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Asphalt Magnolias: Women in Southern State Police and Highway Patrol Agencies, 1972-2012

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Asphalt Magnolias:
Women in Southern State Police and Highway Patrol Agencies, 1972-2012

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Urban Studies

By

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I want to thank my committee members who have encouraged, guided, and exhibited enormous patience with me over the course of my studies and throughout this process. I began this program because I wanted to tell the stories of the women in state police and highway patrol agencies. Having served in law enforcement over 42 years, 32 of which with the state police, would not solely qualify me to tell their stories in an objective and empirical way.

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Abstract

Women are under-represented in both numbers and at the command level of police agencies after over 40 years of women in policing. The national average for women in policing, as reported by the 2012 Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Report, was 11.9%. Women in state police and highway patrol agencies are well below the national average, particularly in the southern states where the percentage is below 6%. This study uses qualitative data to examine the role of gender and the gendered organizational structure and culture of police agencies through interview data from 24 women troopers and one academy cadet who are or were employed in seven southern state police and highway patrol agencies between 1972 and 2012. The data from their lived experiences indicate that women continue to encounter barriers and challenges to recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotional opportunities. Understanding how women experience paramilitary policing institutions and the gendered nature of a male-dominated workforce can be used to argue for meaningful social and organizational changes in state police and highway patrol agencies and, by association, the profession of policing.

Keywords: gender, gendered roles, gendered institutions, gendered structure organizations, gendered culture, police, troopers, state police, highway patrol, women police, leadership, hegemonic masculinity

Chapter 1. Introduction

Women are under-represented in both numbers and at the command level of police agencies after many years of women in policing. The problem cannot be a lack of women who are qualified to serve as police officers or police leaders. More than 40 years after the doors of law enforcement began opening to women, the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported the total number of women officers in the United States as 11.9%, a number that has not substantially changed since 1995 (2012, Table 74). The number of women state troopers is well below the national average for women in policing overall, particularly in southern state police and highway patrol agencies where the percent remains below 6% (FBI, 2012, Table 76). (See Appendix A)

Origins of Modern Policing

Women continue to be viewed through a gendered lens that affects recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotion. This study examines whether or not there is a marked difference in the perceptions of women troopers regarding gender equality in seven southern state police and highway patrol agencies between the period 1972 and 2012. By exploring the role of gender and the gendered organizational structure and culture of police agencies, the researcher submits that such differences not only exist, but continue to be generated. Understanding how women experience paramilitary policing institutions and the gendered nature of a male-dominated workforce, such as those in state police and highway patrol agencies, will make visible the barriers and challenges that they encounter.

Women have participated in policing since the nineteenth century, but not until the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, have women been employed in any significant numbers as sworn officers with the same duties, authority, and responsibilities as their male counterparts. Women comprised less than two percent of police officers in 1972. Twenty-

seven years later, the number of women officers remained below 12% (Neubauer, Samuels, Viverette, Riseling, & Rabadeau, 1998, p. 53). In response to the perceived slow growth during that period, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), a premier police association representing both officers and police leadership around the world, commissioned an *Ad Hoc* Committee “to examine the role of women in policing and various issues of concern” (p. 53). Surveying over 800 members, the IACP determined that recruitment, employment, retention, promotional opportunities, sexual harassment, and gender discrimination continued to be issues for women in policing. The survey respondents, 97% male and representing 798 police agencies, indicated that there was much work to be done to achieve the goal of gender diversity in policing. The Committee Chairman, Chief Joseph Samuels, Jr., Oakland, California Police Department commented, “This survey documents the very issues the IACP must take on if we’re serious about helping women move into and up through the ranks of policing” (p. 54).

Although the International Association of Chiefs of Police expressed concern about slow growth in 1998, The National Center for Women and Policing (NCWP) (Lonsway et al., 2002) raised a more pressing concern when they reported that while the number of women in law enforcement increased between 1972 and 1999, the number of women in policing has been decreasing since that time (p. 2). Lonsway’s et al. statistical data demonstrated that of the 20 state agencies that responded to the survey, four could be considered southern: Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Virginia. The reported percent of sworn women officers were 3.23, 4.15, 2.7, and 3.86, respectively (p. 26). (See Appendix B) The U. S. Bureau of Justice (Langton, 2010) supported this finding when they reported that although the number of women in local police departments increased steadily between 1987 and 2007, the number of women officers in state police and sheriff’s offices decreased during that period (p .3). Langton further reported

that between 1987 and 2007, of the approximately 765,000 sworn personnel in the United States, women comprised 19,400 sheriff's deputies, 55,300 local police officers and approximately 4000 state officers (p. 1). This reflected a decrease from a high of 6.7% of state officers in 2003 to 6.5% in 2007, a percent well below the national average of 11.9% of women officers in all agencies combined (pp. 1-3).

The National Center for Women and Policing 2001 (Lonsway et al., 2002) report attributed the low number of women in policing to "widespread bias in police hiring, selection practices, and recruitment policies" (p. 2) and suggested that "barriers continue to exist for women in the field of law enforcement and few agencies have specific strategies for increasing the number of women within their ranks" (p. 2). Specifically, the NCWP blamed entry exams with emphasis on physical standards that are not job related and the police image "based on the outdated paramilitary model of law enforcement" (pp. 2-3) for keeping women from becoming police officers. The survey also reported that not only were women under-represented in numbers, but, also, in leadership positions, noting that top command positions were not proportional to the percent of women in sworn positions (Survey results can be viewed under Appendix B).

In 2010, 30 women held the position of sheriff in the approximate 3,012 sheriff's offices in the United States that employed approximately 189,000 sworn officers (Burch, 2016, p. 1). In 2015, the National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives (NAWLEE) reported that 219 women held chief's jobs in over 14,000 police agencies (Johnson, 2013, p.1). The percent of both comprise less than one percent of the top jobs in counties, parishes, and cities. Therefore, after over 40 years of women in policing, not only has there been no significant increase in numbers or women occupying command level positions, but, also opportunities for

assignment to Special Weapons and Tactics Teams (S.W.A.T.) and other traditionally coveted masculine jobs remain limited. Dodge, Valcore, and Klinger (2010) describe policing bastions, such as S.W.A.T, as “the last vestige of male dominance in law enforcement that is grounded in masculine notions of policing” (p. 219). They reported that the majority of officers in their study, both male and female, agreed that women were not welcome in these types of specialized divisions due to a variety of challenges. A study by Dodge, Valcore, and Gomez (2011) determined that women were not accepted in S.W.A.T. due to the masculine-paramilitary culture that dominates the assignment. Although the females in their study thought that they possessed the skills and physical strength required for S.W.A.T. assignments, they too agreed that they were not only unwelcomed, but intentionally excluded. A 2001 review of the membership of the National Tactical Officers Association revealed that only 17 of its 40,000 members were women registered as tactical officers. Gendered occupational segregation in roles and assignments along with disparities in training and access to formal and informal networks continued to affect both career opportunities and promotions for women (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011; Dodge, Valcore & Klinger, 2010).

There are numerous examples in the media of law enforcement leaders praising the men in blue. At a federal law enforcement funeral with thousands of attendees, the sitting United States Attorney General Eric Holder, repeatedly referred to the sacrifices of the men in blue and thanked the men profusely for their service (Public Comments, March 17, 2015). On national television, the governor of a state where several police officers were killed, repeatedly referred to the risks taken and the sacrifices made by men serving as police officers (Public Comments, July 18, 2016). This lack of recognition and the failure to acknowledge women as police officers minimizes the efforts and contributions of women and further reinforces the maleness of the

profession. This is supported by Prokos and Padavic (2002) who emphasized that using gendered language reinforces the masculinity of the policing profession and affirms to both men and women that women remain outsiders (p. 446).

Further research revealed that many women, who succeeded into the promotional ladder of their organizations, did not achieve command status or continue in their careers while others who reached the command level were removed, resigned or retired within a brief period of time. When women witness other women before or above them fail to achieve special assignments, promotions or advancement to command status, or worse, being forced out or criticized for a lack of leadership ability, this can have a chilling effect on the other women and reinforce the belief that policing, particularly at the command level, is a man's job.

There are no statistics showing the numbers of women who attempted to attain special assignments or to achieve rank, but there are numerous examples of women who served in local, state, and federal law enforcement command positions, only to be criticized for lacking leadership abilities. Typically, once appointed, agency heads serve throughout the term or administration of the person that appointed them unless they themselves retire. Demotion or removal is rare in the law enforcement community without cause. Some of the high-profile illustrations that follow begin with Penny Harrington, the first female chief of a major metropolitan police department, Portland, Oregon. Appointed in 1985 after a successful 21-year career with that department, she was forced to resign from the chief's position in 1986, after only seventeen months in office, amid allegations of mismanagement. Harrington filed a discrimination suit alleging that members of the department conspired to embarrass and drive her from office (Gillins, 1987, p. 1).

Elizabeth Watson, Chief of the Houston Police Department, one of the largest cities in America, was appointed by a female mayor and removed by a new male mayor after only two years in her position. The mayor said “the new administration would be better off with a new police chief and break clean with whatever may have been the problems in the past whether they were Chief Watson’s making or not” (Suro, 1992, p. 1).

Annette Sandberg, Chief of the Washington State Patrol, the first woman to lead a state police or highway patrol agency in the United States, was a lawyer and served as a former trooper before her appointment to Patrol Chief in 1995. She was praised by the governor for “cracking the good ol’ boys network” (Ith, 2000, p. 1) at the mostly male organization. According to Ith, six years later, the trooper’s union took a vote of no confidence, she was at odds with the Governor, and soon resigned. Her legacy allegedly became one of “plummeting morale under her watch” and she was accused of polarizing the agency (p. 1).

Teresa Chambers, the first woman to lead a federal law enforcement agency, was appointed in 2002 as Chief of the United States Park Police (USPP). Chambers’ career spanned 35 years, serving as a police officer for 20 years, rising to the rank of major before being appointed Chief of Police of the Durham, North Carolina Police Department where she successfully served for four years before her USPP appointment. Chief Chambers was removed in 2003 after telling the *Washington Post* that the streets and parks were less safe because of a shortage of patrol officers. She sued the agency as a whistleblower and after a long legal battle was reinstated in January 2011. Chambers retired in 2013 (Hermann, 2013, p. 1).

Appointed Director of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) in 2003, Karen Tandy resigned in 2007 amid speculation that there was a “lack of confidence” in her ability to lead. Tandy was replaced by Michele M. Leonhart, who managed the agency from 2007 until 2015.

During her tenure, an incident involving DEA agents and a sex scandal led the U.S. House Oversight Committee to voice a lost confidence in her ability to continue to lead the agency, forcing her resignation, ending a 35-year highly successful career with the agency (Davis, 2015, p. 1). Jon Adler, national president of the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association stated in his article that Leonhart had been ambushed in her hearing before the Oversight Committee where he saw “a disturbing pattern of unprofessional rants directed by the Oversight Committee members against female law enforcement directors” (Davis, 2015, p. 1). Crediting her with commendable leadership, Adler continued that “Replacing Administrator Leonhart with Dudley Do-Right will be a disservice to this country” (p. 1).

In 2010, the Cincinnati Police Chief transferred all three top women commanders from their jobs to positions of lesser responsibility, “low profile positions that no one wants” (Limor, 2010, p. 1) according to an anonymous source in a Cincinnati *WCPO News* article. The transfers came on the heels of a complaint filed by one of the female commanders in which she complained to the Chief about sexually explicit photos shown during a command staff meeting (p. 1).

The Chief of the New Orleans Police Department promoted two women to the command level in April, 2011, then called them into his office in October, 2012 demoting them to their former classified ranks. According to Commander Heather Kouts the Chief told her that she was being demoted because she was not a leader of men (Personal communication, 2012). According to Commander Kouts, not only was she demoted, she was reassigned to an office in a trailer in a city park with duties commensurate to a patrolman or civilian with no further explanation.

The first female director of the United States Secret Service, Julia Pierson, was appointed in March 2013. Pierson, a 30-year veteran, served as “the Secret Service's chief of staff in 2008.

Previously, she served on the protective details of Presidents George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush and held the positions of assistant director of the agency's Office of Human Resources and Training and deputy assistant director in the Office of Protective Operations and the Office of Administration” (Bradner, 2014, p. 1). Selected by President Obama to change the culture of an agency that was then marred by a Colombian prostitution scandal where nine agents ultimately lost their jobs, Pierson was forced to resign in 2014 after two security lapses at the White House and a loss of confidence by Capitol Hill in her ability to lead the agency (Hartfield, Bradner, and Wolf, 2014, p. 1).

After a career that spanned 32 years as a Deputy United States Marshal, serving in numerous positions of responsibility and prestige, Stacia Hylton retired from career service, but returned in 2010 as the first presidentially appointed female director of the United States Marshals Service (Barrett, 2015, p. 1). In July, 2015, Hylton, retired after suffering pressure from the United States Senate Judiciary Committee over allegations of improper hiring practices and improper actions against some of the agency’s employees (Ybarra, 2015, p. 1). Her fate tracked those women who served as agency heads at the Portland Police Bureau, Houston Police Department, Washington State Patrol, U.S. Park Police, DEA, U.S. Secret Service, and the Cincinnati and New Orleans Police Departments.

There are several examples of women who have been successful. Seattle Chief of Police Kathleen O’Toole (2014 to 2017), who previously served as a lieutenant colonel in the Massachusetts State Police from 1992 – 1994 and the first female commissioner of the Boston Police Department from 2004 - 2006. Chief Cathy Lanier led the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington D.C. between 2007 and 2016. While she successfully retained the support of the mayor, in August 2015, 97.5 percent of the D.C. Police Union members voted that

they did not have confidence in her leadership (Downing, 2015, p. 1). There have, also, been some appointments of women who led state police agencies such as Alaska State Police Colonel Julia Grimes (2003 – 2006), Massachusetts State Police Colonel Marian McGovern (2009 - 2012) and Michigan State Police Colonel Kriste Etue (2011 – present). Nevertheless, very few women have reached the top tiers of law enforcement, particularly in state police and highway patrol agencies.

An example of a woman who succeeded in a male-dominated institution, but not in law enforcement, is United States Navy Captain Holly Graf who was forced to retire in 2010 after being relieved of her command of a U.S. Navy guided missile cruiser, a rare and coveted position for Naval military officers, amid allegations of cruelty and maltreatment of her crew, and conduct unbecoming an officer (Larter, 2010, p. 1). According to a *Time* article, “The Rise and Fall of a Female Captain Bligh,” Graf allegedly swore like a sailor and created an environment of fear and hostility, using profanities.... repeatedly dropping *F* bombs on them (Thompson, 2010, p. 1). The *Time* article associated her with the legendary Captain Bligh, a cruel tyrant whose abuse of the crew led them to feel that they had no choice but to mutiny and take over the ship. Graf was separated from the Navy and allowed to retire under “general” circumstances (General discharges are given to service members whose performances are satisfactory but are marked by a considerable departure in duty performance and conduct expected of military members). On January 6, 2012, the military appeals court reversed the decision and Graf’s retirement was reclassified to “honorable” service as a retired officer, as it was “....determined that her conduct did not rise to a level sufficient to warrant the characterization of her service as less than honorable” (Thompson, 2012, p. 1).

The issue of women's presence in significant numbers in organizations or advancement to command levels is not merely limited to the profession of policing. The Chief Executive Officers (CEO) for several major American companies - Carly Fiorina, *Hewlett-Packard*; Marissa Mayer, *Yahoo*; Meg Whitman, *Hewlett-Packard*; Mary Barra, *General Motors*; and Irene Rosenfield, *Kraft* – have withstood enormous criticism from some critics for their alleged lack of leadership. Some of them were ultimately removed from their positions as CEO and the future of others have not yet been determined. According to Reingold (2016), “Of the 50-odd women who have become CEOs of a *Fortune 500* company since 2004, only two – Meg Whitman and Susan Cameron – have repeated as *Fortune 500* CEOs” (p. 1). She explains that most people could easily name successful men off the top of their heads, but not so with women. She, also, reported that women have a shorter tenure than men; seven years versus nine. Reingold cited another study by Cook and Glass that revealed that women “are more likely to be promoted in a time of crisis, and because they are women, they experience more pressure. When they are not able to turn their firm around, it's a confirmation bias: *They really don't have what it takes. They couldn't cut it.*” (p. 1).

To determine the preferences of companies in the employment and removal of CEOs, a prominent executive management consulting firm, *Strategy &*, examined incoming and outgoing CEO positions of the world's largest 2500 publicly traded companies (Favoro, Karlsson, & Neilson, 2014). Their survey discovered that between 2004 and 2015 women were 27% more likely to be forced out of CEO positions than men (p. 7). The survey, also, revealed that while women CEOs comprised 2.4% of the world's largest 2500 public companies in 2004 and reached 5.2% in 2014, the percent experienced a significant decline to 2.8% in 2015 (p. 3). More

troubling, McGregor (2016) discovered that only one female executive was brought in as a CEO in 2015 in North America, formerly the most welcoming part of the world for women (p. 1)

All of the women discussed thus far were well-qualified based on their education, experience, seniority and ability to advance through their agency and corporation promotional hierarchies. They stayed the course, overcame whatever obstacles were placed in their paths, and paid a significant personal price, only in some cases to be criticized or shamed out of their positions for their alleged inability to lead. One explanation for this dilemma, according to Donaldson (2006), is that women are often subjected to more intense scrutiny and are challenged and judged in ways that men are not, often “made to feel like outsiders” (p. 212). He continues that “Men are perceived to be competent until proven otherwise; whereas women have to prove that they are competent” (p. 212). This suggests that even when women are performing at the same level or above as men they are often valued differently

Gaffney and Blaylock (2010) address the issue of how gender stereotypes and perceptions of women leaders can affect voter behavior after reviewing Hillary Clinton’s failed 2008 political campaign. Their research suggests that “competent women violate traditional gender roles” (p. 11) and “are often disliked as a result of their competence in a male dominated arena” (p. 11). Clinton’s lack of warmth, a trait expected of women as discussed in this research, has been repeated throughout media formats during her 2016 bid for the presidency (Cooper, 2016; Cunha, 2016; Thomasson, 2015). Cunha (2016) reports that according to pollsters and political analysts her persona and male-like attitude could cause her to lose the election (p. 1) and she did.

Another reason for the exclusion of women from law enforcement and the ranks was proposed by Balkin (1988) who suggested that women pose a threat to male-oriented

occupational solidarity, which is based on common interests, attitudes, values, backgrounds and a shared definition of what it means to be masculine” (p. 35). Further, Balkin, Katz, Levin, and Brandt (1977) proposed that men fear the change that women bring to the work environment and are, therefore, “excluded from informal and formal networks that would be useful in learning about the department, it’s politics, promotional opportunities and general opinions about others in the department” (p. 1023).

Discrimination takes many forms, behavior whether implicit or explicit, consequently sanctions gender inequality and negatively impacts the progress of women. The statistical data provides the most obvious measure of gender inequality in many male-dominated professions, to include policing. Their underrepresentation in numbers in police agencies and their absence in specialized divisions and at the top tiers of the command level are clear indications that women continue to struggle in achieving success in policing, particularly in paramilitary agencies like state police and highway patrol.

Chapter 2. Background and Overview

Women generally could not work outside the home, vote or own property until the beginning of the 20th Century. During the World Wars, women were employed in large numbers to take the jobs of men called to serve in the military. Once the wars ended, men began returning to fill the jobs and women returned to their pre-war status, restricted as to the type of occupations they could acquire and relegated to the role of homemaker (Levine, 1994, p. 40).

By 2012, the U.S. Bureau of Labor (BOL) reported that women outnumbered men on the nation's payrolls for the first time in history. According to the report, 38% of eligible women participated in the work force in 1963; by 2012, their participation increased to over 47%. The 2015 BOL report indicates that 69.2% of men and 57% of women participate in the labor force. Thirteen percent of the veterans are women and, as in recent years, women are better educated than men with 40% possessing a college degree (p. 1).

While women workers, as a percent of all workers increased steadily between 1970 and 2010, comparing the occupational fields of women in labor reports reveal that their fields have not significantly changed (U. S. Department of Labor (DOL), 1970; 2012; 2014). In 1970, the top female-dominated occupations (75% or more women) were secretaries, bookkeepers, and elementary school teachers (p. 1). In 2010, the leading occupations were secretaries and administrative assistants, registered nurses, cashiers, and elementary and middle school teachers (p. 1). According to the DOL (2016), women remain overwhelmingly employed in occupations that are traditionally oriented toward women and are often paid less money for the same work when performed by men in many of the same occupations. In 1979, women earned only 62% of what men earned, but this increased to 83% by 2014 (p. 1). Maatz and Hedgepeth (2011) reported in a federally funded DOL study that an increase in education has opened doors for

women, however, women tend to major in female fields such as psychology, health fields (nursing), and social science while men are more likely to pursue computer science or engineering” (p. 5) which limits opportunities for women, especially in non-traditional occupations.

Despite political lobbying, the existence of anti-discrimination legislation beginning with the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, and the importance placed on diversity, women continue to be underrepresented in traditionally male jobs or, as stated previously, fail to reach the top tiers of organizations in any significant numbers. In 2012, the Calvert Investment Group, Ltd. conducted their third survey of diversity practices in 100 companies ranked in the *Standard & Poor's 100 Index* (DeGroot, Mohapatra, & Lippmann, 2013). Their report states that “While women are often hired as frequently as men, their representation in management roles decreases with each step up the ladder” (p. 3). Women hold only 14.6% of executive officer positions, 8.1% of executive top earner positions, and 10% of the *S&P 100* companies do not have women on their boards (DeGroot et al., 2013, p. 3).

Another survey, the *2013 Catalyst Census: Fortune 500* report, revealed that in both 2012 and 2013 “the needle barely budged for women aspiring to top business leadership in corporate America” (Soares, Mulligan-Ferry, Fendler, and Kun, 2013, p. 1). Women held only 16.9% of board seats in 2013, while one tenth (50) had no women serving on their boards. *Fortune Magazine* (2015) reported a similar finding stating that the number of women CEOs in the *Fortune 500* rose steadily from 1998 when only two women CEOs were present but declined in 2009 (p. 1).

The year 2014 indicated a milestone for the number of women CEOs at *Fortune 1000* companies with an all-time high of 51, of which 24 were women, 4.4%, were CEOs in the

Fortune 500 and 27 additional in the *Fortune 1000* (Covert, 2014, p. 1; Covert, 2015, p. 2).

Women, even when in the board room, are still paid approximately 18% less than their predecessors (Covert, 2014, p. 1). For example, Mary Barra of General Motors earned less than half of her predecessor and Marissa Mayer of *Yahoo* earned less than half of what her chief operating officer earned (p. 1). These reports are supported by the findings of Georgetown University McDonough School of Business (Tinsley, 2012) and the American Management Association (Donovan, 2015) who examined corporate America and concluded that the number of women in board rooms is dismal. According to Donovan, even though women CEOs appear to be “systematically more qualified than their male counterparts” (p.2), they are held to a higher standard than men in acquiring the top jobs and are paid less when they do (p. 4). The Pew Research Center (Parker, Horowitz, & Rohal, 2015), also, found three factors that were potentially holding women back from reaching leadership positions in business: women are held to a higher standard than men, women have to do more to prove themselves, and some businesses just are not ready to promote women into leadership positions (pp. 34-35)

Many researches recognize that there are numerous benefits to companies employing women and that those women make valuable contributions and strengthen organizations. Price (1974) determined that “women are more flexible, emotionally independent, self-confident, proactive, creative, and less authoritarian and prejudiced than their male counterparts, while men were rated as more persistent, more authoritarian, more prejudiced and less creative” (p. 2). Rosener (1990) maintains that women possess leadership traits that “can increase an organizations chance of survival in an uncertain world” (p. 1). Rosener, also, submitted that women cope well with ambiguity, more easily share power and information, and strive to empower others (p. 4). Rosener (1995) labeled women’s leadership style as interactive,

involving collaboration and empowerment of employees, and men's leadership as command-and-control, involving the assertion of authority and the accumulation of power (p. 6). Further she noted that women are not superior or inferior to men, just different, possessing leadership abilities that are particularly effective in today's organizations (pp. 199-201).

Supporting both Rosener's (1990, 1995) and Price's (1974) research, the National Center for Women and Policing (Lonsway et al., 2002) study determined that women provide special skills in areas such as communications, the defusing of confrontations, and are less likely to be involved in excessive force situations (p. 3). Katherine Spillar, Director, *Feminist Majority Foundation*, testified in 1999 before the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department that research in the United States and internationally reveal that women have a less authoritarian and aggressive policing style which helps to diffuse many situations. She also noted in her testimony that research conducted by Sherman in 1973 demonstrated that there is no evidence to support that physical strength is related to policing or that strength is necessary to the ability of an individual to manage a dangerous situation. Sherman declared that "America's police remain bastions of male supremacy and American-style machismo" (as cited by Spillar, 1999, p. 2). Sherman proposed that if more women were employed there would be less violence, they would improve the image of police officers and their actions would influence the behavior of policeman, thereby, decreasing violence between police and citizens. Moreover, she contends that women would increase efficiency and would be more effective in managing issues with women than men (p. 1). Spillar concluded in her testimony that there is a need for police agencies to modify their policing styles in line with societal needs and argues that "The lack of women police officers reinforces and exaggerates the authoritarian and traditional personalities that thrive on violence.... police departments reflect a male fraternity where unacceptable

behavior not only receives little peer scrutiny but is actually reinforced by other members of the group” (p. 3).

The International Association of Chiefs of Police, 2003 Police Image and Ethics Committee (Green et al., 2015) reports that the strength of organizations lie in its diversity. Green et al. stated that diversity means “workforces that mirror the community populations” (p. 84) and “identifying the core competencies that an ideal law enforcement and professional staff member should have” (p. 84). Additionally, they stated that law enforcement officials should be asking if the current employees are qualified themselves and do they represent the ideal because “an organization can only achieve what its leadership, in concert with qualified, well-prepared, and capable employees, will allow it to achieve” (p. 84).

Women, as do all employees, bring different backgrounds, experiences, attitudes and priorities to their agencies. If women are agents of change, they must occupy positions that can affect the establishment and enforcement of policies and procedures to effect change. Silvestri (2003) agrees with the concept of agency diversity and posits that “women in police leadership positions may offer a significant contribution to the project of organizational change within policing” (p. 2). More compelling, Ortmeier, and Meese (2010) warn leaders that the police environment has changed from one of “brute strength and aggressiveness towards a new breed of officers who are better educated, self-managed, creative, guided by values and purposes” (p. 31). Therefore, the qualities attributed to women should be sought by administrators in making employment, retention and promotion decisions, yet Garrison, Grant, and McCormick (1988) suggests that women continue to encounter discrimination even as they attempt to advance to leadership positions (p. 32). Not just discrimination, but powerful obstacles that hamper the progress of women at all levels within the police organization (Silvestri, 2006).

Society's expectations about leaders as masculine and organizations that are hierarchical, top-down structured, such as police agencies, tend to reinforce masculine leadership cultures, therefore, women, such as Hillary Clinton, do not tend to meet the expectations of society (Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010, pp. 1-2). To compound the problem, most jobs and career hierarchies are gender specific so most organizational leaders seek candidates that meet personal, group and societal expectations (Silvestri, 2003; Wagner, 1997). Silvestri maintains that masculinity and femininity are embedded in organizational arrangements, noting that the majority of employees within a police agency are male and the police culture is permeated with male values and norms which reflect a patriarchal influence. She states that "The higher echelons of policing remain firmly in the hands of men and ideas about leadership remain underpinned by traditional ideas of masculinity" (p. 278). She attributes this fact to the reason that there are lower numbers of women in leadership positions within police organizations. Further stating, "In negotiating the climb to the top, women experience the true force of structural constraint" (p. 278). She posits that bringing about organizational change is difficult because police leadership remains impervious to change and transformation requires vast changes to workplace cultures and practices (p. 278).

Barreto, Ryan, and Schmitt (2009) offer another explanation for the disparate treatment of women stating "Because the prejudice that follows from the disjunction between stereotypes of women and leaders tends to produce discriminatory behavior, such attitudes reduce women's access to leadership roles and foster discriminatory reactions to women who occupy such roles" (p. 29). They further explain that discrimination, while many times explicit, is often implicit and covert (p. 27) and is rooted in society's division of labor between the sexes (p. 24). Garcia (2003) suggests that these gender differences and distinctions have created conflict in the police

organization and “has continued to keep women police in subordinate positions” (p. 1) and within the lower ranks of the organization. Schuck and Rabe-Hemp (2005) support both Barreto’s et al. and Garcia’s findings by suggesting that many women police officers do indeed face challenges when policymakers and the public have unrealistic expectations about what women can and cannot do as police officers, which can ultimately hinder women’s struggle for legitimacy. They caution that “Just as women’s progress has been hampered in the past by expectations about what women *cannot do*, expectations about what women *can do better than men* are potentially just as harmful” (p. 109).

Police Agencies in the United States

While crime and punishment can be traced back to the first organized human settlements, the first professionalized police force is credited to British Statesman Sir Robert Peel. After many years of studying historical events and the English social structure, he created the London Metropolitan Police Force in 1829 to replace the outdated watch system (Manning, 1997, pp. 54-55). According to Manning, the English watchman system, in place in America since the seventeenth century, gave way to the Peel style of organized policing beginning with a New York police force in 1844 and Boston by 1854 (p. 89).

The organizational structure of police, as a bureaucracy, has not significantly changed since the Peel style of policing was established. Skolnick (1972) explains that “The civil police is a social organization created and sustained by political processes to enforce dominant conceptions of public order” (p. 51) where special interest groups use legal and legislative processes to achieve their own desires. He suggests that this is a common theme even today and is a means of social control (p. 51). Barker, Hunter, and Rush (1994, pp. 120-125) and Manning (1997, p. 101) describe police as hierarchically and strategically organized. Manning explains

that they are characterized by “high degrees of segmentation, factionalism, and informal groupings” (p. 101); “reflecting the interests of those who control and define situations requiring the application of authority” (p. 95).

Barker, Hunter, and Rush (1994) maintain that the organization for police developed into a paramilitary (also described as quasi-military) structure and uses coercion to achieve compliance primarily because of the attitude that a paramilitary structure encourages (p. 120). This attitude pits police on one side, the thin blue line, and everybody else on the other. Bittner (1970) reasons that “the conception of the police as a quasi (para)-military institution with a war-like mission plays an important part of the structuring of police work in modern American departments” (p. 52) which is in stark contrast to the beliefs of most American citizens. Despite the basic structure of police agencies, Barker et al. explain that not all police organizations are the same because each community dictates its own standards and expectations as defined by law, special interests, and leadership (p. 121). They note that decades of attempts to restructure police agencies has resulted in only limited success because no alternative structure has emerged that can take its place (p. 289).

Dempsey and Forst (2005) describe these quasi-military organizations as “like the military since they are organized along structures of authority and reporting relationships; they wear military-style, highly recognizable uniforms; they use military-style rank designations; they carry weapons; and they are authorized by law to use force” (p. 65).

Cox (1996) provides a more detailed description of the macro characteristics of these type organizations as:

- Centralized command structure and chain of command
- Control exerted through the issuance of commands, directives, and orders
- Vertical communications going from top to bottom
- Coercion as the method of employee motivation
- Initiative neither sought nor encouraged
- Authoritarian leadership
- Low tolerance for nonconformists
- Lack of flexibility in confronting novel situations (p. 66).

According to the *Census of State and Local Enforcement Agencies, 2008* (Reaves, 2011), there were 17,985 state and local law enforcement agencies in the United States, employing over 765,000 sworn personnel (p. 2). Of those 2,371 were specialized agencies, 12,501 were local agencies, 3,063 were sheriff's offices and 50 were primary state agencies. Reaves provides important distinctions between the types and roles of the various police agencies (pp. 4-10). Local law enforcement agencies include municipal police and sheriff's departments that have general enforcement duties and are responsible for the day-to-day protection of lives and property in their local areas of duty. These agencies are responsible for enforcing laws and providing functions such as patrol, investigation of crimes, and other duties required by their governing bodies. The distinction between municipal police and sheriff's departments is that sheriff's offices are granted authority by the state to enforce state law at the county or parish level. Sheriffs typically maintain the local jail and provide service outside municipal police jurisdictions, often in rural areas. Municipal police serve designated areas such as towns, villages and cities. The power and authority of local police are restricted to their geographical area of responsibility and typically enforce laws based on local ordinances.

Reaves (2011) identifies state agencies as state police, highway patrol (also known as state patrol or state highway patrol) or a department of public safety (p. 2). He explains that a

department of public safety may consist of several agencies or divisions with different organizational structure or responsibilities. However, there are also some state agencies that have specialized law enforcement missions such as a bureau of investigations, university police, game wardens, probation and parole, or alcohol and tobacco regulation.

Federal law enforcement agencies have responsibility for a specific enforcement mission related to federal laws. As examples, the Federal Bureau of Investigation focuses on white collar crimes, bank robbers, and terrorism while the Drug Enforcement Agency focuses on drugs and the United States Marshals Service is primarily responsible for the protection of the federal judiciary and the apprehension of fugitives and non-compliant sex offenders.

Each law enforcement agency is directed by an agency head that may be referred to as sheriff, chief, colonel, superintendent, commissioner, or director, depending on the type of agency. The vast majority of agencies share a rank structure similar to the military, with the command level characteristically being considered the rank of captain and above. The lowest rank within a police agency is normally an agent, deputy, police officer, patrolman, investigator, or trooper. (See Appendix C for quasi-military rank structure) All officers that are given traditional police powers to enforce law and are vested with arrest authority are considered sworn officers regardless of the title or rank (Dempsey & Forst, 2005, p. 65).

State Police and Highway Patrol Agencies

As state previously, state agencies include state police, highway or state patrol, department of public safety or specialized enforcement agencies that enforce specific state laws and provide comprehensive law enforcement services throughout the state, particularly in unincorporated, rural areas or small towns. Bechtel (1995) writes that the primary advantage of state agencies is that they can provide assistance to local police with investigations and

emergencies that extend beyond the resources and jurisdictional boundaries of local agencies (p. 399).

The primary distinction between the types of state agencies is that states with a highway or state patrol have a separate state bureau of investigation leaving the highway or state patrol responsible for highway safety and traffic regulation. State police and department of public safety agencies are structurally different because they manage both highway safety and investigative functions, typically within one agency. The basic hierarchal rank structure of state police and highway patrol is depicted in the following graphic. However, some agencies include additional ranks such as master trooper, corporal, first sergeant, master sergeant, and others.

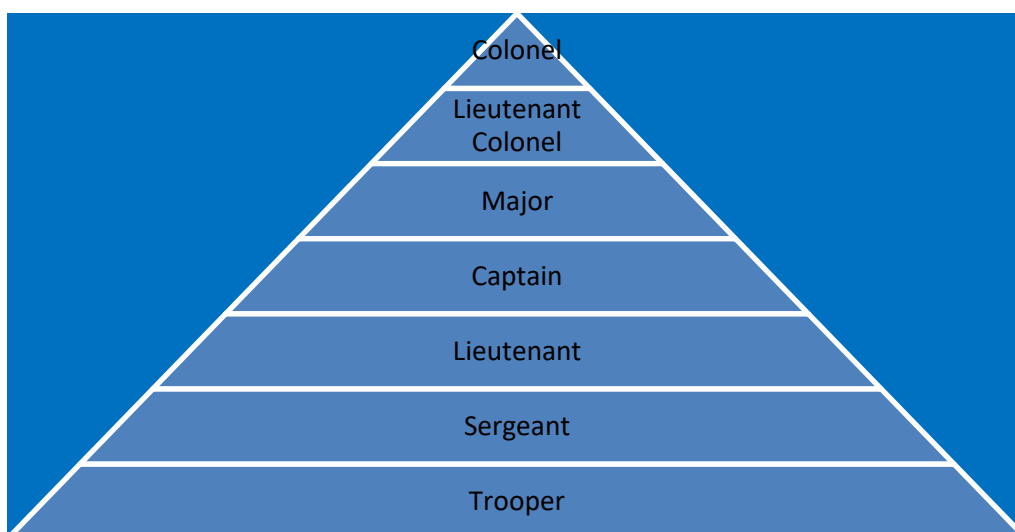


Table 1: Basic State Police and Highway Patrol Rank Hierarchy

Mayo (1917) and Ray (1995) credit Pennsylvania as the first state to establish a uniformed state police in 1905. All other states, except Hawaii, established state police and highway patrol agencies between 1905 and 1941, which were loosely modeled after the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Ray, 1995, p. 577). In the early years, not everyone was in favor of or recognized the value of state police agencies. Corcoran (1924) wrote that their establishment were a natural evolution of law enforcement when the state police were in the early years of

formation, as the “state’s agent to assert its sovereignty” (p. 544) for the general welfare of the state. She notes that establishing state police agencies resulted from a number of causes or factors: “a need for greater police protection in rural and suburban areas; inadequate local policing; state militia not trained for law enforcement; and a movement of government towards centralization” (p. 545).

As further explanation, Ray (1995) wrote that prior to the twentieth century, policing was local (p. 565). When the locals were unable to handle crime, the militia was called in to resolve any conflicts or problems that the locals could not or would not handle. Ray wrote that “persistent corruption, inefficiency and other problems” (p. 565) defined police. Bechtel (1995) agreed with Ray, writing that state police agencies were established primarily due to inadequate local policing, but also out of a fear of crime and immigrants (p. 399).

According to Ray (1995), when the Pennsylvania State Police was initially established, it was done so quietly so that the governor could handle labor conflicts over mining (p. 568). Unions, labor associations and numerous other groups were not in favor of a state police, but their creation gave power to the state and was thereby pushed through legislative sessions. Ray explained that in Pennsylvania the state police were feared and called the *Black Cossacks*, accused of tearing across the state and intimidating people, particularly women and children (p. 568). However, as Ray explained, this fear ultimately resulted in many newly formed state police agencies having their broad powers stripped and reduced to highway or state patrol functions with limited powers such as enforcing traffic laws (p. 568).

Ray (1995) provided a detailed account of the historical structure of state police and highway patrol agencies. This traditional quasi-military (paramilitary) hierarchical organizational structure and culture continues to define the state police and highway patrol agencies today. As

illustration, Ray quotes the first Superintendent of the newly formed New York State Police who publicly proclaimed they were looking for “distinctively American type of men” (p. 565) to fill the ranks of his new agency. According to Ray, “distinctively American evoked an Anglo-Saxon ideal – tall, square jawed, broad shouldered.....physically perfect” (p. 565). The image of manliness was necessary to assert the legitimacy of the new force (p. 566).

The strength of the state police evolved because, according to Mayo (1917), the state police men enjoyed a high level of *esprit de corps* and male camaraderie, “knitted together by the free masonry of the past and now allied by a common exalted purpose – the purpose to make the little brotherhood the finest thing in the world” (p. 59). Ray (1995) expounds: “Racial and gender assumptions remained central to the new state police force. Like the larger police professionalization movement of which it was a part, the state police embedded these prejudices into its core identity” (p. 577). He continues that “True manhood precluded the recruitment of blacks, women, or members of certain ethnic groups, and the state police forces would remain bastions of ‘distinctively American type of men’ for decades” (p. 577). These images projected such powerful symbolism that they would also be incorporated in J. Edgar Hoover’s selection of agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation based on “assumptions about the superior masculinity of the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ middle class” (p. 577).

History of Women and Policing in the United States

The role of women in policing was very limited and restricted to activities involving women and children, and until recently duties did not correspond to those of male police officers. Only within the last 50 years were women integrated into police departments within the United States and many other countries, primarily due to the increased status of women within society.

One cannot begin a discussion about the status of women today without considering the role and progress of women pioneers and hearing what the women themselves said and did to achieve equality. Their words, taken from their writings or speeches, are a reflection of the prevailing attitudes concerning women and speak to the opportunities afforded women particularly during their time. Their stories begin with women who sought to achieve equality and the individual rights afforded men and denied women since the founding of this nation.

