of the gender stereotype research (Ryan & Haslam, 2007), is how to empower more women to acquire these top-level positions.

This research in some regard responds to the critique of Chan's (1997) comprehensive review of police culture literature and theory in the context of discussions around police reform that was referenced in Chapter II. This research not only accounts for the differences in culture between or within the policing profession, but also revealed the policewoman's agency in relation to the culture adopted. This study looked also at the role played by the wider context in which police officers operate in crafting their occupational culture and speaks to the women's core dimension of Wanting Change both within and outside of the profession. As the status quo of law

enforcement is being challenged, there is increasing demand for more gender and racial diversity in law enforcement (del Carmen et al., 2007), with a call for more women in the profession and a call for more women in leadership positions (Kurtz et al., 2012). This research helps to pave a path for understanding their journey, providing a window in the driving forces and the intricate navigation women experience to reach top executive leadership positions in policing.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Announcement

PhD Dissertation Topic: Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Complex Journey of Women Reaching the Top

I want to introduce you to Nicola Smith-Kea. She likes to be called Nikki. Nikki is a Ph.D. student at Antioch University in Yellow Springs Ohio in the Leadership and Organizational Development Program. Nikki has been working with law enforcement agencies around the United States for the last 4 years and she is very much interested in learning more about women in law enforcement in the United States. She is about to embark of the final phase of her Ph.D. journey and is getting ready to do her dissertation. Her topic will be *Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Journey of Women Reaching the Top*. This study will use a grounded theory approach, which will help to unravel this complex journey of women to the top positions. The purpose of this study is to understand and accurately articulate the complex journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions. She is seeking participants for her study. To be included in the study you must be:

- Female
- Over the age of 20 years old
- In an executive leadership position in a local police department, a municipal police department, or a university police department.
- Must be at the level of a Deputy Chief, Assistant Chief, Chief of Police, Deputy Commissioner of Police, or Commissioner of Police

Details of Participation: During the interview process, you will be asked to participate in two activities, anticipated to take no more than one (1) hour and 30 minutes:

- **A brief demographical survey** anticipated to take no more than 10-15. This will provide information for an accurate representation of the women who will be participating in this research study; and
- **A face-to-face interview** anticipated to take no more than one (1) hour. She will be using a grounded theory approach, so will be entering the interview with one question and probing from there. Throughout the interview she will be trying to understand your journey to your current position.

If you are interested in learning more or potentially participating, please feel free to talk with Nikki directly at the end of the session, or leave a copy of your business card, or email Nikki at [REDACTED]. I will spell that for you, that's [REDACTED], NOT k-e-y, k-e-a @ [REDACTED].

Thank you and please contact Nikki if you want to learn more.

Appendix B: Participant Letter of Invitation

PhD Dissertation Topic: Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Complex Journey of Women Reaching the Top

My name is Nicola “Nikki” Smith-Kea, and I am a doctoral candidate in the Leadership and Change Program at Antioch University in Yellow Springs, OH. As part of my degree, I am conducting research on women in top executive policing leadership positions. While we have spoken informally about my academic area of interest and potential dissertation topic, this serves as an official letter of invitation to be a participant in this study, the last phase of my journey to completion of the PhD in Leadership and Change. Below I have provided you with a brief study overview and additional information on my background and qualifications.

The world of women in law enforcement is a thought-provoking one, and one that has gotten increasing attention over the past few decades. Even more intriguing, and despite advances in the profession, is the low numbers of women in executive leadership positions in law enforcement. Much of the research to date has attempted to answer the question “why so few?” concentrating predominantly on the challenges and barriers women face in this male dominated profession. I am taking a different perspective and am interested in the few, with a focus on the factors that have gotten them to the top. This dissertation will fill a gap, by exploring more broadly and communicate more clearly the factors that have gotten women to their current positions of power.

The goal of this study is to explore the complex journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions. I am interested in gaining a comprehensive understanding of each woman’s experience as a leader in policing as you have progressed in the profession to executive rank. Equally important is an understanding of what are the larger macro and meso forces of social culture and policing that from your perception have been critical in your leadership experience. This study is unique as it will use a grounded theory (GT) approach in combination with situational and dimensional analyses to: 1) inform the work of women moving to the top with a more robust articulation of the factors that helped to elevate these women in a male-dominated profession, and 2) generate new knowledge that can help in creating a path to potentially bolster the advancement of women to top positions.