The question of allowing women a voice in government was raised in colonial Massachusetts by Anne Hutchinson. She wanted a vote in church affairs but was instead put to trial and banned from the colony in 1637 (U. S. Park Service, 2014, p. 1). What can be considered the first society of working women's labor movement began in 1765 when women formed the Daughters of Liberty, an auxiliary of the Sons of Liberty, the first workingman's association. A few years later, letters between U.S. President John Adams and his wife, Abigail, provide insight on a failed attempt at equality when Abigail asked her husband to remember the ladies when the colonies were drafting the Declaration of Independence in 1776 (Mann, 2012). Abigail wrote: "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands" (p. 35). She continued that women would not be bound by laws in which they had no voice or representation. Adams responded to Abigail in his April 14, 1776 letter that he could not help but laugh, had no intention of repealing their masculine systems or subjecting themselves to the "Despotism of the Petticoat" (p. 36).

The next major movement for women occurred in 1848 at the Seneca Falls women's rights convention when they drafted a proclamation modeled after the Declaration of Independence that read in part, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men and women are created equal" (Stanton, 1848, as cited by Mann, 2012, p. 38). This convention and the

resulting proclamation are sometimes recognized as the actual establishment of the Women's Suffrage Movement (U.S. National Park Service, 2016, p. 1). Over the next many years, the women's rights movement encouraged women to work relentlessly to secure legal rights, including property rights, fair wages, and employment and educational opportunities for women (p. 1).

Most police departments within the United States were established in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries but were exclusively male. An incident in New York in 1886, involving a female prisoner, Rachel Welch, who became pregnant at the hands of a male who worked in the prison, brought jailing procedures under public scrutiny. After the birth of her child, she was beaten to death by a prison official. The scandal that followed resulted in the employment of women as *matrons* to manage the morality and welfare of women and children (Gold, 1999, pp. 15-16; Higgins, 1951, pp. 822-823; Horne, 1986, p. 26). By 1888, New York and Massachusetts passed laws making the use of matrons mandatory and by 1890 most large cities employed matrons (Higgins, 1951, p. 823).

In 1890, the nation's first formal women's rights organization, the *National American Woman Suffrage Association*, was formed but reorganized in 1919 as the *League of Women Voters*. The period between the late 19th and early 20th Centuries is considered by many to be the First Wave of Feminism. Women like Susan B. Anthony worked tirelessly to secure the vote and other rights for women. With the passage of the 19th Amendment of the United States Constitution, Women's Right to Vote, in 1920, women acquired the right to vote; fifty years after African American males obtained voting privileges (U.S. Archives, 2014, p. 1). Many of the first generation of organized suffragists died without witnessing their dreams of equality being achieved.

The first authentic record of policewomen within the United States can be found in Chloe Owings' (1969) *Women Police: A Study of the Development and Status of the Women Police Movement*. Owings chronicles the movement of women into policing from the mid-nineteenth century until 1925. She credits the American Female Reform Society with securing the appointment of six women matrons in New York City in 1845 to address the needs and problems associated with women and children (p. 98). According to Owings, the next achievement for women occurred in 1893 when Mrs. Marie Owens of Chicago, Illinois was given the first recorded police power given to a woman in the United States. Initiated as an effort to provide for a police widow, continued for 30 years until her retirement. Assigned to the Detective Bureau of the Police Department, she visited courts and assisted detective officers with cases involving women and children (p. 99). A similar assignment of police powers was granted to Mrs. Lola Baldwin in 1905 in Portland, Oregon to manage the social conditions that threatened women and girls during the Lewis and Clark Exposition (p. 100).

Owings (1969) writes that as early as 1910 Los Angeles recognized the need for women to be vested with police powers to effectively deal with protective and preventive work for women and children (p. 99). As such, Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells was appointed by the mayor to work with women and children. Distinguishing between Owens and Wells, Owings (1969) recognizes Wells as "the first regularly rated policewoman in this country" (p. 102) although there is no actual description of her duties and authority. According to Owings this appointment received both praise and criticism as Mrs. Wells received national attention, often in the form of caricatures and scorn (p. 103).

An unknown author (*Policewomen*, 1914) wrote an article in *the Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* that discusses the issue of appointing suitable

policewomen to address the welfare of women and children in London. Noting that several misconceptions needed to be resolved before the appointments could be considered, the author expresses hope that a physical standard should not be a consideration stating, “We do not want superior physical strength, but superior moral and spiritual strength” (p. 608). The article points to the success of “Mrs. Wells in Los Angeles and of Miss Roche in Denver, Colorado” (p. 609) in arguing for the addition of women to the police force over the objections of Scotland Yard and several provinces.

Between 1910 and 1915, 16 cities appointed women officers to their police departments (Owings, 1969, p. 104). By 1915 there were enough women police to form the *International Association of Police Women* (later reorganized as the International Association of Women Police which continues today). At the 1916 meeting of the association, not only were there numerous women police in attendance, one woman, Mrs. Dolly Spenser of Milford, Ohio, was recorded as a woman chief of police (p. 105).

Between 1917 and 1922, the International Association of Police Women (IAPW) made several attempts through surveys to determine the number of women who served as police matrons and those who served as police officers with actual police powers. According to Owings (1969), differences in titles, job descriptions, and duties made it almost impossible to obtain accurate information about the women’s police movement in the United States (p. 118). The results of the IAPW surveys of 1919 and 1920 were distributed at its annual meeting in New Orleans in 1920, but the best conclusion that could be deduced was that there were at least 275 women in the United States working in policing. What could not be determined, according to Owings, was how many women served as matrons, lacking police powers, and how many, if any,

served as women police with actual police power (p. 119) commensurate with those of male officers and not just authority limited to managing women and children's issues.

According to Owings (1969) the first women to work for a state agency occurred with the Connecticut State Police in August, 1917 during World War I. They were employed to address the influx of prostitutes after the establishment of war training camps in the state. The duties of the women included general law enforcement, but they were primarily responsible for the enforcement of laws concerning prostitutes and alcohol use. Based on the summaries of their cases, the women were very successful. Once war activities subsided, a legislative bill was introduced into the Connecticut State Legislature in 1919 which proposed the permanent appointment of the women. The bill failed and Connecticut's women's services were terminated in March, 1919, ending the service of women in that state police agency (pp. 185-190).

Higgins (1961) wrote that Lotta Caldwell and Mary Ramsey were employed as Massachusetts state policewomen in 1930, although they did not have patrol or traffic duty that male officers performed (p. xvi). Their success resulted in the employment of five more women who Higgins characterized as pioneers, although their duties were still limited to matters concerning women and children. Connecticut followed Massachusetts and re-employed eleven women in 1943 with similar duties (p. xvi).

The next significant effort to expand the role of women in policing was reflected in a manual released by the Federal Security Agency (FSA), the *International Association of Chiefs of Police* (IACP), and the *National Sheriffs' Association* (NSA) in 1946 titled *Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Use of Policewomen with Special Reference to Social Protection*. While the manual was designed as a reference for policewomen in performing their preventive and protective duties, it included a guide for administrators that encouraged the selection, assignment

and effective use of women (p. 1). However, there is no information in the literature that demonstrates that any true progress was made for women as a result of the publishing of the manual or through the encouragement of these organizations to integrate women into the policing profession as sworn officers.

An unknown author in the *Social Service Review* (1950) published a review of the United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau report titled: *The Outlook for Women in Police Work*. The review reported that the Women's Bureau was conducting a larger study on the outlook for women in the social services, specifically women in policing. The Bureau noted that while men working as policemen, sheriffs, state troopers and other law enforcement jobs received lots of media and research attention, the presence of women police remained hidden from the public resulting in the public not knowing about the contributions of women to policing (p. 140). The review cites two studies conducted by unnamed individual policewomen in 1945 and 1946 in Chicago and Detroit, respectively, which concluded that more than 1,000 women were employed as policewomen in the United States with another 2,000 women working in other government law enforcement work (Expanding Role, 1946). Although the researcher has been unable to retrieve any of the original studies or publications, the review concluded that while there may be an increasing use of policewomen's services; they continued to expect the demand would be small, but that growth in the profession would likely continue. These two studies did not discuss the specific duties or responsibilities of the women officers; therefore, it is unknown if any of the women had police powers equal to that of the male officers. However, the conclusion of the report states: "The primary function of policewomen today is social and preventive work involving women and children" (p. 141), suggesting that women did not have duties or authority corresponding with that of the male police officers.

Even while many of their peers were seeking to expand the role of women, not all women were seeking what might be considered true equality by today's standards. Lois Higgins (1951), Director of Crime Prevention, who served as a policewoman for 13 years with the Chicago Police Department, wrote the *Historical Background of Policewomen's Service*. In this paper, she argued for the further development of policewomen's services and more inclusion of women in policing. In 1961, she published the *Policewoman's Manual*, a detailed and comprehensive policing procedural manual. Although she advocated for the inclusion of women in policing and the expansion of their role, she wrote that "both men and women have their proper role" (p. 90) and that "routine police work is, has been and always will be, principally a man's job" (p. 90). Apparently, she herself envisioned limitations for women desiring to serve as police officers.

Evabel Tenny (1953) promoted the field of law enforcement and the importance of men and women working together as a unit without rivalry (p. 239). However, Tenny, who herself was categorized as a policewoman for several years, argued for standards for policewomen that were neither too high nor too low so that incompetent women would not be appointed (p. 240). She supported physical standards similar to males with adjustments for height and weight and writes that "policewomen should not be over-feminine, or on the other hand, too aggressive" (p. 242). She further expressed a desire for women police who would not embarrass the agency or herself, expose herself to hazardous situations, or be reluctant to ask others [male counterparts] for advice (p. 242).

An indication of the prevailing customs and sentiments of that period, Tenny's (1953) advice to women and police administrators appeared to contradict the desires of other women trying to achieve equality within police departments. Her views particularly contrast the writings of Felicia Shpritzer (1958), a detective policewoman in New York City. Shpritzer pleads for

equality in the Detective Bureau that at that time employed 49 women detectives and 10 policewomen without detective designation. She expressed concern that although the City Administrative Code states that patrolmen and policewomen have equal status, the equality did not apply to promotions (p. 416). She argues that applications from women were not accepted by Civil Service solely due to the sex of the applicants, with only male applications being accepted for promotional consideration (p. 417). After pleading her case for how women could be used as sergeants within the agency, Shpritzer concludes that giving women an opportunity to advance in the same way as men would aid administrators in professionalizing the department, assist with the career progression of employees, and help in recruitment efforts. In the conclusion of her statement, she theorizes that “Perhaps the time is not too distant when women sergeants will be accepted as readily as policewomen and female detectives are now” (p. 419).

In contrast to Shpritzer, Theresa M. Melchionne, Deputy Commissioner of the Police Department, City of New York, indicates in her writings that the detectives were limited to operations involving the welfare of women and children, not in equal status with the male officers (1967). An advocate for equality in policing and in supporting the expansion of the women’s role, Melchionne writes: “This concept of policewoman as a full-fledged member of the force, on an equal basis with their male colleagues, permits use of her unique resources along the entire spectrum of police work, without diminishing the importance of her primary mission with respect to women and children” (p. 258). Appointed as a detective in 1946 and as Director of the Bureau of Policewomen in 1952, Melchionne, in her presentation before the International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1966, states: “Although women have established themselves in law enforcement, policewomen as sworn officers with full police powers remain a markedly underutilized resource in a great many police jurisdictions throughout our nation” (p. 257). In

concluding her presentation, she asks the question as to why policewomen numbers have remained low, stating:

The conferees at the Policewomen's Workshop were of the opinion that the policewomen's progress has been beset by subtle barriers, largely generated by the traditional belief held by many police administrators that police work is essentially a man's job. Limitations in the policewoman's physical strength and endurance are often cited as liabilities to her overall usefulness. Her family responsibilities – particularly the demands of pregnancy and motherhood – are regarded in some quarters as a further impediment. Others generalize that women are more emotional and high strung, therefore less capable of sustaining the pressures of police duties. (p. 260)

Melchionne (1967) closes with a statement that she credits the resistance to the hiring and promotion of police women is a product of cultural bias based on the traditional role and status of women in society (p. 260). During this same year, 1966, an International Association of Chiefs of Police survey of 161 police departments of the largest cities in 47 states, serving over 70 million people, reported that 1,792 female police officers had full police powers, but many cities had no women police officers at all (p. 257). However, once again, there is no description of duties or authority that would enable the IACP to determine if these women were performing the same duties as most police officers, other than continuing to manage the affairs of women and children in the criminal justice system. The writing of Melchionne indicates that women detectives were, at least in the City of New York, limited in scope and authority to matters concerning women and children.

Even though President John F. Kennedy established a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 to ensure equality, according to Mann (2012) the Commission proved ineffective (p. 58). However, it did serve as an early trigger of the Second Wave of Feminism which led to the establishment of the National Organization of Women (N.O.W.) in 1966. N.O.W. hosted their first conference in 1967. This conference led to the drafting of a Women's

Bill of Rights that focused on inequalities such as the workplace, the family and reproductive rights. The membership and supporters of N.O.W., although considered by many to be radical feminists, proved successful through their legislative efforts that were able to open doors for women in many occupations, including policing. An early achievement of these efforts that could be attributed to this new era was the appointment of the first documented women to enter a police department as regular uniformed patrol officers in 1968 when two female officers, Elizabeth Robinson and Betty Blankenship of the Indianapolis, Indiana Police Department, secured that right (City of Indianapolis, 2012). Dressed in skirts with guns in their purses, riding together, they were permitted the same patrol duties as males in marked patrol cars, “headed out into hostile territory” (Snow, 2010, p. 2).

With this historic achievement, the consistent employment of women in policing remained limited until the U.S. Supreme Court reinforced the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment; ruling in *Reed v. Reed* (1971), that discrimination between the sexes was illegal. As a result, in 1971, women in federal law enforcement were permitted to carry guns and perform the duties of their male counterparts. However, women in local and state policing agencies did not realize actual opportunity in entering the field of policing until the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEOC) Act of 1972 when the EEOC was vested with authority to enforce the promises of equal job opportunity made in 1964 by removing the exemption of state and local governments from Title VII. The federal government linked federal funding to local and state agencies, forcing them to follow federal law or forfeit federal money which supplemented their budgets and provided resources. Specifically, passage of the Crime Control Act of 1973 required police agencies to eliminate employment discrimination or lose Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funding, upon which most agencies depended.

Linking federal dollars to employment law, many doors began opening for women in policing. Yet, despite supportive legislation and urgings from police associations, many agencies retained height and weight restrictions, strength and agility tests, differences in written tests, and veterans' preference points which excluded most women from employment opportunities (Martin, 1982; Snow, 2010). Lawsuits involving affirmative action by and on behalf of women and minorities resulted in removing many arbitrary physical standards and forcing police departments to employ women as sworn officers, equal in status and authority to that of male officers (Price, 1996, p. 1). Snow (2010) contends that even today one of the most common methods of discouraging women from applying with police agencies is by continuing to require women to "pass physical agility tests with standards set for men" (p. 81).

The decision by agencies to employ women as police officers was not without its detractors. Aside from the agencies and members themselves, much of the public, many religious and women's groups did not support the movement of women into traditional male roles (Snow, 2010). Some policewomen, themselves, continued to support differences and inequalities between male and women police officers as acceptable. Mary Anderson, a police sergeant in Portland, Oregon wrote in 1973 that women should be prepared for being "the only woman among men and thus may be pinched, patted or played with and should not wear makeup or suggestive clothing" (As cited by Koenig, 1978, p. 269).

As discussed previously, approximately 30 years after women entered policing, the National Center for Women and Policing (Lonsway et al., 2002) conducted the first significant survey of the number of women in police agencies. The survey revealed that women accounted for only 12.7% of all sworn law enforcement positions in large agencies and 8.1% in small and rural agencies. While this reflected an increase from a low of 2% in 1972, this revealed an

overall decrease in women officers between 1999 and 2000 when the percent were 14.3% and 13%, respectively” (p. 2). According to Lonsway et al., “the number of women in state police and highway patrol agencies was even more limited, at less than 5.9%” (p. 7). Of the 20 state police and highway patrol agencies that responded to the Center’s survey, nine states reported women serving at the command level. Four of those states were southern – Louisiana, Georgia, Virginia and Kentucky. They reported only two women serving at the command level; one in Louisiana and one in Kentucky (pp. 21-26). (See Appendix B)

By the mid-1990s, there is a significant change in the philosophy of women which Mann (2010) describes as the Third Wave of Feminism. Brought about by a period which focused more directly on diversity and change, Mann writes that the movement appears to have been centered on the beliefs and desires of younger women who considered earlier movements and the women associated with these movements as out of touch (p. 257). She credits this period as making the greatest strides in bridging the personal and the political – the emancipation of women. During this period, women appeared to gain more equality and were increasing their numbers in traditional male organizations (p. 257). However, the years to follow will demonstrate stagnation and, as the National Center for Women and Policing and the U.S. Bureau of Justice confirm, a decrease in the numbers and the progress of women.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

The issue of gender equality is not merely about the number of women in police organizations or leadership positions, but more about ensuring equal opportunity for success to all of an agency's members. Therefore, the perception of gender equality should not be substantially different whether at the recruitment or command level as the issue of gender roles and the gendered construction and culture of agencies will be evident at all levels of an organization.

This research focused on how 24 former and current state police and highway patrol women troopers and one academy cadet described their experiences within their agencies. In an effort to discover if the failure to obtain employment, remain within policing, achieve desired assignments or advance through the rank structure, particularly to the command level, is a result of gender inequality, they were asked to describe not only their personal experiences, but what they observed within the police culture that has implications for policing as a profession. Allowing the women to speak for themselves, sharing their lived experiences, would reveal if gender role expectations along with the gendered organizational structure and culture of their agencies resulted in depriving them of personal and professional career goals and aspirations.

Ultimately, this research will contribute to the very limited literature on gender role expectations and the gendered organization and culture as it pertains to women in state police and highway patrol agencies. Additionally, the research will have application to all women working within the profession of policing and help others understand the experiences of women in male-dominated organizations such as policing. Their lived experiences can help other women working in male-dominated professions, while potentially changing stereotypes and misperceptions about women in nontraditional roles. As important, their words will assist

researchers and administrators in determining how to remove social cultural barriers, and challenges, whether implicit or explicit, in recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotional opportunities. For the women troopers themselves, the study will validate their personal and professional struggles and demonstrate that their failures to remain in policing, achieve special assignments or promotions may not have been of their making.

This research will seek to answer the following primary question: What effect has gender role expectations and the organizational police structure and culture in state police and highway patrol agencies had on women trooper's experiences and perceptions of equality in recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotional opportunities between 1972 and 2012?

Theory

As stated, the intent of this study is to understand how the influence of gender roles and the structure and culture of state police and highway patrol agencies has shaped and affected lives and behavior in these organizations. In policing, all officers are expected to be in control and act independently. The characteristics attributed to men – strength, aggressiveness, confidence – have application to the lowest level in policing to the top of the leadership chain regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age, or sexual orientation. Evidence of this expectation was exhibited in 2016 when Baton Rouge Police Department Chief Carl Dabadie stated during a public interview about the loss of one of his police officers, “Anytime a police officer puts on a badge, it signifies leadership to the community” (Public speech, July 18, 2016). Therefore, when speaking of leadership within this research, it is not limited to the command level, because women police officers and others face challenges beyond being able to ascend through the ranks.

Women in our society have been assigned certain roles based on the desires and conditions of the dominant gender, men. Because women have been considered the weaker sex

throughout history, they have been assigned jobs that men thought they could or should do. There have been many occasions in which women have occupied the jobs of men and performed equally as well if not superior to men. The most widely known include the period during the World Wars when women performed the jobs of men in security, the aircraft and munitions industries and many others, occupying 65 percent of the work force (*History*, 2016). Many of these women were not doing administrative or desk work; they were building ships, aircraft, and tanks; doing the hard work normally expected of men. According to Levine (1994), the women serving as policewomen during the world war years enjoyed “significant success” (p. 76), which resulted in forcing “a broad rethinking of the role of the police” (p. 76). Yet, when the men came home from the wars, women lost their jobs and returned to homemaking or to jobs associated with women, whether they wanted to go or not.

Men remain disproportionately represented in many occupations in the United States. While women have been slowly gaining access to the jobs associated with men, one exception “has been the public safety sector where police departments have had difficulty in hiring, retaining, and promoting female police officers” (Shelley, et al., 2011, p. 351). They note that some women, even after they obtain employment in policing, may later leave “due to academy training, field training, working in patrol, marriage, parenting, early retirement, or following an injury” (p. 352) as examples that affect hiring and retention.

What has not substantially changed is the argument that policing is a man’s job. Police departments continue to use physical agility and fitness, which negatively impact the entrance of women into the profession. Opinions endure that women are too emotional, too weak, too soft, or not as capable as men (Price, 1996). Additionally, police organizations continue to emphasize masculine images of what is valued and desired by their agencies. According to Britton (2003),

these images, while effectively recruiting males, may dissuade women from entering the profession (p. 353). Additionally, requirements and criteria such as veteran's preference points, can create an additional adverse impact. Most women in the labor market are not veterans.

While the vast majority of police agencies are occupied by male officers at all levels of the organizations, in most cases, men occupy the top tiers of organizations where policy and procedure, recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotion decisions are made. The issue of whether or not women officers can be successful in policing, based on socially constructed characteristics, begins with a discussion about gender role expectations and stereotypes, followed by a discussion about the structure and culture of police organizations.

The role of gender.

Gendered social interaction is directed by the status of the persons involved. According to Lindsey (2010), *status* is a position within a social system that one occupies (p. 2). This position is acquired by personal achievement and ascription through birth or life cycle attainment and it determines how the person will be defined and treated (p. 2). Gender, race, and social class are considered the "most important ascribed statuses" (p. 2) and are no indication of rank or prestige within the social system. According to Lindsey, each society creates its own system of social stratification that ranks statuses. Marger (2010) states that in no society do men and women rank equally, nor are they treated equally (p. 17). She suggests that one must look beyond individual behavior to the social forces that shape actions because it is these structural forces, society's cultural norms and values, that lead to inequality, particularly in capitalist societies where the "efforts of powerful individuals and organizations seek to protect their privilege and power" (p. 25).

Role, on the other hand, is the behavior displayed that is expected based on social norms in certain situations. Social norms determine the privileges and responsibilities associated with a specific status. Examples of this are the expected roles of males and females within households or employment. These anticipated roles, based on society's expectations, create stereotypes that can lead to confusion and, therefore, discrimination (Marger, 2010, p. 2). These expectations are status characteristics and roles that members of a group hold for themselves and others which are socially constructed; associated with particular characteristics and distinct performance expectations (Berger, Conner, & Fisek, 1974). These status characteristics result in stereotypes, often consisting of negative connotations and are used to justify discrimination. Bourdieu (1990) explains this in his concept of *habitus* that posits how practices are socially conditioned and a reflection of the construction of identity. Both the family and school act as reproductive agents in socializing an individual (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Gender, as described earlier, is concerned with masculine or feminine traits that are learned through social, cultural and psychological links which reflects the attitudes and behaviors associated with each sex. Unlike sex, gender is not automatic and it is gender which links males and females to categories (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & Van Engen, 2003). In most societies, women are deemed inferior and are ascribed lower status with less power and prestige. In male-dominated social structures, such as policing, a system of patriarchy prevails where women are expected to meet the standards established by males and are considered inadequate or less capable if they do not. Berger, et al. (1974) attribute this to expectation theory which suggests that men and women are judged based on the categories to which they belong. Gender should not be confused with sex which is the biological

characteristics that distinguish between male and female (Lindsey, 2010), although recent research and philosophy no longer ascribes sex to only one of two categories.

Gender is a system of power relations; a social practice that is continually created and reconstituted by the activities of people, resulting in an unequal distribution of power between men and women that is often unrecognized or denied (Connell, 1987). Gender can, also, be an institution that constrains and facilitates individual behavior and results in an unequal allocation of resources, power, privilege, and opportunities (Chafetz, 1990). Kanter (1977) argued that the gender differences in organizational behavior are a result of structure instead of the individual attributes of men and women and that the difficulties women experience in organizations are due to their placement within the organization (pp. 291-292).

Lindsey (2010) stated that power relationships in society are a product of one social class exerting power over another (p. 5). From a structural functionalist perspective, society is made of interdependent parts in which each member has its own role to play and “role specialization according to gender was considered a functional necessity” (p. 5). Consequently, functionalism tends to support male dominance. Conflict theorists, on the other hand, suggest that the social classes of each society are in a never-ending struggle for scarce resources which results in the dominance of one class over another. This philosophy is shared with Karl Marx who said that the “freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another” (Marx and Engels, 1948, p. 9). Marx and Engels describe economic conflict between two social classes where there is a continual struggle for power and dominance. The oppressors are the owners of the means of production, the *bourgeoisie*, and the oppressed are the workers, the *proletariats*. This macrosociological perspective of class struggle is at the core of Marxism where economic and

social conditions of people's lives are controlled by the *bourgeoisie* who always have the upper hand due to their access and control of resources. This, according to Marx, allows the *bourgeoisie* to determine what society knows, accepts, and values. This system is preserved through the exercise of the power of one social class over another. Marx attributed inequality to the control of productive resources. Simply put, society is divided into the have and have nots. Those without resources can only offer their labor in exchange for resources, causing conflict which ultimately results in social change.

Engels (1942) broadened Marx's writings in applying the roles of *bourgeoisie* and *proletariat* to the gender roles of master-slave and exploiter-exploited within families. His argument that the household is an autocracy where the husband rules supreme and women's domestic labor is discounted became even more relevant when women began entering the work force in large numbers. Women were devalued in the work place and at home where women retained responsibility for the household. Engels wrote "The emancipation of woman will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims but an insignificant amount of her time" (pp. 41-43).

Max Weber agreed with Marx that societal relationships were a source of conflict but differed from Marx in thinking instead that conflict through various class divisions was inevitable and tolerable since society accepted those with wealth, power and prestige imposing their values on others. Weber agreed that there was hierarchy based on economic factors but recognized other factors that could influence one's opportunities (life chances) such as skills and expertise, status, and political rank. Additionally, Weber recognized the bureaucracy of modern organizations as providing elite power which allowed for imposing one's will on others. Therefore, one's organizational position provides more power than wealth and creates a

stratification system which results in structured inequalities based on economic position, race, ethnicity and gender. Weber argued that social conflict is a basic fact of life and offers this as an explanation as to why the distribution of wealth, power and status leads to discrimination in society, a system which he found normal and acceptable (As cited by Marger, 2010, pp. 26-43).

Some feminists in our society would support the arguments of Marx, Engels and Weber. They would likely concur that women are oppressed due to their social position and class inequality due to their economic position. They would also argue that the core concept of this inequality can be attributed to patriarchy, the male-dominated social system in which they live, linking gender in its relation to power at the socio-structural level. Feminism is a general term describing those who agree that women experience social and material inequities because of their biological and socio-structural position within society. However, there are numerous forms of feminism and diverse opinions about the causes and solutions to the subordination of women in our society. For example, patriarchy and the oppression of women is the focus of radical feminism. Mainstream feminism, also known as liberal feminism, focuses on equal opportunity and does not accept that society has to be completely restructured to attain equality. Some feminist perspectives use a conflict theory approach to understand the nature of gender inequality by examining women's social roles, experiences and interests. "The feminist perspective is compatible with conflict theory in its assertions that structured social inequality is maintained by ideologies that are frequently accepted by both the privileged and the oppressed" (Lindsey, 2010, p. 12). Lanier and Henry (2010) summarize the distinctions between the various forms of feminism in stating that Marxist feminists want to defeat capitalism, socialist feminists are concerned with patriarchy but not capitalism, radical feminists want to abolish gender and liberal

feminists want only to abolish patriarchy. Credit is generally given to the liberal feminists for moving women into previously all-male occupations such as policing.

An additional consideration for the oppression and marginalization of women is the concept of hegemonic masculinity. According to Messerschmidt (1993), this represents the cultural ideal of masculinity where masculine traits such as competitiveness, aggressiveness, autonomy, and individualism are valued, while feminine traits such as intimacy, connection, cooperation, nurturance, are downplayed (p. 82). His theories of masculinity are based on a belief that socialization and gender roles explain the differences in males and females.

Hegemonic masculinity is thoroughly embedded into the police culture (Haarr, 2005; Prokos & Padavic, 2002) and any characteristics of the job considered feminine devalues the contributions that women bring to police work (Shelley, et al., 2011, p. 353).

The characterization of women as *communal* further complicates departures from role expectations, particularly when leadership traits are associated with masculinity (Eagly, 1987, p. 133). Studies to determine the relationship between sex role stereotypes and characteristics perceived as necessary for management success were conducted in Japan, China, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. The studies revealed that males and females associated successful managers' leadership qualities with males. Further, the respondents indicated that both men and leaders possess *agentic* traits such as aggressiveness, dominance, and competence rather than the *communal* traits associated with women indicating that sex-typing is a global phenomenon (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996). Schein et al. refer to this phenomenon as "think manager – think male" (p. 33).

The incongruity between stereotypes of men and managers is one of the main obstacles facing women in the male organizational culture (Eagly & Sczesny, 2009). The norms which

define the qualities required for advancement are ascribed to the male model of leadership (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Eagly (1987) attributes this problem to the historical distribution of men and women into certain roles, resulting in people observing more men than women in roles associated with leadership (p. 135). Salas-Lopes, Deitrick, Mahady, Gertner, and Sabino (2011) support this viewpoint by writing that people identify strongly with the male prototype of leadership. This results in the model of a leader as male from which, subsequently, all leaders are judged (p. 34).

Kramer (2010) wrote that stereotypes and role expectations continue to be “perpetuated by family, educational institutions, peers, organizational membership and the media” (p. 44). He characterizes the family as being the most influential source of role socialization beginning at an early age where girls and boys are steered toward certain occupations and behaviors. Girls are encouraged to play dress up, be nurses, teachers, and homemakers while boys are told to be police, firemen, soldiers, construction workers, engineers, doctors and lawyers. Freeman, Bourque, and Shelton (2001) argue that “work and family are the arenas that must be structurally degendered for real change to take place in a gendered society” (p. 68). They further theorize that only through degendering parenting will the workplace be degendered (p. xi).

The media is one of the most influential mediums for forming understanding and perpetuating “occupational stereotypes for men and women and stereotypical behaviors within those roles” (Kramer, 2010, p. 37). According to Kramer, the images of women police officers depicted by the media indicate that the public has unrealistic expectations of police women. While the images of women police officers perpetrated by the media is not the subject of the research, only recently has there been some portrayal of strong women in leadership roles. The

researcher did not locate any empirical research that demonstrated results of recent shifts in some of the media representations of women (p. 37).

Yet, Price (1996) argued that “The biggest challenge facing women officers is the resistance displayed by male officers in their attitudes towards women in policing” (p. 2).

Women seeking to occupy leadership positions, or even roles normally attributed to men such as police, violate traditional gender stereotypes and face a variety of obstacles, especially with male colleagues and agency leadership. Some women choose to model their behavior after male police officers to emulate masculine characteristics, which is described as female workers engaging in and benefiting from doing masculinity in male-dominated organizations (Connell, 1995; Martin, 1998).

Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992) conducted experiments designed to test biases against women and “found that women in leadership positions are devalued more frequently relative to their male counterparts when leadership was carried out in a stereotypically masculine style” (p. 47). In fact, women who violated their gender role were deemed to have less leadership potential. Eagly et al. explains that people are expected to act within prescribed societal gender roles which causes conflicting roles between perceptions of women and leaders. “To be a woman, one must act like a woman.... To be leader; one must act in a stereotypical masculine manner” (p. 49). This creates a complicated situation of lose-lose for women. If they exhibit the style associated with male leadership, often dominating or autocratic, they are “less well received” (p. 47); if they display interpersonal or democratic styles, they are considered to not possess leadership traits. As Acker (2006) explained, “Women enacting power violate conventions of relative subordination to men, risking the label of ‘witches’ or ‘bitches” (p. 447).

Aside from the expectation that leaders exhibit masculine characteristics, a small study by Britton (1999) found evidence that in both male and female dominated occupations that men and women alike preferred working in male-dominated institutions with male supervisors and coworkers. She attributed this to the perception that women were more problematic to work with and were seen as less rational, more emotional, and messier than men (p. 469). This could indicate that both males and females do not prefer to work with or for women, regardless of their leadership styles. Yet, a meta-analysis of 45 studies by Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen (2003) found that female leaders were more transformational than male leaders and engaged more in contingent reward behaviors while males were likely to manifest negative aspects of leadership associated with negative styles of leadership (p. 569).

Another challenge facing many women, particularly at the command level, is when they encounter what Kulich, Ryan, and Haslam (2007) termed the glass cliff. They explain that the glass cliff presents itself when there is an increased risk of failure primarily due to organizational factors when women are given difficult jobs then denied access to information (p. 158). Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich (1985) attributed this concept to the idea of the romance of leadership which links the tendency to attribute successes and failures to organizational leaders. They noted that the most prevalent reasons given for leadership failure is being excluded from informal networks that provide support to men and leaving women to “take on a disproportionate share of the blame when things go wrong” (p. 157). This view is shared by Reingold (2016) who reported that this is one explanation for the selection and removal of women CEOs. They were “brought in to shake things up, head in a new direction, or fix some problem that probably can’t be fixed. Then when the corporate crisis is not resolved, corporations return to what they know, the white male who is the symbol of success” (p. 1).

Organizational structure and culture.

Aside from the difficulties created by the gender of the individual is the idea of gendered institutions. “The positing of gender-neutral and disembodied organizational structures and work relations is part of the larger strategy of control in industrial capitalist societies, which, at least partly, are built upon a deeply embedded substructure of gender difference” (Acker, 1990, p. 139). Pointing to the large state and economic organizations at the national and world level, she explains that most of us work in organizations that are almost always dominated by men and where the most powerful organizational positions are occupied by men (p. 139). She further explains that that these institutions were developed by men, dominated by men, symbolically interpreted from the standpoint of men, and defined by the absence of women (Acker, 1992, p. 567). She continues that “images of men’s bodies and masculinity pervade organizational processes, marginalizing women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organizations” (Acker, 1990, p. 139).

As the “most visible representation of the presence of the state” (Manning, 1997, p. 97), the organizational structure and culture of law enforcement agencies and officers are determined by the dominant gender. Policing, a semisecret society, isolated by choice from other organizations not within the criminal justice system (p.102), are structured where communication is top-down and autocratic. These organizations have clear lines of command where those in authority give orders and others follow (Kramer, 2010, p. 107). Kramer stated “The importance of hierarchal boundaries is reinforced by behavior norms” (p. 107) that distinguishes between different levels within the organization that Schein (2015) would define “as the ways things are done around here” (p. 9). This obedience socialization and military command supervision

distorts the true nature of police work and impedes the flexibility of the organization or the situational effects of a leaders' behavior (Jermier & Berkes, 1979, p. 17).

In policing, as a military model of leadership, the law enforcement leader functions as the Chief Operating Officer (CEO). The CEO sets the tone of the organization and has the predominant influence on the organization's structure, culture, functions, policies, and personnel actions. Kramer (2010) explains that an indicator of an organization's culture is in its management theory or philosophy where "each management theory has assumptions that indicate certain values ...and pervades organizational attitudes and practices" (p. 105). Police agencies themselves are based on the classical management theory where "they all represent very structured, fairly rigid, and autocratic approaches to management" (p. 105). According to Kramer, other management styles such as human relations management theory, human resource management theory and teamwork theory would be challenging, particularly since the practices, rituals and norms of a classically managed organization are so different from the other theoretical forms (p. 107).

Acker conducted extensive research on gender roles and gendered institutions and predicted that:

- Men will be advantaged in organizational settings over their female co-workers,
- Skills identified with men will be rewarded more than those associated with women,
- Male workers and male-dominated organizations will be constructed as ideal types, and
- Gendered advantages will be perpetuated in both personal and impersonal ways, through policy, organizational structure, ideology, interactions among workers, and in the construction and maintenance of individual identities. (Acker, 1990, 1992 as cited by Britton, 1999, p. 456)

Acker (1992) explains that these gendered processes control work and expectations (p. 140). She uses four gendered processes to explain why women have difficulty adapting and advancing in male-dominated organizations, such as law enforcement agencies. She refers to

these processes as hegemonic masculinity, control and segregation, doing gender, and gendered personas. In her first theory, hegemonic masculinity, she discusses how images, symbols and ideologies reinforce the maleness and masculinity of institutions and marginalize female employees. Images of men's bodies and masculinity pervade organizational processes, marginalizing women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organizations.

Supporting research by Acker (1990, 1992), Prokos and Padavic (2002) suggests that police institutions and male officers use masculine images to symbolize what a cop should look like or be and to enhance their sense of masculinity (p. 442). These images and symbols convey what is desired by the agency and its employees and frequently do not include images of women. An example is the use of photos of S.W.A.T. (Special Weapons and Tactics) officers or other photos that project strength and extraordinary police jobs, often units that typically exclude women, in their recruiting and agency resources (Gascon & Schaefer, 2003, as cited by Shelley et al., 2011, p. 353). Male officers cling to the image and reject the more realistic image of police doing what might be considered feminine aspects of policing such as paperwork and social services (Prokos & Padavic, 2002, p. 442).

Organizational images influence potential applicant's decisions to apply to organizations through their effects on attraction and expectancies according to a study by Collins and Stevens (2001). The delivery of these images extends beyond recruitment strategies to include web pages, brochures, job postings, social media, and social relationships derived from employees (p. 18). Not only do masculine images such as S.W.A.T send a clear signal that women cannot meet these expectations, they may actually dissuade women from an interest in the policing profession

because the images do not reflect a fair assessment of the many activities for which police are responsible.

Acker (1992) posits that in the second process, control and segregation, deliberate decision-making and practices are used to control, segregate, and exclude women (pp. 146-153). The military-type hierarchical style of management and control is an important location of male dominance and results in a club for men that “has a strict hierarchy (white males first, then black and other minority males, then white females, black females, and finally, gay males)” (Fletcher, 1995, p. xix). Additionally, organizational policies and practices reinforce the belief that women are incapable of performing the constructed male role (Balkin, 1988, p. 29), but while not all women can handle all police jobs, neither can all men (p. 32). These factors have implications for assignment and promotional opportunities for women that are connected to Acker’s third and fourth processes of “doing gender” and “gendered personas” (Acker, 1990, pp. 146-153; 1992, p. 568).

Martin’s (1978) research found that female police officers are often excluded from critical forms of occupational solidarity because of their difference. In some cases, females may be considered inadequate or a safety hazard (Martin, 1980), leaving little room for error and causing resulting stereotypes to be applied to all females (Martin & Jurik, 1996). Interpreted as a signal that they are not wanted or do not belong can affect the retention and longevity of some females in an already underrepresented group. Inclusion is essential in policing where police officers must rely on other officers for support and assistance (Martin, 1978). When the perception is that an agency has lowered its standards, or provided preferential treatment to women, or minorities, the results can be a hostile work environment that further disadvantages them. Kanter (1977) discovered that females are assigned labels such as mother, sex object, kid

sister, or women's liberationist or worse, outcast (pp. 232-236). All of these labels show no direct correlation to the task analysis of actual police work but marginalize and diminish the value and esteem of women as police officers (Hughes, 2011; Kanter, 1977; Martin & Jurik, 2007).

Acker (2006), building on her earlier work, continues her argument that "much of social and economic inequality in the United States and other industrial countries is created in organizations" (p. 441). Citing much of her earlier work, Acker (pp. 442-443) discusses the inequalities in organizations which are based on work and power relations. She defines inequality in organizations as: "systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources, and outcomes; workplace decisions such as how to organize work; opportunities for promotion and interesting work; security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards; respect; and pleasure in work and work relations" (p. 443). Acker links inequalities to the historical, political, and cultural society in which the organization is situated and to the socially constructed differences between men and women along with beliefs that support difference. Noting that organizations are hierarchal which are typically gendered and racialized, she states that the top positions within organizations are most often occupied by white males (p. 445).