I look forward to hearing from you on your continued interest and willingness to participate.

Biographical Sketch

I am currently a Criminal Justice Manager on the policing team at the Laura and John Arnold Foundation. Prior to joining the Foundation, I served as the Law Enforcement Program Manager at the Council of State Governments (CSG) Justice Center. In that position I oversaw the National Law Enforcement–Mental Health Learning Sites Program, a diverse cross-section of law enforcement agencies dedicated to helping jurisdictions improve their responses to people with mental illnesses; and worked closely with multiple law enforcement agencies around the United States to create or enhance their police mental health collaboration (PMHC) programs to more appropriately respond to individuals with mental illnesses who come in contact with the criminal justice system. I have also served as an independent program evaluator for USAID’s Bureau of Economic Growth, Education and Environment; and am currently a Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA) for Montgomery County, MD (on hiatus). As a CASA, I am a trained volunteer appointed by the Juvenile Court to advocate for the best interests of abused and neglected children.

I hold an M.S. in sociology from the University of the West Indies, Jamaica and a B.S. in psychology and sociology. I have also received an M.A. in criminology and criminal justice from the University of Maryland, College Park and an M.A. in leadership and change from Antioch University.

Appendix C: Follow-up Emails with Logistics for Face-to-Face Interview

Dear [enter participant's name here]

I want to thank you so very much for your interest and willingness to participate in my PhD dissertation on *Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Complex Journey of Women Reaching the Top*. I am certainly looking forward to talking with you and learning more about your journey. I will be using a grounded theory approach, so will be entering the interview with one question and probing from there. The question would be along the lines of - What have been your experiences, and how have you made meaning of those experiences in your progression to a top executive position in policing. Throughout the interview I will be trying to understand your journey to your current position and will be probing based on what I hear from you. Your narrative will be guiding this interview.

Prior to the interview I will be emailing you three items:

1. Informed Consent Form
2. Dissertation Summary
3. Brief Demographical Survey

I am anticipating the process, including: 1) introductions; 2) the review of the informed consent and allowing you to ask any additional questions; 3) completion of a brief survey; and 4) the interview will take no more than one (1) hour and 30 minutes. Prior to starting the interview, I will review with you the informed consent form and allow for time to answer any additional questions you might have. Once I have established that you are satisfied and still willing to participate, I will ask for you to sign two copies of the informed consent form. One form will be for your personal records and the other will be taken for my records. I will also ask for the completed demographical survey at that time.

To arrange for the interview, please let me know if I should work through you or your assistant to schedule our face-to-face interview. If through your assistant, please provide name and contact information to facilitate that process.

Best Regards

Nikki

Letter to Participant's Assistant Arranging Logistics of Face-to-Face Interview

Dear [enter assistant's name here]

I am reaching out in regard to communication below with [enter participant's name here] to make the necessary arrangements for my face-to-face interview with [enter participant's name here] as part of my dissertation journey.

I would like to schedule my face-to-face interview any time between [enter month and date here] and [enter month and date here]. I am anticipating the length of time to be approximately one (1) hour and 30 minutes. Please see potential dates below:

[enter list of potential dates/times here]

Can you please let me know if [enter participant's name here] has availability during any of the suggested dates/times above.

Thank you in advanced for all your assistance on making my interview with [enter participant's name here] a reality.

Best Regards

Nikki

Appendix D: Coding Team Process and Instructions

First Round of Coding

Interview 1

- I will send you the first interview that we will each start coding individually
- I would like for us to meet once we have all completed coding the first interview
- This meeting will allow us to review and have a conversation about the coding experience of the 1st interview, and to flag any concerns that might have emerged
- Once we are done coding, I will start cleaning codes at this point, and this will be a continuous process throughout

Interviews 1 – 3

- We will all code the 1st three interviews individually. Feel free to send along either via email or save to the privately shared Dropbox folder once you have completed coding an interview.
- I will continue coding and will share the collection of codes with you at an appropriate time.
- When we are done with the 1st three interviews, we will meet again to discuss the codes that have emerged through the process
- Moving forward we will code using the codes that have emerged (as much as is possible) from the 1st three interviews