According to Acker (2006), the gender patterns created in hierarchical organizations also influence the recruitment and hiring of bodies that determine the "ideal worker" (p. 449). Explaining that "the gender and race of the applicant and the decision-maker affects judgment often resulting in decisions that white males are the more competent, more suited to the job" (p. 450). Once employed, informal interactions are impacted by gender and continuously create inequalities and the devaluing of women. Acker suggests that there is explicit evidence of these

practices such as failing to listen to women in meetings, not inviting them to formal and informal events, sexual harassment, and differential expectations. One outcome of these issues is that those advantaged in the gendered organization often accept the differences and trust the advantages are deserved, which she describes as “the legitimacy of male and white privilege” (p. 454).

Kanter (1977) maintains that differences in organizations are due more to their structure than the characteristics of men and women as individuals (pp. 291-292). She argues that the problems women have in organizations are due to their structural placement within the organizations noting that organizational roles “carry characteristic images of the kinds of people that should occupy them” (pp. 291-292). She continued that there were so few women leaders in large organizations that the organizational structure and culture shaped the behavior of women (pp. 299-300).

Adams, Blumenfeld, Castaneda, Hackman, Peters, and Zuniga (2000) defined structural discrimination as the policies of dominant race, ethnic, or gender institutions and the behavior of the individuals who implement these policies and control these institutions (p. 6). They state that this form of discrimination is a primary obstacle for women in policing because they are embedded in informal values and principle. They concluded that “it [discrimination] is not intentional and it is not illegal; it is carrying on as business as usual. Confronting structural discrimination requires the reexamination of basic cultural values and fundamental principles of social organization” (p. 35). They are convinced that defeating structural discrimination would inevitably lead to more recruitment, retention and the advancement of women in policing.

Hughes (2011) addressed the issue of structural discrimination in his research and, also, concluded that both law enforcement agencies and the corporate world need to improve their

structure, policies, informal beliefs and attitudes in an effort to reduce or eliminate the existing disparate treatment towards women (p. 12). Structural discrimination was summed up by the former Chief Executive at Golden West Financial when he stated; “The people who are in a position of authority promote after their own image” (Epstein, 1997, p. 1). This is indicative of the belief that men promote people they are comfortable with, other men. The men favor people that they can drink with, play or discuss sports with, communicate with and trust. Men share similar interests and backgrounds, common socialization and most of the power. Acker (1990) gives an example involving the military and sports where all-male groups casual talk about sex or sports. She posits that “These symbolic expressions of male dominance also act as significant controls over women in work organizations because they are per se excluded from the informal bonding men produce with the body talk of sex and sports” (p. 153) further limiting their opportunities for acceptance.

Chafetz (1990) supports this theory and aligns with Marx in thinking that the knowledge people have of society reflects the experience and desires of those who economically and politically rule the social world and dictate the rules:

When men have advantages in the macro-level division of labor, they are also more likely to be incumbents in those elite societal positions to which power resources accrue. The more males control these elite power positions, the more likely the distribution of opportunities in both power and work roles outside the home will favor men over women. Once this situation exists, the attitudes and behaviors in work roles will continue to give men advantages, because these roles will be viewed as attributes favoring men over women. Indeed, the attributes of women will often be negatively evaluated, thereby perpetuating the advantage of men in competition with women for those positions generating material and power resources. This process is exacerbated because men control elite positions in the broader society and can, therefore, perpetuate definitions of worth that favor men. (p. 220)

Bourdieu (2001) offers this as one explanation for the tendencies of both males and females and provides insight into the social character of beliefs about leadership that are highly

gendered (p. 104). It is important to remember that policing is a male-dominated profession and, as stated previously, the issue of leadership within the profession of policing is not limited to the promotional or career opportunities of police; leadership qualities are a basic professional requirement expected of all police officers. The problem for women is exacerbated when leadership qualities are equated with masculinity, resulting in devaluing traits considered feminine or forcing women to prove themselves by acting more masculine to be accepted or successful.

Factors that lead to occupational segregation and the devaluing of women go beyond the hierarchal quasi-military structure and culture of organizations as discrimination in professions like policing and firefighting continue not only to exist, but to flourish. For example, the Bureau of Labor reported in 2014 that only 5% percent of firefighters are women, less than half the percent of women police officers (p. 1). The professions of police and firefighters are noble and sought by women, but evidence suggests that women are not yet welcomed as equal partners in serving society in these jobs.

Lonsway et al. (2003, p. 3) and Snow (2010, p. 142) argued that there is empirical data that supports the position that woman officers perform their duties as well as their male counterparts, and, in some areas, better. However, Gerber (2001) expressed concern that women officers may never be considered as effective as men and questioned whether this perception of women police officers may be due to the low status women occupy within police agencies, based primarily on their lack of physical strength and different character traits. While Gerber acknowledges that the ability to communicate, a positive trait attributed to women, is vital, it remains assumed that women officers are just not as capable as men (p. xiii).

The courts have consistently held that agencies must use tests that demonstrate that the tests are job related and consistent with business necessity. Yet, according to Lonsway et al. (2003) and Schuck (2014), the agility tests that continue to be used to screen applicants appear arbitrary as there is no standard consensus among law enforcement agencies regarding the physical requirements of policing that can predict successful job performance (p. 10). Additionally, the physical aspect of police work is often based on the basic patrol structure standpoint and not the majority of police duties (Hughes, 2011, p. 8) where the majority of police work is sedentary and requires more social interaction than physical activity (Garcia, 2003). For example, the following table summarizes the specific physical agility test components utilized by the agencies responding to the Lonsway et al. survey (p. 5), revealing no consistency or agreement as to what the requirements should be.

| Physical Agility Test Components Used by Responding Departments (N=55) | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| Test Component | General Category | Number of Agencies | Number in Timed Obstacle Course |
| Other Run (not 1.5 mile) | Running | 27 | 13 |
| Dummy Drag | Upper Body | 27 | 18 |
| Solid Wall Climb | Upper Body | 25 | 19 |
| Sit-ups | Miscellaneous | 23 | 0 |
| Agility Run | Running | 21 | 19 |
| 1.5 Mile Run | Running | 20 | 0 |
| Push-ups | Upper Body | 19 | 0 |
| Sit and Reach Flexibility | Flexibility | 18 | 0 |
| Grip Strength/Trigger Pull | Miscellaneous | 16 | 10 |
| Stairs | Agility | 14 | 10 |
| Under Low Barrier | Agility | 14 | 13 |
| Over Low Hurdle | Agility | 13 | 11 |
| Chain Link Fence | Upper Body | 10 | 6 |
| Ditch Jump | Agility | 10 | 8 |
| Upper Body | Upper Body | 7 | 4 |
| Window Opening | Agility | 7 | 7 |
| Ladder Climb | Agility | 6 | 5 |
| Enter/Exit Vehicle | Miscellaneous | 6 | 6 |
| Balance/Stability | Balance/Stability | 5 | 4 |
| Bench Press | Upper Body | 5 | 0 |
| Vehicle Push | Upper Body | 5 | 4 |
| Victim Carry | Upper Body | 4 | 1 |
| Vertical Jump | Lower Body | 3 | 0 |
| Ammunition Load | Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 |
| Leg Press | Lower Body | 2 | 0 |
| Suspect ID | Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 |
| Stationary Bike | Miscellaneous | 1 | 0 |
| Swimming | Miscellaneous | 1 | 1 |
| <i>Source: NCWP, 2003 (footnote 7). Test components are listed in order of decreasing frequency.</i> | | | |

Table 2: Physical Agility Test Components

Additionally, Lonsway et al. (2003) argued that physical agility tests have simply replaced the height and weight standards previously used as screening methods for police officers and have created an even greater negative impact on women (p. 3). Their 2003 survey of 62 police agencies discovered that 89% of the responding agencies used physical agility testing

in the employment process. One hundred percent of the state agencies that responded used agility testing in its employment screening. Those agencies that did not use an agility test in employment screening had 45% more women on the force than those who used agility tests (p. 2). The research supports that more women would likely enter the field of policing if physical agility and strength requirements were eliminated or modified (Garcia, 2003; Lonsway et al., 2003; Snow, 2010).

While there is empirical evidence that demonstrates that physical fitness has many benefits (American Heart Association, 2012; Mayo Clinic, 2011), what that level of fitness should be to qualify and work as a police officer has not been located during this research. Lonsway et al. (2003) discovered that when incumbents were tested at several agencies under review, a significant number failed the fitness test (p. 5). Noting that there were no documented cases of negative outcomes due to the lack of strength or aggression exhibited by a female officer, police officers are not generally killed in the line of duty because of physical weakness (p. 5).

One study by the National Institute of Justice (1999) found that in over 7500 researched arrest situations, some type of force was used approximately 20% of the time in making the arrest. However, Corsianos (2009) questions the value of using the physical strength of both men and women as an assessment tool. She thinks that physical fitness requirements to be a police officer reflect “patriarchal sexist ideologies” (p. 66) and argues that police agencies should instead utilize the value of communications and police tools, particularly with the advancements in law enforcement technology.

Price (1996) argues that many agencies have departmental policies that work to the detriment of women noting that police officers are seldom fired or arrested for lacking a physical

skill (p. 3), but more often from non-utilization of non-traditional competencies such as communication, problem solving, analytical thinking and ethical decision-making (Hughes, 2011, p. 8). Snow (2010) takes this assessment one step further by discounting the common belief that police work is too dangerous for women. Conceding that the job is more dangerous than most jobs women have, he cites the top ten most dangerous jobs in 2008 as: “logger, pilot, fisher, iron or steel worker, garbage collector, farmer or rancher, roofer, electrical power installer or repairer, sales, delivery, or other truck driver, and taxi driver or chauffer” (p. 111). Lonsway et al. (2003) argue that training is the primary factor, not strength or agility, in preventing the injury and death of police officers, where most police fatalities are caused by gunfire and automobile accidents (p. 5).

The limitations placed on women due to perceptions that women do not possess the equivalent leadership qualities, as those demonstrated by men, as discussed throughout this research, have resulted in hindering the ability of women to advance and have created glass walls (Grube-Farrell, 2002, p. 333). Further, segregation has linked women to “occupational niching/stereotypes, gender role socialization, and self-selection” (p. 335). As evidenced by numerous studies such as Gerber (2001), Lonsway et al. (2002) and Schulz (2003), law enforcement executives (the command level) are overwhelmingly male so the absence of women within their agencies and at the command level are not a major concern. As stated previously, the profession of policing, whether at the entry or command level, requires the perception of leadership ability due to the nature of the work and the maleness of the profession. Women not being regarded as leaders in the same way that men are can prevent the advancement of women and cause them to lose opportunities or positions based on nothing more than the perception of maleness as it pertains to leadership characteristics. Additionally, this perception can preclude

women from gaining and retaining professional respect, resulting in additional bias, inequality and marginalization.

Significance of the study.

Policing continues to be one of the most gendered professions in the United States where the percent of women in policing is well below that of the general work force. The U.S. Bureau of Labor (2014) does not list police, fire, or first responders as a separate category because the numbers are not substantial. While there is limited research concerning the retention and advancement of women police, evidence does suggest that gender inequality continues to be a factor in policing. This research sought to add to the body of existing literature with regard to how women who worked and have worked in the male-dominated occupation of policing perceive gender equality within their profession. An initial stereotype that prevails is that women may not possess the ability to perform the duties of a police officer which would, consequently, put the public, other police officers, and the police officers themselves at risk (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007, p. 18). A lack of physical strength, emotional stability, or an inability to maintain an authoritarian presence have all been cited as reasons to deny women equal access to employment, special assignments and promotions (Price, 1996). There are important implications for this research. Will the women of this study, who successfully performed the job, verify that physical strength and agility or some other difference is so critical that this should continue to be used as a mechanism for screening women out or for denying women access to employment, specialized assignments or promotions?

Balkin (1988) reported that “policemen see police work as involving control through authority, while policewomen see it as a public service” and “...in some respects women are better suited for police work than men” (p. 29). Seklecki and Paynich (2007) found that 29.8% of

women listed “to help people” (p. 24) as their primary motivation for entering law enforcement, but other strong motivators were job security and that every day the job is different. The stated reasons for women entering policing paralleled those of many of the male respondents.

A one-year study of policewomen on patrol in Washington D.C. between 1972 and 1973 found that arrests made by both male and female police officers were equally apt to produce convictions; patrol skills were rated similarly by supervisors; both achieved similar results in managing angry or violent citizens; both worked equally well with their partners; and both received similar levels of respect and satisfaction from citizens (Koenig, 1978). Nevertheless, policemen do not accept as true that policewomen are equal to them in patrol skills, prefer a male partner, and have not changed their attitude towards policewomen since the study began. He also discovered that the male officers who strongly opposed women police on patrol have less education and think that the number of arrests should be a measure of performance (pp. 270-271). According to Koenig, this study has been conducted in numerous police agencies with similar findings (pp. 271).

Martin and Jurik (2007, pp. 222-223) and Lonsway et al. (2002, p. 3) hypothesized that men and women perform their policing duties differently; therefore, police departments should hire more women. Belknap (1996, p. 145) offered an alternative explanation stating that women may not be receiving as many complaints or getting involved in use of force incidents because women have historically been assigned to women’s jobs, such as administration and working with special populations like women and children where there is less likelihood of high levels of force that results in complaints. There is some evidence to support Belknap’s theory as Snow (2010) suggests that once employed, women are often relegated to “female” jobs as those that existed prior to the 1970s (p. 145). The belief that women are better at some jobs than others

appears to prevail in the desire for recruiting and assigning women. For example, a 2014 recruitment drive by U.S. Customs and Border Protection Commissioner Gil Kerlikowske called for more women due to the significant increase of women and families crossing the Mexican border. Listed as one of the primary factors for the recruitment effort aimed at women, he also said women are valuable because of the skills they bring to the job, that they do a better job than men in some areas, and they bring a perspective and negotiating skill to law enforcement that they need (O'Connell, 2014, p.1).

There is no empirical data that supports the inferiority of women or that women may be better police officers because they use less force, receive fewer complaints, or have fewer civil liability payouts as a result of their actions (Balkin, 1988; Martin, 1980, 1990; Martin & Jurik, 2007). The belief that women are naturally better at some jobs than men may be one reason women continue to be viewed as matrons and assigned to female jobs (Corsianos, 2009; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Snow, 2010).

Along with the difficulties that women face in gender role expectations, police agencies remain primarily closed cultures where the inner workings are hidden from all those outside the blue wall as described by Manning (1980) where the inner workings are hidden from all those outside the wall (pp. 142-143). Additionally, police agencies maintain symbols and language associated with the profession that continues to reinforce the masculinity of policing. These symbols, language, rituals and norms are a manifestation of an organization's culture (Kramer, 2010) and "contribute to members' understanding of the organization's value" (p. 99). As illustration, women continue to wear police uniforms and equipment designed for men, speak the language normally associated with men, and meet the physical standards associated with what men are expected to do.

People construct their realities from the symbols around them through interaction; the beliefs of women and men can be anchored in what they perceive (Cutcliffe, 2000). Corsianos (2009, pp. 85-87) and Lonsway et al. (2002, p. 2) attribute this to the hegemonic practices found in policing which demonstrate the importance the job places on masculinity, thereby keeping women on the margins. Some hegemonic practices involve the types of equipment, occupational segregation, and the influence of the brotherhood and how it operates within the organizational structure. As Acker (1990) explains, “Male sexual imagery pervades organizational metaphors and language” (p. 152) giving form to the organization and providing symbolic expressions of male dominance, legitimizing organizational power (pp. 152-153). Aside from ill-fitting uniforms often designed for the male body, police wear bulletproof vests that, even when measured properly, do not easily fit women, causing obstructions and limiting access to equipment carried. In addition, gun belts, which ride higher than normal on the female body, because the pants are often designed for men, are loaded with equipment that are offer life-saving tools. Some of this equipment such as the police radio, gun and holster, handcuffs, extra ammunition magazine pouches are mandatory, not leaving much room for other essential equipment such as a less-than-lethal device, OC (Oleoresin Capsicum which has peppers as its active ingredient) sprays, batons, and tourniquets. Some women who may be smaller than many men, may have to make choices about what to carry if everything does not fit on the limited space provided. Women officers have to decide about the importance and usefulness of these items along with the implications associated with not having access to them, if needed (Lonsway et al., 2002; Corsianos, 2009). Additionally, most agencies require certain types of weapons. These weapons may not fit well into the smaller hands of women, putting women at even greater risk in a volatile situation. Forcing women to work with uniforms and equipment that does not fit

properly or is not easily operable put women in peril and make it harder for them to do their jobs (Garrett, 2012). Police administrators in England were shocked to learn that policewomen were being forced to wear uniforms and equipment designed for men (Williams, 2009). A five-year study on gender concluded that the criminal justice system in England was “institutionally sexist” and discriminatory against women (p. 1). The government called for an end to this “crazy practice.” (p. 1).

The issues associated with equipment, uniforms, maternity leave, sexual harassment policies, and childcare considerations cause a level of frustration for women. They may also, isolate women from positions that require wearing certain uniforms and special equipment in divisions such as patrol, specialized units like S.W.A.T., or specific enforcement divisions (Polisar & Milgram, 1998). This not only causes occupational segregation but may limit women’s opportunities for promotions within or over these divisions and may further reinforce the belief that women do not belong or cannot cut it. This segregation also creates a gap that widens the separateness that exists between men and women in the comradeship of the organization, putting women on the outside looking in.

Brown (1981) and Doerner (1995) (as cited by Seklecki & Paynich, 2007) stated that the importance and value of peer support and acceptance cannot be understated (p. 17). The self-perception of the individual officer with respect to how well they are treated as equal members of an agency is vital both personally and professionally (p. 19). When specific jobs are gendered in the minds of the officers, supervisors and administrators, these issues have implications that not only marginalize the women and can restrict assignments and promotions, but also, creates safety concerns because administrators may not have the needs of women officers in mind when selecting equipment, uniforms, assignments, or training. This is not to suggest that women

present problems or obstacles; considering the opportunities and special needs of all employees, due to the inherent hazards of this profession, should be first and foremost on any police employee's minds, especially those of administrators and supervisors. (Lonsway et al., 2002; Corsianos, 2009).

Research indicates that the progress made by women in policing has come primarily through legal mandates rather than from executive leadership in organizations (Ramson, 1993). Grube-Farrell (2002) noted that court orders were responsible for the employment of women as patrol officers in six cities with the highest number of women officers – Pittsburgh, Toledo, Miami, Washington DC, Detroit, and Philadelphia. However, when the court orders expired, the number of women officers decreased, suggesting a possible link between legal action and opportunities for women (p. 338). Lonsway et al. (2003) concurred that the biggest gains for women in sworn law enforcement came as a result of consent decrees and other court-ordered mandates. Their study demonstrated that decrees and mandates were associated with “a pace of progress that is double that for agencies without such a decree” (p. 2). This included state police and highway patrol agencies who reported a 43% higher gain in the number of women police officers than those agencies without decrees or mandates (p. 1). Their study also determined that the effectiveness of the decrees and mandates were impacted by agency leadership. Finding that consent decrees and mandates were unlikely to succeed when they were undermined by management within the organization (p. 2), they reported evidence to suggest that progress erodes after decrees or mandates expire (p. 1).

While court ordered and affirmative action programs have impacted the hiring of female officers, these legal mandates have not significantly impacted issues such as retention or career opportunities. According to Martin (1986; 1991), the mandates have not instigated the promotion

and advancement of women into the higher ranks of law enforcement. This was supported by Lonsway et al. (2003) who discovered that while the decrees and mandates had a positive effect on the number of women police officers, there was no “statistically significant effect seen on their promotion to higher levels within the organization” (p. 2).

A small affirmative action study by Lee (2005) found evidence of the prevalence of bias against women in the field of policing and that those who are in the best position for improving the status of women in policing offer the least support for implementing improvement in the hiring, retention and promotion of women (p. 68). She determined that the vast majority of the administrators and supervisors who responded to her survey did not favor affirmative action programs. In her conclusion, she theorized that there are two plausible explanations why the majority of male administrators and supervisors oppose the use of affirmative action to increase promotional opportunities: “widespread negative attitudes that some male officers continue to practice against highly qualified women and because of the good ole boy’s system women are excluded from certain communication networks and deprived of information that is crucial to their career advancement” (p.68). Lastly, she found evidence to support the research of Miller, Kerr, and Reids (1999), Klinger and Nalbandian (1985), and Martin (1986, 1991) that revealed that a lack of commitment to affirmative action by the federal government paralleled a lack of commitment by state and local governments (p. 69).

In some cases, the women are choosing not to apply for career opportunities or promotions and many resign. Evidence of this trend surfaced in Prenzler, Fleming, and King’s 2010 five-year review of gender equality in Australian and New Zealand police. The study revealed that while women were not necessarily separating at a higher rate than men, men were retiring, while most women were resigning (p. 584).

Additional research conducted by Archbold, Hassell, and Stitchman (2009) considered promotional aspirations among female and male police officers. Their research indicates that females are less likely to seek promotions “due to reasons associated with tokenism (feeling isolated at work, being second-guessed by male colleagues and experiencing differential treatment because of their sex) and perceptions of preferential treatment” (p. 302). Most of the males in the study described feelings of women receiving more support than males, while many of the female officers cited a lack of respect in promoted roles based on the perceptions of the male officers. The females also expressed concern about the increased scrutiny of decisions and actions received by female supervisors. While the Archbold et al. (2009) study was relatively small, their research does support that limiting access to the agency through career opportunities and leadership positions may be causes of women resigning or choosing not to seek advancement.

Chapter 4. Research Design and Methods

Qualitative Research

The decision to use qualitative research as the design for this study is based on its applicability to the thesis. Creswell (2007) defines qualitative research as beginning “with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (p. 37). Creswell (2014) further states this form of research “honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation” (p. 4).

Creswell (2014) explains that the goal of qualitative research relies on the participant’s view of the situation, citing the social constructivist’s belief that “individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work” (p. 8). He goes one step further by referring to Transformative Worldview researchers who deem that the constructivist stance did not go far enough in addressing issues involving marginalized individuals or issues of power and social justice, discrimination and oppression (p. 9). The Transformative Worldview scholars desire a research approach that intertwines politics and a political change agenda in an effort to “change lives of participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live and the researcher’s role” (p. 9). As an example, Creswell (2014) cites Mertens in noting that the specific social issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression and alienation, need to be addressed through research (pp. 9-10).

In selecting this topic, the researcher agrees with Creswell’s (2014) assessment that the qualitative design is the best research design for a phenomenon that needs to be explored and understood because so little research is done on the topic (p. 20). The research will add to

existing knowledge, lift up the voices of underrepresented groups or individuals, address social justice, or transform the ideas and beliefs of the researcher (p. 27).

Case Study

The specific design of this qualitative study utilizes case study research which is one of the five qualitative approaches to inquiry described by Creswell (2007). This approach is used when the researcher wants to study an issue of one or more cases over time “through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information” (p. 73). Because these sources include observations, interviews, documents and reports, he thinks it is the extensive collection of data that is the backbone of qualitative research (p. 43). Aside from the multiple sources of data, there are several other characteristics of qualitative research as presented by Creswell (2007) that aided the researcher in this study. They include learning the meaning of the issue from the participants and allowing the research process to guide the research as the data is collected, (2007, p. 39; 2014, p. 186). Yin states, “You would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions – believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study” (As cited by Creswell, 2007, p. 13).

Creswell (2007) notes personal concerns, such as those of the researcher, that reflect a “heartfelt need to promote social action....to bring about general change in our society” (p. 78). The statistics on women in state police and highway patrol agencies reveals that there are far fewer women in these agencies and in command positions considering the number of years that the doors to policing have been open to women. As such, the researcher selected the qualitative case study design, as recommended by both Creswell and Yin, primarily because of the void in the literature as to the status of women troopers in state police and highway patrol agencies, the flexibility of the design, and the fact that this type of research is more likely to answer the

research question. Moreover, this design permits the researcher to compare and analyze the perceptions of the participants and the data collected, particularly since the case study allows the emergent data to lead the researcher.

Data

The qualitative research design involved locating and conducting semi-structured interviews with individual troopers from each state under study. The researcher limited the study to women employed in seven southern state police and highway patrol agencies, primarily due to the population's cultural similarities as southern states. Of the agencies selected for study, one is a state police - Arkansas State Police - and six are highway patrol agencies - Mississippi Highway Patrol, Alabama Highway Patrol (Now known as the Alabama Law Enforcement Agency (ALEA). Alabama consolidated law enforcement, investigative, and support services of all Alabama law enforcement agencies and functions into one entity in 2013), Tennessee Highway Patrol, North Carolina State Highway Patrol, South Carolina Highway Patrol, and Georgia State Patrol. These agencies have public safety as their core mission and, as discussed earlier in the explanation of the difference in state police and highway patrol agencies, they share a similar paramilitary structure and culture.

As a first step, the researcher sent letters to the serving colonels (CEO) of each agency to explain the significance of the research and to obtain support for the study by providing access to current women troopers for interview and contact information for former women troopers. Only two state agencies contacted the researcher within the first two months, so the researcher contacted individuals within each agency such as the Public Affairs officer or individual women troopers, active or retired, to request assistance.

In two states, the researcher learned the agency leadership had changed so a second letter was forwarded to the new colonel or commissioner. When the researcher did not receive a response from the new incumbent, a new search of the agency's web site was reviewed in an effort to locate the name of a woman trooper. When connections were made, those persons agreed to seek permission from agency leadership to cooperate with the study. Only one state refused to allow active women troopers to be interviewed, even after the researcher spoke directly to the colonel and explained the study. However, that colonel agreed to provide contact information for retired women troopers. While the agency leadership did not officially sanction interviewing active personnel, a retired woman trooper referred an active member who wanted to speak with me on her own time and not officially representing the agency.

The researcher contacted the referred women from each agency by telephone, email, or in person to introduce herself, describe the study, and request their assistance. The researcher assured the interviewees that their identification would not be disclosed, nor would the information they provided be retained after the study is completed and approved. Specifically, the researcher informed them that all recordings and collected data would be destroyed by the researcher at the conclusion of the study by deleting and shredding. The researcher used an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder Model VN-702PC to record each interview and hand-wrote comments made by the interviewees both during the semi-structured interview and during the demographics and general discussion, while not recording.

The researcher traveled to several states to conduct face-to-face interviews. The interviews took place in locations selected by the interviewees or over the telephone when a face-to-face meeting was not possible. The researcher conducted 25 semi-structured interviews of women who had employment ranging from an academy cadet, who resigned after four weeks,

to women who served over 36 years. No less than three women were interviewed in each state. Of the 25 women interviewed, 10 were located through snowball sampling. This sampling strategy is frequently used in field research, whereby each person interviewed may be asked to recommend other people for interviewing (Creswell, 2013, p. 193). The purposive sampling was appropriate because the researcher was seeking only women who had served or were currently serving as sworn troopers, with the exception of the one cadet. These women possessed the knowledge and experience appropriate for this study. While, 25 interviews may not be considered a significant number, in fact, there are so few women troopers who have served in the agencies under study, particularly in the higher ranks, that 25 is indeed a representative number for these agencies. Demographic data of the interviewees is as detailed below:

| INTERVIEWEE DEMOGRAPHICS | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|------------|----|-------|----|--------------|----|
| EDUCATION | # | STATUS | # | RACE | # | HEIGHT | # |
| MASTERS PLUS | 4 | # ACTIVE | 15 | WHITE | 20 | 5'2 - 5'7" | 18 |
| BACHELORS | 12 | # RETIRED | 8 | AA | 5 | 5'8" - 5'10" | 7 |
| ASSOCIATE | 6 | # RESIGNED | 2 | TOTAL | 25 | | |
| SOME COLLEGE | 1 | TOTAL | 25 | | | AGE EMPLOYED | |
| HIGH SCHOOL | 2 | | | | | 21-35 | |

| PRIOR LAW ENFORCEMENT | PRIOR MILITARY | SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS SWAT/MOTORS | PRE-EMPLOYMENT FITNESS/ PHYSICAL AGILITY | # | EMPLOYED UNDER CONSENT DECREE | |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|--|----|-------------------------------|---|
| 5 | 2 | 1 | FULL | 19 | # | 7 |
| | | | PARTIAL | 2 | | |
| | | | NONE | 4 | | |

Table 3: Interviewee Demographics

The questions were part of a broader study of gender and explored perceptions of their work environment, including questions on personal and professional experiences; organizational culture; relationships with and between males, females, and agency leadership; agency processes

such as testing, fitness, promotional and special assignments; and thoughts about why the number of women within their agency is low. While the researcher initially developed 35 open-ended questions, the questions were modified based on the answers of the participants, allowing the interviewees to direct the research. In some instances, the interviewee provided relevant information that was not related to any of the prepared questions. As Creswell (2007) clarifies, questions can change during the research “to reflect an increased understanding of the problem” (p. 43). After the first several interviews, the questions were refined in an effort to reduce redundancy.

Generally, interviews were focused, and at only one point did an interviewee appear uncomfortable sharing a specific experience. In this one case, before recording the interview, the interviewee related a personal experience concerning applying for and being denied an opportunity to serve on the S.W.A.T. team that she presumed she deserved. While she sounded irritated and angry while discussing it, throughout the actual recorded portion of the interview, she maintained that her agency was gender-blind and everyone was treated fairly and equally. She revealed during the final portion of the interview that she had not wanted to discuss the special assignment because she loved her agency and did not want her agency to appear in a bad light in the researcher’s study.

The recorded portions of the interviews ranged between 37 and 96 minutes, with the majority being over one hour. The briefest interview was with the most junior interviewee. When including the unrecorded portions of the interviews, demographics and general discussion recorded in written notes, each interview lasted approximately two hours. The unrecorded portions of the interviews included the demographic portion of the questionnaire, but in every interview, the interviewee continued speaking once the recorder was turned off, often providing

more explicit details. The interviewees were remarkably open about their personal experiences and observations, which generated rich data. Regardless of their perceptions of gender equality, all of the interviewees expressed their deep love and admiration for their organizations, but expressed hope for change, particularly in the area of assignment and promotional opportunities.

Over 28 hours of recorded interviews were transcribed using a professional on-line service. Some typographical errors were noted in the transcriptions and, in some cases, the transcriber appeared to have difficulty understanding comments made by the interviewees which resulted in some comments being excluded from the transcriptions, labeled by the transcriber as inaudible. Some typos were edited by the researcher, but incorrect grammar and language was not corrected.

Gibbs (2007) recommended using coding software to perform the cross checking. The researcher selected *Quirkos* software to perform the coding function. The researcher imported the transcriptions directly into an on-line software coding tool marketed as *Quirkos*. The researcher then used *Quirkos* to create thematic codes as coding progressed, searching for deductive, inductive and in-vivo codes. The researcher organized the codes into themes and sub-themes, ultimately relating the codes to existing literature and bringing forward any new data. The researcher applied codes to identify each interviewee using the letter T (Trooper) followed with a randomly assigned number, one to 25, which would not reveal names, states, agencies or specific information such as age, race, and rank. While this method will not prevent readers from taking educated guesses about the identity of a particular participant, the researcher took every reasonable precaution to ensure absolutely no information would point directly to a specific state or person.

Preliminary Analysis

A holistic content analysis of the data was used in this research. Content analysis is the study of recorded human communications. The content analysis is suited to the study of communications and to answering the question of who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect? In this research, the communications were the interviews of the 24 women troopers and one cadet.

The analysis of the interviews involves five steps as discussed by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009). First, the complete interview is read through to get a sense of the whole. Then, the natural meaning units of the text as they are expressed by the subjects, are determined by the researcher. Third, the theme dominates a natural meaning unit is restated by the researcher as simply as possible, thematizing the statements from the subject's viewpoint as understood by the investigator. The fourth step consists of interrogating the meaning units regarding the specific purpose of the study. In the fifth step, the essential, non-redundant themes of the entire interview are tied together into a descriptive statement (p. 206).

Once step one is completed, the researcher coded the interviews in step two of this process. Creswell (2014) explains: "coding involves aggregating the text or visual data into small categories of information, seeking evidence for the code from different databases being used in a study, and then assigning a label to a code" (p. 98). The coding process used in this research organized the data by bracketing text and writing a word representing a category in the margins. Then taking text data segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) into categories, and labeling those categories with a term, often a term based on the actual language of the interviewee (called an *in vivo* code). The codes developed in this research were based on emerging information collected from the interviews (Creswell, 2014, p. 198). Creswell (2014) suggests qualitative reliability measures, such as checking transcripts for mistakes, checking the coding to ensure there is no

coding drift, and cross checking the codes by different researchers to ensure consistent results (p. 203).

Steps three, four and five involve the themes that dominate a natural meaning unit, is restated by the researcher as simply as possible, thematizing the statements from the subject's viewpoint as understood by the researcher. In this step, the information is coded. As described by Creswell (2014), these codes develop into common ideas or themes that are broad units of information that consist of several aggregated sub-themes aggregated (p. 186). The analysis of data from creating codes to building themes, according to Creswell (2014) represents the heart of qualitative data analysis. The data was interpreted by the researcher as to how it relates to the theory (p. 184).

The researcher used the coding software to develop 2,397 coding events which were organized into sub-themes, although specific text may be included in multiple coding events. These sub-themes were used to develop the final four themes. The first theme includes 726 coding events, the second theme includes 612 coding events, the third theme includes 419 coding events, and the fourth theme includes 201 coding events. If the same coding event was included in more than one sub-theme, it was not recounted in the sub-theme total.

The themes and sub-themes identified in this research were categorized using the words the interviewees used to describe their experiences. They are as follows:

Theme 1) Through the Looking Glass

Subthemes:

The Best of the Best: motivation

The Hundred-Billion-Dollar Question: employment

Theme 2) The Tar Meeting the Road

Subthemes:

Hell on Earth: the academy experience

Getting the Uniform and Badge KINDA Gets You into the Club: proving yourself

Where Have All the Women Gone: searching for Big Foot

Talking People into Handcuffs: difference

They Keep You Isolated: segregation and mentors

Theme 3) **Cracking the Glass Ceiling Ain't the Same as Breaking the Glass**

Subthemes:

Assignments and special units

Conferences and training

Promotions

Theme 4) **Shoulda, Woulda, Coulda: Looking Back**

Sub-themes:

Why hire women anyway?

Regrets

Legacies

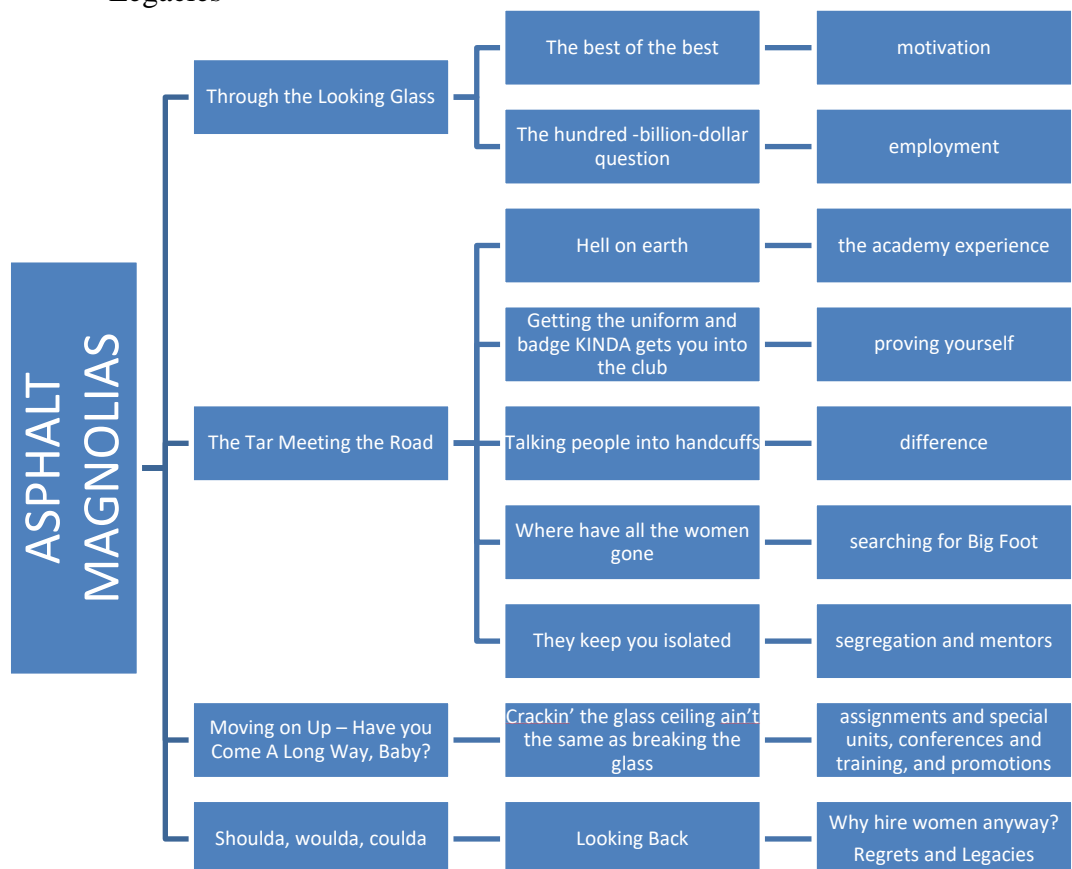


Figure 1: Themes, Sub-themes and Codes

Validity and Reliability

This qualitative study, which explores the lived experiences of 24 women troopers and one cadet, revealed the women trooper's perceptions about the circumstances they found themselves in throughout their careers. While this study covers a 40-year period, there is a possibility that the perceptions of gender inequality have changed over time and what was true for earlier generations may no longer be true or new truths may be revealed.

Creswell (2014) states, "validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research" (p. 201). To ensure the validity of this study, he suggests using any of eight primary validity strategies that can be implemented to "access the accuracy of findings and convince readers of that accuracy" (p. 201). Of the eight strategies, the researcher used four – triangulation, member checking, clarifying, and peer debriefing. First, the researcher triangulated the different sources of data to build valid themes. Second, to ensure the accuracy of the findings, the interviews were checked or discussed with the participants, when practical. In some cases, the researcher re-contacted some of the interviewees for clarification to clarify comments or fact check the understanding of the researcher, a strategy known as member checking. Triangulation and member checking provides a level of trustworthiness in qualitative research (p 201). Third, the researcher addressed the biases that the researcher brings to the study due to her background and experiences behind the *blue wall of silence* through a strategy known as clarifying. These researcher biases, termed reflectivity, are considered a core characteristic of qualitative research by Creswell (2014, p. 202). Lastly, the researcher used peer debriefing through committee and peer oversight to increase validity.

The researcher's unique embedded status as a knower as described by Harding (1991) advances the theories, because the researcher can more readily understand and uncover data that

an outsider cannot interpret during coding (p. 58). The perspective of the researcher is essential to this study as the researcher has first-hand knowledge of the role of gender expectations and the gendered organizations and cultures of state police and highway patrol agencies. The researcher has not located or reviewed any such research performed by an actual insider who has actually served as a trooper, from employment through the second highest rank in her agency. The next section, the Role of the Researcher, is provided to demonstrate the level of understanding of the interviewees and their organizations through the experience of the researcher.

The Role of the Researcher

I am a woman who began my law enforcement career over 42 years ago when doors first opened for women in policing across America. I began my career as a sheriff's deputy in 1975 at the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office, one of the first five women in the agency, and remained three years before joining the Louisiana State Police. The State Police began hiring women in the summer of 1974; only five women were employed before my academy class in June, 1978. I was one of 12 women who entered the academy; only five graduated.

When I initially applied for the state police, the process for being employed required meeting a minimum height and weight, passing a written and fitness test, and being ranked according to one's score. I did not achieve a test score ranked high enough to be considered for employment. Even if women, such as me, met the minimum qualifications, veterans received a full 10 points or more on top of their scores, lowering the ranking of women and many other non-veterans to non-competitive scores. I was given another employment opportunity in 1977 as a result of another woman filing an EEOC discrimination complaint against the state police for the height and weight restrictions when she discovered that some men on the agency did not meet the prescribed height and weight restrictions.