Second Round of Coding

Interviews 4 – 10

- I will code all six
- The six interviews will be split across you both, and you will each code three transcripts independently
- We will move away from line-by-line coding to suggest focused coding
- Focused coding is where we code bigger blocks of narrative; and can also be defined as conceptual coding
- This will allow me to get your perspective on possible themes and concepts to consider
- There might be some codes from the line-by-line coding that you might be able to use at this point because they do fit into the focused coding; that simply means they could potentially still represent the larger blocks of narrative
- I will send interview transcripts #4-6 along as soon as is available
- You can return coded transcripts to me as soon as completed
- At the end of this 2nd set of three transcripts, the coding team would have completed its role of assisting with the coding

Research Buddy

- Danielle will continue on as my research buddy. Thank you! And, certainly looking forward to learning from you as you have just completed the process

Hello D and G,

Hope you are both doing very well. Thank you so very much for your patience. I had a great meeting with E on Sunday, and we are ready to move forward with our second round of coding. Just as a reminder from our earlier conversations

Second Round - total of six interviews

- I will code all six
- The six interviews will be spilt across you both, and you will each code three transcripts independently
- We are moving away from line-by-line to focused coding
- Focused coding can also be defined as conceptual coding. This is where we code bigger blocks of narrative into the broad categories and 1st level sub-categories provided below
- You can return coded transcripts to me as soon as completed
- At the end of this 2nd set of three transcripts, the coding team would have completed its role of assisting with the coding

I would love to have a debrief meeting with you both, once you have completed your coding to get your perspective on the process and to discuss anything you think I should absolutely be paying attention to.

Below, I have provided a coding guide as you prepare for your next three interviews. Please review all before starting your coding. Once you have gotten a chance to review, please let me know if you would like to talk some more before starting your coding.

Please see all six interview transcripts attached.

- **D** your next three interviews for coding are: P4, P6, P9
- **G** you will code: P5, P7, P10

Feel free to reach out at any point if you would like to meet to discuss anything. Thank you so very much and looking forward to getting your coded interviews.

Broad categories and 1st level sub-categories	Code Descriptions
<p>Each grouping below is headed by broad category (9) to be followed by <i>1st level sub-categories (27)</i>. We are moving away from line-by-line coding, to block coding (larger sections of narrative). You are being asked to code into <i>1st level sub-categories</i> and if not sure where to put blocks, then simply code into broad categories and I will navigate where best to place block. These broad categories and <i>1st level sub-categories</i> might not capture everything. So, if you come across something you think is significantly unique</p>	<p>Below I have <i>operationally defined</i> based on what has shown up in the codes (data corpus). Some are very broad categories that could overlap with others. Please check out all to get a sense of all included before you start your coding process for your next three interviews.</p>

which adds to a better understanding of the purpose of the study, but simply cannot fit into anything below, please create a code and highlight by making code ALL CAPS.		
My Experience Led Me Here		<i>Every experience personal to the individual that they have experienced prior to entering the profession, on the way to becoming, and being a chief</i>
<i>Personal History</i>		
<i>Being Prepared</i>		
<i>On the Way to Becoming Chief</i>		
<i>Being Chief</i>		
Moving Up the Ranks		<i>All experience related to entering the profession and moving through the ranks to current executive position</i>
<i>Testing</i>		
<i>Being Assigned</i>		
<i>Having Opportunities</i>		
The Department		<i>The agency/department broadly - previous or current</i>
<i>Department Landscape</i>		
<i>Department Policies</i>		
<i>Department Culture</i>		
The Community		<i>Current community, including historical and contemporary factors</i>
<i>Community Landscape</i>		
<i>Engaging Community</i>		
Family		<i>Family as being "the child" (individual's parents, siblings and broader family structure) and Family as being the parent, spouse, or partner</i>
<i>My Family</i>		
<i>Family Experience with Police</i>		
<i>Job Impact on Own Family</i>		
Support is Important		<i>Receiving assistance, help, guidance, being pushed, etc. Including family support,</i>

		<i>community support, or from others within or outside of department</i>
<i>Having Support</i>		
<i>Being Supportive</i>		
<i>Networking</i>		
<i>Having Sponsorship</i>		
<i>Mentoring</i>		
Experiencing Challenges		<i>Barriers to entering the profession or moving up/through the ranks</i>
<i>Being Challenged</i>		
<i>Being Harassed</i>		
<i>Filing Lawsuit</i>		
Race and Gender		
<i>Race and Gender</i>		<i>All experiences outside of discrimination</i>
<i>Discrimination</i>		<i>Discrimination based on gender; discrimination based on both race and gender</i>
Policing Profession and Women		
<i>Women in Policing</i>		<i>More from a historic standpoint - numbers, exclusion, cultural climate, etc.</i>
<i>Unapologetically Woman</i>		<i>More about what women bring to the profession</i>

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form

Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Journey of Women Reaching the Top

by
Nicola Smith-Kea

Participant Consent Form

Antioch University

Leadership and Change Ph.D.