Height and weight restrictions were retained by many police agencies until the late 1970s when they were struck down by the Supreme Court in *Dothard v. Rawlinson* (1977) (Price, 1996; Lonsway, 2003). However, many other agencies, including state police and highway patrol agencies, continued using the height and weight standards for several more years until the early 1980s. With the employment of women, most agencies, and the male officers, were not prepared for the assimilation of women in the previously closed male culture of policing. I witnessed many women unable to secure or retain employment, primarily due to the fitness and physical agility tests, and some of those who entered the field of policing in the early years resigned before completing the academy or realizing special assignments, promotional opportunities or achieving a normal retirement.

Over my 32-year career with state police, I worked in a variety of assignments and commands, ascending through the ranks to the second highest rank within the agency, lieutenant colonel. In fact, I am in the reported 2.63% of women serving at the command level for Louisiana State Police on Appendix B. However, the agency included women from the Department of Public Safety Police in the reporting who were not sworn troopers or state police academy graduates; one held the rank of captain which skewed the true percent. When I retired in 2010, I was the only woman serving at the command level. The next highest rank held by a woman was lieutenant; 36 years after the agency began employing women as troopers.

I entered the command level to the rank of captain after 19 years of service but was unable to achieve lieutenant colonel even though I qualified as one of two finalists of seven for the position of colonel in 2003. During the next five years, I was passed over for advancement to lieutenant colonel even though I had more broad-based experience, seniority, education, and accomplishments than those promoted over me. I served over 30 years before being advanced.

This is significant because state police and highway patrol agencies offer retirements at a much younger age than normal or after a maximum number of years of service. Most troopers retire with 25 to 30 years of service with their maximum benefit. To remain with the agency after they maximize their retirement benefits costs the troopers money to continue working because the troopers are essentially paying to come to work. It, also, negatively impacts the troopers' retirement and benefits. I did this. I remained approximately five years after reaching my maximum benefit in an effort to obtain promotions, at great personal and professional sacrifice.

After retiring, I received a United States Presidential appointment to a federal law enforcement agency, not just because I was well-qualified, but primarily, in my opinion, because I was given the opportunity by a female United States Senator who was responsible for vetting applicants and making a recommendation to the United States Senate and the President.

Creswell (2007) recommended that researchers begin by posing a research issue, to which we would like an answer, typically topics which are “emotion laden, close to the people, and practical” (p. 43). As stated, I am a privileged knower as defined by Harding (1991), one who knows based on my own personal experiences and knowledge (p. 11). Over my career, I have witnessed and been told about experiences that adversely impacted women from the employment through the promotional processes. I know many women troopers and police officers throughout the United States. My, and their experiences, are the reasons that I decided to pursue this degree. The Doctorate of Philosophy of Liberal Arts in Urban Studies provided me an opportunity to conduct empirical research on a topic for which I have passion and allowed me an advocacy platform for other women.

Chapter 5. Overview of Findings

Gender is a social concept that results in expectations about what roles males and females perform in society based on their sex (Oakley, 1972; Kanter, 1977; Marger, 2008). As discussed earlier, expectations are that women are more likely to work as secretaries, nurses, and teachers, whereas, men are the breadwinners and hold the positions of leadership and power. Therefore, gender roles are often based on gender stereotypes that result in men being disproportionately represented in law, politics, religion, the academy, the state, and the economy (Acker, 1992). While women have increased their representation in many formerly male-dominated fields, this has not held true for women in law enforcement as evidenced by over 40 years of statistics compiled by the Uniform Crime Reports (Federal Bureau of Investigation UCR, 1972-2012).

This research uses conflict theory to explain how gender role expectations and the gendered structure and culture of police organizations adversely affect recruiting, employment, assignment, retention, and promoting women in law enforcement positions. All of these factors were examined through the interviews of 24 resigned, active, or retired women troopers, and one cadet, from seven state police and highway patrol agencies in the southern United States. The research, in seeking to expand upon these theories, explored several areas: why women may not apply to state police and highway patrol agencies or if they do, why they may not achieve employment or why women: fail to complete the academy; leave patrol and are frequently assigned to administrative jobs; are not represented in special assignments such as S.W.A.T., and are not achieving the upper tiers of the command staff.

The interviews revealed a great depth of understanding of a wide range of issues involving gender role expectations and the structure and culture of their organizations. While there was general agreement about the difficulty women faced to obtain and retain employment,

there were varying opinions about what could or should be done to change the requirements. The younger and more junior interviewees shared stronger opinions about no desire for change, while the interviewees who were more senior or higher in the rank structure were more open to change as long as it did not substantially lessen their agency standards. More concern was expressed about the ability of women to be assigned to non-traditional, male-dominated units such as S.W.A.T., although only three women expressed an interest in being assigned to those type units.

The majority of the interviewees agreed that the inability of women to obtain promotions, particularly to the highest command levels, was concerning. Only one woman, in any of the agencies under review, had ever achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel, but that was in an administrative position and while the agency was under a federal consent decree. To date, no woman has served at the highest levels of leadership over a patrol function nor has any woman been appointed as the agency colonel or director. Several of the interviewees expressed regret about their inability to achieve positions of leadership they alleged that they earned and for which they thought they were the best candidates; many being forced to retire before an opportunity would present itself again. However, none anticipated that had they stayed that they would have been selected, attributing this to their inability to get into the boy's club. The vast majority of interviewees did consider the highest ranks within their respective agencies to be a boy's club. Only two expressed the belief that women might one day occupy those positions during their careers.

All but two of the interviewees did not have any information about or knowledge of major police associations such as the International Association of Women Police, the International Association of the Chiefs of Police, the FBI National Academy Association, or the National Association for Women Law Enforcement Executives. None of them were members

and only two had been offered opportunities to join or attend any such association conferences. This not only prevented the interviewees from meeting other women troopers and police officers but denied them access to valuable training and development opportunities. However, several of the interviewees expressed concern about doing or attending anything that would single them out as women or result in any activity that would distinguish them from the male troopers.

The chapters that follow will reveal the framework in which the interviewees experienced their roles within their agencies. Their words will describe the obstacles and challenges that they, and others, endured to become troopers only to find themselves forever on the fringes of the essential *esprit de corps* (one body, one spirit) that binds the membership of police organizations.

Much like Lewis Carroll's "Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There" (1871), Chapter 6 details that, like Alice, nothing is as it seems when the interviewees figuratively stepped into the mirrors, into the unfamiliar world of male-dominated state police and highway patrol agencies. Even interviewees who served as police officers or in the military prior to joining their agencies were unprepared for the strange world in which they, and others, found themselves.

Chapter 6. Findings: Through the Looking Glass

Through the Looking Glass describes the interviewees' motivation to become a state trooper and the employment processes they experienced. The first sub-theme, The Best of the Best: motivation, provides an explanation of the interviewees understanding of the agencies through its symbols, images, and reputation, or the factors that influenced them to apply such as recruitment, consent decrees, and relationships with law enforcement personnel. The second sub-theme, The Hundred-Billion-Dollar Question: employment, describes the actual processes of employment experienced and witnessed by the interviewees, along with their views about the agency's desire and effort to employ and, in some cases, retain women.

Only a few of the interviewees expressed a desire for change in the employment process indicating that they assumed that being a trooper required the image and physical strength of men, therefore, many interviewees accepted that women should meet the same standards as the men. While most interviewees were no longer assigned to patrol, they held to the belief that all troopers, regardless of assignment, should be able to meet the basic patrol standard (patrol is a specific assignment typically meaning working the road in a uniform assignment) (Hughes, 2011). This standard is generally accepted as being able to defend oneself or others against violators or perform work that might be more easily accomplished with strength such as pushing a vehicle or dragging a grown human body. As the words of the interviewees will verify, image can be everything.

The Best of the Best: Motivation

As was discussed earlier in the research, with the establishment of the state police in Pennsylvania in 1905, a new type of law enforcement officer evolved. As described by Mayo (1917), the men were a powerful representation of strength and superior masculinity (p. 59). According to Ray (1995) these 'distinctively American type of men' (p. 577) projected powerful

symbolism. All of the interviewees commented in one form or another that troopers always appeared in control and were, for the most part, sharp in appearance; traits that the interviewees admired and desired. T4, a five-year veteran who recently resigned, described her image of state troopers by describing her experience:

From the time, I was a little girl. Young girl. I would see a state trooper get out of his car because, I didn't have any females in the area where I was from. I would see him get out of his car, and his car was always squared away. It was always clean, pristine. It could be an old car but he was gonna have it cleaned up. He stepped out on that road. His boots were shined, his uniform was squared away. His hat was always on. I mean he just looked sharp. Looked the part. People looked up to him. The deputy's the, you know the PD officers. They wanted to be like a trooper and they're like the elite. You've got your deputy's and a lot of your deputy's. A lot of your city officers that apply with trooper school. It's like the cream of the crop. So, I love that fact that they're considered the best of the best. They're very knowledgeable. When they pull up to a wreck scene, they own that wreck scene. They're in charge of it. People look to them for answers.

Recurrent codes throughout the interviews were the terms the best of the best and the elite. This image was shared frequently by the majority of the interviewees; only one interviewee stated that she was just looking for a job when she applied. Some interviewees had family members or friends who either served as troopers or police officers. The interviewees with family members in the patrol described their connections to the patrol with immense pride. T5, a five-year veteran, further described the image discussed by Mayo (1917) and Ray (1995) that supported declarations made by other interviewees.

I'm the second trooper in my family. When the highway patrol shows up to a crash scene, or in general, they're always very squared away. There's a sense of pride, knowledge, intelligence. To me they're the best of the best. They're the elite. I've always strived in anything that I do, personal life to professional life, to always be the best that I can be. I love to help people and be that saving grace on the road, or on a call, or whatever. Even in my own unit, but I wanted to be the saving grace in the best of the best. That's why I went to the highway patrol. My family, they're the best. In my opinion the highway patrol, it's the best law enforcement agency in the country.

T13, a command level active veteran with over thirty years of service, recalled: “I knew that I wanted to be with the patrol. I thought that was the elite agency and I had friends that were in law enforcement, which was what they really wanted to be. They would say, ‘If I could be anything I want to work for the Highway Patrol’ and so I went after it. I just wanted to be part of the Highway Patrol because it was the best” (T13).

A veteran who wanted to be an officer since she was five stated: “They're the best as far as law enforcement, so I wanted to be part of the best. I wanted to have the best training as far as that, the best equipment. I grew up in New Jersey and my neighbor was a New Jersey state trooper. I thought he was the coolest thing ever, bringing that patrol car home. I knew ever since I was little. You can ask my parents. I always told them I was going to be in law enforcement” (T21).

The consensus among all of the interviewees was that the state police or highway patrol was the superior law enforcement agency in their respective states, but their motivation to join their agencies varied. Two of the interviewees worked for their agency as civilians, one waiting over a decade to join. T15, a retired 21-year veteran explained: “I just thought it was a man's job and that I could never actually get it. I started out in [another section] and hoped to work my way up or work my way to that and I guess that's what I eventually did.... I decided the timing was right to go ahead and apply” (T15).

Only two interviewees had ever seen a woman trooper in uniform before applying and many did not know that women could be troopers. Seven interviewees were employed as a result of a federal consent decree. A retired 21-year veteran, explained that at the time she applied, her agency was actively seeking women because “Justice was threatening to come in to take over the hiring process. We had a total of 11 women in my class, the most we've ever had” (T15). A

retired commander with 29 years of service, confirmed that her agency “Really started hiring a lot of women in '79 because we were under consent decree and they had to hire a lot of women. I don't think that they necessarily would have recruited women had it not been for that” (T9).

Having a family member who served in the patrol proved to be an obstacle to employment for one interviewee who was initially denied an application for the patrol because her father had been a trooper and was not liked. She sent a friend to pick up the application for her. After submitting it, she was ultimately accepted for employment. After over 24 years of successful service, she recalled “I remember him being a trooper. I remember the car, I remember the uniform. I just thought it was just awesome. I wanted to be the best of the best and the structure” (T6).

Some interviewees had never met a trooper, knew any police officers, or had a desire to be a police officer, but some random incident caused them to intersect with the patrol and ultimately piqued their interest in a law enforcement career. T22, a 23-year veteran, detailed an encounter with a trooper that changed her life:

I was driving home to visit a friend and there was an accident that was in the interstate and my lanes were blocked. I must have gotten there right at the very beginning of the incident because the fire department had just gotten there, so I was one of the first cars. I remember seeing the highway patrol pull up and it was a family, it was a family van and the parents were being loaded onto gurneys as I was sitting there waiting for the road to clear. I saw a trooper pick up a small child who was crying because they were scared, but the child was not being ... Well, obviously it was going to be transported because the parents were being transported, but it was at that moment that I said, ‘I want to make an impact on somebody. I want to help people.’ Because I saw genuine sincerity in that officer in the median holding that small child, from then on that's just what I wanted to do. It changed my whole mindset of where I was going with college and career and everything. It definitely was an isolated incident that changed why I wanted to do what I wanted to do.

Only one of the interviewees was formally recruited through a targeted recruitment program for females, supporting Jordan's et al. (2009) argument that police agencies make little

effort to attract women to their agencies. It is reasonable to assume that employees of any agency or company provide the best opportunity for the recruitment of other members. However, it is, also, reasonable to assume that when the bias of its members discourages or exclude others from applying, the agency loses opportunities to recruit extraordinary employees. Prussel and Lonsway (2003) reason the importance of agencies selecting recruiters who are diverse individuals that are enthusiastic about increasing the number of women and knowledgeable about issues that women face (p. 5). Four interviewees were told by male troopers that they should not apply because they would not make it or it was a man's job. One interviewee spoke to a woman trooper she encountered at a training event about becoming a trooper. Although the woman trooper did not offer any encouragement or assistance, even when questioned, T15, the retired 21-year veteran, stated, while the female trooper did not encourage her, "I knew it was possible after seeing her" (T15).

In some circumstances, discouragement and naysayers' results in a rallying of the human spirit. At least three interviewees recounted incidents that they took as personal challenges that led them to apply for the patrol. One example was recalled by a 22-year veteran who related the following incident with humor and pride:

I knew I wanted to be in law enforcement, in fact I tried to become a police officer at that police department but my chief laughed at me and he said, 'You will never be a police officer at this police department.' I said, 'Why not, chief?' He said, 'You're too young.' He said ... What did he say, something like ... basically the equivalent of me being feminine? He didn't think I was hard enough. It was very disappointing to me, very, very disappointing. I made it a point when I graduated trooper school to pay that chief a visit. Wearing my uniform, I pulled right in the parking space next to his outside his window so he could see my patrol car. I walked in and I shook his hand and I said, 'Thank you for not hiring me as a police officer because I never probably would have stepped out to become a state trooper. The best decision you could've ever made is to not hire me' (T12).

Another employee, a 27-year veteran employed through a consent decree, rose to the command level of her agency, a plausible measure of the meaningful contributions made by this employee during her career. She applied for the patrol when troopers that she knew from work told her that she could not be one. She related the story:

That magic question. Every time, it brings a smile to my face these days. I worked as a clerk in the courthouse. Well, the troopers would come in and bring their tickets. I would process those tickets in on those blue transmittal forms back in the day. One of the troopers came in one day. I just asked them in conversation, I'm on one side of the counter, he is on the other, 'Hey, what does it take to become a trooper?' While I'm processing his tickets, he stepped back and he said, 'Don't worry about it. You couldn't be one anyway.' He never answered my question first of all (T1).

While the interviewees had a variety of reasons for joining their agencies, a common theme shared by most was that formal recruitment and encouragement from others did not impact their decisions to apply. The employment processes were varied as well with some agencies modifying physical agility and fitness standards when there appeared to be targeted employment efforts for women while under consent decrees, court orders or the threat of such processes. As the next sub-theme, The Hundred-Billion-Dollar Question, will reveal, however, that while the majority of the interviewees accepted that female applicants and academy cadets faced discrimination and adverse impact, most were not in favor of change to the employment process that would result in providing special treatment or consideration to female applicants and cadets.

The Hundred-Billion-Dollar Question: Employment

State agencies offer some of the more coveted and higher paying law enforcement jobs in a state. Obtaining employment with a state police or highway patrol agency is no easy task. The requirements are often rigorous, time-consuming, and over-whelming to some applicants, both male and female. The process may, and often does, take approximately a year. There was not much deviation between the employment processes of the seven states under review. While the employment processes may appear gender neutral, all of the interviewees discussed the difficult

procedures they and the other women applicants experienced, with the exception of four who were not required to pass a fitness test and two who completed only a partial test. The partial, or abbreviated, test did not include some of the more stringent physical aspects described by other interviewees, such as obstacle courses, dragging a dummy, jumping fences, or pushing cars.

In an effort to assist the reader with an understanding of the employment process of many state police and highway patrol agencies, the researcher, who has over 42 years of experience in the employment process, will provide an overview. Her pertinent experience includes being involved with or conducting both basic police and state police academy classes, and annual in-service and specialized training for police officers.

The agency typically begins the process by obtaining authorization and budget authority to create or fill positions and conduct a cadet class, which is especially difficult in lean fiscal years. After being allocated the money, the agency may advertise an employment announcement that could be posted for weeks or months and may involve targeted recruiting efforts during the announcement period. It is at this point that the agency would employ recruiters or advertisements to reach targeted groups.

As evidenced by the experiences of the interviewees, their agencies neither recruited them nor effectively target prospective female candidates. Jordan et al. (2009) confirms that agencies do little to attract women to police agencies and attributes the low numbers of women to only one in five law enforcement agencies using targeted recruitment strategies for women (p. 1). When agencies do recruit, the traditional image projected is that of macho police officer stereotypes which make it difficult for women to relate. Covington and Phua (2015) assert that “the reality is that crime-fighting in the field is at most 35% of the job” (p. 1). Mark Dantzker, a criminal justice expert at the University of Texas-Pan American University is quoted as stating,

“It isn’t about car chases and gunfights and wrestling people down and things like that. It’s about helping people out” (as cited by Covington & Phua, 2015, p. 2).

Once recruiting is completed, all candidates must complete a detailed application and written test, which must be reviewed by the agency’s Human Resources section to determine if the applicant meets the basic qualifications such as educational, citizenship, and residency requirements before the candidate can move forward in the actual employment process. It is not uncommon for an agency to receive hundreds to thousands of applications following an employment announcement. The written test is often followed by a fitness and agility tests which represents an institutional barrier for women to entry-level employment. Lonsway et al. (2003) attributed the physical fitness test as the primary reason that women have difficulty completing the employment process and determined that agencies without a pre-employment agility test have 45% more women than those with such a test (p. 2). They state: “To recruit successful female officers, it is critical that police agencies remedy the disproportionate negative impact of physical agility testing on women versus men in the selection process” (p. 3). An agency’s reputation for women failing to successfully pass physical agility testing for employment may subsequently deter women from applying for employment. Requiring woman to meet the same fitness standards as their male counterparts creates a disparate impact on women as evidenced by the Department of Justice filing lawsuits against the Corpus Christi Police Department in 2012 for allegedly using its physical fitness test to eliminate female applicants, because the test did not properly evaluate whether or not a candidate was qualified for a police officer (U.S. DOJ, 2012).

The next step may be an in-depth background investigation and an interview, which may prove to be another institutional barrier. Both the background investigation and interviews are typically conducted by troopers of various ranks. Final recommendations and selections are

made by the ranking members of the agency. This can be a disadvantage for female applicants because as Young (1990) reasons, stereotypes and culture permeate organizations and marginalize any member who does not match the dominate images of other members of the organizations (p. 195-197). This presents employment implications for prospective members. Given the difficulty of the selection process of state police and highway patrol agencies, the agencies themselves represent a club that is very selective of its membership; only people who meet their established standards and images of future members can join (Ray, p. 59).

If the candidates that begin the process are not eliminated during the written, fitness, background or interview procedures, they may be given a conditional offer of employment. Then the candidates may undergo medical and psychological examinations and polygraphs. However, the agencies sometimes lose candidates during this time-consuming and grueling process because some candidates do not meet the physical or mental health requirements or pass the intensive background or polygraph. The candidates themselves may, also, withdraw due to the length of the process or they may accept other employment. Many agencies do not retain information on applicants versus employment, from the researcher's personal experience, not many women who apply successfully complete the process. For someone, male or female, to endure this process and be offered employment is a testament, not only to the candidate's character and resolve, but to the agency's confidence that they can be one of them.

As described, the employment process is manpower and resource intensive. With each prospective class, the agency typically has to select and train the personnel to recruit; conduct written and fitness tests, interviews, and comprehensive background investigations; staff an academy with instructors, duty officers and support personnel; purchase equipment and supplies; structure a field training officer program with field training officers; and, finally, plan, coordinate

and conduct the actual class with all the problems and anomalies that present themselves throughout the process. The average basic cost to train a trooper in 1996 at Louisiana State Police was approximately \$50,000. This cost does not include some equipment and supplies.

The interviewees completed the employment process and were employed. Only one of the 25 interviewees resigned while in the academy while classified as a cadet. This cadet, the daughter of a retired state trooper, described herself as in excellent physical condition with an intense desire to be one of the best of the best. This sub-theme, the hundred-billion-dollar question, details the experiences of the women and their observations and thoughts about recruiting, the employment process, and other women who failed to achieve or retain employment.

One of the first findings discovered through the data that former employment excluders, such as height and weight, were not indicators of successful careers in law enforcement. The interviewees ranged in height between 5'2" and 5'10". Fourteen interviewees measured below the former standard height and weight requirements, yet none experienced major safety challenges during their careers nor did they believe that height or weight minimums were a significant advantage.

I wouldn't have qualified [under the previous height and weight restrictions]. Even so, even as I got hired on, some of the people that were hired on before me were shorter than me. They didn't even adhere to their own rules of course" (T1). Asked if height or weight were an advantage T2, a retired 5'3", 17-year veteran, stated: "Yes, definitely an advantage but it's not all. I think you can compensate in other ways and I think when it comes down to push, you know, the tar meeting the road, you're going to do what you've got to do to stay alive and you're going to come out victorious" (T2).

Asked the same question, T12, a 5'9" interviewee serving at the command level with over 22 years of experience, commented:

I don't think that the height is an issue. The weight, depending on how agile. If the agility of the woman is such that she can do her job effectively then it's not an issue. Is it a deterrent when you're out on the road if you've got a little more height, yeah, it is because you're not looked at as being like a little kid. It helps that physical overall appearance is a deterrent for something going wrong. It's always an advantage when they sort of match up your height, weight so forth and you look fit. That's with anybody, male or female.

With the exception of four interviewees, the others were required to go through an extensive employment process that consisted of a written test, a strenuous fitness test, an interview, a detailed background investigation, and a medical examination that some considered invasive because their genital areas were examined. One speculated that this was another tactic to limit their employment opportunities. “Honestly, it was just like a well check, I would say. I think they did blood pressure, heart rate, they checked you for hemorrhoids or whatever. It was the craziest thing I’ve ever seen. They had to look at your bottom. I don’t know what that had to do with anything” (T20). While it is unknown whether or not the male applicants were similarly processed, the medical examination of the genitalia as described by some interviewees was confusing and embarrassing. In 2017, an applicant filed a federal law suit against the State of Nebraska and the Nebraska State Patrol for what she considered a medically unnecessary and sexually invasive pre-employment examination, allegedly motivated by the applicant’s gender. Noting that men were not required to undergo a similar physical examination, the applicant sought damages for an infringement upon her constitutional rights, resulting in emotional distress (*Brienne Splittgerber v. The State of Nebraska, the Nebraska State Patrol, Dr. Stephen Haudrich*, Case No: 8:17-cv-280, 2017).

Most interviewees had to successfully pass a polygraph exam. Several interviewees related that the polygraph contained questions of a sexual nature. The interviewees who described sexual questions during the polygraph did not know if male applicants were asked the

same questions. The researcher recalls being asked in her state police interview if she had ever had sex with a police officer while on duty and several other very personal questions related to her sex life and oral sex, particularly involving relationships with police officers.

Aside from the height and weight restrictions experienced by some interviewees, another obstacle to employment were fitness and physical agility tests. Confirming the variety of test components described by Lonsway et al. (2003), the tests varied overall only slightly between the agencies under study, with many of the testing procedures being adopted from other state police and highway patrol agencies or a test provided by the Department of Justice (See chart on p. 58). Some of the components consisted of a timed run, sit-ups, push-ups, bench press or monkey bar climbs with pull-ups, jumping fences, pushing a loaded patrol car, dragging a weighted dummy, changing a flat tire, and in some cases, an obstacle course. One commander, T25, related that they have recently included a five-foot horizontal jump to simulate jumping a creek. She considered this to be comical since she reported that in her 19-year career she has never had to jump a creek or any five-foot obstacle.

According to the interviews, some of their agencies allowed females more time than males in certain events, enabling females who could perform the test, in their opinion, a greater chance of success in passing. But some of the interviewees explained that their agencies are trending away from this methodology and returning to one standard for males and females. This may be in part due to recent court rulings that could negatively impact any advances in separate standards for women and men, based on physiological differences in gender. One such recent court case, *Bauer v. Holder*, involved a federal lawsuit filed in 2012 by a former male FBI academy cadet who failed a fitness test that required a higher standard for men than women, based on physiological gender differences. In the decision, the judge determined that “despite

obvious gender differences, the FBI had failed to prove that the fitness test was an adequate measure of job skills, such as the ability to restrain a fleeing suspect” (Chandler, 2014, p. 1). While the judge did not rule that all tests that try to take account of the physical differences between men and women are illegal, they must have a valid basis to discriminate since both men and women are required to perform the same job-related tasks. Chandler writes: “The fact that existing FBI agents are not required to pass any physical fitness tests also detracts from the FBI’s argument that the physical abilities measured in the test were required for serving as a special agent” (p. 1).

All interviewees agreed that the fitness tests and standards were a probable reason for the non-employment of females and the loss of females during the training academy experience. While many accepted the fitness standards as an important part of the job, there were differing opinions about the necessary level of fitness or the methods of measurement used for employment. These issues, the lack of agreement or standardization on fitness and agility tests, along with the applicability to job performance, were addressed in the discussions with the interviewees. Most of the interviewees described the fitness test as very difficult. However, they all qualified their responses by explaining that they were in excellent physical condition when they tested. The two women with prior military experience described the fitness and agility tests as much more difficult than those of the military. Only four interviewees were not fitness tested until they were employed and attended the training academy.

A command level retiree with over 32 years’ experience defended the fitness tests as preparation for surviving the academy, not the relevance of the test, stating “These schools are

very military-oriented and so you have to be in pretty good shape whether you are male or female to survive in a troop school” (T9). Later in her interview, she did question the necessity for the rigor of the training academy fitness standards as they have existed over the years.

T15, a retiree with over 21 years’ experience, was unapologetic about the fitness requirements causing a potential adverse impact on females, even though she reported no significant use of force incidents or physical encounters during her service. She was resolute in her belief that fitness and image was directly correlated to survival for both men and women. She stated:

To be a state trooper you need to be physically fit. Unfortunately, we live in a world where not everybody's going to comply so physical fitness is important. You may have to wrestle a suspect to the ground. You may get attacked and you need to be able to fight because there may come a time where you've got to fight to live. If you are overweight, out of shape then you may not make it home at the end of your shift. Aside from just safety, it's the image of the highway patrol. If you're way overweight to the point that you can't hardly fit between your steering wheel and you sit in your car, the steering wheel's almost sitting on your belly, that's a problem and it doesn't show that you have any self-pride, or respect for yourself or the agency. In my opinion. For the physical agility test, we ain't got a lot of that because that obstacle course, in my opinion, simulates what you could actually go through on the street.

Several of the more senior interviewees, who all held positions of rank, stated that while they agreed with the fitness requirements earlier in their careers, they now think that the tests and standards for employment should be more reflective of what most troopers actually do on the job. The primary reasons they gave were based on how the tests and requirements changed over their careers with no demonstrable evidence as to what tests actually provide an accurate measurement of job performance. In fact, the agencies did not either require or enforce the fitness standard once troopers graduated from the academy. Explanations given by the interviewees were that in their careers they never had to jump fences, run long distances, dive through windows, drag a person, push a car, or other such measures. In addition, throughout their

careers the interviewees witnessed both men and women successfully perform their jobs as troopers without being in excellent, or even good, physical condition. T12, who now serves at the command level of her organization and remains in good physical condition, stated:

I think it is important to have a physical standard. To have some sort of physical test to test for your endurance. Some of them may not really match up and line up currently of what we're doing currently. I just don't know how important it is honestly to do that mile and a half run. I'm not sure how important that is to be quite honest with you. If you get into a foot pursuit you're not going to jog a mile and a half or run a mile and a half. Some of them could probably be revamped. I know they're trying to look at different standards but some of them could probably be revamped to best fit what you're actually going to encounter.

The interviewee with over 21 years' experience, currently serving at the command level, offered a simple explanation: "I would say that as a law enforcement agency, you want somebody who is physically fit and who can manipulate their own body weight on someone else's, but maybe some of those, running the mile-and-a-half, probably not. The push-ups and sit-ups, probably not" (T3).

A 24-year veteran was undecided in her view about the necessity of the standards that her agency uses. She stated: "I still feel like, especially being from a training background that there needs to be standards, but then you have the argument of, you'll have states that say we haven't had an officer get hurt in how many years, and we've got all these officers. I don't know what makes sense" (T19). An active 34-year veteran agreed: "It makes you wonder how they set the standards up for hiring on how physically fit you need to be to get hired, and they don't follow through afterwards, you have hundreds of people, thousands of people perform on their jobs successfully without being in shape. It makes you wonder if it's a valid standard or not" (T13).

While all of the interviewees agreed that being physically fit was important to the safety of the officer and the officers that back them up, there was no consensus as to what the test or standard should be. A retired 27-year commander, offered what she considered a simple solution: "Even if you have a possible candidate, you can train them to be strong. That can be trained. Anything can be trained to get you ready to come in, if you really want somebody

employed” (T1). However, T19, a 24-year veteran serving at the command level, stated that while she believed that her agency’s fitness employment standards have had an adverse impact on women, she did not hesitate to respond that while she believed that, that she did not wish to sacrifice their standards to employ women.

The most junior trooper interviewed, T18, described an aspect of fitness beyond the physical, the importance of mental agility as a predictor of success and survival. Still a proponent of good physical fitness and agility, she did not limit the possibility of success to one’s fitness:

It doesn't hurt to be six-foot-tall and be able to lift your own body weight. We do have a lot of small females that do get tried on the road and it's just because, it's just their small stature. I graduated with a female that was five two or three and she weighed maybe a buck when she was wet. I think you gotta be physically, [but] I think it's gotta be more mental. You gotta be able to trust your instincts and gotta be able to mentally hold your own. They're going to try you but they usually try you with words first, not physically. And if you can hold your own mentally with them they usually back down. That's the only time I've ever been tried is with words. And I put them right down and give them one chance and they, every one's backed down on me. I think you do have to be physically fit to do this job. But you also have to be mentally prepared to know that, being a female, especially of smaller stature, you're going to have to hold a presence. That way they know you mean business.

Based on the responses from the interviewees, employment obstacles were not limited solely to the employment process. Many of the interviewees described additional personal hardships they and others experienced to accept employment, primarily the interviewees with children or families. While the majority were single with no children when they sought employment, they all agreed that they probably would not have pursued employment with the patrol if they had been married or had children. Their explanation for this was that new hires attend academies for many months and are unable to communicate with family members during the duration of the academy. T7 viewed this as a much more complex issue for females with families than their male counterparts, because males typically had wives or family members who

could manage the household and children. As described throughout this research, socially constructed gender roles ascribe women with the normative roles of managing households and child raising, creating a double duty for women that are not ascribed to men (Berger, Conner, & Fisek, 1974; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Eagly, Johannsen-Schmidt & Van Engen, 2003; Kanter, 1977; Lindsey, 2010; Lorber, 2005; Marger, 2010).

These responsibilities create another adverse impact on women applicants and employees, particularly for those in attendance at the agency's training academy where residency is required. Additionally, most did not know to which part of the state they would be assigned until nearing academy graduation. T2, a retired pioneer, gave up custody of her young child for six months to attend the academy which was located hours away from her home and family. At the end of the academy, she was forced to move to a different area of the state, where, as a single parent, she did not have a support system.

The issues associated with agencies requiring residency during training and limited contact with family members, along with an uncertain future due to locality reassignment and resulting child care issues, creates an additional adverse impact on women who might otherwise seek employment with these agencies. T11, a retired 36-year commander, discussed the problems associated with attracting and retaining women with children and offered an explanation for why a state police agency might not be a good fit for women with children.

Childcare is an issue. That's why a lot of people don't come to state policing. They go the sheriff's department or locally because their policies may be a little bit more ... They can work with you. You know, you can run by the house, things like that. Being with the state police, because I remember, well (name of trooper deleted) was the first one that had a baby with us, our department just flipped out that we got a woman trooper that's pregnant. That's tough, childcare. Now if you're like with the city and stuff, a lot of times you have other women that you can split childcare with. They help you, you help them, but with state police a lot of times as a woman just know it's solo. You're alone.

The responses from the interviewees indicated that most of their agencies may relocate new hires far from their home of record, often not informing the cadet until close to graduation from the academy. T18, a four-year veteran, attributed relocation as a major detriment to recruiting women to seek employment with the patrol. While she understood the process because her agency does not know where the greatest need will be based on the vacancies until late in the process, she did believe that the agency could at a minimum make the decision before the final selections are made. In some cases, she believed that some women may roll the dice and accept employment then resign if they do not get their area of choice. This response to the reassignment hurts both the agency and the individual. T18 explained the fear associated with having to move:

Because once you're in the academy when you get your assignment, if it's not somewhere that you're from. If it's not somewhere you want go, you're SOL (shit out of luck), you gotta go. And some of these women that come in have already, you know, they've got a family. So, they have a big support where they live and suddenly to have to move might be a deterrent. But they really don't try to, but it does happen. And if you've already got a family or something and you're settled where you're at, and all of a sudden, they're coming along and saying no, you gotta move. You gotta move 200 miles east, that's a big deterrent.

T24, an active veteran with 14 years' experience, who was unmarried and without children when she accepted employment, and currently involved in the recruiting process, confirmed the problems of attracting women with children to the patrol for employment:

I think a lot of women already have that home life and it's hard. Go away for trooper school. Our first month you can't come home. How many women can be away from their kids? I couldn't do it now. There's no freaking way I could be away from my kids for a month now. Right now, the way trooper school is you can only make a couple phone calls home. That's it. For the first month, you only get to make a couple phone calls home. I couldn't do it. It'd drive me nuts thinking about my husband and my kids.

One of the interviewees recalled how a senior female trooper in her agency helped a junior female trooper with child care issues once she became employed. The senior female trooper provided child care while the junior worked her shifts. T6, a 24-year veteran, commented

that the junior was not making enough money to pay for child care and finding child care for shift work, particularly night shift, would have been improbable. T6 stated that without the kindness and incredible support of that senior female trooper, the junior trooper would have been forced to leave the agency.

T24, a 14-year supervisor, expressed concern about why recruiting women with families is problematic for her agency, but she offered a more optimistic view of how women can combine parenting with being a trooper through her own experience. However, T14 was unmarried and without children when she joined the patrol. Since getting married, she has had the support and assistance of a spouse throughout her career. She attributed their recruiting challenges more to the current policing environment or the lack of a visible presence of women within her agency.

At one point in time they had me going out with some of the recruiting officers to speak at events. I think people think that you can't do this job, one, if you have children or you plan on being married because of the swing shifts. When I went out, and my son was born into this job, I think I had more time with him on a 12-hour rotating schedule than most moms who work nine to five Monday through Friday, but I just think that the danger and the perception now might be the problem of law enforcement. It is a little bit scarier now because everything is publicized about all these things that are happening. In the past, I just think ... Because other agencies get the applicants and we don't. I just think either we're not targeting the right areas or there's such a stigma because there's very few of us. I still to this day have people come up and say they've never seen a female trooper before.

While the prospect of being forced to move to obtain employment is a major negative factor even when informal recruiting efforts are initiated by actively employed women troopers, the interviewees offered other reasons as well such as the reputation of the academy or the women themselves not being good enough. T16, an active 23-year veteran still serving in patrol, explained her theories:

A lot of women don't apply basically because of the reputation of patrol school. They won't apply because they don't know where they're going to go when they get out of patrol school. Some of them are already settled in a career, maybe at a local police department. When I teach, I see females who I think might be able to make it through patrol school, and now we even have a shorter one, I'll ask them if they've ever thought about joining the patrol and they're like, 'Yeah, I'm not going to move.'

A four-year veteran, offered an alternate view of why the patrol employed so few women: "I think it's also because we have a high standard that maybe some women just don't think they can get on with the highway patrol, because we do have a higher standard than the city or county departments. We hold ourselves to a very high standard" (T18). The assessments of T18 were not uncommon. Several of the interviewees expressed biases that mirrored some of the preconceptions concerning women applicants that they themselves attributed to male troopers and their agency culture. Shelley et al. (2011) described this as a coping strategy used to distance themselves from other women (p. 361). Hochschild (1973) and Martin (1979) described this as separating themselves from the other women and negative stereotypes associated with their sex (as cited by Shelley, et al., 2011, p. 361).

Many of the interviewees assumed that they could judge the potential success of women based on their own observations or what they heard about the women from others. The interviewees were, in fact, making predictions based on whether or not the women applicants, cadets, and, in some cases, troopers, matched their agency image. T6, a supervisor with 24 years' experiences explained:

I've got a pretty good judge of character. I'm not always right and I do mess up on a few, but a lot of times when my gut says, you know what this one is going to be just ... We had one the other day that come through. I went to [name deleted by researcher] office. I said, 'We got us a good one.' She said, 'What do you mean?' I told her about this one female I just had and I said, 'If we can keep her and get a few more like her, we'll be okay.' There's no doubt in my mind if she can make it through the process and you hire her, she's going to be an outstanding trooper. Then I seen some come through and I'm like, 'Oh, my lord. I just don't think she's

going to make it.' Then I worry. I guess that's where the safety issue comes in. I just worry about them being able to take care of themselves once they get out on the road. They're going to be by themselves. They might not have backup right down there.

T3, a commander with 21 years' experience attributed the lack of success of some women on her agency to their unwillingness to work nights, weekends or patrol by themselves. T3 did not know all of the women on her agency but based much of this opinion on what she was told by other troopers who worked with the women. This same sentiment was shared by T23, a commander with 32 years' experience, when she spoke about some of the women on her agency:

There's so many of them onboard right now that I don't even know. I hate to leave them out strictly because I don't know them, but I've seen some women that have gone through the department that you wonder, why are they here? What are they looking for? Those women I honestly would tell you I just wish they would quit or find another job... venture off into another career somewhere.

Surprisingly, even though the interviewees recognized some of the challenges faced by women, many held strong opinions that the failure of women to attain employment or complete the training academy rested squarely on the shoulders of the women. Yet, there was almost unanimous agreement among the interviewees that discrimination against the employment and retention of women was an issue within their agencies. T15, a retired commander, described repetitive gender bias she observed during 2015 interviews for potential female patrol candidates that concerned and discouraged her.

I just think that it is almost impossible to break through to get into those roles because it's just, it's that white male-dominated job. I think that it's the mindset and I don't think it's really changed much in those 40 years. I think and what made me think that, I thought things were getting better and I thought with a new generation of troopers coming in that that way of thinking would be long gone and we had troopers coming in about three years ago and hearing some of the comments, it's just horrifying. Trooper interviews and hearing some of the things that these young men said and across the board it wasn't isolated to a certain area of the state. I think it's not just in law enforcement. I think it's across the board. For example, a panel of two men and one woman and they asked a question and he would start to explain and it was maybe a football scenario and he said but let

me explain what that means to you, [talking to] the woman [panelist]. It happened over and over again. That was very discouraging and eye opening for me that it's here. It's in the culture. Maybe I'm wrong but that's the way I think it is.