Project Title: Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Journey of Women Reaching the Top

Primary Investigator: Nicola Smith-Kea

Dissertation Chair: Elizabeth Holloway, Ph.D.

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form

Introduction: My name is Nicola Smith-Kea, and I am a PhD candidate in the Graduate School of Leadership and Change at Antioch University. As part of this degree, I am completing a study focused on women in top policing executive positions, taking a grounded theory approach in combination with situational analysis to understanding the journey of women reaching the top.

Study Purpose: The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the complex journey of women to top executive policing leadership positions, and to understand how women in these positions engage, navigate, and negotiate the entirety of their situation. This study is intended to generate new knowledge that can help in creating a path to potentially bolster the advancement of women to top executive positions in policing in the United States.

Details of Participation: During the interview process, you will be asked to participate in two activities:

1) **Completion of a brief demographical survey:** This survey will be a total of nine (9) questions, anticipated to take no more than 10-15 minutes to be completed. It will provide information for an accurate representation of the women who will be participating in this research study; and

2) **The interview:** This is anticipated to take no more than one (1) hour. I will be using a grounded theory approach, so will be entering the interview with one question and probing from there. The question would be along the lines of - What have been your experiences, and how have you made meaning of those experiences in your progression to a top executive position in policing. Throughout the interview I will be trying to understand your journey to your current position and will be probing based on what I hear from you. Your narrative will be guiding this interview.

The entire process is anticipated to take no more than one (1) hour and 30 minutes. That will include: 1) introductions; 2) the review of the informed consent and allowing you to ask any additional questions you might have regarding the study; 3) completion of a brief demographical survey; and 4) the interview.

Informed Consent

Thank you again for your interest and willingness to participate. You are being invited to take part in this research because you are a female holding an executive level position in policing in the United States. This informed consent is for participants of the study titled “*Women in Top Policing Executive Positions: A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding the Journey of Women Reaching the Top.*”

Below I have provided you with additional information regarding your participation, what to expect, and an opportunity for you to consent to be a participant in this study. You may talk with anyone about this research at any time. If at any time you have questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to ask me to clarify. At the end of this process, a copy of the signed consent form will be provided to you for your records.

1. **Voluntary Participation:** Participation in this study is 100% voluntary.
2. **Right to Refuse or Withdraw:** I may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time without being penalized for my decision not to participate. I understand also that the investigator may drop me at any time from the study.
3. **Recorded Interview:** As a participant of this study, I will be asked to take part in the following process:
 - a. Participate in a recorded interview
 - b. Participate in an interview for this study that will take approximately one – two (1-2) hours of my time and will take place at a location convenient with me.
 - c. Participate in the review of the transcript from the interview that will take approximately 30 minutes.
4. **Benefits/ Reimbursement:** I understand that this project is of a research nature and will offer no monetary incentive to take part in this research project or provide any other financial benefit to me. However potential benefits could include:
 - a. **Direct benefit to me:** Increased self-awareness, the opportunity to reflect, and to “pay it forward.”
 - b. **Benefits to others:** The study has the potential to unlock the complexity surrounding the underrepresentation of women in top policing executive positions, therefore providing potential pathways to help others who aspire to achieve top executive positions in policing in the future.
5. **Risks:** No study is completely risk-free. However, the Primary Investigator (PI) – Nicola Smith-Kea – does not anticipate that you will be harmed or distressed in any way during the course of this study or after.
6. **Confidentiality:** All information will be de-identified, so that it cannot be connected back to you. Your official name will be replaced with pseudonyms in the write-up of this study, and only the PI will have access to the list connecting your name to the pseudonyms. This list, along with tape recordings (# 3 above) of the interview sessions, will be kept in a secured location. All audio recording will be destroyed after 24 months post interview.
7. **Limits of Privacy/Confidentiality:** The PI will keep private everything you share during the course of gathering information for this study. Yet, there are times where the PI cannot keep things private/confidential. As the PI, I cannot keep things private/confidential if:
 - a. A child or vulnerable adult has been abused
 - b. A person plans to hurt him or herself, such as commit suicide

c. A person plans to hurt someone else

There are laws that require many professionals to act if they think a person is at risk for harm or is self-harming, harming another, or if a child or adult is being abused. In addition, there are guidelines that researchers must follow to make sure all people are treated with respect and kept safe. In most states, there is a government agency that must be told if someone is being abused or plans to self-harm or harm another person. Please ask any questions you may have about this item before agreeing to be in the study. It is important that you do not feel betrayed if it turns out that the researcher cannot keep some things private.

8. **Brief Demographic Survey:** Attached to the Informed Consent Form is a brief demographical survey. This information will be used solely for the study and will help to achieve an accurate representation of the women who will be participating in this research study.
9. **Future Publication:** The PI, reserves the right to include any results of this study in future scholarly presentations and/or publications. All information will be de-identified prior to publication.
10. **Who to Contact:** If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask at any time during the course of our interaction. If you have questions at a later date, you can contact me, Nicola Smith-Kea, at [REDACTED].
11. **Ethical Concerns:** If you have any ethical concerns about this study, please contact Lisa Kreeger, Chair, Institutional Review Board, Antioch University Ph.D. in Leadership and Change, Email: [REDACTED].

The proposal for this study has been reviewed and the PI has gotten approved to proceed by the Antioch Institutional Review Board (IRB), which is a committee whose task it is to provide guidance and oversight to ensure that research participants are protected. If you wish to find out more about the IRB, please contact Lisa Kreeger, Ph.D.

DO YOU WISH TO BE IN THIS STUDY?

I have read the information regarding this study. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and they have been answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study, and to let the researcher audio-record me for the purpose of this study.

Print Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

DO YOU WISH TO BE AUDIOTAPED IN THIS STUDY?

I voluntarily agree to let the researcher audiotape me for this study. I agree to allow the use of my recordings as described in this form.

Print Name of Participant _____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

TO BE FILLED OUT BY THE RESEARCHER:

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher: **Nicola Smith-Kea**

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

Appendix F: Copyright Permissions

For Figure 5.4 Poster: History of the American Police Officer

Request:

On Wed, May 6, 2020 at 12:14 PM Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]> wrote:
 Mark Waterman
 President
 History America

Dear Sir:

I am completing a dissertation entitled *Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions* in the Antioch University Program on Leadership and Change. I would like to receive permission to use an image that I found on the website, <https://www.historyamerica.us/history-of-the-american-police-officer-poster/>. Image is shown below. This would be presented as a figure in a section on changing images of the police in the USA through time.



Once completed and approved my dissertation will be uploaded to the following databases and be available at no charge to anyone who wishes to download it would like to obtain permission to use and adapt the

- Antioch University Repository and Archive, <http://aura.antioch.edu/>
- OhioLINK ETD Center, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>.
- UMI (University Microfilms International/Proquest] (Ann Arbor Michigan).

For clarity, I will not receive any remuneration for use of my dissertation once it is completed. I will be glad to use any language you'd prefer in attribution and to let you know when the finished dissertation can be accessed.

If this is acceptable, I would deeply appreciate it if permission could be sent to me via email quoting this message.

If you have any questions, please contact me at this email.

--

Nikki

Nicola Smith-Kea, M.A., MSc., M.A.
 Criminal Justice Manager - Policing

Response:

From: **Mark Waterman** <[REDACTED]>
Date: Wed, May 6, 2020 at 1:42 PM
Subject: Re: Permission to use image for PhD Dissertation
To: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>

Hi Nikki,

Yes, History America will allow a one-time use of our image, *History of the American Police Officer* as stated in your email request. As far as the credit is concerned please use the followingPermission granted by History America History..... or a standard credit line. Can you send me a link to your dissertation when it is complete?

We are currently working on our next print, History Women in the Military.

Take care,

Mark Waterman
President
History America

Phone:

Toll-Free:

Fax:

sales@historyamerica.us

www.historyamerica.us

For Figure 5.5. Madison Police Chiefs Over the Years

Request:

From: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>
 Date: Mon, Jul 27, 2020 at 10:06 AM
 Subject: Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation
 To: <[REDACTED]>, <[REDACTED]>

Good day to you and I hope you and yours are well in this difficult time.