Later in her interview, T15, theorized that the problem of employing women is neither about fitness nor the willingness of women to seek the job. She continued to attribute the low numbers of women within her own agency as simple discrimination against women.

I just think they don't want a woman there because we've had one woman who was very, in recent, well two that I'm aware of within the last 10 years that tested or participated in the agility test and did very well but they didn't make it. I think it's just that they don't want the women there. I don't know if they think they're weak, not intelligent enough, tough enough to go through what they might encounter, but I think that's it. I think they don't want the women there. They train every day and for all those reasons, I just think they don't want the woman with them.

This sentiment was recounted by T2, a retired pioneer, who, also, questioned whether or not her agency actually wanted to employ women either while she was working there or since she retired. She continues to communicate with active women troopers and theorizes that bias remains strongly cemented within her agency's culture. She explained her concern and asked the researcher if things were better for women troopers now:

It's a male generated organization. It always has been and you know it's sort of like the military I think. Although, I think the military has gotten better. I, it's still, I don't know that men will ever 100% accept women 100% in law enforcement. Because I think it's just always been ingrained there, that we're supposed to be barefoot and pregnant at the house. I mean, I hate to say that, but I don't see that it's changed that much. I know how hard it was for me, but I'm anxious to see how is it, but I've been out of it so long, is it better now?

As evidenced throughout this study, the number of women in state police and highway patrol agencies is well below the national average of women in policing. Even though male troopers experienced similar obstacles such as the difficult fitness tests and standards; the long, difficult academies; being isolated and separated from families and support systems; and a sometimes-unwelcoming work force, some of the interviewees voiced concerns about changing

anything to attract or accommodate women to the patrol. T24, a supervisor with over 14 years' experience, offered her thoughts on what could be done to attract more women to the highway patrol. However, she did not offer recommendations that would change the patrol, but instead wanted to ensure that the women changed or matched the established expectations of the patrol.

That's the hundred and billion-dollar question because I refuse to settle. I'm very much a no changer in terms of I'm not going to bring our standards down just to hire women. I think the women that come should be willing to do the minimum of what the men do to a point.

A similar sentiment was expressed by T3, a high-ranking active member with over 21 years of service, who voiced concern and fear about any changes being made to their employment or academy procedures:

I worry about us as our agency, as I understand, we're going away from paramilitary to more of a college atmosphere. I worry about that, because of the structure and the discipline you learn in the academy. Number one, what's going to be our retention rate if we don't ... Because we're going to lose people because of stupid personnel issues like the calling home during the academy.

T5, a five-year veteran, provided additional insight as to the extreme difficulty of being employed by her agency as a woman and actually completing the academy. Yet she, too, was resistant to changing any policy, procedure, or methodology that would enable the agency to attract and employ more women, if it meant not meeting the historically established expectations. She explained her desire to support one standard for all troopers and the need for women to earn their place within her agency:

The first thing I would say is, if you want to be a trooper then don't expect differential treatment because you're a woman because you won't get it. Everybody's treated the same. What is asked of by the men will be asked of by you. I would say if you want to go out and help people and make a difference, a positive difference in our world, this is where you want to be, but you will earn everything you get. Nothing will be handed to you. That's what I would say.

Real concern was expressed more often than not when any questions concerning changes were raised. Even when the interviewees communicated their conviction that the employment process was difficult and unreasonable, most stated that they accepted the fitness standards were essential and that they passed so other women should be able to do what they had to do. T8, a 13-year veteran, also, did not support any changes to the employment process to attract or make the process more welcoming to female applicants, but she envisioned change as a sure method of getting people hurt.

I know what I just said about obviously we don't have the upper body strength even though you may be in really great shape. I feel like I'm in great shape now but can I compete with a man my same age or younger? Probably not. But at the same time, I think if you lower the standards ... I just know what this job requires when you're out here working. Obviously, when you're training, you're in a training environment, not being able to do a bunch of push-ups or running, that's not going to get you killed in school. When you come out on the road, if you have that mindset, well, oh, they made accommodations for me in patrol school, real life is going to make accommodations for me out here on the road and that's not going to happen.

T10, a training academy director at one point in her career, agreed with the other interviewee's assessments when she explained that she supported women being held to the same standards as men: "I'm basing it off when I went through. I trained and got prepared for it. Is it hard? Yes, it's hard. Is it harder on a woman than it is a man? Yes, it's harder. But I look at it as, if we're going to be out there doing the same job that a man's doing, then I think we ought to pass the same requirements that the men are doing. Two, being a female, right out of the gate is a disadvantage, as far as being out there. So, I think not only do we need to train as hard, but harder than the men do to prepare us for whatever we may encounter" (T10).

However, some of the interviewees offered options that were alternatives to broad and sweeping changes, but important considerations for the current workforce. T6, a supervisor with

24 years' experience, suggested: "We don't have a whole lot of females. If we take care of the females we have now, our females are our best recruiters. If our females are unhappy and they feel like they are being treated unfairly, they're not going to get out here and recruit for us. If our females are happy, they truly enjoy what they're doing, they're our biggest recruiters" (T6).

T7, a commander with 21 years' experience, thought that things could stay the way they were and offered a simple solution of just changing their recruiting methods, having women troopers recruit other women. She explained that she was informally recruited from another law enforcement agency by experiencing a chance encounter with a female trooper who not only professionally represented her agency, but also matched the expected image ascribed to state troopers. She described the encounter:

The troopers that were coming in and out for classes and also the ones that were instructing, they just carried themselves differently. Even the way that they talked, the way that they looked in their uniform, it left an impression on me. Specifically, (name of female trooper deleted) actually is the one that left more of an imprint on me than anybody. She was so professional. She taught accident investigation. She knew her crap. Like I said, it was that whole thing, the way that they carried themselves.

T11, a retired 36-year veteran, thought that any prospective female applicants should look past the image and possess a real understanding of the job before applying. She explained that female applicants should really understand the role that will be expected as a state trooper. She clarified that "[The job] looks glamorous maybe, the campaign hats, the car, or trucks now, and just make sure that it's a career that you want for the long haul because it is demanding and it does take away certain things personally, like you don't have certain friends, you may not get married" (T11).

Chapter 7. Findings: The Tar Meeting the Road

Institutional barriers such as the academy training, field training, patrol, marriage, family responsibilities, and other such obstacles prevent the employment, retention, and promotion of women (Lonsway et al., 2002, 2003; Cooper & Ingram, 2004). These gendered processes in gendered institutions are one explanation for why women have difficulty adapting and advancing in gendered institutions (Acker 1990, 1992). The Tar Meeting the Road reports on the experiences of the interviewees from their academy experience through acceptance and rejection throughout their careers. According to Marger (2008), culture is key to understanding male and female behavior (p. 325). She continues that the correct or expected behavior for males and females defines the ability of a person to function in a specific role. Since socialization begins in the academy with the molding of the cadet to fit the image of the agency, women must quickly learn how to imitate the expected behavior of the male image (Hochschild, 1973; Martin, 1979; Shelley, et al., 2011). This process continues through being assigned to patrol and the subsequent career path.

This chapter builds on the findings in the previous chapter by further exploring the experiences of the interviewees through five sub-themes:

- Hell on Earth: the academy experience;
- Getting the uniform and bad kinda gets you in the club: proving yourself;
- Talking people into handcuffs: difference;
- Where did all the women go: searching for Big Foot;
- They keep you isolated: segregation and mentors.

Their words revealed their individual efforts to fit-in and overcome gender stereotypes most often attributed to females, particularly when they were reflected on other women troopers. In some cases, the interviewees were relegated to specific positions that were lower in prestige and authority, even when promoted to the command level. Only two of the women, excluding

recent employees, served the majority of their careers in a patrol function with many commenting that it appeared that women were reassigned from the road [patrol] as soon as possible to administrative or desk jobs. The image that sells the agency is that of the patrolman in the uniform. According to Martin and Jurik (2007) women are overrepresented in staff assignments (p. 84). This image and the reassignment of women troopers to administrative jobs further contributes to the lack of visibility of women within the agency. When women are moved to administrative jobs, they no longer fit or occupy the required masculine image, which may be a reason that they continue to face barriers and challenges based on stereotypes, particularly for promotions and transfer opportunities (Acker, 1992; Marger, 2008; Martin, 1979; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Young, 1990).

Hell on Earth: The Academy Experience

After achieving employment, the second gateway to becoming a state trooper is to successfully complete the training academy. According to the interviewees, the fitness and physical agility requirements are even more demanding and difficult during the academy training than in the employment process. Cordner and Cordner (2011) reported research data based on a survey of police officers and chiefs and found that “women officers are four times more likely to agree that the retention of women is affected by the fact that police academies are male-dominated and not very woman friendly” (p. 214). A small study by Haarr (2005) determined that reasons for academy drop outs were due to the paramilitary model, authoritarian style of management, the process of breaking down individuals to build them back up, the strict fitness standards, and the stringent exercise regimen (p. 442). While this was true for both males and females, gender was a unique influence (p. 450). Cordner and Cordner (2011) argued that

changing the culture in training academies would be almost impossible, agreeing that the male-dominated culture and the paramilitary boot camp fashion are institutionalized.

Prokos and Padavic (2002) investigated the cultural practice of the creation of masculinity in police academy training that they support contributes to the low number of women in policing, asserting that academies create a hidden curriculum that reinforces to both the women and their peers that to be a cop means to be masculine. They describe this hidden curriculum as a primary factor in the self-initiated dropout of female recruits, because it is designed to exaggerate the differences between officers. Since the academy represents the cadets “first formal encounter with a police organization and is the first step in their professional socialization” (p.440), acceptance by the staff and one’s peers during the academy experience is a critical aspect of the potential for success as this certification is the basis for establishing a law enforcement career (pp. 440-441).

The interviewees confirmed that many women who begin the academy fail to complete the training primarily due to the fitness and physical requirements. However, a variety of other reasons were mentioned such as the paramilitary atmosphere with staff that perform as drill instructors, isolation, impressions of being unwelcomed, loneliness, feeling targeted for termination, firearms, academic scores, demoralizing experiences, lack of a support system, and the long, training period, and in some cases, an uncertain future.

All of the agencies under study require the cadets to reside at the academy during the training period which typically lasts twenty weeks or more, although most academies allowed the cadets to go home on weekends. The majority of the interviewees stated that they were not allowed to call home or leave the academy during the training week, even if the cadets resided within driving distance of the academy. The most frequently stated purpose of the residency

requirement was to ensure the bonding of the cadets. While this requirement created an adverse impact on single parents and placed burdens on family members, most of the interviewees supported this training methodology; often justifying it because they did it.

A retired major with 32 years of service described the stringent physical requirements and the military environment at her agency: “It was very tough. Very military. Lots of PT [physical training]. Lots and lots of PT. What we now call drill instructors; they were called host sergeants at the time when I was hired. So, it was tough, but you knew that going in so, it's just a matter of whether not you wanted the job bad enough” (T9).

All of the interviewees described the academy culture as very regimented and unforgiving. “It was not much tolerance for anybody getting out of line in any way. It rested heavily on tradition. You heard a lot about how it used to be and about how things have been for years and years. They wanted to keep it that way, to keep certain traditions alive. There wasn't much room for ... Nobody felt sorry for you in any way. You could either do it or do the job or not. No excuses even if you were a female. Even if whatever” (T12).

While every interviewee revealed that their academy experience was grueling, T17, a retired 23-year corporal, considered the academy to be more like a game stating, “Actually, to me everybody was basically equal. I'm an athlete, I was pretty tough. It's on a military style but I think the training depends on your mindset” (T17).

T8, an active 13-year trooper, explained that her 29-week patrol school was something she would never forget. Only one of six females to complete her academy class, she described her experience and the loss of other female class mates:

That first day, it's an eye opener, it's run ... obviously we have a paramilitary organization and it is, it's just physically taxing. I just remember that date because that was the day I started, my school started 58 individuals. Six of which were women and we only graduated 32 and I was the only female trooper to graduate.

The first few weeks of patrol school is where we see our biggest attrition rate. One female, she didn't make it four hours. She quit, she just couldn't handle the stress. Obviously, there is a lot of yelling and screaming in the first days, so definitely the first day. Physical training gets a lot of people. We PT every morning and people drop like flies off the PT field. They'll just walk off and quit. The majority of the people aren't as physically prepared as they thought and they're not as mentally prepared as they thought and they just quit.

T16, an active 23-year trooper and former military member, described her academy experience as hard work, but more of a head game designed to further challenge the cadets. She explained that if cadets were not physically fit, they would have the added burden of an emotionally draining experience. While she viewed herself as accepted by most other cadets and the staff, she, also, recognized that some of the men did not want her there. She stated:

If you were to drop back running or something like that, I mean it's just, that was a huge blow to my ego. I thought I was in great shape, just got out of the military. But I went in the military, I was in the front of the pack. I said okay, I'm ready for this. I went to patrol school, thought I was in great shape, and I'm there choking on their dust. Cuz these guys are out there just, when they say run, you're going to run. And that was so hard for me. That was a huge thing for me to get over mentally. And they get into your head, 'you're not fit to be a trooper' but then I'd sit there and think about it and the other guys in my patrol school were like 'You're ahead of us' and I was like, well you're right. But if you're not physically fit, that patrol school will just kill you. It didn't matter how much equal you did of the PT. There was ... Some of them were still reserved about.... Some of them were great. Some of the guys were totally great and respected you know, females. Respected me. I was the only one in my class though. Some of them you know just, it seemed like they didn't want to accept a woman being in that line of work.

T16, a 23-year active trooper, described what she presumed might be part of the fitness problem for women in the academy setting. In her words, it is not enough that cadets have to meet the difficult and normal standard for passing scores, they must be able to keep up with the men and any training requirements the academy staff demands at any given time. She stated:

So, the standard might be one thing to get in, but when you're in patrol school, you're just hanging on. Whatever the PT instructor has planned for that day, you're running as fast as he or she runs or does your pushups or sit ups. So, it's way above what the standard is actually. I guess their theory is they're trying to build you up to that standard.

When the researcher was the Director of Training for a state police academy class, she, with the support of the academy commander, established policies about how long and fast runs could be for cadets. The researcher later learned from former cadets that our policies were violated almost daily, running the cadets six miles or more and forcing everyone to try to keep up with a staff that trains year-round. This created a lose-lose scenario for weaker runners, most frequently women trying to keep up with the faster pace of the male cadets. The researcher observed that the weaker runners were ostracized by peers and staff alike because a failure to conform was resented and punished through additional training requirements and ridicule. These methods were passively endorsed by agency leadership even though it is the very same leadership that recommended employment of the individual as meeting the desired requirements.

T12, a 22-year active captain, justified the grueling methodology as preparing cadets for the real world that awaits them yet she reveals in her comments that these tactics are, also, an accepted way to weed cadets out of the program. She explained her support for her agency's academy practices and procedures:

The way that our academy is run, I think that it sets everyone up for success all the way around. The male cadets, the female cadets. What I mean is there's a set of standards there that they're going to push you to the max physically to see again your endurance; to see how hard you push yourself. If they're in your face and they're yelling at you, if you can't handle that if you sort of break down there then just imagine when you're out on the road and you're out dealing with sometimes the worst of the worst and they'll end up getting to you and manipulating your whole traffic stop. A violator might. I think it helps to weed out those people who might not be best suited for this type of work because it can get ugly. It's not like always the same situation. I think the way that our academy is currently run I think we're holding a standard. We're not lowering the standard and in terms of the females they are expected to perform. When it's test taking time, they're expected to pass the test. So far, we haven't changed anything there and we've had other females to pass and do just fine. I think it's very important that they see that and it not be watered down just to accommodate trying to get more females. I don't think it needs to be watered down all the way.

The structure of the academy, the design of the facilities, and the attitudes of the staff and, in some cases, fellow cadets, created barriers and challenges not necessarily experienced by the male cadets. While several of the interviewees were the only females in their particular class, the majority of the interviewees started with other women, most of which did not complete the academy. T21, a 10-year active trooper, who served as an academy staff member over one particular class, explained:

We had four females quit when I was up there. Only one of them graduated out of the five that showed up. I think that physically, it is very hard. It is very hard. I know you do a lot of pushups. You do a lot of running. Just as a woman, your body is not designed to do what a man can do. You're in the same setting, doing the same thing and I think sometimes the women just break down or they have family at home. One of them was a mother and she had a child. I think he was two or three and he was at home and she was just having a hard time emotionally with that. The men have a hard time. I think it's just harder being the mom away from home. I think that the physical and emotional ... The combination of it, I think sometimes wears on the women quicker than it does the men.

A 23-year veteran explained that when she started her patrol class, 10 women were employed, but only nine reported on the first day and only three graduated. She described how difficult the academy was for her, stating: "I was in the military and I'd say patrol school was harder than the military boot camp" (T16). This view was supported by a five-year trooper who offered: "Our patrol school is very, very difficult. I know that that's why everybody says, their school is the hardest. The Patrol is known for a very vigorous patrol school. Obviously physically and mentally. We've had military members, prior military members, attend our school and say that it is just as hard, if not harder, than Paris Island Boot Camp" (T5).

T4, a five-year veteran who resigned to accept employment with another agency described her training academy experience as one of separation that created physical and social barriers for her that at times resulted in retaliation from the staff and resentment from the other cadets. Her experience reveals the difficulties associated with being separated, denied access to

her peers and the staff, and the instances that resulted in drawing criticism from other cadets and the staff. All of these experiences were based solely on her being a female in a majority male class. None of her male counterparts were placed under this level of scrutiny and placed in situations that almost ensured failure. She stated:

I've told them that if I was ever the Colonel, I would change this. But I never made it that high. So, what I would do is they have the female barracks separate from the male barracks. It's two total separate buildings. So, you don't sleep ... You know you sleep way away from them. Like the guys talk, and you know, you can't talk because they have to put you in the bed at night.

I would make it to where there's not a separation because, whenever ... This is the hardest thing like, you have to run back and forth so much. Like, say for instance they said the uniform is this ... Like you're in your dinky khakis with these shoes on. Last minute they change it and you're supposed to be in your tennis shoes. Instead of having this water bottle, you have another water bottle. Or they'll say you need the thick coat, and then they change it to the thin coat. Well you're already over there in and in line.

Then this causes the group to be late because you have to run back over to your barracks. It's a long way. Run over to your barracks, back over there. Then you're late, so they smoke you for being late. The guys have it easy. They just run, yes ... The guys just run into their barracks and I have to run over to mine, you know. I'm just totally ... I'm just constantly running back and forth. So, if I was just housed over there with them, it would have been a whole lot better. Every female says the same thing. Like there needs to be a way that you're housed over there with the guys.

Similar to the experience of T4, the issue of separate space was described by T2, a retired 17-year veteran, who stated that both her peers and the staff punished her and the other women for intruding on their space. The women not only endured isolation and separation due to the issue of separate space but missed opportunities to participate in formal and informal networking opportunities because as T4 described, special accommodations resulted in resentment. She explained:

The barracks were all no locks on the doors. They resented when women first came on, because you had to change a few things. Women had to have private bath, shower. They had to put locks on the door and the men resented the heck out

of that. They didn't like ... That was taking their patrol barracks. It wasn't given up easy. I remember there was more squabbles over that than anything.

I mean you're going in on their territory. You're intruding on what's theirs and I don't think they ... It seems like the locals accept their females better than state patrol did. It goes back to 1943, when it was, 1937 when it first started, I guess. You had to be a big bully brute. You had to be six-foot-tall, weigh 180 pounds and smoke a cigar, this kind of stuff. I think they've not had enough women.

Many of the interviewees concluded that the consequences of separate space can be isolation and loneliness. The male cadets are typically housed in the same quarters as the duty officers, therefore, the female cadets did not have the ability to bond with and have the support of other cadets and the duty officers who, by their cohabitation, were available to the male cadets for guidance and emotional support. This, also, excludes the women from both the formal and informal networks within the academy and agency depriving them of information that can determine success. Excluding women from social networks creates an adverse impact on the women, because that is where information is shared and relationships are formed (Balkin, 1988). This can be as simple as how to properly shine shoes or how to properly make a bed with military corners.

While T24 understood that separating the males from the females might be a valid argument because of housing concerns, she did not believe the importance of the bonding experience was a valid reason for the females to be segregated and isolated, as she explained:

I think it is to a point, but I don't think they have to go to this extreme. That's just my opinion. I wish it wasn't that much. I was allowed to keep my cell phone in trooper school, and it kept me sane. I was able to call my mom and dad occasionally and my roommate in trooper school, she had a daughter who was three when she went through trooper school. She read her a book every night. She brought her book with her and she read her a night time book every night. That kept her sane. She was able to do a month there because she was able to talk to her daughter every night. Now they don't have that. I think it would be a lot harder. I don't like it. I personally don't like it. Do I think they should keep their cell phones? Nope. I think you should take their cell phones. I think that maybe once every other day, if they get in trouble. Maybe not tonight, but tomorrow

night they get to talk home. I don't think that keeps them from bonding, but that's the trooper school commandant right now.

When a woman is in a room by herself at night, which I can only imagine really sucks. I think a lot of women already have that home life and it's hard to go away for trooper school. Our first month you can't come home. How many women can be away from their kids? I couldn't do it now. There's no freaking way I could be away from my kids for a month now. Right now, the way trooper school is you can only make a couple phone calls home. That's it. For the first month you only get to make a couple phone calls home. I couldn't do it. It'd drive me nuts thinking about my husband and my kids.

The issues of isolation and loneliness, during the academy, was expounded on by T20, whose class began with 50 cadets, eight of which were women. She was the only remaining female when she resigned after four weeks of training. She explained that while the physical aspects of the training were challenging, she was in excellent physical condition and had no problem with that portion of the academy. Her most difficult part was the total isolation and lack of a support system, especially contact with other cadets or women. This being made to feel like an outsider was described by Prokos and Padavic (2002) who explained that both the male students and instructors reinforce notions that women do not belong. They described this is a devaluing process that determines who is in and who is out and puts enormous additional stress on the woman (p. 441). T20 described the factors that made her academy experience almost intolerable:

There were a couple of guys that said, 'Look, I know this is tough. It's really hard right now, but you can do it.' I think that was maybe one or two. I honestly got most of my support and whatnot from the guys that were in the academy with me when I was allowed to talk to them. Closer towards the end, I felt that whenever I was there, if I could have at least ... The guys would go back to their bunks and they at least talk about the day or talk about what really sucked or what their hesitations were at that time. I believe that I'd even asked if I could talk with the guys at night and I was told no because it would become an issue if anything happened. I guess they were worried about any type of sexual interaction or whatnot. I needed support. Having a female that you can say, 'This really sucks. I know you made it. How did you do it? What can I do to overcome this one little hump today?'

T20 was unable to interact with any of the women troopers during the day or at night after hours. She explained that this made her isolation complete, “No, there was nobody to interact with. The staff went home or whatever. I think there was always one person on duty or whatnot, the duty officer. It was never a female. It was a male in the time that I was there. None of the women [troopers] ever encouraged you in any way or pulled you aside to help you anyway” (T20). She went on to explain, as did other interviewees, that some women troopers not only failed to provide support, they were often more brutal, judgmental, and difficult. In explaining her interaction with women troopers, she provided an example of not only a lack of support, but an incident that almost resulted in her losing her job.

I did and that was the worst. The women seemed to attack the women more than the men did. That sounds terrible but they really did. When I was doing the physical fitness and the push-ups, it was a woman who came back and basically got in my face. Whoever had counted me that day, because of the push-ups, we don't go into an academy and anything and do female push-ups. You do male push-ups. The way that they did it was they put a fist on the ground and you had to have your body flat and you had to do, I would say, I can't remember, I think I did 50 push-ups in the allotted time. The guy who was counting my push-ups was like, “Wow.” When that lady came by and she said, ‘How many push-ups?’ and they said whatever the number was, 50, that was just an absolute. She said, ‘There's no way you can do 50 push-ups.’ I had just done 50 so obviously I couldn't turn around and do another 50 immediately. It was a challenge that I had no rest time and then had to do it again in front of everybody to make sure that I wasn't cheating.

T21, an active trooper with 10 years' experience, related a similar experience with the female training staff at her agency: “Patrol school, here were two other females other than me. There was three total in my patrol school. We started with 65 and we graduated with 43. They were tough on everybody. I don't feel like they singled us out any more than anything. The only one that tended to be harder on us was we had a female instructor for our patrol school and she was tougher on us than any of the guys were” (T21).

T20 continued recounting her experience by explaining how mentally unprepared she was for the academy, having never been exposed to a paramilitary environment. She was, however, the daughter of a state trooper and had many friends and family members who were police officers. She trusted she had an exceptional understanding of what the profession involved and what the role of police officers were, but she was unable to understand why state police and highway patrol academies were conducted so differently from other law enforcement academies. Her family and friend police officers, both males and females, all managed successful law enforcement careers without having to endure the type of training she was having to endure at the state police academy. She explained:

What happened to me, I think it was a mind game that I wasn't prepared for. Just without having any females in the academy, I didn't have any support system. I didn't go through the military and that was my first go at anything in that type of training where it was really, really tense and a mental game, somewhat of a mental game. At the end of the day, after you've been beat down all day by not only physically but mentally, and you go back to barracks or whatnot and there's a bed and a bathroom and four walls around you, and you have no contact with the outside world. They give you one phone call and the phone call lasted probably five minutes or whatnot. I don't feel like I had any type of support to be able to make it through successfully, not that I wasn't able to do it. Obviously, physically I could do it and probably my biggest weakness was my mental capability at that time.

One of the interviewees, T5, an active junior trooper, agreed that the probable reason that more women were not working on the highway patrol was due to their inability to successfully complete the academy. She stated: "We seem to be getting more females, but it seems like it's harder for them to make it through trooper school than it was when I went through. They can't hack it. They can't make it through the academy. I'm definitely not a feminist, as you can tell. Nothing in trooper school was handed to me. It was hell on earth and I hated every minute of it. Been there, done that. I went to two academies, both of them sucked" (T5). She explained that during her own academy experience that many of the women she began training with failed to

complete the academy. Her thoughts on their failing were described in a way that indicated no concern: "One quit after the first 45 minutes and the other one quit after six weeks. One of them I don't think liked being yelled at. The other one, her heart wasn't in it" (T5). She continued:

I'm very gender blind. I think if you're a man and you can do it, great. If you're a woman and you can do it, great. As long as you don't expect any special treatment because of your sex, then I'll welcome them into the highway patrol with open arms. I do not agree with any type of differential treatment based off your age, sex, religion, any of that. I do not agree with it and I never will. I have a reason for that. If the person you pull over on the side of the road, if you think they're not going to gut stomp you because you're a girl, you're wrong. I believe that women have to be able to handle themselves. Playing the female card is the dumbest thing I've ever seen somebody do. I have not seen it on the highway patrol in the five years that I've been here. I've never seen it, not one time because the women that work for us, they earned their way and they got everything they got because of their hard work and because they deserved it. Nobody has ever handed them anything.

T6, an active sergeant with 24 years' experience, also, trusted that she was a good judge of what females might make have a successful career as a trooper. She thought, as did other interviewees, that they could determine just by looking at them or listening to what they had to say during interviews. She expressed concern that the agency employed women just because they were women, without taking into consideration whether or not they would be good troopers. She described the concerns she raised with agency personnel about specific females:

Ten years ago, I used to sit on the boards all the time when they'd come in and do their interview boards. I can't even tell you how many I've done, but it was always the same ones who did it. This is the feeling that I got; a female will come in, I'd look at her, ask the question, ask the questions, I'd look at her, and I'd answer her questions. I look at the commander, I said, 'She ain't going to make it.' 'Ah, yes she will. I can tell.' I said, 'Commander, she ain't going to make it.' She didn't make it. The impression that I got they were hiring for numbers. I was like, 'That's not right, you hiring for numbers. I'm telling you they're not going to make it.' It's almost like they had a number they wanted to make knowing these females wasn't going to make it.

However, T12, an active commander who now thinks that her views on the treatment of women has changed, described the value of having women assigned to the academy during a cadet class stating:

Currently we don't have a female assigned to our training staff. It helps sometimes just to see a female. If you're that cadet trying to get that last push up, you can look at that female and say, 'Wow. She did it, I know I can do it.' Sometimes you just need that. That wouldn't be helping in any other way it would just show that there's a female that's represented and in a non-verbal way that would show the support that's needed. We're failing in that regard by not having a female presence at our academy as I feel like we should.

This opinion was shared by a retired commander who stated: "I think overall, it could be very good to have females on academy staff. Overall, because when I was in training, I would be the first woman that they would see coming through the academy. I got to meet them, learn about them and their families, learn what they could, couldn't do, what their strong points was, their weak points, encourage them as much as I could. They need women, because as you know, the view from a woman is different than the view of a man" (T1).

Aside from the isolation and lack of support, several of the interviewees spoke of a more problematic obstacle to successfully completing the academy: the targeting of certain cadets by academy staff in an effort to ensure they never wore the patrol badge. T11, a retired 36-year commander, related:

Yeah. Now, if they didn't care for you, that's a different story. If they trying to be merciful, they would just tell you, "Look, you're not going to make probation. You may want to start maybe seeking other employment or call your previous employer because we're not going to sign off on your probation." If they didn't like you though, they waited and fired you. If you were still good at what you did and they didn't care for you, they didn't make it that, 'Hey, 'cause we don't like you we're not going to sign it.' It wasn't that. What I mean is, you know how it is, if they like you, people just go on to tell you how you're not going to make it.

T8, an active trooper with 13 years' experience, reinforced the perception that academy cadets, both male and female, were targeted for removal by academy staff to ensure that cadets

who did not match their desired standards and expectations did not complete the academy.

Several of the interviewees thought that any indication of weakness by a cadet was exploited by the staff. T8 described the process explaining that for some reason it is the physically weak that are most often targeted versus the ones who are not academically challenged.

I think they do. I think, and it's not just women, it's the weaker men as well. To be a good trooper, to be a good law enforcement, it obviously helps if you're in good physical shape but there's a lot of good ones out there that maybe aren't the fastest runners or can't do 100 pushups but the first, especially the first few weeks, they'll weed out the physically weakest. We're called cadets in patrol school but physically weakest cadets they will weed out, yes.

If they see, usually the slower runners, they'll go after them. The people that can't do the calisthenics, the pushups, the pull ups, they'll go after them. Class room stuff where you might have a guy or a gal that's maybe not up to speed in the classroom, they don't pick on that. I'm going to use the word pick on. It's basically the physical fitness is what gets a lot of people. More they target people and as you know, when you're under that radar, they put a lot of pressure on you. They don't let up until you quit.

This weeding out process was recounted by several of the interviewees representing the agencies under study. T16, a 23-year veteran, supported the previous comments describing an event that occurred with another female in her academy class that could be considered criminal behavior by academy staff members.

They'll go in there and they'll kind of pick different people throughout, and I know that from when I taught school so I can look back on it, and I'd have to say, because one of my roommates, they were brutal with her. I think they were pretty harsh. I'm sure they were that way with everybody. But I have to say, back then it was a little different than now. Because when I got hired, I was told by another cadet, she told me, the first sergeant told her that someone was going to, and pardon my English, he said something about they were going to get into a fight and they were going to have to call her daddy because some guy was going to beat her ass and skull fuck her and all sorts of shit. And they never really said anything to me. I have to say, they'd go in to each person, they'd kind of weed them out. They'd say things to the guys, I don't know what they said to them. The only reason I knew that is because she told me.

I would have to say they did not want women. I was in the military, and I applied for the patrol, and it took me exactly a year. When I was at work, I got to know

troopers, deputies and the local PD and sheriff's department. I told people from the law enforcement I was applying for the patrol and they all told me I was crazy and they're going to have you just checking rest areas. They don't want women and all this stuff. And of course, when you say no you can't do that, of course it triggers me to do it even more. And when I got on, I was told that they had bet to when I would quit. Because when I got on, I was a single mom, and they were betting how long it would be before I quit.

The researcher can attest to this behavior by staff members as described by the interviewees, because she made numerous attempts to change the training procedures at her agency. It was not uncommon to have men and women injured during the training process. Complaints about the abusive techniques such as brachial stuns fell on the deaf ears of leadership who provided unconditional support to the training methods used. These tactical techniques involve a sharp blow to the side of the neck and shocks the carotid artery, jugular vein and vagus nerve. These strikes can cause involuntary muscle spasms and intense pain, but there is also a possibility of paralysis or death if delivered improperly. This targeting of cadets does more than weed out the staff undesirables, it encourages violence and brutal behavior which is modeled to other agency members and remains institutionalized.

T20 explained that she definitely thought that she and the other female cadets were targeted in her academy class. She explained: "Here were some women that literally had ... I don't know how much law enforcement background they had. There were some that were out of shape, some that were ... I guess targeted for that. They did target them. You could tell the people that they wanted to go away. They pretty much started falling off immediately. I think one girl was there one day and the next day she was gone. It was like, where'd she go? She had signed her papers and left. Pretty much within the first couple of weeks, I was the only girl left" (T20). She continued providing more in-depth and important insight into her experience by detailing a

series of abuses she had to endure all while trying to function in a training environment, operating on very little sleep, and thinking that she would be targeted for injury or dismissal.

I did feel like I was being targeted. I feel like some of it was because I was female. I was told that there was no way that I could have done that many push-ups and that there was no way I was not cheating or trying to cheat doing certain things. In all honesty, I was doing it the right way but I guess that was their way of trying to break me down. I don't know. Usually people that do well, you allow them to do so and you don't really target them. For some reason I kept being a bullseye to people. That's what I felt like anyway.

One time I think my pants were too short. I was rather thin back then. I had a hard time because of the size of the pants or whatnot. I had a hard time finding the pants. Whenever I did, they were way too long, so I had them hemmed before I started the academy. They just tagged me on that.

Of course, they go into your room and tear it up even though you've made your corners the right way. Your room gets torn up for no reason. I'm trying to think. Otherwise, I was never late. I do remember one thing that bugged me too and this is very small. They made me eat. I would eat, but I didn't eat as much as the other people did. They would put it on my plate and make me eat it, sit there and watch me eat it. I remember having to run back to the barracks. When I did I would vomit it all up because I couldn't eat that much.

I literally remember getting the shit kicked out of me. They would pair me up against the biggest guy. I remember this one guy, he was a football player. He's this big, ole guy and they put me against him. They looked at him before we went to do the sparring or whatnot and said, "If you go easy on her," because they had watched him before, they said, "You're going to get in trouble." I got my ass kicked by him. I did.

To me, you just set me up for failure. Where are my skills that you taught me before you allowed me to get my ass kicked, but thanks for the lesson that you just gave me because I stood up at the end of the day. It's just things like that. That's setting somebody up for failure. I think that's what I'm alluding to. Instead of trying to prove that you can't do the job, maybe they should work on preparing you for doing the job, preparing you for the fight instead of trying to tear you down where you can't do the fight.

To me, though, that's what they do. They take the people, in the beginning they want to weed out people and so they target them. They go at them at their hardest so that they can get the last man standing. At the same time, you've really gotten rid of some people that could have been way better than Joe Schmo who made it through because maybe he did ... I don't know ... a little academy back home or something and he was mentally prepared and had that training, whereas, I could have done it. I really could have, but I

didn't have any support. I was just mentally beat up. I was physically and mentally beat up.

T20's decision to resign from the class, after only four weeks, resulted from her concern that she was being targeted for termination even though she was able to withstand all that she had already suffered. She confided in her father, the former trooper, and he assured her that, based on his knowledge of the agency, her conclusions were likely accurate and that the abuse would not stop until she either resigned or they could terminate her for some reason. She commented:

I pretty much cried the entire weekend. I was just like, 'I can't do it. I can't go back to being by myself.' Honestly, the physical part of it was the least of my worries. Obviously, I was able to do that. That was not my issue. My issue was I felt like they were targeting me next because I was the last woman. I was the last girl there and I was super targeted because I felt like they didn't want women there.

Clearly, the stories told by the interviewees support the perception that the academy experience is a reason many women do not successfully complete training and that changes would have to be made to the training academy program to accommodate and support women, yet this resulted in a variety of opinions from the interviewees. T3, the active commander demonstrated no compassion for the women cadets. She described her efforts to weed women out of her agency as well, although she justified it by rationalizing that her actions were for the benefit and safety of the female cadet.

I do worry about females. There was a female in academy ... I was a temporary tack officer for new trooper classes, and there was a female there, but she was crying the whole time. Maybe this was wrong of me, but I said, 'If you can't take this, what we're doing to you, you can't be a road trooper. You need to honestly think about this as a career move for you, because you're going to be on the road, at night, one on one with a driver, or carload of people, and you cannot show this kind of fear.' While there was another academy instructor there telling her, 'Don't let her run you off.' I don't know, did I do her a disservice? Because the last thing I want to do is encourage somebody to stay that's going to be killed in the line of duty (T3).

While T19 acknowledged that women experience a significant disadvantage as compared to the male cadets, she was quick to defend the academy training program: “I do believe that the academy training is very difficult for women. Am I willing to sacrifice that? Not really” (T19). However, not all of the interviewees were opposed to changing certain aspects of their program. T2 suggested that the agency bring in outsiders to manage their program or, at a minimum, establish a mentorship program to assist cadets, particularly women, while in training. She did express concern that the women troopers might not be willing to mentor female cadets. She explained: “I mean they could make a mentoring program. I hope they have that now. That would be wonderful, but there's jealousy. There's spitefulness. There's, you know you had to.... There's sabotage against women when I was in there” (T2).

T20 offered several recommendations that she viewed as changes that could be made to ensure the retention of women without necessarily diminishing the standards of the agency. She commented that there were a handful of women in her academy class that probably could have made it, but instead of building the females up, the staff treated them differently and seemed to do everything they could to get rid of all the females and weak males. Her impression of the military was that while their training is hard, their goal is to train good soldiers, not run them off. She explained: “Instead of trying to tear people down and then build them up, I think they should maybe change that around. You're losing good people. They lose good people” (T20).

The view of T20 was supported by T1, a retired 27-year commander who echoed similar negative academy experiences. She stated throughout her interview that you could train people to have the skill set they need to be successful:

Even if you have a possible candidate, you can train them to be strong. They can be trained. Anything can be trained to get you ready to come in, if you really want

somebody employed. Do away with stupid tests like the monkey bar. That was stupid, the monkey bar. Pull-ups. Where I'm going to hang? If you see they can't do it in the first initial test, set a program just like the military does. Work with them on the weekends. "Let's do PT. Come on out. We're going to teach some of these things you need to do, some skill building" (T1).

Being mentally and physically prepared for the academy was the most commonly mentioned advice for prospective women and men. While only a few interviewees were open to the prospect of making changes that might improve the chances of success for women and physically weaker males, the majority thought that women should be able to perform at the level of men if they really wanted the job that, in their opinion, required male strength. T4 stated that in addition to being mentally and physically prepared for patrol school, women should be prepared to work twice as hard as the men to be successful. She explained:

Like to be prepared as much as you possibly could mentally. It's by far the hardest thing that you could ever imagine in your entire life. They've had many females start and not many females finish. The failure rate, is like high. It's not just high for females, it's high for males too. I would say just make sure your heart is in it. You have to have thick skin because a lot is gonna be thrown at you. As far as comment ... Not necessarily comments, but just you have to have thick skin to be in that line of work period. Whether you're male or female. You have to have thick skin....Just be prepared to be able to do the same thing equally that men can do in the academy. To prove yourself. Even so when you get out on the road. You have to be able to show them that you're capable, just as much as them. You'll probably have to prove yourself more than a male, just for the simple fact that you're a female. So just get ready to you know, bite that bullet and just know that you're gonna have to work twice as hard as the men.

This sentiment was echoed by a commander with 30 years' experience: "Give 110% while you're going through the academy. Be prepared mentally and physically. Keep in mind that you're in a mostly all male dominant organization and a lot of things don't take to heart. Don't take it personal. Do your job. Be professional" (T10).

Some of the interviewees were adamant that the academy training should not be changed to accommodate females in any way. T7, a senior commander offered: "I'm not very political. If

I end up getting myself in a crack because I'm applying the rules the same to everybody then so be it.” T10, a senior commander who acknowledged that the emphasis on physical and mental toughness was especially difficult for women, was unwilling to consider any academy changes even when she was confronted by other women troopers about the training methodology:

In my opinion, I thought it was just ridiculous how it ended up turning out. Because they were saying they were abused in patrol school and then they turned and looked at me, because I taught patrol school. There was another female, she passed away because she had a brain aneurysm, and it was like they turned towards us, because we taught patrol school. And they were saying how it was a hostile environment and all this stuff. I didn't think I was treated any differently than any of the guys, and I know I didn't treat any of the females when I taught school differently than the men.

Another commander, unwilling to consider academy changes, thought that because she and other women had successfully completed the academy that women who really wanted to could as well. She explained what she did to be successful:

The thing is that I have attributes another way. I've always had to learn how to use my mind and not necessarily my strength as far as physical strength goes when dealing with suspects and putting people in jail and having to arrest them and using force. It's always been about my brains. What they've asked us to complete as far as that physical assessment goes it's like they're amenable. I would think that if you want to do this job you at least want to have a certain amount of physical ability to be able to do it. When I went through I had to do everything that the guys had to do. The expectation of me was to do 40 sit ups, 40 pushups and run a mile and a half. We did it. (T7)

Aside from the many obstacles that the interviewees detailed that they experienced or witnessed, many described a demoralizing tactic that affected them mentally. They, along with their peers, had to endure the drill-sergeant-like staff and were regularly taunted by academy or agency command staff who, in some cases, made remarks similar to “If you can’t take the heat; get out of the kitchen” (T2). T1, a retired commander, stated that on the first day of her academy, “The commander of the academy came in and told us, ‘You are only here because of the consent decree. We don't want you here’” (T1). A retired major, related a similar story and commented

that the staff and commandant only cemented her resolve to stay: “I was determined that there was no way I was going to quit just because somebody got in my face (T9).” A 23-year trooper shared her experience: “They say that one thing when you're in patrol school, look to your left and look to your right cuz your attrition rate is about 33%, one of you three will be gone. And I thought to myself, I'm not going” (T16). While some interviewees said this treatment strengthened their determination, they did relate that these comments reinforced the sense that they were unwanted. This was seen as a constant source of discouragement and likely contributed to other females leaving.

Even the cadet who resigned after four weeks, (T20), expressed her regrets about letting the academy staff affect her mentally, because this was a job she wanted most of her life. While she has enjoyed many years as a professional who works successfully in a high-pressure first responder environment, she is disappointed that she allowed what she considers a misguided academy staff and institutionalized culture that did not want women troopers to determine her future. She was the last female to resign in her class:

I still regret it. I think about it every time and just a lot of times when people are talking about their lives and what they did and what they didn't do. I just regret it. I regret never finishing and knowing I am one of those people that I may not have a lot to bring to the table but I absorb whatever it is around me pretty quickly and I take a lot of pride in what I do. When I do it, I do it the right way and I do it respectfully. I do a good job at it. I beat myself up for a long time because I'm the one who quit. It was me. At the end of the day, I don't feel like I was treated fairly, nor the other females who were there were treated fairly or given an honest chance to be able to do that.

Even though all of the interviewees witnessed the adverse impact on women in the academies, they all expressed a deep pride in their own ability to complete the academy as expressed by T4, the five-year trooper who resigned for other employment:

If you could make it through the 23 weeks of basically hell that I went through in patrol school, I would say that you can ... That you can wear that uniform with

pride. If you can make it through the academy. It was the hardest thing I have ever done in my entire life. So, whether or not you could you know, jump the fence is part of it. I wouldn't necessarily say that would define somebody being a good trooper or not. If you can make it through the 23 weeks though, you accomplished something you could be proud of.

Even though most interviewees agreed that the training and the trainers created an adverse impact of women, T10, an active commander with training academy staff experience, summarized a belief shared by many of the interviewees about the importance of the way the academy training is structured. In her opinion, placing the cadets under intense pressure and the prospect of injuring cadets during the training was justified, because it prepared the cadets for possible real-world confrontations. Her comments clearly implied that women must be able to perform to the physical level of men to be successful troopers. More emphasis was placed on use of force situations than alternate skills such as passive techniques:

I would say they were pretty hard on women if they weren't able to keep up. I don't know if they just didn't train enough before coming to the academy. When we got to boxing I was struggling because I had a dislocated shoulder so they tied that arm beside me and I fought a male with one arm and they tied one of his arms behind him and we fought. Again, on the boxing part of it, I look back now and I think, well it instills in you if you get knocked out or if you get hurt or you get in a fight out there with a drunk, it tells you don't quit. Don't you quit. But it took me to the point when we were boxing to get mad. You don't want to go out there and you don't want to hit him, and the guy didn't want to hit me because I was a female. They told him, either get out there and fight her or we're going to put the instructor out there to fight you. When he turned around and this is me growing up with three older brothers, and it was a low blow, but as soon as he turned around I hit him. It teaches you, you better fight while you can if you're life depends on it out there. You do whatever you have to do to survive. At the time I didn't think it was a good thing and didn't want to fight. Now I look back, and I've been looking back and think, that's why they do it. That's why they do it. Is to survive out there?

Is it hard? Yes, it's hard. Is it harder on a woman than it is a man? Yes, it's harder. But I look at it as, if we're going to be out there doing the same job that a man's doing, then I think we ought to pass the same requirements that the men are doing. Two, being a female, right out of the gate is a disadvantage, as far as being out there. So, I think not only do we need to train as hard, but harder than the men do to prepare us for whatever we may encounter. Although I think we need to

focus more on what we're going to actually use when we get out there as a trooper. Now, saying that, I will say that I've had a lot of troopers come back and say when they got into a confrontation on the side of the road out there with somebody, that they would revert back to our training, when they went through trooper school. It's the fact that, "Don't give up." "Don't stop, even if you're hurting, or your mind's telling you, 'I can't do it anymore.'" You don't give up.

The findings in this chapter represented very complicated and, in some cases, contradictory belief systems among the interviewees. While the interviewees were well aware of the adverse impact on women, and physically weaker males, attempting to enter their agencies, there was a common resoluteness that ignored any need for change. There was no question but that the greatest emphasis in training was placed on fitness and it, also, was the most common reason for failure. A final comment from the cadet interviewee before ending the interview was that she “did not fail the academy; the academy failed her” (T20), is a compelling argument for considering institutional and cultural changes in academy training if the goal is truly to employ the best of the best. As Haarr (2005) argues, the resignation of [cadets] and police officers should be of particular concern to police executives due to the financial costs associated with employing officers and the indirect costs associated with disruption of services and organizational efficiency (p. 431). Additionally, police executives who are interested in promoting and encouraging diversity within their organizations should be concerned that these policies and procedures may be contrary to their organizational goals and objectives.

The next sub-theme, Getting the Uniform and Badge Kinda Gets You in the Club: Proving Yourself, explores the fate of the women who made it through the employment and academy obstacles and on to the interviewees' never-ending efforts to prove themselves.

Getting the Uniform and Badge Kinda Gets You into the Club: Proving Yourself

For those women and men who possess the correct balance of mental toughness, fitness, and physical agility, successfully completing the academy is the last step before pinning on the

badge and being classified as a trooper. What lies ahead is the Field Training Officer (FTO) program where individual troopers (peers and assigned Field Training Officers) and supervising rank have another chance to determine the future fate of the new troopers who report to their troops (troop can also be known as a barracks, post, station and many other terms which characterize a trooper work location). The interviewees speak in this section about initially not sensing that they were welcomed by their peers, agency rank, and, in some cases, the community. They, also, detail the difficulty associated with having to continuously prove themselves in a male-dominated profession, even after successfully completing the FTO program, and their efforts to gain acceptance.

After women have served in state police and highway patrol agencies for over 40 years, there are not enough of them that the public has come to expect the presence of women troopers. A five-year trooper who resigned for other employment, stated: "People would always walk up and say, 'Well I've never seen a female before' or 'You're the first female, you don't work alone do you?' or 'You don't work at night, do you?'" (T4). T8, another trooper with 13 years' experience, expressed the opinion that there are just too few women in law enforcement, in general, which is why the public has not become fully aware that women are in law enforcement, particularly in rural counties. "The women stick out because it's a male-dominated career. I think people have this perception of what a trooper is supposed to look like, and they think it's that 6' 3", 200-pound guy, and they don't see a female" (T8). T11, a retired commander, agreed with this assessment, but attributed the public not seeing many women troopers because there are not many to begin with:

When you do see us, I mean like I said, it's like searching for a Big Foot. I mean, they just stop and look like this when they see a woman. They just stop and stare and then they just walk up and say, 'A woman, you're a woman trooper?' Right. Most of them, 'I've never seen a woman trooper.' Then the next thing they're like,

‘Hey, do you work in driver's license?’ That's the next thing that they ask. ‘You work in driver's license?’ Or they'll say, ‘What do you do?’ I mean, it's just an enigma. It's not out there that you can be a trooper.

A sergeant with 14 years’ experience commented that while she did not initially feel welcomed in her post, she was more concerned by the reaction from members of the public. She stated: “I get it more from violators than I do anyone else in terms of, ‘You should be barefoot and pregnant’” (T24). This sentiment was echoed by another sergeant with 24 years’ experience who commented: “When I first transferred home, basically the biggest thing was women didn't belong in uniform out here. They belonged at home in the kitchen” (T6). She thought that acceptance basically depended on the size of the county in which the woman was assigned, with more rural counties presenting a greater risk for women assigned there. She explained: “Yeah. I'll say this, back in the day when I first come on, and I'm a firm believer in this, I felt like if the females went to a larger county where they were more accepting, they had a better chance for success. If the females went to a smaller county and it was a bunch of old school boys there, I didn't see them succeeding” (T6).

T11, the retired commander, bore the additional burden of being a minority. She described experiencing the resentment that she faced within the agency for taking a job that some thought rightfully belonged to a man. She expressed frustration that no matter how hard she worked or how much she accomplished, she was singled out for one reason or another and endured obstacles that the male troopers did not have. She commented that even though she was a top performer, the men treated her like she needed special treatment. This was a common idea shared among several of the interviewees who related that they were never able to overcome the sense that they never would be one of the boys. T11 described her early experiences:

I think at the beginning of my career, whether they were rednecks or not or really thought that women should be here or not, because a lot of people felt like, ‘Oh, she's taking up a man's position, or, ‘That could have been my buddy's position.’ Then to have another woman, African American, they tend to thought, ‘Hey, you're taking up a white man's position.’ Then they get into that being overly

protective thing, which is not a problem because I remember one of my supervisors, if they would hear me go out on a radio ... I always worked second or third shift period, no days, I always worked second or third shift and mostly third. I worked third shift when I first enrolled for the last four years, I worked 10 PM to 6 AM in all four or five counties in our troop. Is she all right? Is she okay?

A retired corporal communicated a similar frustration about being treated differently and expressed her conviction that men would never accept women in law enforcement. T2 did not witness significant change throughout her career and doubted that the situation changed much between then and now:

I don't think that men will ever 100% accept women 100% in law enforcement. Because I think it's just always been ingrained there, that we're supposed to be barefoot and pregnant at the house. I mean I hate to say that, but I don't see that it's changed that much. I wanted to do the best job I could. We had some females they just didn't, and I don't want ... I was by no means the best or nothing, but women somehow had it in their mind that they had to be like the men and we're different. Everybody gets in the post and the war stories and stuff, but it just seemed like they did try to fit in with the men. Some of the women felt like they had to act like the men to be accepted. I never compared myself to a man. I was a woman and even though I had the same job, the same role, I had men wanting to open doors for me and I'd say 'un uh, no, you don't do that.' I finally proved myself enough to where I was accepted, but it took a while.

The dilemma that T2 described is documented throughout the research as a coping strategy employed by women to navigate the gendered institution of policing (Jacobs, 1987; Martin, 1979; Martin and Jurik, 2007; Shelley, et al., 2011). Martin and Jurik (2007) described this behavior as “adhering to the masculine characteristics associated with the job” (p. 100-102) to blend in and defeminize themselves. She contended that women did this to gain acceptance and limit their exposure. T21 attempted to explain how the relationship is different between male and female troopers, describing social differences that affect day-to-day interaction. She thought that these differences make it almost impossible for the females to gain real acceptance. According to Martin and Jurik (2007), women have to choose a gendered role and either one can

leave women at a disadvantage (p. 100). “They crave acceptance but never can quite become ‘one of the boys’” (p. 100). T21 related her perception of exclusion:

It's one of those things, you know, like in a movie when you walk in the room and the music stops. Well they all have their little jokes and stuff and when I walk into the room, it's like the music stops and they ... They talk to me, but they don't talk and joke like they do with each other. You know what I mean I've never had an instance where somebody has ... I feel like they show a lot of respect for me. They don't talk crazy in front of me or anything like that, but it could be because of how I carry myself as well. I've never participated in that and I've let people know that I'm not going to be part of those kind of bathroom type jokes. I've never run into that kind of stuff.

While Brown, Deane, and Horowitz (2015) stated that their research demonstrated that the public thought that women are equally qualified, many members of the public expressed explicit biases against women troopers, such as how they thought the interviewees should be barefoot and pregnant. The interviewees were not spared from being challenged by members of the public during encounters. In fact, the interviewees thought they were tested by men solely because they were women. T6 described the way she managed challenges from the public. Her technique appears to model the more masculine gender role described throughout the research: “Seems like every guy that I encountered on a traffic stop ... thought they were going to manhandle me. Sometimes I felt like if you didn't talk to them in a certain way they were not going to take you seriously. Be stern, let them know you mean business, you're not going to take any crap. Let them know that. Let them know you're not going to take crap from anybody, because you're not going to manhandle me” (T6).

Most of the interviewees indicated that a more masculine demeanor aided them in maintaining control when working with members of the public and, in some cases, in gaining acceptance with the men with which they worked. T14, a retired commander, described her

method, but related an incident where the male trooper she worked with suggested she appear more feminine and the resulting consequence:

I truly believe that a lot of the motoring public didn't know what I, as a female trooper, might do if they decided to break bad. There were a couple of times where I did put somebody on the car to cuff them when I was told by a drunk one night, 'I'm not going with you.' I said, 'Oh yeah, you are.' He sat on my hat all the way over to the jail. That was a good one to tell supply. I think a lot of it was the way I conducted myself when I was out there making a traffic stop. I kept it strictly professional. I was riding with one of my fellow troopers on the run. I just asked him, I said, 'As a veteran,' I said, 'is there anything that you see that I do that I need to do differently when I'm making my stops?' He said, 'Well, you might smile at the people.' I said okay. Next stop we made, I got out and went up to the car and asked the lady for her license. I said, 'Miss so-and-so, the reason I stopped you was you were going 71 in a 55.' Went back to the vehicle to write the ticket and came back out. As I was giving it to her, I smiled at her and told her to have a nice day. She mumbled something and slung rocks all over me and my patrol car. Needless to say, I didn't smile at people anymore when I was in the ticket-writing mode.

Establishing oneself and taking control made the difference for one interviewee who discovered that her greatest challenge was overcoming public perception about the weakness of women. T6, a sergeant with 24 years' experience, credited the way she handled herself in not only saving her life, but in paving the road for other women troopers who followed in her footsteps.

I was the first female trooper they ever had there. My first work there was total hell. It was hell. Not by my fellow cohorts, they were awesome, by the community. They didn't know how to deal with a female trooper. After that first week of fights and chases and all that, the community knew that I'm going to stand my ground. The whole community changed towards me. I think when I left [that] county, I left a good impression with female troopers coming to that area. Now, I don't think we have any there now. We've had a few go in and out and I asked them, 'How are you being treated? How are things going?' The few that I know have gone there and it's been wonderful. There are some counties, the very rural counties that does not have female troopers and they have never had a female trooper. I mean, it's 2017. I can't help but wonder what that female is going to go through when she goes to those particular counties. I think it's very important, especially for troopers like that that we have this connect, this system, this something in place for females, that way she knows, "Yeah, I'm the only female trooper here, but I'm not alone" (T6).

Several interviewees commented, in one form or another, about the frustration in having to continuously prove themselves, regardless of how long they had been serving. This was especially true when they reported to a troop, transferred to new offices, or started new jobs. A retired commander, summed up this dilemma: “[Being a woman] I believe it has a lot do with it, especially in this male-dominated career. If you don't keep on proving yourself, you'll slide. You'll slide in everybody's eyes” (T23). T4 agreed with T23 and the majority of interviewees who thought that acceptance was dependent on how you managed yourself.

T15, a retired commander, provided her opinion as to how women were perceived by male troopers and supervisors, when she began her career through today. She explained: “I think they [women] are perceived as weaker and I just think they're perceived as ‘Oh, you've got that woman.’ I guess less valuable. Weaker, less valuable. Maybe not so much troublemaker, but lots of men don't want to have a woman to supervise” (T15). A retired commander from a different state agreed with the sentiment expressed by T15 when she responded that throughout her 36-year career, the women were always under a microscope, which made the job harder for women to fit in. While she witnessed some change over time in the attitudes of the men with whom she worked, she attributed any change to the younger generation of men who seemed to be more accepting of women. “They're looking to see if you can really do this job. I think in today's term, not so much so, but there's still that microscope” (T11). She explained that even though the men are more accepting, they seem to have more bravado and think they are still superior to women in the policing realm. She, also, described the dilemma faced by male supervisors who have to be open to managing the difference between supervising men and women troopers, along with the frustration some of the men face in working with women in general:

If I choose the woman, I don't know how she's going to think or I don't know if I'm going to be able to control her. Women, we kind of reason a lot of things. We're like, "What was that now? Why now?" That's hard for men. Then you have to look at too, when you come to work a lot of times, and I'm not a male so, a lot of times that's a lot of male bonding. Then you're like, "Man I just left my wife at home, then I got to deal with her when I get here." Pretend you got a strong person like me. You're like, "Lord have mercy. I'm at work to escape home and then I have to come to the job and face this." Then again, we have to look at it too, it is a, particularly state police, a male-dominated world. Male-dominated. Now, some of the younger troopers, I don't think they'd really have an issue with it. I mean, because a lot of them, their wives are professionals. They're like, "Well my aunt, my mom, is one. I was a police officer, she was chief, or whatever." That little younger generation. Then this younger group now, a lot of times they just think they have the goods, that they [are the best].

One interviewee was perceptive enough to recognize that just getting employed and successfully completing the academy was not enough to gain acceptance from her male co-workers and rank. Therefore, she determined that her best course was to work hard and outperform them. While T8 accepted that it did not guarantee entry into the boy's club, it at least provided a form of respect. She explained her methodology:

When I first came on, it was tough to prove yourself. Even though I was out there working, writing a lot of tickets, getting a lot of arrests. I felt like I had to work so much harder than the men. As far as treated in my district, I was treated great. I didn't have any issues. I mean, the guys, obviously they'd joke here and there but nothing major. You definitely, in this organization, action talks so you definitely have to prove yourself. Just getting the uniform and a badge kinda gets you in the club but you have to perform and when they see you can perform, they you gain a reputation, of course. And, if you're a good performer, obviously, that's advantageous. (T8)

However, T2 had a different experience. While she recognized that she could gain acceptance by working hard, however, she quickly learned that she could not draw any attention to herself by working too hard.

I don't know if they were just going to show me how tough it can be, you know, but I always learned you had to prove yourself and after you finally proved yourself, you know you were one of ... You were more accepted, but initially, you were not accepted. You had to ... It was strange. You had to keep your activity up, but you couldn't write more tickets. I mean, this is hard to explain. You couldn't

be a hotdog because they'd resent you for that. You had to pull your load. You had to learn that there's a middle ground and you just try to stay in the upper middle ground because if you excelled, they resented you. In fact, I had troopers that would actually ask me, "How many tickets did you write?" I'd ask why. "Give me two of them," because they hadn't done anything their entire shift. So, you know you'd have to [play the game]. I'd give them my tickets.

The importance of being accepted by one's peers and supervisors in law enforcement could not be overstated, because the women's personal safety and future within the agency depended on it. For example, an active commander described one reason: "We're usually out there by ourselves. Our closest backup may be 40, 45 minutes away. We're alone. I've got a brother that's on [a major police department]. He's telling me a many a time, 'Your job as trooper is a lot more dangerous than mine out here, because they've got back up right then [you don't]'" (T10). The interviewees understood that in order to continue as a trooper that they had to be able to work alone and independently, as detailed by a retired 32-year veteran, who stated: "Yeah, you have a field training officer, and that's all fine and dandy for the companionship for the 30 days or however long that is. Then you're out on your own. You make it or you don't I guess you have to have the guts and the stamina and the ability to think things through to make it" (T23).

But they, also, knew that if a situation ever got out of control that their lives would depend on their peers coming to render aid, just as they would do for them. Mutual support and inclusion are critical elements of performing police work because policing is a dangerous profession. Some women have been excluded from this important source of occupational solidarity (Martin, 1978). A few interviewees related harrowing situations, from which they learned quick lessons about the importance of being accepted and supported. T2 described one night when the weather was particularly bad. She assumed all her male counterparts were working as hard as she was until she returned to the post.

When I started, men were the opinion women had no business being in law enforcement, or I was never shown then, and in fact, was told that quite frequently. You had to prove yourself and they were never ready to help you if you needed it. You knew you had to have your stuff together. You had to be prepared. You had to work your accidents. In fact, for instance, it was cold, snowy, rainy, icy roads, having a lot of wrecks in [my] county. I was out there all my entire shift and there was cars running off both sides of the road. In fact, I would be trying to get one out and here come three or four more and call and ask for help. Never got help the entire shift. Well it's a funny thing. Got to the Patrol Station and they're in Post, the men are.

Almost all state police and highway patrol agencies require their troopers to patrol alone.

The concepts of mutual trust and respect were lessons that T6, an active sergeant, figured out almost at the start of her solitary patrol duties. She realized how dangerous the job could be and the high stakes for which they were all playing. Going home at the end of shift meant her being able to rely on her brother officers and them knowing they could rely on her.

It's when I got cut loose and I was by myself. I learned quick, you know, you've got to stand your ground so number one, your fellow troopers need to know you can handle yourself, because they was constantly watching you. That's how I felt. Once I got cut loose from my training officer, that's when I'm like, 'Oh, this is serious.' I've got to let people know I can take care of myself. I've got to let the guys know, 'Hey, I've got your back. You can trust me when something happens.' I think back then that was a big issue from the guys. When I transferred to [another] county I didn't know anybody down there. I knew one guy. He graduated the academy with me and we were on opposite shifts, but none of those guys knew me and I didn't know how they were going to take me. I didn't know any of that and I was kind of worried going into that county of what to expect from them. I also wanted them to know, "Hey, you can trust me. I've got your back when the crap hits the fan. I can take care of myself." I felt like I needed to show them that. If that makes sense.

Nowhere did this become more obvious to T6 than when she and other women troopers in her post with started experiencing significant problems with some of their patrol rank. She explained that they were being ridiculed and written up for actions that their male peers were doing with no consequence. They thought that they were definitely being targeted, possibly for discipline or removal. They decided that they had no choice but to file a formal grievance. When

they took that step, not only were their careers in jeopardy, they believed their very lives were at risk. T6 described the fear that she and the other women lived with on a daily basis: “We didn't know, it got so bad, [we didn't know] whether we were going to have backup or not. It was like when we went to work, number one, hoping one of the other females was going to be working with you and hoping too that the guys that are working are going to be the guys that aren't judging us” (T6).

Another story related by one of the interviewees was so shocking to the researcher that she found it surprising that the interviewee considered it a test and placed so little emphasis on the importance of it. If the story, as related, is factual, her male counterparts placed her in almost certain, grave danger. In fact, part of the incident resulted in a vehicle pursuit which, also, places the pursuer and the pursued in extreme danger. T19, an active commander, described the incident that occurred one particular night while she was assigned to patrol duties. Under normal circumstances, behavior such as described could result in discipline up to termination:

I'd say there was maybe one time when I was on the road, where I felt like I was being tested by the men. What they did, they probably never would have done to a man. We had a roadblock, this was when I had only been on probably a couple of years, and we had a roadblock and there was about four of us there. We don't have cages in our cars, we never have, we transport people in the front with us, because we'd rather them be in the front than in the back. We've never had cages. When you transport somebody, of course, you're going to search them down good, and you put them in the front seat with you, and occasionally you might have to transport two, so you're going to put them here and here, you are never going to put one behind you. At this particular roadblock, we had about three drunks, and they decided to move the roadblock, and the men together decided to leave those three drunks for me to transport, all three of them. Two of them didn't even have cuffs on them yet. They were like hey, moving to so and so, we're going down the road, take these down to the jail for me. I'm dealing with my guy, getting him searched and cuffed, and I got two more guys standing here and every trooper at the roadblock up and left. I don't know if they were thinking I could handle it, or if it was a test, or what, but as I was handcuffing the second guy, the third guy goes and jumps in his car and takes off, because they called wreckers for them. We ended up in a pursuit. I don't think that anyone of them would have left those three guys with one of them. I just don't think they would have done that. I think it was either a joke, or it was funny, or it was a test, I don't know what it was, but it was stupid. That was really the only time I ever felt like

that would not have happened, they wouldn't have left somebody else there with all these guys.

The importance of accepting the gender role in which the interviewees found themselves seemed to provide an understanding among the interviewees that things were the way they are because that was the way they were. All of the interviewees accepted that they were working within a perceived man's world. While all of the interviewees stated that they wanted equal treatment, not one stated anything in opposition to that sentiment nor did they indicate in any way that they refused to accept or work within those circumstances. Orban (1998) described this as female police officers accepting and adopting a code of behavior that proved their loyalty to the patriarchal police culture and the brotherhood of policing (As cited by Corsianos, 2009, p. 101). T14, a retired commander, explained her acceptance of women troopers working in a man's world:

Just the fact that you are very much still in a man's world and you need to be prepared to deal with that. That you're going to face hurdles and you're going to still see people who believe that you shouldn't be there. By your actions, you show them why you should be there. No matter how good you are or what you do, you will never be good enough for some people. That should not be what you base your career on. I know what I did. I don't have to have anybody else's approval.

This desire to operate within the male domain was shared by other interviewees who described coping strategies they used to gain acceptance. An active 10-year trooper, discovered that in an effort to fit-in with the male troopers it was just easier to try to blend in. T21, an active trooper with 10 years' experience confided: "Probably, because I think it'd be easier to just be one of the guys because then ... I guess I feel like that's probably how I've been as successful as I've been is that I've been on ... I didn't want to stand out. I did just want to be one of the guys because I didn't want any special privileges or anything like that because I was a female. I just wanted to blend in" (T21). This desire not to draw any attention to themselves or do anything

that would distinguish them from their male counterparts was discussed in a study by Archbold, Hassell, and Stitchman (2009). Their choice to blend in and be one of the boys affected their status and dissuaded them, in some cases, from seeking special assignments and promotions. They alleged that to do so would appear that they were being given something solely because they were females, placing them in a bad light before their peers. Interestingly, most of the surveyed women thought they were equal or superior to the performance of their male colleagues.

Trying to fit in and be one of the boys was not necessarily an advantage, according to an active 24-year sergeant. She gave a detailed account of the changes she experienced in trying to imitate the behavior of her peers and to project the image she thought she had to do to be accepted.

I think it would be my attitude. I'll give you an example. My first week, I very rarely cussed and I really wasn't assertive to a certain extent. I was kind of laid back and easy going. I feel that I am now ... I've had to overcome a lot in my career, but my first week on patrol working [my] county, you name it we got in it. I called my mama a week later to check in and she's like, 'Good god!' I'm like, 'What?' She said, 'What in the world has happened to you?' I'm like, 'What are you talking about?' She said, 'I'm not talking to the same person. Your language and how you're talking.' I said, 'Mama, you've got to talk that way so they can take you seriously.' That was my mentality as a baby trooper going through the years and in a way, I took that home. When I was in relationships they lasted a couple years and finally I didn't like or [accept] certain things, whatever, 'grab your crap and get out. I don't need it. I'm going to make you leave.' I wasn't as understanding and patient as I should be because I brought the attitude home. The attitude that I had to survive at work I brought it home and it caused a lot of friction with relationships and my family saw a difference in me.

The coping strategy T6 chose was explored by Martin and Jurik (2007) who described the method of defeminizing oneself and adopting masculine characteristics and behaviors (pp. 100-102). This methodology was, also described by Jacobs (1987) who found that some female

officers choose to do this to become “one of the boys” (p. 5). An incident involving her family caused T6 to reevaluate her behavior and interaction with others. She explained:

What opened my eyes was, was when my grandmother got killed in a car wreck in [date deleted] and how the trooper treated my family just ticked me off. I sat back listening to my mom and my aunt and everybody on how things were done and I'm like, ‘Oh crap. That's been me.’ That trooper that did my family the way he did my family, I was doing the same things to other families and it tore me slap up. I didn't know how to handle it. I didn't know how to handle the loss of my grandmother in a car wreck and I didn't know how to handle the fact that my family was griping and complaining about a trooper that was me. I told myself, ‘I got to make changes, because I cannot bring the attitude home that I had at work.’ That was some hard times, some troubling time. If I could change that that would be the one thing that I would change.

There were other obstacles beyond gaining acceptance from their peers. As related below, some of these issues involved external issues such as a wife who would not allow her husband to train one of the interviewees to unwanted special treatment by supervisors who would not allow the women to perform some of the same duties or responsibilities as their male counterparts. While the interviewees thought that the supervisors were trying to take care of them, their actions only further served to reinforce the image that women were weak and needed men to take care of them, causing more division between the male and female troopers. Additionally, the interviewees had to sometimes overcome sexual harassment and overt gestures from the men with which they worked, along with concerns about their moral character. Shelley et al. (2011) stated that “research indicates that some male officers use offensive humor, sexual stereotypes, harassment, and profanity to reinforce the masculinity of policing and segregate women as an out-group” (pp. 352-353).

Well, when I came on, there had only been four other sworn females on my agency. One of those married another officer within the agency, which caused the administration to be very disgruntled. The chief [of the patrol] was there [when I was in the academy]. He made the statement to me that if he found out that I had come to this school to date these men, he would jerk me out of that school so fast I wouldn't know what happened to me. To which I said, ‘Yes, sir, and went on my

merry way. I was very cautious throughout my career about my interaction with other sworn males. I suppose the main things that sticks out in my mind is being in the South, many of the men still had the male chivalry where they saw females differently than perhaps we wanted to be viewed. The holding the door open - this sort of thing. It wasn't the same as if it was one of the guys. I saw quite a bit of that in my career. I saw some officers who wanted to believe that I was common property, so that if they believed I was too friendly with this one, they believed I should be too friendly with them as well. I was told once when I was riding with another officer that there's a right time for every man and every woman and there's no such thing as rape. I very quickly got out of that patrol car, and got back in my own patrol car, and went to my supervisor and told him that if that particular individual ever laid a hand on me, he'd be the second one I'd call after calling the paddy wagon to pick his dead ass up. I meant that. I was not common property. I was not chattel for anyone. I think that throughout my career more was expected of me being a female in law. I asked one of my supervisors, a long-time supervisor on the agency, why he expected more from me, why he held me to a higher standard than he did the other people under his purview. He said, "Because I knew you were capable of doing it." Which, I don't necessarily think that was fair, but it was the way it was. It's still hard for the men on my agency to accept women, I think. (T14)

Some interviewees described feeling both fear and shame when they were sexually harassed, particularly when the gestures were made by supervisors and ranking members of their agencies. T1 described an almost intolerable situation that continued throughout most of her career. If she said anything, she feared retaliation that would affect both her reputation and career. A few of the interviewees stated that they expected this behavior and, in some cases, didn't take exception to it, accepting that these behaviors are normal in the work place. A small study by Seklecki and Paynich (2007) concluded that the majority of their participants not only accepted it, but their comments demonstrated signs that women were becoming socialized into the law enforcement environment (p. 29). In the case of T1, her peers offered her support and a measurement of acceptance that prevented her from resigning.

The troopers, I got that respect. Now, the upper rank was a different story. I had to deal with some different things as a female, as you're probably aware of. While the guys were combating being hired as blacks with discrimination, I was combating this sexual discrimination, this sexual harassment and discrimination all at the same time. While they had one battle, I had two. The upper management

would say things that were very inappropriate. I remember one commander wanted to know what kind of sexual ... What was his exact words 'What kind of sexual fantasies do you have?' I remember that very well. They would say things. I had one guy one-time, white guy, pat me on my butt. I told him, 'Don't do that.' I was always able to handle it myself. I would stop them right away. That one particular guy, he was real smooth with it. I didn't have anybody to tell. There was no such thing as that sexual harassment at that time when we first came on. That came on after the fact. There was nobody to tell. I would talk to one of the other troopers, a couple of other guys I had been on all the while. I would cry my eyeballs out sometimes at night having to put up with that crap. The road troopers treated you well, very well. I didn't have that sexual harassment. They would say racist things. They didn't say ... It would be in my presence and indirectly at me. As for it, I can honestly say that I just didn't have those really terrible experiences but I think it was the way I carried myself with them and presented myself. I was always an independent stronger type woman. Even if I was one-on-one with an individual, I carried my own stuff in such a way that I was just always professional with them. I gave no indication that they could do that with me. I wanted to get away from under that leadership. Because of the sexual harassment that I was experiencing. Making me miserable, cry at night, dread going to work because I didn't know what he was going to say or what he was going to try to do.

Some of the interviewees were embarrassed by other women troopers and considered some of the problems experienced by themselves and other women to be a result of being painted with a broad brush where anything done wrong by one woman was applied to all the women. Some explained that they learned how to manage the stereotypes associated with women, in general, by distancing themselves from the other women. T18, explained that on her arrival at her troop, she had to overcome the reputation of a woman who preceded her, explaining: "They didn't know what to expect [when I got there] because apparently the last female that was there was bat shit crazy. And if they said she was bat shit crazy, she was bat shit crazy. So, they didn't know me, if I was going to be like her" (T18). Martin (1979) maintains that the women do this to gain acceptance by the male officers and that "those women who adhere to the cult of masculinity often deny and persecute other women" (p. 323). Prokos and Padavic (2002) agreed that some women do this in an effort to fit into the masculine culture of the organization (p. 441). Martin (1979) further argued that distancing themselves from other women "helps the women

avoid the negative stereotypes associated with their sex and makes them emblematically, the exceptional woman” (p. 323).

The statements by T6 demonstrate that some of the divisiveness among the women is caused by the male troopers.

‘Hey, there's only a few of us on patrol and we work hard.’ I don't know about them, but I've worked hard. I've got a good name. I haven't kissed butt for anything. Come in here, be strong.... We got a new lieutenant and he wanted to meet me on a break at a gas station. I went and I met with him. He starts comparing me to that other female. I just sat there and I looked at him. It got to the point where I'm like, you know what this is crazy. I gave him an earful. I don't ever disrespect my ranking officers, I never have. I didn't disrespect him, but I let him know, Hey, you know what, you don't know me. You've never worked with me. You don't know my work ethics. Don't you dare compare me to somebody else.’ I grabbed my stuff and I left. A couple days later he called me into the office and he wanted to apologize because he said, "Yeah, you know, I was unfair in doing that to you. I should have never compared you to here. Blah, blah, blah." I guess, over the years and that's probably one of the reasons of why I'm like I am now, I told you I hold females up to a higher standard. I feel like those of us that's got some time on like me, and [deleted], we worked hard to get where we are. Not saying patrol does that now. Talking about back in the day. It used to really upset me that they would hire these females that couldn't cut the job. Number one, it's putting their safety in harm's way knowing they can't do the job. Number two, what veterans has worked so hard over the years with females that we can do this job, we're capable of doing this job. We can do the job just as better, if not good as the guys. ‘Why are you hiring females that you know that can't do the job?’ That's tarnishing what we've worked hard to do” (T6).

Some of the interviewees were not only very critical of the other women, but they held a standard for what all women troopers should be and look like that mirrored the expectations of the male troopers. T8 explained her thoughts:

I hold the females to a higher standard, because ... I shouldn't be that way, but I do, because I figure if I can boost them up, bring that morale up. I think some of the females that we have, a lot of us are just kind of, you know, there's some that I see, and I'm like, ‘Wow! What happened to her? She was in such great shape, and now she has to wear men's pants.’ At the same time, I feel like we have to maintain ... If you want to be treated like the men and respected, you've got to not only be able to do the job, but you've got to carry the image. You have a lot of women, they want to be feminine. You can still be feminine in this job, but I mean most of them, they want to wear more make-up. They are really restrictive

of what you can wear. Of course, they expect you to wear the same uniform that the men do. Everything's the same, there's no difference other than the cut of the shirt and the pants, obviously. There's no women's tie or anything like that. We have women's size shoes but that's about it. [Some women have a problem with that]. You don't see one female trooper and say, they'll kind of classify us all. They'll see one that's not in great shape and they're like, 'Oh, all our female troopers look like crap.' You see how many men there are that look like crap, they don't say anything about them.

While several of the interviewees did comment on positive changes for women that they have witnessed over the past few years, some of the comments were not indicative of equality. There was both general concern and, in some cases, acceptance of the interviewees being characterized and treated like sisters or mothers by their peers and supervisors. Young (1990) argued that this judgement is sexist and marks, stereotypes, and devalues the woman (p. 133). T21 commented: "They're treating me more like their sister rather than anything like that. I felt like they're always trying to take care of me at work." T24 referred to herself as being a mother bear to her baby troopers. These comments were not unusual. Several women interpreted this as a form of acceptance and a way to blend into the male culture. However, Martin and Jurik (1996) argue that the use of affectionate terms by the male officers demean women and reinforce the masculine character of the job, ensuring the women remain outsiders (p. 38). In a profession that should be committed to equality, categorizing women troopers as sisters and mothers, feminize their positions and continue the cultural imperialism described by Young through privilege and oppression (p. 133).

Both T2 and T12 described being excluded from the inner circle, even though they thought they were more accepted than earlier in their careers. The literature and interviewees support that many women thought that over time they effectively gained some acceptance if they worked hard and proved themselves. However, the interviewees agreed that there were certain areas and activities in which they clearly were not welcomed. T2 provided a specific example of

the men often staying behind at the barracks after shift and drinking beer. She explained that not only could she not do that because she was a parent and had to go home, but nor was she ever invited. Prokos and Padavic (2002) stated that these activities remind women that “they are outsiders who are not welcome as full group members” (p. 448).

T2 considered the worst part of being a woman on the patrol as having to fight for everything they got, whereas, she thought the men had it easier and received special treatment and acceptance from the good old boy network. However, T12, an active commander, offered a more positive perspective: “Today what I'm seeing is that it seems like the males are more accepting and more helpful. From what I can see. They're more accepting and more helpful for the females that are working with them. They sort of kind of go out of their way more to help than to watch them fail” (T12).

Other interviewees, also, expressed that while they were hopeful about the younger generation being more accepting of women, based on their observations, they remained concerned that not much has actually changed in their careers. One concern expressed was that women were all but missing from the patrol function. In fact, there was a general consensus that women were intentionally reassigned to administrative jobs, particularly as they ascended through the rank structure.

Where Have All the Women Gone?: Searching for Big Foot

The work environment can send a clear signal to women that they do not belong, this can be particularly true in a patrol environment where masculinity is valued (Morash & Haarr, 1995). Two concerns expressed by some of the interviewees were that women seemed to be encouraged to leave patrol for assignments that would take them off the road and there was no effort to provide mentors who could contribute to the successful assimilation of women into the patrol

and through the ranks. In fact, in all but two of the agencies, the women are isolated and do not have agency-sponsored opportunities to engage with each other. In three agencies, the women did not know how many women were serving with the agency or where they were located. While several of the interviewees were not concerned about the women knowing each other, comments were made that they would be ostracized if their agency held meetings just for women or made a special effort for the women to know each other.