I am completing a dissertation entitled *Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions* in the Antioch University Program on Leadership and Change. I would like to receive permission to use an image that I found in an article titled, **Madison Police Chief through the years**, and pinned below at the following link https://madison.com/wsj/news/local/crime_and_courts/madison-police-chiefs-through-the-years/collection_0d453460-4133-5ec5-b699-75a754229853.html#1

Once completed and approved my dissertation will be uploaded to the following databases and be available at no charge to anyone who wishes to download it would like to obtain permission to use and adapt the

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- OhioLINK ETD Center, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>.
- UMI (University Microfilms International/Proquest] (Ann Arbor Michigan).

For clarity, I will not receive any remuneration for use of my dissertation once it is completed. I will be glad to use any language you'd prefer in attribution and to let you know when the finished dissertation can be accessed.

If this is acceptable, I would deeply appreciate it if permission could be sent to me via email quoting this message.

If you have any questions, please contact me at this email.



Thank you in advance for your time. It is appreciated.

--
 Nikki

Response:

From: **Dennis McCormick** <[REDACTED]>
Date: Tue, Jul 28, 2020 at 11:24 AM
Subject: RE: Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation
To: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>

Nikki,

Thank you for your question.

I have attached the permission form, which will grant you permission to use the image as you described. Please use as credit, "Wisconsin State Journal."

Let me know if you have any further questions.

Thank you,
Dennis

Dennis McCormick / Assistant Library Director
[REDACTED] • Madison, WI 53713

Office [REDACTED]

<Permission Form>

July 28, 2020

The Wisconsin State Journal hereby grants to Nicola Smith-Kea the non-exclusive right to republish a photo, which originally appeared on the Wisconsin State Journal website on Oct. 2, 2019, in her dissertation for Antioch University.

Thank you,

Dennis McCormick
Authorized agent/Wisconsin State Journal
Digital Media & Licensing
Capital Newspapers
[REDACTED]

For Figure 5.6. San Francisco's Motorcycle Police, circa 1940

Request:

From: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>
Date: Monday, July 27, 2020 at 3:36 PM
To: Licensing <[REDACTED]>, YIP C <[REDACTED]>
Subject: [EXT] Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation

Good day to you. I do hope you and yours are well during this difficult time.

I am completing a dissertation entitled *Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions* in the Antioch University Program on Leadership and Change. I would like to receive permission to use the image below that I found on the website of the san Francisco Motorcycle police, circa 1940. This was at <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/When-a-Chinese-American-woman-broke-the-SFPD-10813823.php#photo-12033538>

A thumbnail of the image is attached.

I have tried multiple attempts to make contact to secure permission for use of the image. I contacted the Copyright Clearance Center and was informed that they do not have the article I have used in their archives. The Copyright Center suggested I contact the Chronicle directly to gain permission. An email was sent to Licensing email on your website last week, and have not gotten a response from that request. I called the Chronicle and left a message. I got a call back from a George, who gave me Mr. Russel Yip's email to also include along with the licensing email address on your website.

Once completed and approved my dissertation will be uploaded to the following databases and be available at no charge to anyone who wishes to download it would like to obtain permission to use and adapt the

- Antioch University Repository and Archive, <http://aura.antioch.edu/>
- OhioLINK ETD Center, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>.
- UMI (University Microfilms International/Proquest] (Ann Arbor Michigan).

For clarity, I will not receive any remuneration for use of my dissertation once it is completed. I will be glad to use any language you'd prefer in attribution and to let you know when the finished dissertation can be accessed.

If this is acceptable, I would deeply appreciate it if permission could be sent to me via email quoting this message.

If you have any questions, please contact me at this email.



I thank you in advance and look forward to hearing from you.

--

Nikki

Response:

From: **Yip, Russell** <[REDACTED]>
Date: Mon, Jul 27, 2020 at 7:16 PM
Subject: Re: [EXT] Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation
To: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>, Licensing <[REDACTED]>

Hi Nicola,
Yes, go ahead and use the image in your dissertation. Please credit: San Francisco Chronicle

Thanks!

Best,
Russell

Deputy Director of Photography
San Francisco Chronicle
[REDACTED]

Together, we will get through this.

For Figure 5.7 Indianapolis Mounted Patrol

Request:

On Thu, May 7, 2020 at 10:15 AM Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]> wrote:

To the Horse Patrol Association

Good day to you. I do hope you and yours are well in this difficult time.

I am completing a dissertation entitled *Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions* in the Antioch University Program on Leadership and Change. I would like to receive permission to use an image that I found on the website, <https://impdmountedpatrol.org/history-impd-mounted-patrol/>

Once completed and approved my dissertation will be uploaded to the following databases and be available at no charge to anyone who wishes to download it would like to obtain permission to use and adapt the

- Antioch University Repository and Archive, <http://aura.antioch.edu/>
- OhioLINK ETD Center, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>.
- UMI (University Microfilms International/Proquest] (Ann Arbor Michigan).

For clarity, I will not receive any remuneration for use of my dissertation once it is completed. I will be glad to use any language you'd prefer in attribution and to let you know when the finished dissertation can be accessed.

If this is acceptable, I would deeply appreciate it if permission could be sent to me via email quoting this message.

If you have any questions, please contact me at this email.

--

Nikki

Nicola Smith-Kea, M.A., M.Sc., M.A.



Response:

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **IMPDMountedPatrol** <[REDACTED]>

Date: Sat, May 16, 2020, 1:31 PM

Subject: RE: Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation

To: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>

You are permission to use that photo.

Here is all the info on it. "It was taken in front of City Hall but no one knows exactly when. Probably about 1918-1920"

Good luck

For Figure 5.8. Picture of female recruits, San Francisco Police, 1950

Request:

From: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>
Date: Thursday, August 20, 2020 at 2:35 PM
To: YIP C <[REDACTED]>
Cc: Licensing <[REDACTED]>
Subject: [EXT] SECOND REQUEST: Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation

Hello Russell,

Hope you are doing well, and finding strength to go through your day. I wanted to reach out for permission to use a second image from the Chronicle. I have been having great difficulties making contact for an image I have from the NYC Police Museum, which has been closed for some time.

I searched today and found an image that I could replace it with, and it so happens to be from the San Francisco Chronicle, and would be a perfect substitute. This is titled "Chief Michael Mitchell with a group of female San Francisco Police Department recruits on March 16, 1950." From

Hartlaub, P. (2015, January 1, updated April 9, 2018). San Francisco police and Fire stood guard through early challenges. Retrieved from <https://www.sfchronicle.com/oursf/article/Our-SF-Police-and-fire-stood-guard-through-early-6601129.php>

Thank you in advance and I look forward to hearing from you on this latest request to use the following image in my dissertation.



Response:

From: Yip, Russell <[REDACTED]>

Date: Sun, Aug 23, 2020, 1:57 PM

Subject: Re: [EXT] SECOND REQUEST: Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation

To: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>

Hi Nicola,

Here's the image. As always, you can use this in your dissertation but may not release or publish for any other use. Thanks!

Best,
Russell

Deputy Director of Photography
San Francisco Chronicle

[REDACTED]

Together, we will get through this.

For Figure 5.9 Pictures showing policewomen standing beside male colleagues. Los Angeles Protective League.

Request:

On Tuesday, August 11, 2020, 05:07:59 PM PDT, Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]> wrote:

Good day Mr Bob Alaniz,

I do hope you and yours are well in this difficult time.

I am completing a dissertation entitled *Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions* in the Antioch University Program on Leadership and Change. I would like to receive permission to use two images that I found on your website at the following link, and pinned below.

<https://www.lapd.com/historical-photo-gallery>

Once completed and approved, my dissertation will be uploaded to the following databases and be available at no charge to anyone who wishes to download it would like to obtain permission to use and adapt the

- Antioch University Repository and Archive, <http://aura.antioch.edu/>
- OhioLINK ETD Center, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>.
- UMI (University Microfilms International/Proquest] (Ann Arbor Michigan).

For clarity, I will not receive any remuneration for use of my dissertation once it is completed. I will be glad to use any language you'd prefer in attribution and to let you know when the finished dissertation can be accessed.

If this is acceptable, I would deeply appreciate it if permission could be sent to me via email quoting this message.



Response:

From: **Roberto Alaniz Jr** <[REDACTED]>
Date: Tue, Aug 11, 2020, 8:39 PM
Subject: Re: Requesting permission to use image for PhD dissertation
To: Nicola Smith-Kea <[REDACTED]>

Hello Nicola Smith-Kea,

This email confirms consent for you to use the attached photos to this email for your PhD dissertation titled, "Saving a Seat for a Sister: A Grounded Theory Approach Exploring the Journey of Women Reaching Top Policing Executive Positions."

Sincerely,

Roberto Alaniz
Board Chair
Los Angeles Police Museum