One state initiated a woman's conference in an effort to bring women troopers and police officers together for mentoring and learning. This conference, which occurs every other year, is well-attended and valued. However, this effort has drawn criticism from some male troopers who have voiced objections to the interviewees that the women would complain if they had a man's conference. Young (1990) states that it is not wrong to establish an all-woman's professional association because of the many strains "that many professional women experience as a result of being less than welcome minorities in their fields" (p.197). Young argues that a men's group is different because it "reinforces and augments networks of privilege" (p. 197) that already exist.

Another retention issue involved the concern expressed by several interviewees who were concerned that not many women remained in patrol for longer than a few years. While they were unsure, in some cases, if the individual women troopers made the career choice of leaving patrol, some did think there was an obvious pattern attributed to the male-dominated culture of reserving men's work for men. Balkin (1988) suggested that women pose a threat to male-oriented occupational solidarity, which is based on common interests, attitudes, values, backgrounds and a shared definition of what it means to be masculine" (p. 35). Based on the experience of the researcher, uniform positions, especially within the patrol division are highly

valued and the majority of the leadership often comes from within these ranks. T8 explained her experience and perception:

As soon as a woman hit the troop they immediately tried to get them into either motor vehicle, driver's license, whatever it was. They didn't want them in patrol and they would even put them in detectives just to get them off the road. When I came on that's exactly.... They didn't do that to me but that's what I could see happening. They'd promote one and she'd go instead of going to a district, she's go to the training academy or she'd go to somewhere else. It wouldn't be on the road. Now it's gotten better, but when I came on it wasn't like that at all. They'd try to snatch you off the road after two years, put you at the mansion, put you at the training. The training academy is probably where they'd put you. Some might have wanted that, I don't know. An active 23-year trooper commented that in her agency “you really won't see many women who work the road very long” (T16). She explained: “The things that you put in for you didn't get, but anytime that they wanted you to do something, you got it. So, many of the women that I've talked to, got encouraged to leave the road. They always got sent to detectives or driver's license, or something like that. It almost looks like it's kind of engineered, that women get in those special assignments. It is very hard for women to actually stay on the road. It's noble that you were able to do that” (T16).

This concern was, also, shared by T14, a retired commander, and T8, an active 13-year trooper. The majority of the women interviewed were no longer working in patrol and many of those were not assigned to patrol for longer than a few years. Most advised that they and other women were encouraged to transfer to administrative sections or jobs that the leadership thought the women would be good at such as training, public information, accident reconstruction, driver's license, polygraph, and investigations. Shelley et al. (2011) and Martin and Jurik (2007) explained that when women are excluded or relegated to inferior positions within the department, they are unable to advance and are expected to accept a subordinate role within the department” (pp. 354-355). The research of Kurtz, Linnemann, and Williams (2012) revealed that “women in law enforcement are still viewed through a gendered lens which shapes relations with fellow officers and the community” (p. 239), making them, according to Shelley, et al., “the unofficial expert on matters such as child abuse and domestic violence in many departments. As a result,

they have fewer opportunities to work in other divisions within the organization” (p. 358) such as those typically occupied by males: violent crime, fugitive apprehensions, S.W.A.T., and emergency response.

Several of the interviewees did state that their assignment worked well with their families. Only two returned to the patrol division after leaving for a brief period. The specific concerns of some of these interviewees, such as T14, that over her entire career the assignment of women appeared to be engineered by the agency leadership for what she thought was a lack of confidence in the ability of women to perform as patrol troopers. She did question whether or not this could, also, have been a result of men just not knowing how to work with or manage women. She explained:

Some of the roles that the women during my career were governor's mansion and driver's license. Governor's security was one of the areas where several of us ended up, or I should say several of us were assigned. Several ended up in Driver Services. At least one of those went to the rank of a lieutenant within Driver Services. There are a few, or one or two, who have been in [investigations]. I think there was a concern. I don't know that it was an effort, but I do believe there was a concern. For some people in the administration, that concern may have been genuine, and for others it may have been more of a liability-type issue or officer safety perhaps. For some, it was just that they didn't want us there, didn't want you on the agency at all.

As argued by Prokos and Padavic (2002), masculine images define what it means to be a cop and convey what is valued and desired by the agency of its employees (p. 442). The findings of Kurtz et al. (2012), also, indicated that “there are strong, informal attempts to gender-segregate women in specific assignments based on essentialist assumptions about women's abilities that directly correspond to traditional views of the matron” (p. 249) Therefore, it would be expected that agency leadership would view women as different and not matching the image desired or necessary for patrol duties. The next sub-theme, Talking People into Handcuffs,

discusses this difference and how this may work against women troopers trying to gain equality and acceptance.

Talking People into Handcuffs: Difference

The work differences between female and male troopers hinged on one main issue: the interviewee's ability to manage conflict while making an arrest or interacting with others. Balkin (1988) explained that there is "a belief that female officers are inadequate and incapable of performing the constructed 'male role'" (p. 35).

T2, a retired corporal, in questioning how her agency policies have changed for women since she retired, commented "I'm hoping that they realize women are just as important as the men. Women can do the job, and in some instances better" (T2). This was an area that all of the interviewees were adamant about. While all of them wanted to be accepted and to fit-in with their peers, they were clear about some of the differences between themselves and the male troopers. They acknowledged and appreciated their differences, particularly describing why they supposed that they were involved in little to no use of force situations. Their ability to communicate and bring a sense of calm to an escalating situation were the most frequently cited examples during the interviews. Fear to physically engage a violator or take whatever action was necessary was not an issue with any of the interviewees. They all agreed that they possessed the training and will to do whatever it took to make an arrest, save someone's life, or do whatever the situation dictated to gain control. This was explained by a retired corporal that she had no choice but to use her good communication skills because "Back then, you didn't have tasers and all the good stuff [equipment they have today]" (T17).

While assigned to patrol during her career, T2 determined that treating people with respect was the key to overcoming any gender and her small, 5'3" stature issues. While she

explained that this technique did not always work, more often than not, the way she managed interaction with violators was successful.

To start with, I found out if you treat them like decent human beings, even if they're drunks, I've taken drunks to jail, just thank you. 'I appreciate you being so nice to me.' 'I know you're just doing your job.' Over and over and over again. Some men that were, could do that, but some of them they wouldn't tell you twice. If they had to tell you the second time, you're jerked out of the car. There again somebody said, 'Well boy, your mouth gets you out of a lot.' I said, 'Well I'd rather use my mouth as my fists,' because that's back before we had any of the other levels of you know. You had your fist and your gun. You didn't have pepper spray. You didn't have an Asp Baton. You didn't have anything. Your levels were just that.

This sentiment of treating people with respect was echoed by T21, a junior trooper who possessed the equipment and training that T2 lacked during her years in patrol. Yet they both realized the importance of how they exercised their power and judgment:

I feel like my uses of force in 10 years are significantly lower than the men. I feel like I just talk differently to people. I don't walk up to a car and act like I have anything to prove. I just treat people how I would want somebody to treat my family members and I feel like the more honest I've been with people and I talk to them and tell them the process, I don't have to fight them. I can just arrest them and explain what's going to happen and just treat them fair and I don't end up having to fight nearly as many people as some of the guys do.

T6, an active 24-year sergeant, recognized the value of having both genders on the patrol. She understood that the difference in the way that she approaches situations and her ability to communicate were her strengths. She viewed the main difference between the male and female troopers as the way that they think and interpret a particular circumstance. She commented that going hands-on with a violator, which was more likely a male approach, was not a viable option for her and many of the other women as a first approach. While she would not fail to resolve a situation with a violator, in whatever manner required, she trusted that she did not have to resort to physical tactics as often as the male troopers due to her excellent communication skills.

I just think women handle things, they think things differently than men. I think in order to have a well-rounded organization you need just as much females and men and I just think we, I ain't going to say they, I think we just handle things differently. We think differently. When I was on [a special] team I did most of the interviewing and interrogation because I was able to talk to the people differently than what my guys were able too, if that makes sense.

This sentiment was echoed by T8, an active trooper with 13-years' experience, who has confronted multiple challenges with violators throughout her career. She responded that her intelligence and communication skills had served her well in patrol, while her male peers were more than likely to allow ego to affect their decision-making and employ physical tactics more readily.

I've never discharged my weapon, thankfully. I hope I never have to but if I do, I feel confident that I can. But, I've had to fight grown men on the side of the road. I've had to deploy my taser. I've had to fist fight, ground fight, snatch people out of the car, stuff like that. I have no problem with using force. If I have to, I will do it. I have been very well trained. But, I think, I'm a very good communicator and the men have an ego that they feel like they have to uphold. I kind of have a certain ego but at the same time, I like to rationalize and try and talk. Now, that doesn't mean I try and ask people over and over and over. A lot of men are quick, they'll give the command and if it's not met they'll go ahead and start putting hands on. I have good communication skills. I've talked a lot of people into handcuffs without having to touch them. I think sometimes the men feel like that they have to be physical and the woman, I think sometimes is an advantage in certain situations. When you're dealing with, especially another man, so I use that to my advantage. I use my communication skills to my advantage. I've been able to use my intelligence as well to de-escalate situations to where I don't have to use physical force. When you're dealing with a male trooper and potentially a suspect or a driver, whoever wants to fight, that's kind of like, they challenge each other. Being a female, the suspect doesn't really expect the physical side from me so it's a lot easier I think for us as females to deal with the public. I think we communicate better than the men. I work with and know some great male officers that are good communicators as well, but I think for the most part they feel like they got to be more physical than verbal.

The issue of male ego was repeated as a concern by several of the interviewees. T15, a retired commander, described why she thought women are better at deescalating situations than men: "I think women can calm a situation down where their male counterparts for a number of

reasons let the situation escalate. I think women are less likely to let egos get involved and I think they are just better at talking through a situation and deescalating. They have patience. They're better at talking it out and whether that be a communication or just the tone and just reasoning with that subject" (T15).

Most of the interviewees related to the researcher that their male counterparts were much more physical, contributing to the perception that their jobs were physical and required physical strength. Yet all of the interviewees acknowledged that while their methodology was different, it was certainly not wrong and opened the conversation about the importance of having different tools in your tool box instead of relying solely on physical prowess. T23 described her perception of the way men handled adversity:

A lot of them, I sat on a couple of disciplinary review boards, and the ones that really got in trouble for the fights and whatever else that they had were strictly because of that macho in them, the big hat law. You're the police, and you're going to do it my way. When you accelerate over the person that you are trying to calm down, you get a little angry, they get more angry, and it just keep rising to the point where it gets into a pretty good fight.

T6 described this difference as being nothing more than thinking things through versus the male approach of taking control quickly and proving who is in charge. She thought that deescalating a problem was as important as or more important than proving who is in charge. She explained why her experience has been different than most of the male troopers with which she worked:

I think we think on a different level that men do. There are a lot of male troopers that we have, there's a lot of them, but there's a few of them that I think, you, really? With females, the majority of our females that I've been involved with, they're good females, but I think in my own personal experience, the things that I've dealt with versus some of the things the males deal with is I have a tendency sometimes to think things through a little differently than what some of the guys do. I get the feeling that some of the guys immediately want to be hands on. Don't get me wrong, sometimes that's justified, but I think sometimes we're able to

deescalate situations a little bit different than when men do because of our thinking process.

One of the interviewees, a sergeant, spoke about the value of diversity in all levels within her organization. However, while she values diversity, she does not see that as being embraced by her agency yet, although she has seen some recent improvement. She did not want to be criticized for her difference from the status quo. It is this diversity that she envisions as the key to making them a better police agency and providing outstanding service to the community.

I think it's just that you bring in a different air. I'm not the same supervisor as someone else. I see things differently. Now I don't know if that's me as a woman. I think part of it is. I see things, I'm way more creative than most all the men. I mean hell that's why I'm in this position now. I'm looking at things a whole different way than most men do. I don't know. I think you just bring, it's just like having black, or white, or Hispanic. I think everybody brings in a different culture. A different way of doing things. A different style. I would like to see more of that. (T24)

T19, an active commander, explained why she thought her, and other women, had been involved in so few use of force situations than her male counterparts. Attributing it primarily to the way she carried herself, her confidence, and attitude. In explaining why male troopers are involved in more use of force incidents than women, she responded:

Testosterone, maybe. Men challenge men more, I guess. I've always thought that, it's kind of been my philosophy that the way the woman carries herself lets the man know she's not, I'm not going to fight with you, I'm just going to go straight to shooting if I have to, or whatever. I mean, I think they know that we're not going to take any chances, if we know our limitations. You know, the men, I think, I haven't been in training for 12 years, they're a little more obligated in the public's eye to use the absolute lowest force, where a civilian jury may see that I couldn't handle this guy, so I was justified in moving on to a more serious force. With the men, they're kind of judged on size and strength and maybe being able to control somebody without using a weapon, or something like that.

Several of the interviewees commented that, not only did they have differences in the way they interacted with violators, their individual circumstances, usually family related issues, sometimes created a further divide between them and the male troopers. Several of the

interviewees were parents and had the additional burden of managing a household. Some thought that the pressure associated with needing more time off to take care of family matters caused tension, but that the male troopers had wives to handle their family issues. T2, the retired corporal, as a parent, was continuously criticized for needing time off, to the point of on one occasion reporting she was sick so she could go to her child's event. She was suspended for this action. But she, also, knew that some of the men were doing this and not getting in trouble. As a woman, she thought that she had a spotlight on her and anything she did was considered special treatment by the male troopers, which further alienated her from her peers and supervisors. T7, an active 21-year commander explained it this way:

I think with this particular profession, I think to a certain degree it doesn't matter if you're a man or a woman, you have to want to do it in the first place. The other part is it's kind of difficult to say. For women, we're different. We do our job during the day and then we go home and we have our other job. We're a wife, we're a mother. We sit down and do homework and stuff. The guys don't have that. Most of them they have all that stuff done for them when they get home. Their laundry is done. I'm the one doing the laundry and everything. It's a lot of sacrifice and it's a royal pain in the ass to be honest with you. I don't have the answer for that, it just takes a strong-willed person to go and gut it out and say, "Okay this is something that I really want to do, is it worth it to me?" It's a lot of sacrifices. It's a lot of fights with your spouse about the fact that you're not home at night like other guys wives and stuff like that. I don't really have the answer to that unfortunately, because our expectations for us are different even at home.

Some of the research indicated that women, also, pay a price for this difference. Kurtz et al. (2012) conducted research that found that the stereotypical images of gender-specific assumptions about women officers reinforce the matron image that women are better at specific jobs, such as communications (p. 257). Beliefs in the special characteristics held by women limits their opportunities. As such women find themselves working in areas typically perceived as less important within the police culture (Archbold, et al., 2009; Corsianos, 2009; Miller, 1999). These images, also, contribute to the continued segregation of women as discussed in the next sub-theme: And They Keep You Isolated.

And They Keep You Isolated: Segregation and Mentors

The issue of retention is a critical one according to the interviewees, whether it is during the academy or during one's career. The findings, thus far, support that the transition from civilian life to state police or highway patrol trooper is a difficult one for most women. What makes the transition even more difficult is isolation from other women or mentors who could provide critical support. The control and segregation of women is another gendered process that diminishes the role of women in organizations (Acker, 1992). Not only does it exclude women from formal and informal networks, Martin (1979) describes this segregation and control as a way to "limit the ability of women to act as an effective political faction or group in departmental politics" (p. 323).

The majority of the interviewees did not know all of the women troopers on their agencies and, in some cases, met women who were troopers in their agencies for several years and they did not know of their existence. None of the agencies offered formal mentorship programs and none of the agencies made a concerted effort to support the women by assuring them access to more senior women who could assist with issues for which the women could not approach their male counterparts. However, as stated previously, one agency did establish and support a women's law enforcement conference, which is well attended. This conference was conceived and supported by a ranking female member of the agency. As such, the women within this agency know each other through working or attending the conference and know women from other agencies within the area. The interviewees from this agency had a more positive view of receiving support from their agency than did most of the others.

This section will discuss the issue of isolation and the importance of mentors or formal programs that support and encourage the retention of women. Although this section has

application to the male members of the agency, the males are typically included in formal and informal networks when they enter male-dominated professions with some assurance of acceptance due to their shared gender and values.

T22, an active sergeant, thought that a reason the women troopers did not know each other within her state was a direct result of them being isolated from each other with no support network. She explained: "It's really hard because we just don't have a whole lot of female officers. It's almost like we're segregated from each other, so we don't speak" (T22). She explained that there was history within her agency that made it taboo to want to employ women networking or to ask for any special consideration such as female mentors. She learned the hard way that this effort would not be viewed in a positive light, but she, also, stated that the women may not want to know each other anyway:

I think that they would definitely be ostracized or feel like they would be, because that's how I felt in [the 1990s's] when we had that meeting. People still bring that up, like, "When you guys had that women's meeting....." I don't really even know what the outcome of that whole meeting was about, but it was just the only time that we had all been together. I do reach out to the women who have been on a while that I'm friends with that have been through the same issues, or if they're having issues. But as far as all of us getting together ..., Yeah, that would be interesting to see how many people would even want to participate.

The 24-year commander agreed stating: "In my experience, we don't communicate a lot. We kind of each stay to our own, or at least that's been my experience. I don't know how the other women do it. I hardly ever talk to them." (T19). She explained that the women meeting separately was too risky because the men would say, "How come we don't just have an all men's meeting" (T19). Several of the other interviewees made comments about not knowing women on their agencies. It became apparent to the researcher that it did not matter how long the individual women had been on the job or what their level of rank was; only in one state did the women know all of the other women. Interestingly, none of the interviewees considered this a

problem except that most of the interviewees acknowledged problems caused by being isolated and unable to communicate.

T22 explained that she had never really worked with other women and, therefore, had no idea how other women were treated on the job or if they could help each other. T5 and T2 explained that she only saw women on rare occasions like during in-service training. T2 stated: “You were so spread out you didn't get to communicate that much. And they keep you isolated. I don't have that relationship with other female troopers, so I don't really know what they went through” (T2).

T21 described the efforts made by a former senior woman trooper and then her personal efforts during her career to meet with other women, particularly women enrolled at the training academy:

I have talked to some in the past. I've been called up to the patrol school right before the females graduate and I have talked to some of them, but it's been maybe about two or three years now since I've done that; since they've called anybody up there because they tried to introduce us all since there's only [a few] of us. They tried to introduce us all so at least we would casually know each other, but that kind of stopped a couple years ago. We had a female major who encouraged that stuff and then she ended up retiring, so that I guess that retired with her. I think it would be nice because there really are only [a few] of us. I think it would be nice to, maybe once a month or once a quarter, maybe have a luncheon or something for all of us to be together, where we'd have an opportunity to get to know each other, because I know that there are females that have the type of personality where they don't want to be around other females. I've been doing this for [many] years and if I can help anybody with any experiences that I've had, I'd rather do that. I'd rather have us all meet together and we could get to know each other. I still talk to my roommate from patrol school. She's halfway across the state, but we still talk to each other all the time. It'd be nice to have that kind of relationship with other women on the patrol.

The researcher made this effort as well, visiting each female cadet that entered the academy, but this proved over time to be a mistake, because she learned years later that the women were brutally punished for this meeting by academy staff. In one such case, a female

cadet actually reached out to the researcher because she thought that she was intentionally being physically abused due to our relationship. Brining that information to agency leadership only resulted in the female cadet being punished in other, subtle ways. She learned to never ask for help again.

T22 provided a personal experience of growth when she was able to work a function with several senior female troopers, and one in particular, a retired senior trooper, who actually made an effort to mentor other women troopers:

She was tough. I remember that, but she looked out for other women. I know I did the special and it was a special, we were down [deleted by researcher] and it was the most females I had ever been around. We all were in a condo working a function together and there was six or seven of us, and they all had time on except for me. I just had three or four years on at that point. That was a very positive experience because that was hardworking women and they looked out for each other and I was the newbie and they took me under their wing. Then I never saw them again. It's like you saw them there because you were there for a week and then never saw them again. I do think that if they did have some events where women were able to talk to each other more, it might be less discouraging for those who might be trying to move up or who might be having a little problem in their county. Like I said, I do feel like we're isolated so, we can't talk about problems and our problems are a little bit different than men's problems. That might help with retention to some degree. We've never tried it and at this point I don't think it would hurt to give it a whirl.

The subject of mentorship or women taking care of other women came up during the interviews frequently. As stated previously, none of the agencies had a formal mentor program. Mentorship was a personal choice, an individual effort, for the interviewees. Only a few of the women had been mentored by other women, with only three describing male mentors. Several of the interviewees commented that there were no women above them to mentor them. T12, an active commander explained that she had indirect mentors: "They may not have known they were my mentors, but I think I looked up to them as being a mentor. Yeah, I've had what I

consider a couple of mentors. Now these are just ones within our agency so only maybe a couple within our agency. Most of my mentors are outside of our agency” (T12).

An active sergeant, described mentorship she received from a retired female sergeant: “I, also, knew if I needed anything [she] could help me. My sergeant that I had before I left the county that I was in, we kind of stayed in touch a little bit over the years. She would always encourage me to do things and get promoted and things like that” (T6). She has payed that forward by making a concerted effort to provide assistance to other women troopers. She reaches out to them and ensures they know that she is available, if they need assistance, particularly the ones enrolled in the academy. She provided several examples of direct support that she has given to women who were experiencing isolation and exclusion at the academy or the troop; telling them to stand their ground and wait out the good old boys. She gave an example of providing guidance on a grooming issue that seemed unimportant to her male commander:

It's like I told my captain, I said, "You may think that's nothing, but to her that was a big deal." That was an easy fix. These females don't know they have females like me and the other females. They don't know some of the easy answers to questions that you all may think is stupid. I kind of made that a point of how important this is, because I'm also a retention officer, how important it is for the females to get together. That way when silly little things come up like that, that really ain't silly to them, they'll feel comfortable coming to us saying, "Hey, I'm experiencing this. What are your thoughts?" They're not going to do it with a male.

T6, also, recognized the value in taking care of the women, from employment through promotion, describing how the current women can change the future of the agency for other women. She explained: “Not only do they need to push female recruiting, we need to touch base with the females that we have and keep them. They need to know they can come to one of us veterans when they have issues, because they're not going to talk to their male counterparts. Most of them don't anyway” (T6).

T12, an active commander, also, extended herself to provide support and assistance to the other women on the agency. Throughout her interview, she revealed an in-depth understanding of the importance of the role she performed within the organization for all of its members, but she, also, recognized the difficult transition for women and ensured her availability. She explained:

I try my very best. In terms of trying to encourage them, whether it be through taking a promotional test and give a little upward mobility there. I've mentored them more in that regard in terms of promotion. I've actually talked them through some of the things that might help them in regard to promotions. I've mentored them when it comes to their own self-development and how to maybe work their way through a situation. If they're having an issue with their supervisor or if they're having some problem on the job maybe giving them different approaches at how they can tackle the issue. I do try to go out of my way because I want my everyday walk to be an example to them but at the same time when I sort of pull them to the side, I want them to see that me spending just those few minutes at a time with them, letting them know that they're important in that regard and to try to give them a little bit of encouragement.

T23, a retired commander offered the same advice as to the importance of the role of mentoring: "I did my very best to encourage them and to promote them, and to give them a little bit of advice on how to elevate their career, to get along and to just do what you're told and so on and so forth. One girl actually came back later and had told me that I was instrumental in making her stay with the career, because at the time she thought she was going to leave it. That made me feel good" (T23).

One of the interviewees, related a story of being placed in a dangerous situation that she judged other women would not have put her in that situation, but she had nothing to compare it to or anyone to discuss it with because she did not sense like she could approach the male troopers or rank without looking weak. She explained: "I haven't, because you know we don't, I've never worked directly with any of the other females on Highway Patrol, so we've never discussed their career or how they were treated. I'd say there was maybe one time when I was on

the road, where I felt like I was being tested by the men. What they did, they probably never would have done to a man” (T19).

Discussing the relationship between the women as it pertained to mentoring presented some unique comments from ones of support to a lack of support. A retired commander stated: “I have some good relationships with the women and I’ve had many of the women that are younger than me tell me that thank me or tell me that I was their role model or thank me for making a difference in the way they thought of things. I have good relationships with all the women” (T15). The comments from T24, however, indicated that that mentoring and wholesale support was not something she was entirely open to. She explained: “I think I do to a point, but I have a very low patience level. I’m very much a, ‘If I can do it you can do it, and there’s no excuse.’ I think it is very different from the guys. I don’t strong-arm away, I prove it. I think to a point that they see me as that either mom, dad, whatever figure you wanted to be, but I’m their mentor” (T24).

Several of the interviewees spoke about encountering a lack of support from other women within their own agency. Based on interviewee comments, this ranged from an atmosphere of competition to a general attitude that might account for a lack of desire to know or assist other women. In describing why women within her agency do not mentor other women, T13, an active commander explained:

Because I think they get isolated. We have discussed this before. I think one of the issues because it's a state highway patrol, we're so spread out and sometimes when you get a female trooper and she gets assigned to a certain area, she might be the only female in that district for a while, in 13 counties. Then if there's another one [woman] instead of mentoring, I don't know why, they feel territorial and they don't know them and or if ... Sometimes I think we as women try to hurt each other more than we try to help each other and we shouldn't.

This lack of support, for both men and women, depended on the quality of the person as to whether or not the individual should receive support. It was interesting to note that several of the women made such comments; none offered that the individual may have been failing because of a lack of mentorship and support. T9, a retired commander stated:

A lot of women, they had a problem, would call and say, "How do I need to handle this?" I would try to advise if they had a problem that pertain to them being a female in the job. Obviously, it all depends on where they are assigned and what their commanders were like. You know, commanders who didn't particularly feel, especially in the beginning, that females could do the job as well. But then again, there were some females that were hired that I'm like, "Why are they even still here?" You know, I think that had I been their commanders, I would have been hard on them too because I didn't feel like they were as effective as some others. It's the same way with men too though; had the same issue. There were some men I was like, "Why are they – why have they not been terminated yet?" (T9)

T12, an active commander with 22 years of experience, described the problems she has witnessed within her agency involving women and attempted to explain the negative consequences of women not supporting other women. As discussed earlier, while she had what she considered indirect mentors, she has not had the benefit of anyone, particularly women, providing her path to success, which explains why she makes a concerted effort to support other women.

I know we talked about mentorship, but for some reason among females, and maybe I just speak for our agency, there's still not a connection like there needs to be. You would think that we would be more like a sisterhood but we're not. I don't know if that comes from being overly competitive. I don't know if we're all as happy for each other. I'm saying we because I'm sort of throwing myself in that. I don't know if overall if we are celebrating one another the way that we should. I don't know if we're supporting one another in a sisterhood the way that we should. I don't know where that comes from. I don't know if it's just a culture of competitiveness. When you talk about the female organizations, that's all good when you're there at a conference. Everybody feels unified. Like I mentioned we go up to the ones that they have in [deleted by researcher]. The women in law enforcement one that [deleted by researcher] does. When we leave there and when we come home it's like all of that's out of the window. I don't know. I just really wish that we could connect more and there have been some attempts at us getting

together but everybody seems to want to go off and do their own thing. I don't know what it is, but I just wish there was more of a sisterhood among women in law enforcement. Particularly among female troopers. We're rare enough as it is.

T1, the retired lieutenant colonel, felt strongly that only women could role model for other women and that this type of mentorship would be the only way to ensure women are not only employed, but retained and promoted. She explained: “They need to see somebody successful, doing what they want them to do. They can do it with anybody, but they need a woman. They need a woman because the view from a woman, as you know, is different than the view of a man in that job” (T1).

Jones and Palmer (2011) found that women continue to face cultural barriers that exclude and isolate them from social groups within the organizations. They identified four categories of obstacles:

- Many women continually battle to prove their abilities to maintain and operate within their positions of leadership,
- They constantly work to earn the trust and establish a positive rapport with their male colleagues,
- These women fight against isolation, typically working without female peers. This isolation often leads to fewer opportunities to receive feedback regarding institutional issues, and
- Female supervisors struggle with the ongoing balancing act between their roles as token female and their responsibilities to build relationships among their professional peers. (p. 190)

Segregation, isolation, and a lack of mentorship compounds the problems associated with the assimilation of women into male-dominated organizations. Kanter (1977) described the consequence of occupational segregation in managerial and professional ranks of corporations: “numerically scarce people face problems fitting in, gaining peer acceptance, and behaving naturally. The existence of tokens encourages social segregation and stereotyping and may lead the person in that position to overcompensate through either overachievement or hiding successes, or to turn against people of her own kind” (p.6). Acker and Van Houten (1974)

described this segregation as intentional where individuals are differentially penalized for using different power strategies which may fall along sex lines. For example: women being proscribed from forming coalitions as a power strategy or severe penalties if they do try strategy as organizational members that is different from the norm (p. 161).

This becomes more evident in the next chapter, *Cracking the Glass Ceiling Ain't the Same* as *Breaking the Glass*, where the findings suggest that while women have made some progress in the promotional ladders of their agencies, not in the history of but one agency under review, have any women successfully achieved the highest levels within their agencies.

Chapter 8. Cracking the Glass Ceiling Ain't the Same as Breaking the Glass

Britton (1999) stated that “gender is a constitutive element of social structure” (p. 418) and that “all manner of social institutions and practices are gendered” (p. 418). Britton envisions gender as “a foundational element of organizational structure and work life” ((p. 419) which Acker (1992) argues is evident in its “processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distribution of power” (p. 567). Within organizations, certain roles are inherently gendered, because “gendered characteristics are differentially valued and evaluated,” (Acker, 1990) resulting in inequalities in status and material circumstances (p. 146). Many roles within gendered organizations are conceptualized, designed, and controlled by men and reflect their interests (p. 154). Kanter (1977) refers to this as a masculine ethic which becomes associated with particular skills. She describes an example of the image of top corporate managers who are seen through the lens of a masculine ethic which attributes the characteristics of effective management to men (p. 22). These images subjugate women to roles within organizations that are viewed as femininized, i.e., not masculine, such as attending to the needs of women and children.

As discussed in the previous chapter, empirical research does indicate that the matron concept continues to shape perceptions and beliefs about women which result in gender-segregate assignments and opportunities (Acker, 1990; Archbold and Schulz, 2008; Britton, 2003; Kanter, 1977; Kurtz et al., 2012). Such roles within state police and highway patrol agencies would be specialized units such as S.W.A.T., canine, motorcycle patrols, emergency response to critical incidents, and, in some cases, the actual patrol function of *working the road* (a common term used to describe the uniform patrol function of troopers assigned to a troop or post).

State police and highway patrol agencies continue to be representative of highly gendered organizations that remain not only male-dominated, but led, almost without exception, by males. As discussed in the previous two chapters, women not only experience extreme challenges to obtain and retain employment in state police and highway patrol agencies, they then face additional obstacles to achieve acceptance, special assignments, and promotional opportunities, particularly to the command level within their organizations. Not serving at the highest levels within their organizations, they are often assigned to administrative positions and jobs that would be described as gendered and feminized (Acker, 1990, 1992; Britton, 1999, 2000; Kanter, 1977).

Not only do the interviewees have their own stories to tell, many are witnesses to the challenges faced by the women who served with or before them. Statements, made by the interviewees, support that many women have been transferred to positions within their agencies that are deemed more appropriate for women and some have failed to receive assignments and promotions in specialized units. The question of whether or not the women preferred these roles is not addressed in this research. As such, this chapter is focused on the opinions of the interviewees as they pertain to the assignment of women, acceptance or rejection of women troopers into specialized units, promotions, attendance at specialized training or conferences that would provide networking opportunities, and access to formal and informal networks internal and external to the organization.

Assignments and Special Units

Dodge, Valcore, and Klinger's (2010) research indicates that the presence of women in specialized units is not welcomed, both implicitly and explicitly (p. 218). No interviewee, nor any other woman trooper, had ever been assigned to a specialized unit such as S.W.A.T in the history of their agencies, except one interviewee who served on the motorcycle team. The

consensus was that getting assigned to units like S.W.A.T., or any highly specialized operational units, were reserved for men. The responses ranged from “that’s the boy’s thing” (T8) to the belief that there was no way that they would let women into those units. Only four interviewees, other than the interviewee in motors, had ever applied to a specialized unit such as S.W.A.T. and all were unsuccessful. Two of those were confident that they were good candidates, indicated that they had passed every test, and were actually more capable than some of the men who applied and were accepted. T15, a recently retired commander, reinforced the concept described by Dodge et al. of the masculine subculture that dominates specialized units and excludes women in explaining why she thought women had never been a part of a specialized unit in her agency (pp. 223-224):

I just think they don't want a woman there because we've had one woman who was very, in recent, well, two that I'm aware of within the last 10 years that tested or participated in the agility test and did very well, but they didn't make it. I think it's just that they don't want the women there. I don't know if they think they're weak, not intelligent enough, tough enough to go through what they might encounter, but I think that's it. I think they don't want the women there. They train every day and for all those reasons, I just think they don't want the woman with them. I just think that almost impossible to break through that to get into those roles because it's just it's that white male-dominated job. I think that it's the mindset and I don't think it's really changed much in those 40 years.

T8, not only accepted that her agency just was not ready for females in specialized units, she theorized that the women within her agency were limited to two roles, patrol and office jobs. She stated: “We don't have, like I said, most of our females are either troopers like me or they're in an office. We don't have female troopers on the helicopter unit. We don't have female troopers on the motorcycle unit. We're just not at that point yet. Will we get to that point? I hope so, one day. I don't know when. I look at other state police agencies or highway patrol agencies and you see that but we just don't have it yet” (T8).

Several of the interviewees trusted that one day it would be possible to achieve assignment in specialized units within their agency. Of the interviewees who did apply to a specialized unit, there was a shared self-assessment that they were well-qualified but failed to achieve the assignment for reasons they considered unfair. The researcher's experience is that while there are always some defined criteria for special positions, much of the selection criteria is subjective such as interviews, but the decision is always made behind closed doors. The wound was particularly deep for one interviewee who stated: "When it comes to special ops, I'm the only female in the history of the highway patrol who has ever tried out and finished the tryouts.... For the sake of my own career and my own head, I'm going to leave that alone" (T5). She refused to discuss this subject in more detail with the researcher while being recorded.

A retired corporal with many years of patrol experience stated: "I can't speak for the other females, I just know that's what I applied for and I didn't get it because that's what was the situation, but I think back then we did have opportunities, if you really applied yourself. To be honest with you, I don't feel like that was that ... I just felt like that's just them [the boys], not for me as a female" (T17). Another interviewee described feeling cheated when she explained the process she experienced:

I'll just tell you my own experiences. I was a road trooper in [deleted by researcher] County. I requested to be on the Special Operations Squad. I was told by the troop captain that I couldn't be on the Special Ops Squad because I was female and I would have to room by myself and that would mean there would be an empty bed. Couple years later, they asked me if I wanted to be on Special Ops, and I said, "Thank you, but no thank you." Tried out for the Tact Team, out-shot everybody, and was pulled because I wasn't in the clique. That's my personal opinion. (T3)

However, T18, an active trooper with five years of experience, regarded the rejection of women to units like S.W.A.T. as the inability of women to meet the established physical requirements. Snow (2010) indicated that women are reluctant to apply or are rejected for

positions such as S.W.A.T. because of the physical requirements required for admission. The comments made by T18 support theories that female officers accept the hegemonic masculinity assigned to certain roles, thereby, legitimizing their unequal treatment and reinforcing the social order (Dodge et al.; Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 1996; West & Zimmerman, 1987). T18 viewed the natural order of women troopers as being responsible caretakers, as described by Kurtz et al. (2012), who posited that women remain viewed through gendered lenses that correspond to their earlier roles in law enforcement as matrons, charged with the care of women and children (p. 239). T18 described, not only the belief that women could not be S.W.A.T. members due to physical limitations, but expressed an acceptance of designated roles for women as further evidenced by her comments:

There's always going to be a need for females almost in anything now. Just because, like for the Governor's, it has to be female to kind of take care of the wives and the children. As far as SWAT team or special ops, there are no women in it, and that's just because it is, you have to be physically fit. I think the qualifications for that you have to do so many pull-ups, and you have to be at least able to bench your own body weight, multiple times. And so, I can lift weights, but I can't lift my body weight. (laughs) There's no women, that's the only, I think the only section that doesn't have any females, and that's just because of the physical demands of it.

While T13, a current, active commander, stated that she has witnessed dramatic change in gender equity within her organization during her career, no women have ever served, and are still not serving within specialized units. She provided the following prospective:

Yes, when I first came on, I mean, it's changed dramatically. I know there's probably still some issues where sometimes a lot of females I feel like still feel like it's the good ol' boy club. When I first came on they had, I was the only women in my district that was promoted and it was very sexist, but I was trying to get on the TAC squad. The captain come in and told me if I got on it, and he got really upset, he said a girl doesn't need to be on that. He said if you had ... he said "I would say if you had the balls to do, but since I can't [say that] I'll say if you've got the ovaries to do it." There was a lot of just really sexist slurs and stuff back then. They wouldn't allow you to do, they'd say, "You can't do this because you're

a girl," that was cop stuff.

As discussed, Dodge et al. (2010) argued that the belief by females, themselves, that these groups are reserved for males continue to isolate and disregard the abilities of women (p. 233). This exclusion reinforces negative stereotypes held by male officers and, as a result, even after there has been an increased number of women in policing, their opportunities remain limited. Additionally, the research supports that women remain in gender-appropriate roles that continue to limit the assimilation of women in policing and reinforces the evidence that women continue to encounter barriers to upward mobility and promotions (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Britton, 2003; Dodge et al., 2010; Kanter, 1977; Wertsch, 1998).

Another barrier, as discussed, is their exclusion from the formal and informal networks internal and external to their agencies. Kanter's (1977) theory of structural empowerment (see Figure 2 on p. 178) addresses these barriers by focusing on the structures within the organization such as tools, information, and support to improve employees' skill base and to enable employees to accomplish more, thereby, benefiting the organization as a whole. According to Kanter, two systemic sources of power exist in organizations, formal and informal power. She describes formal power as that which accompanies high visibility jobs and requires a primary focus on independent decision making. Informal power, on the other hand, comes from building relationships and alliances with peers and colleagues. The six conditions for empowerment, as posited by Kanter, are depicted in the below cycle chart. Kanter suggests that these conditions

should have a measurable positive impact on both employee empowerment and job satisfaction, as well as organizational morale and success.

Based on the responses on the majority of the interviewees, the agencies in which they work do not provide the conditions for empowerment to their female membership.



Figure 2: Kanter's (1977) Conditions for Empowerment

The researcher intended to explore the success of the interviewees by exploring the broad experiences of the interviewees within the law enforcement profession. However, as detailed in this next section, the interviewees had almost no experience or contact with other law enforcement professionals outside of their immediate agency or through police organizations. Not only did the majority of them not know all of the women troopers within their own agencies, very few of them knew women troopers from other agencies, particularly women serving at the command level. None of the interviewees knew of any women troopers serving as top cops in state police or highway patrol agencies such as Kristie Etue, Colonel of the Michigan State

Police. Their isolation, segregation, and lack of support continue to be detailed in the next section on Training and Conferences.

Training and Conferences

The ability to network is accomplished through, not only personal and professional relationships, but membership in professional organizations and by attending law enforcement training and conferences. When questioned about professional associations of which they had knowledge or to which they belonged, only two interviewees had knowledge of any law enforcement associations specifically targeting female membership, even after the associations were named. These two interviewees actually attended the National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives (NAWLEE) conference on scholarships funded by the researcher which targeted women in southern state police and highway patrol agencies.

Only two of the interviewees had any knowledge of well-known, primarily male, law enforcement associations, even after they were named. The rank of the interviewee within the organization did not reflect much difference in their knowledge of these associations. None belonged to professional associations, such as the National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives (NAWLEE), the International Association of Women Police (IAWP), the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), or the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF). Nor had the other interviewees ever attended a law enforcement conference other than a local women's conference hosted by the Tennessee Highway Patrol every two years.

The interviewees who revealed knowledge of other agency personnel attending law enforcement conferences, explained that attendance is selected by the agency leadership. This selection is extended to special, highly valued training such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy (FBINA), the premier law enforcement leadership training

academy for police serving at the level of lieutenant and above. This training, and several other leadership and development courses, are provided by the FBI, and other agencies, at no cost to the police agency. None of the interviewees had been asked or selected to attend the FBINA or other such special training. This is troublesome, because it is another form of exclusion as discussed in the previous chapter and continues the sense of “otherness” described by Dodge et al. (2010, p. 233). This, also, denies women bonding experiences and access to formal and informal networking opportunities both internal and external to their organizations. The consequence of which denies them access to knowledge that could improve their opportunities for advancement and make them more capable members of their organizations. Based on the researcher’s experience, within the law enforcement community, attendance at the FBINA and other such programs is a clear sign of the agency’s anticipation of the attendee’s upward mobility.

This lack of professional development, also, applies to males within these agencies, but agency leadership, primarily males, frequently belong to one or more of these associations and attend one or more of these conferences. In fact, the IACP has a special division that addresses specific needs for state police and highway patrol agencies, known as the State and Provincial Police Division of IACP. Having been a member of this association and division, the researcher knows that the conferences are typically well-attended by state police and highway patrol agencies leadership. The fact that no women are serving at the highest levels within these agencies, limits the possibility of them being involved in the memberships, conferences, and training programs. However, as stated previously, the essential requirement for admission to the FBINA are that the attendee be serving at the level of lieutenant or above and be sponsored by the attendee’s agency. Based on the researcher’s experience, the interviewees, who were serving

at the command level within these agencies, were not even knowledgeable enough to know that they, for their own professional development, probably should be members of these associations and, if possible, attend these conferences and training.

Promotions

Doing gender continues throughout the careers of women and interferes with their opportunities to establish their place within the male-dominated profession of policing (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Dodge et al., 2010; Martin, 1979, 1986, 1990, 1991; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). As evidenced by the responses received from the interviewees, the sense of equality in promotions did not exist, particularly at the command level of their agencies. One of the more senior troopers offered an observation that was discussed in a previous section, *Searching for Big Foot*, where an already small number and invisible number of women either transferred or elected to transfer from patrol to a desk job. T8 revealed that from where she stood it appeared that women were not going to be given an opportunity to supervise or manage men within the patrol division or other such sections. She stated: “In our industry, too, it seems like when you get to that position of when you get to the lieutenant to the captain [level], it's like they put them in office jobs. They don't put them commanding a troop, they put them in benefits” (T8). Empirical evidence supports that women are underrepresented at the higher ranks of police and often focuses on the individual characteristics of women officers (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Archbold, Hassell & Stitchman, 2010; Haarr & Morash, 2013) along with where women should serve (Corsianos, 2009; Martin, 1999; Martin & Jurik, 2007). As Martin and Jurik (2007) reported: “Even those women who rise in rank are not necessarily accepted in the senior managers’ club” (p. 87).

In interviewing these 25 women, there were what appeared to be universal truths that were discovered in their general and specific comments. Some of these specific categories are summarized by the researcher as follows:

- **Qualifications:** All of the women thought themselves to be well-qualified for any job and any promotion. Most had education and, in many cases, superior levels of education than their peers. Most said they test well, usually obtaining either the highest or near the highest test scores. Several stated they had problems with oral interviews and they understood this to be a weakness, but they, also, expressed that they didn't know how to manage an interview. Some stated that the men typically receive coaching as preparation for interviews usually from agency leadership. All of them stated they took advantage of every training opportunities they were offered.
- **How the interviewees described themselves:** hard worker was the primary adjective they applied to themselves, but other descriptions were: Set the standard, led by example, loyal, trustworthy, abide by agency standards, back people, accountable and hold people accountable, team player, approachable, open door policy, fair, treat people with respect, inclusive, high expectations for self and others, help others to be successful, always seeking to gain knowledge and improve self and ensuring people have the tools and training they need to do their jobs.
- **How others sometimes described them according to the interviewees:** Micromanaging, emotional, troublemaker, weak, tough, trying too hard, undeserving. They were most troubled that their promotions and accomplishments were demeaned and attributed to getting the promotion because she was female or did something improper to get it. Some expressed concern about the derogatory terms applied universally to women.
- **What they thought and how it affected them when they weren't selected for assignments or promotions:** Disappointed, affected health and personality, demoralized, angry, bitter, and treated unfairly due to different standards applied between them and their peers, discouraged, alone.
- **Perception of other women, as described by themselves and others:** Sometimes critical of other women, wondered how they got where they were, undeserving, deserving of rank, too aggressive, too vocal, making other women look bad, hard worker, capable, leader, supportive.
- **Lack of support:** Most of the women, both active and retired, commented on a lack of support and being treated differently than their male counterparts, specifically when someone below their rank disrespected or challenged them. The interviewee not only wasn't supported, the interviewee may have been the one to be transferred or forced to accept what happened.
- **Grievances:** Many of the interviewees stated at some point that they had situations for which they could have filed grievances. These incidents involved situations such as sexual harassment, insubordination, discrimination, hostile work environment, etc. A few of the interviewees actually did participate in complaints and/or litigation but described the outcome as being so much worse. Several of the interviewees, either

- themselves or another woman they knew within their agency, chose to retire or resign to remove themselves from a situation or because they knew their careers were over.
- Resilience: The interviewees all expressed the belief that if they continued to work hard and push forward that they might achieve recognition and ultimately promotions they thought they earned. Regardless of the level of discouragement or disappointment, the active interviewees were choosing to stay the course and keep hoping for the best.

T22, a senior sergeant, thought that women were not serving at the upper levels of her agency because there were so few women left within her agency that there were not many that could get promoted. As to her personal promotional opportunities, she explained that she was so dejected, that at one point she considered resigning. She explained that she decided to wait it out and hope for the best until she finally got promoted.

Probably about 10 years in when I was putting in for all those promotions and I kept getting passed over, I was getting very discouraged and I would see some of my counterparts that worked for different agencies moving up, that I thought going somewhere else might be a better option for me. That was at one point. I felt as if I was kind of betrayed, but the acts of a handful of people is not why I do this job so that's what made me keep moving forward. I don't do this job for my command staff, and I had to remember that. That's why I never left. There have been a few things in my career that I felt like I was passed over because I was a female. Initially when I was trying to get promoted, and then at some point in time they said, "There's only so many times we can pass her over without there being some kind of repercussions from it." Eventually I did get promoted, but it took me 17 tries to make my first promotion, and I would top every board. Nothing happened until I asked the question, "Why?" Then they finally promoted me.

In explaining why women who served the agency before her were never promoted to the command level, T22 thought that, like her, they may have given up:

Probably just like me, at certain times they got discouraged and thought it would be better to go somewhere else that a lot of them have gone to other agencies. Or something happened and they didn't feel like they were being backed. It's really hard and it took me a long time to get to that thought process that I have, that I am working for them, but in essence I'm working for the people and I have to sometimes keep reminding myself that. The reason why you do your job is not for your colonel. You do your job for the citizens. I think that's a really hard mentality to keep when you feel like you're not progressing, and so they opt to go other places. I don't know. The South is a different beast in itself. When it comes

to women's careers versus the men's career, the equality of it all. Growing up in the north and then working down here, it's a totally different mindset.

Finally, T22 addressed her concern about her inability to get the next promotion, stating that she thinks that there is a double standard that exists within her agency: "I probably try to fool myself and say that it doesn't for me, but it does. I think if I was the male counterpart doing a job that I do now, I wouldn't still be a lieutenant. I believe that. I'm still a lieutenant because I'm a female. I believe that. I try and talk myself out of it, but I think that there is some truth to that" (T22).

One of the most heart-felt and expressive responses concerning the promotion of women within her agency was provided by an active commander with 22 years of experience, who described her frustration:

When I look at the fact that it's 2017 and I look at the fact that we've never had a female to be a member of the command staff of the [deleted by researcher], that bothers me and that's more hurtful to me than it being just me myself in that position. Do you know what I mean? I just believe that. Yeah, I've been the first at several things in this organization. I didn't even realize I was going to be the first at certain things. It just sort of happened and I ended up being the first. I'm not pumped up about that, but my heart is broken that there is no urgency in diversifying the command staff. That's why I'm heartbroken. I don't know. Yes, I think I'm ready. I feel like I'll give it all I've got. I always have since I came on this organization. I've done the very best job that I can do. I just think it's overdue for a female, not just any female again to sit there, get the position and then have a muzzle put on her mouth, but someone who can actually add value, someone who can maybe even advise on certain matters or to be the conscience [of the organization]. When decisions are being made to give that different view point and consideration. I feel like that's where we're so backwards and I'm ashamed and embarrassed that there are some other states that have at least thought enough to put a female on the command staff. Don't get me wrong, I love my organization. [Deleted by researcher]. I love being from the state of [deleted by researcher]. That's the part where that gets me a little emotional is that I just don't feel ... I'm just wondering why no one else has seen it, recognized it for what it is and actually demanded a change in that regard. Like I stated earlier, once you get to that level it's an appointment. The short answer is that women just have not been appointed into that position. I really honestly don't know why. I honestly don't know why there's not been some change in that or an urgency to make that happen. There seems to be this recent urgency, recent in terms of the last two to

three years of realizing that we need more females on the patrol at the lower level coming in. That same urgency is not there to fill those ranks up higher; start from the top. I don't know why, I honestly don't.

T9, a retired commander, offered a slightly different perspective of the opportunity for women to obtain promotions to the command level within her agency. While she stated that she did not think that promotions were tied to gender, she did express disappointment and regret that she was unable to obtain another promotion again before retiring. T9, like so many other interviewees, thought if they worked hard enough and played by all the rules, that they would be rewarded:

We have instances where females have done a better job in certain areas than men could just like there are certain instances where maybe a man does something better because of who they are; because of the type of trooper they are. I don't think the gender necessarily has everything to do with it. To say they have to work twice as hard; I don't think so. I think you can be successful if you do your job and you do well.... it's hard to say what's happening in their circumstances right now. And when I was there, I did – I'm speaking for myself. It didn't matter where I was. I was going to work as hard as I could to do the job and do it well; do it correctly. I can't say that for every female that's working right now. I can't say that for every male that's working right now. I think it just depends on the person and what their work ethic is and how much they want the job or if they want to be promoted then they – you have to work for that. You can't just expect to be promoted just because you're female.

T16, an active senior trooper, initially expressed confidence that women were not serving at the command level in her agency because of an employment gap. In her estimation, most of the older women troopers were gone and the younger ones were too new to be eligible for promotions. Yet, she provided two specific examples of women who were eligible for promotion but gave up and retired because they could not get promoted. In explaining why she thought they could not get promoted, she responded: “Because they weren't in the boys' club” (T16). In describing what ultimately happened to the women, she explained about one woman: “She kind of like, disappeared. She was pretty displeased when she retired, because I think she was trying

to get lieutenant colonel and it wasn't going well" (T16). As to the other one: "Basically, she was blackballed, by the guys. I think cuz she was a female. They had, you know like I was telling you, a higher up that's very clique-y and they just didn't want her in their little, whatever network was. Like with [deleted by researcher], she was blackballed and basically forced out" (T16). As she continued to explain about the opportunity for promotion, she expressed concern that since some of the more senior women were now gone, promotions may be even harder to obtain. She stated: "Do I think it's a boys' club? Mm-hmm. Yeah. It is going to be again, now, yes. Because there's no females. We have two female lieutenants, but they're so out of touch with people on the road" (T16). The explanation given for her comment about the female lieutenants was that they were in administrative positions and no longer in patrol.

As discussed previously in this research, by the time some of the women were eligible for promotions, particularly to the command level, they reached their maximum retirement benefit and elected to retire. A retired corporal expressed a regret that she had to retire before she could be promoted again. She explained that when she got her only promotion, it was a result of litigation brought about by other members of her agency. She commented that it was bittersweet though; she thought that she had earned the position but did not like the way it happened: "They realized we weren't going away. It seemed like they started accepting more and maybe they thought so they wouldn't have more lawsuits. Maybe we were tokens. I don't know" (T2). She continued that once a woman was involved in litigation, it was sheer hell after that and "the boys never got over it" (T2).

Obtaining a promotion, male or female at any level, does not guarantee acceptance, support, or respect. T11, a retired commander, commented: "It's just so hard to make those ranks. The bottom line too is that, and as you go up people kind of know who they're going to

select. There's kind of like a meeting before the meeting, there's a preselection going on. Even though it's hard to prove though" (T11). In explaining why she thought women were being excluded from the command level, she commented:

Because there's still part of that system that hey, it's okay that they are on, but it's really for men. It's really for a continuation of this is [attitude]... "We run things." Some people really think that's too much power for a woman. I mean, I've had other women, support staff, say that to me. "That's just too much power for you. Just too much power." Which, I have tried to teach those that I mentored and those that I supervised that hey, you have to remember as you go up through the ranks, it's not about power. Promotion isn't about power. I said, "It's more responsibility." I said, "Now, power is just a byproduct of it." I said, "If you have to use it." I said, "Most times, you don't get a chance to use it." I said, "That's just a byproduct." I said, "But when you make rank, that's more responsibility."

T11 continued to explain that not only did she not get the support of her superiors, but there was an undercurrent of non-acceptance beneath her that undermined her authority and ability to get things done. She explained: "I'm going to be honest with you, my last lieutenant I had here, I could tell with him that he had a problem with strong women, which is not my problem. That's your problem. I just need to hear you say you're getting this done. For the most part, I think earlier on if we had been in some of those positions, they tried their best for me not to be a true commander, a woman. They just didn't want a woman as a troop commander because they see that as too much power and authority and I think they still do" (T11).

This sentiment was expressed by several of the interviewees who had obtained promotions. There was a general consensus that getting the rank, whether male or female, did not automatically result in getting support or respect from any level, regardless of how well-qualified or deserving they deemed they were for the position. T12, an active commander described her experience:

I received more support from those that I was supervising than I did from my superiors. I have to go back to when I left recruiting and I took that promotion to sergeant out in the field. It was during that time, I guess working right alongside

people that's when they know you best and they figure you out best how you really work. I received more support from those that I was supervising. Now, from those who were superior to me, my supervisors ... there was no guidance at all. If you consider that if I made a mistake, them correcting me, if you consider that guidance okay, then so be it. There was no guidance, there was no support what-so-ever. It was one of those things where I literally was thrown into it and had to figure it out for myself. It was very disappointing not to have that support. There was information that I should've had that was not shared. It was tough. I mention those early years because I believe that as you develop and you grow, you begin to gain your own reputation in spite of people who don't even work with you in the same post or the same region. They may have their own rumored interpretations of what it may be like to work with you. There were many, many times that I had ... I found out later that I had some of my employees who would defend me verbally. I didn't even know this was happening until later and well after the fact. They would defend me to others to say, "No. She's one of the best supervisors I've ever had" or "No. She's very fair" or "Yeah. She will call you in and chew you out if you need it, but then she'll turn right around and take you out to lunch and it's over with. She just expects you to do the right thing." So, no, I did not have the support at all that I needed from my supervisors.

T12 explained that the circumstances had not significantly changed for her and other women. The women were not afforded the support that they needed in order to get the respect they desired and needed from their male counterparts. She stated:

In some cases, there's the appearance of support, but in most cases, it's not the reality. What I mean for example, if I'm invited to a meeting I'm there so that box has been checked off, "Well, we did invite her." If a muzzle is put on when I'm asked my opinions about whatever we're meeting about, whatever the issue topic is and I'm basically shut down. Yeah, you invited me and then you asked my opinion, but because it didn't maybe line up exactly or because my opinion was something that you hadn't thought about before or considered, I'm shut down. In that regard that's not support. Yes, I was at the table but I was basically given a muzzle and it was put on.

Her perception of the lack of support was reinforced by another recently retired commander who stated "It is a male-dominated field. I think probably consistency across the board, there's been some times where women didn't get a fair shot. Do I think that there's

sometimes when there's a room full of guys and I have an opinion and mine's not taken as seriously? Yeah, absolutely. Can I prove it? No” (T7).

The concept of exclusion was reinforced by a retired commander who remains friends with other women remaining on the patrol. In speaking about her own career and the career of an active commander, T15 stated:

She [the active commander] is treated terribly. Yeah. Just awful. It's like the women are excluded. Of the majors, lieutenant colonels and the colonels, in meetings, they would have meetings and they would walk into the colonel's office, close the door and my office was two doors down. So, you're excluded from the information many times. If a woman had the idea it was not, they didn't receive that, but 15 minutes later if a man had the same idea it was a great idea. It sounds so awful, but and I don't say it out loud to somebody, but that's the way it is. That's the way it was when I left and I know it continues.

Several of the interviewees related specific occurrences that demonstrated a lack of support from their peers and superiors. Some of the interviewees described outright challenges to their position and authority and blatant discrimination. Instead of the command staff supporting them, as they had witnessed when it involved a male member, the male member was either moved from underneath the interviewees' command, their actions were ignored, or the woman was transferred. This occurred even when it involved insubordination, failure to obey a lawful order, a serious offense in almost all police organizations that rely on good order to manage personnel and processes, and during inappropriate exchanges.

Another active commander described incidents where subordinates continuously violated the chain of command, bypassing her, and calling the colonel and other agency leadership directly. This was not uncommon as several of the interviewees provided similar experiences. Many commented that when they tried to take action against a male subordinate, they were not allowed to exercise the same authority that male supervisors were allowed to exercise. In fact, fault was attributed to the interviewees because they were allegedly emotional, weak, or

micromanagers. When T19 complained about a specific incident, they transferred her. She described the occurrences in this way:

He was allowed to come back. The next morning, I was called and told that I'd be transferred to [deleted by researcher]. That was one of those deals where there was no disciplinary action taken, there was nothing in my file, there was nothing negative on me whatsoever. There was nothing that they could say that I did wrong. It was just one of those deals where all that undermining had finally taken its toll. Yeah, they were breaking the chain of command and calling him directly with whatever they were calling him with, I don't really know, but I did find out that, that's the only other time I ever felt like a woman on the highway patrol, because that undermining never would have been allowed to happen to a man. It would have never been allowed to happen to a district captain. Ever. Under any administration, if a master sergeant wanted to call any chief in the history of the patrol and talk about his captain, it would have never been allowed to happen, that manipulation never would have happened, because they would have said, "You come down, and let's confront this head on if you want to file a complaint, file a complaint, otherwise, let's talk about it, get it out." You see what I'm saying?

One of the interviewees related a shocking tale of disrespect and marginalization where she was addressed by a junior member of the department as the agency's token female member of the command staff. Not only did the other members of the agency laugh, the junior member was not counseled or reprimanded. She stated that she was humiliated, explaining "Honestly I still get that impression sometimes [that I am the token member of the command staff]" (T13). She went on to explain, as did some of the other interviewees serving at the command level, that the male leadership not only failed to support them but held informal meetings to which they were not invited. At many of these meetings, important decisions were made that sometimes affected their command, yet they had no input or rebuttal authority. They, also, agreed that in some meetings, their comments and suggestions were often ignored until one of the male members repeated their earlier suggestions. According to their accounts, all of a sudden, the suggestions seemed like brilliant ideas for which they received no credit.

A current commander described why there had never been a female serving at the highest level of her agency: “Because our agency has always been such a man's world. It's very hard to break those boundaries; to break through those barriers” (T12). In discussing her thoughts on receiving the support of command staff, she offered the following insight: “Currently, yes, in some cases. It's hard to answer that because so many times that answer is no. I would say 90% of the time that answer is no honestly. The majority of the time, no they don't” (T12).

T11 expressed that when she was active, she was determined not to let a lack of support from her peers, the command staff, or her subordinates interfere with her performing in her role as commander, despite the numerous, and sometimes insurmountable, obstacles placed in her path. She commented:

I think, too, a lot of times people don't understand you can't substitute experience. I have a lot of experience. A lot of people thought they were throwing me under the bus when they put me in certain positions or whatever, but I'm one of those type people that hey, if you throw me into aviation, ain't no problem. Next thing you know, I'll be getting my pilot's license. I'm one of those type people. Because once I said I'm here to stay, to a certain point, that's what I'm going to do. I'm not a person that is going to sob and get mad and I'm not going to work because you put me over here. No. Once you put me over here, I'm going to do a job, you're paying me to do a job.

The interviewees provided other examples of a lack of support. A common theme was the failure of agency leadership to recognize and reward their efforts, particularly when the interviewees considered that they were working twice as hard as the male members just to get any recognition. One interviewee detailed how her boss continued to use her ideas and present them to others, particularly agency leadership, as his own. While she was willing to tolerate his behavior, she considered the situation comical and expected it to be handled by karma. What disappointed her, however, was instances where agency leadership appeared to be surprised to

hear she was doing a good job. She explained, “My first question is always, ‘Is he surprised I work hard?’” (T7).

Throughout the interviews, when some of the interviewees achieved some success with promotions and assignments, they realized they had to modify their personal and professional styles when interfacing with other members of the agency. Several learned they could not be as aggressive or assertive as the male troopers or supervisors with whom they worked. They quickly learned that the masculine characteristics could not be applied to them or they drew criticism, which negatively impacted their reputations and ultimately, their opportunities. One of the interviewees was convinced that she had worked hard, managed her divisions efficiently and effectively, and would be rewarded with an advancement opportunity. Yet another individual, a male, not more senior, more experienced or better educated, was selected. She viewed this as an awakening. She commented: “I was naïve. I thought I was one of the boys. I think the men in this agency think that if you're a woman you have an advantage, and what I told one of them, I said, ‘How in the world could you think that? I have to do twice the work, be twice as good as the average trooper to get recognized. How could I have any advantage?’” (T3).

T12 described her efforts to determine the right mixture of grit and softness, without appearing too aggressive or overconfident. She explained how women within the agency were treated by both peers and supervisors and realized that their behavior could determine success or failure. She explained how she modified her behavior to ensure she did not get labelled as a trouble-maker, like many of her predecessors:

I think it depended on the individual woman's personality as to how she was treated. Me for example, my personality, I stay quiet until I can figure out who's who and what's what and when it's most appropriate to speak. I do more studying of people and trying to figure it out before I just open my mouth. I was pretty quiet back then. I was very young and pretty quiet. There were other females that had been on the state patrol that were very vocal and very hard core. These were

women that had been on for a while and again they were some of the ones that were the very first female troopers. They just seemed to be kind of overly ... I won't say overly masculine, but overly aggressive sometimes. Can be a bit boisterous, as if they had something to prove all the time and always sort of had a chip on their shoulder. How they were treated by their superiors' sort of depended on if that supervisor liked that sort of personality in that female then they were fine, but if they couldn't figure her out, they don't really like her that much because they don't know if they can manipulate her... It sort of kept them off guard.

T2 assumed that no matter what she or other women troopers did, they would never be accepted by the men in her agency. She explained that being an outsider had more to do with being a woman in a man's job: "Even though you see African-American males at that level, the good ol' boy network, they feel more comfortable with other men, they're more comfortable.... Men just aren't comfortable with women" (T2).

As described in Chapter 7, many of the interviewees wanted to distance themselves from other women troopers, particularly if the other women were not respected. Some of the interviewee's comments about other women and their hopes for promotions are illustrated:

You know, you hear stories, and I don't know if it's true or not, some of the females we had back in the day that were promoted to corporal, I think the highest back then was sergeant. They would do things or whatever to get to where they were and I always told myself I would never do anything to make rank. This is who I am, maybe you like it or you don't. I'm not changing who I am for a stripe and a pay raise. I just thought that it just would never happen. It has and I'm grateful for where I'm at. My plans are, unless things change, I'm going to retire when I get my 25 in and go do something else. If I get promoted again between now and then that would be awesome, but maybe with some of the other females that are coming up, maybe one day it'll happen to them...Back in the day, this is here say. "Yeah, that's the whole reason why she got promoted, because she's sleeping with so and so." You know, you hear things like that. It's none of my business. I don't ask, but what goes on now, I honestly don't know. I guess I'm ignorant, because when it comes to things like that I don't want to get involved in it. (T6)

As far as now how things are, I think it's better for them now. Let me put it this way. If you have hardworking females in your area and always have, then they're going to have a positive impact for the other females that are coming in. There are certain areas where we've had females that have had some issues with

productivity or relationships with the people on their shift, that when they've gotten another female it's been automatic. Kind of put her in that same boat until she proves herself otherwise...I don't have any pressure from the women because I don't deal with the women. If they want go and back stab one another, or tattle on one another just to get that promotion. That's how, you gotta do that, that's how it was at my unit. You get your promotion because you deserve it, you earned it, you've proven that you can handle that promotion. Some people just want to get that promotion just to say they have it. I do feel a little bit of pressure from some of the men, but not like they're literally pressuring me. (T18)

The interviews did reveal a general level of disappointment in the careers of the interviewees and the other women within their agencies. Many described thoughts of disenfranchisement and disenchantment with what they considered the good old boy system.

I think that's going to be a tough thing in [state deleted by researcher]. I think that a major is about as high as a woman is going to go. I just don't think they're ready for it yet. I hate to be like that, but I think there are people ... It's not 100% the highway patrol. I think it's society too down here. I think that they're just not ready for it, like a female colonel and it's a shame because we had a good one. Her name was [deleted by researcher]. She was a major and she was awesome. That's the highest any female has gone was a major and she has the potential to be the colonel, but I don't know whatever stopped that.

T21 was unsure if when she entered the promotional process that she would be treated fairly, explaining: "I feel like they need ... When you only have men making policy for an entire agency, I feel like you need to have different views out there. I feel like a woman just in general thinks about things differently, so I think that you need different minds up there bouncing ideas around. This way, you could find a policy that speaks to everyone [and ensures fair promotions]" (T21). Other interviewees were not as optimistic as T21, repeatedly expressing disappointment in the system and the leadership. All of the interviewees thought that that women with the proper experience and credentials were already serving within their agencies and were promotable. Given the opportunity, they could not understand why the agencies would not promote women and in many cases, promoted men who were less qualified or less capable.

T15 expressed total frustration with the leadership when she noticed that during the interview for a promotional opportunity that the leader directed all of his attention and questions to the male officer that was competing with her for a command position. As she described it, this action by the commissioner made her realize that in all probability the male would be selected for the powerful position.

It made me feel at times angry and bitter, but that's just the way it was. I knew I saw how it worked and I knew who he had in mind. For example, when this [deleted by researcher] captain retired, I knew who he had in mind for that next person. I knew one of a couple of people for the next major's position. Whether that he's doing that based upon the college and their experience or whatever reason I knew that. I was very discouraged. It's just I got to the point that I didn't understand not just about not getting that promotion but going to a meeting another major and me and I knew the information but the commissioner would look to the man for the answer to the question over and over and over. It was not a good time. I really saw how bad it is for women. [I was] applying for promotions and you were seeing people that you thought were less qualified getting promoted over you. Yes. I would apply and not be selected. Many years ago, it was very political in those people that, the less qualified people that were promoted over me many times had the political connection. I think that it's about authority or power I think. I think the perception is, well, I think the [face of the agency] is a white male and to see they think only men can make those decisions.

A similar experience was shared by T14. Not only did she think she earned the position and was the best qualified candidate, she recognized that the agency had no intention of ensuring diversity at its command levels, even when the opportunity to promote a female made sense:

I just think they don't have that confidence in women as equals especially in those managerial positions. Toward the end of my career, when I did test for the major's position and did not receive it after coming in first in the interview before the board, I can't say that my feelings were not hurt. It presented the patrol with an opportunity to have a female major, which is something that they had not had previously. I guess that pretty much, if I go back and look at it, was the beginning of the end because I felt like I was stuck where I was. I would be a captain for the rest of my career. Didn't matter how much I worked, what I did, that the opportunity was not going to be there for me to be promoted. Once you get to that rank structure, once you get to that level, there are only so many places and so many positions that are there. That was my peak opportunity time and it just didn't happen.

This apparent lack of will and desire to promote women was echoed by T12 who stated: “They've shown some support in the past with that. There've been other times when they could've promoted women where they just flat out didn't. There's been several opportunities there to close that gap. That whole thing with lieutenant rank where there's no females as lieutenants currently. They've missed the mark on that with very qualified candidates. I don't really know why” (T12).

An interviewee from a different state agreed that while her agency had many missed opportunities to promote women, that there were not many women available now to make real change: “Well, state police ... I know it's made a lot of progression with a lot of states, they do have female colonels and lieutenant colonels here. I still think a lot of it honestly is a good ol' boy network, they're more reluctant to promote women than they are the men. I think a lot of it is just because I know a lot of the agencies especially state police demographically they just have a lot fewer women than they do men” (T13).

Like many of the interviewees, T3 pointed directly to a recent agency opportunity to promote a female to the command level. What made it more difficult to accept was the fact that she was already doing the work. She explained: “The guy that they promoted over me in Highway Patrol, we were classmates. We were trooper classmates. Yeah. When I was lieutenant in Highway Patrol and they promoted him over me instead of giving me the position when I was already doing the job” (T3). T23, also, thought that she was passed over for many promotions and opportunities in favor of men she thought were less qualified or less dedicated. She, like most of the interviewees, thought that this phenomenon was a direct result of the good old boy network stating:

You just look back and say, well, yeah. You could see it coming. I want to call them ass-kissers. They were always in the right place at the right time, and you

knew that it was going their way. You just let it slide. If you dwell on it, all that's going to do is eat you up inside. If they look at me on paper and everything that I've done, and everywhere I've been, there's not a more qualified trooper out there for that position. I know that for a fact, because I know that there's nobody out there that's done everything I've done and it could just be the stars aligned. You know, factually speaking, there is nobody that has the skillset that I have. I'm not tooting my horn, I promise you, I'm not tooting my horn.

Several of the interviewees expressed a desire to change the way they are as a result of their previous experiences. Both T19 and T7 thought that they were too open, honest and trusting. Their responses indicated many of their experiences created fear and concern for their future within their agencies. T19 blamed herself for not meeting the expectations of others and viewed her difference as unacceptable. This was evident because she expressed that she could not allow others to see the real her. She was very worried about what others thought of her, particularly subordinates. She explained how she was changing herself, rather than draw criticism or look like an ineffective leader.

I would say I'm trusting of my people, maybe even to the extent of, before now, that was too trusting. I like to, I guess, I like to enable them to learn and carry on. I really like to train and prepare them to do whatever it is we're doing without my thumb on them. I cannot say that I've always done that. It might have been, I wouldn't say a bad micromanager, but when I was tasked with something really, really big and I knew my head was on the chopping block, it wasn't right, I supervised it very closely. I don't know if you'd call that, to some men, or women, I guess, they might perceive it as micromanaging, but to me it's kind of like I'm responsible for this. [from now on] I would try to be more observant of the things around me and the people around me. Be a little less trusting. Try not to get so tunnel vision in my responsibilities that I forget to watch my own back. Maybe adjust my personal characteristics and attributes to where they're not so transparent to the people that work under me. Get a little colder, and maybe a little harder, a little more not like we are, a little more not like a female. Yeah, a little more not like a female, more reserved, a little more distant. Maybe prevent my own vulnerability, I guess would be a good term for it. (T19)

T7 was even more distraught. She explained that her difference from the status quo was not only emotionally painful, but the stress made her physically ill. She thought that taking care of her people was enough, but learned it was unappreciated and, in some situations, detrimental

to her career. She, also, learned that with each promotional opportunity came an ugliness in which she was not willing to participate.

I don't know how to describe it it's just taken a toll on me. The politics of it. Like I said all along, I had gotten promoted and that's why what I said earlier. I said I think it's okay in the eyes of certain people, I'm not even saying of the ones in charge. I'm not saying it's people that I've worked for over the last little bit and people that I thought were my friends that have fired shots. It's gotten down to the competition is narrower and the positions are not there like they were. I wouldn't ever put somebody else down to push my agenda or put myself out there, but it is what it is. With the way that my attitude was becoming as far as being cynical, absolutely had never seen [anything like it] I couldn't trust anybody that I was around over there. I didn't like feeling paranoid every day that I went to work and it just wasn't worth it to me. My peace of mind was worth more to me. (T7)

In summary, the data supports that the interviewees have worked in highly gendered agencies, they have experienced limited acceptance into non-traditional roles and assimilation into their agencies organizational structure (Acker, 1990, 1992; Britton, 1990, 2000; Kanter, 1977). This has impacted their ability to fully contribute to the organization and has in many cases demoralized and frustrated the interviewees. One of the losses aside from the agencies inadequate progression towards equal opportunity, is the signal that the leadership sends to the current and future generation of women that these agencies are choosing to keep things the way they are. The next chapter, Should, Woulda, Coulda, addresses why the interviewees think state police and highway patrol agencies should employ women and allows the interviewees to reflect on their careers and their contributions.

Chapter 9: Findings: Shoulda, Woulda, Coulda: Looking Back

The previous findings chapters provided some insight into the interviewees perceptions of recruitment, employment, special assignments, retention, and promotional opportunities for women. In this chapter, the interviewees discussed their opinions as to why state police and highway patrol agencies should employ women; what, if any, regrets they had; and, lastly, how they characterized their personal legacies.

Why Hire Women Anyway?

Without exception, the interviewees imagined their agencies to be the best of the best, but generally agreed that there remained an engrained and robust good old boy's network that did not embrace change or value the differences that women bring to their agencies. Several of the interviewees thought things were getting better for women in their agencies and they remained hopeful that their current administrations were different from those of the past. However, this may be another example of false consciousness. Spoor and Schmitt's (2011) study comparing how group identities are understood and constructed when comparing the past and current social identities revealed that focusing on women's progress compared to the past may actually undermine future advancements. They theorize that the reason for this is that comparisons to one's current status and comparisons to the past could lead to the perception that gender discrimination may no longer be a problem, because people tend to think in terms of progress and temporal comparisons. Specifically, "high-status groups may attempt to minimize perceptions of current inequality to reduce challenges from low-status groups' (p. 34), such as women.

Two interviewees explained that they did not think gender should be considered in employment decisions, because they were of the opinion that men and women should be treated

equally, with only the best people being employed. Yet, they admitted that they did not think that the concept of equality was truly embraced by their agency. One interviewee blamed feminists and the government for making opportunities for women more complicated. Another interviewee proudly declared that she was not a feminist. However, in follow-up questions, she was adamant that equal pay and opportunities were very important.

All of the interviewees provided reasons why women should be employed by state police and highway patrol agencies citing what they thought were specific differences between men and women that they deemed important to policing:

- The way that women analyze and approach problems and situations,
- women are more dependable and detail-oriented,
- women generally possess a stronger work ethic than men,
- women's ability to multi-task,
- women's greater concern for humanity and their communities, and
- that women are typically better communicators.

One retired interviewee viewed women as more ideally suited for police work than men because she thought that women are often smarter, and in some cases, more capable, than men. She explained: "They [women] can make quick decisions, and I mean life and death decisions, and they don't have to have strict supervision...because they have good judgment and they make better workers overall" (T2). T10 held a slightly different outlook, basing her opinion on her life experiences and observations. She thought that the primary difference between men and women was based on gender, but more important on innate leadership ability and commitment to their jobs.

To me, and this is not down on the males, but to me the women are more thorough and when given a task they complete it to the end. Some men do that. In my experience with some of the staff that I have now, I'm seeing you give them a task and either they halfway do it or they don't complete it at all. The women I think they have completed tasks and done a good job. There's a lot of men that do the same thing, but it's just my experience that women are [better at] completing

tasks. They are better employees than men. I hate to say that but I think they take it to heart more than the men do. (T10)

T9 did not share the opinions of T2 or T10. She thought that gender had nothing to do with ability or the performance of an individual as a police officer. She stated:

We have instances where females have done a better job in certain areas than men cause just like there are certain instances where maybe a man does something better because of who they are; because of the type of trooper they are. I don't think the gender necessarily has everything to do with it. To say they [women] have to work twice as hard; I don't think so. I think you can be successful if you do your job and you do well. There are a lot of male troopers that should never have been hired and they don't do their job well just as there are or have been female troopers [the same].

The interviewees were steadfast in their conviction that police agencies should be reflective of the communities they serve. Most did not think that their particular agencies were reflective of their communities nor did their agency appear to be particularly concerned about diversity, especially in their recruiting and retention efforts. In speaking about the benefits that diversity brings to police agencies, T7 expressed a need for the difference that she thought women and others brought to law enforcement agencies:

I think you do need a certain amount of diversity. You need people with different opinions; different views on life.... When you're taking an agency to a certain direction, the general public is made up of men and women, black and white. You can't expect to run any police agency, any government agency, and not have the same type of representation in it that you have in the general public. Otherwise you won't even be connected in any way.

The previous findings chapters indicate that the interviewees appreciated the difference that they and other women provided to their agencies and their communities as evidenced by the following comments from several of the interviewee's. Their expressions demonstrate a commitment to diversity, a desire for recognition, and appreciation for their perceived difference:

I think we're better at recognizing a situation, not all, and seeing, okay, this isn't going to work for this guy, but this might. I've told troopers, I've had to tell troopers, "Walk away from the car," because he was inciting the suspect. I had a

guy kicking out the back window of a trooper car, because of the trooper, what the trooper was doing to antagonize the guy. Walk away. If you can't see that you're the problem. Just the arrogance of some of them. I have the authority to take you to jail. Sometimes it's about how you talk to people...I don't want to sound morbid, but I think we have more of an interest in things and how they work. At times, I think we have a more honest interest in our people and how they're doing. Probably one of the most important jobs I ever did or what I felt like was important to me was death notifications. I was traffic homicide investigator. As a corporal in Highway Patrol, we also did death notifications. If I was out and something happened, and if I had to respond, or if a trooper responded and we had to ... I always wanted to do death notifications. I know that sounds kind of morbid, but I felt like it needed to be handled in a specific manner, and I'd been there when I'd witnessed a trooper- knock on the door- "Hey, is Leroy your brother?" And they say, "Yeah." "Well, he's dead." [Whereas, women say] "Ma'am, can we walk inside for a few minutes and let us sit down and talk to you?" There's some information that needs to be delivered in a certain way, and sometimes I don't think ... There's some troopers, not saying all, male troopers, that can do that, or care. We have a different way of thinking. I think we need more women. I don't think they tap into us like they should. (T3)

Every law enforcement agency needs women. Again, it gives a realistic balance. One of the things is that our agency needs to show that our employees, that our state troopers are representative of the state that we work for. It should be representative of the demographics in our state. You should be able to look across our employees and see different colors, different hues, different genders. It should be all inclusive because we don't pick and choose who we serve in this state. We're serving the citizens of [state deleted by researcher], we're serving those people who are passing through. All of them don't look the same so, it's important that in turn on the other end of things that they see a state organization that's there to protect and serve them that the likelihood of us being empathetic or the likelihood of us being more understanding and having that diversity that they feel better about that and who's representing them. It's not just about us as an agency. We should be representing the people. Females are a very integral part of that. The way that we think is different and it adds a whole another angle. That's the tie in to our policy. Our input is endless. So, to be denied of that or to be sort of shut out, it's showing any forward progression at all. The particular females that I've had the privilege of supervising seriously they get out there and they work just as hard as the men. They think things through. They think ahead. I've had the privilege of supervising some pretty outstanding women. (T12)

Because there's definitely a place for females in law enforcement. There's a place for them on the patrol. Because we are valuable assets. There are things, places we can go into. There are situations in interviewing and talking to people and dealing with people where a woman can do that better than a man. Or just as good as a man, if not better. Maybe that's how I should word it so that I'm not sounding like I'm a feminist and bashing men. We're mothers. We're more compassionate

sometimes when compassion is needed. We tend to reason out situations where if you have this big, rough, gruff fellow standing there, he's liable to resort to fisticuffs as the way to resolve. I think we try to resolve problems differently sometimes than guys do. (T14)

The interviewees were unwavering in their confidence that the qualities they thought women possessed not only made important contributions to the profession of policing, but influenced and forged relationships with their communities that had not existed previously. However, the personal and professional challenges and barriers that they encountered throughout their careers resulted in many of them, particularly the more senior active and retired interviewees, regretting choices they made or allowed others to make for them. In some cases, their sacrifices remained painful memories even years after they resigned or retired.

Regrets

The interviewees attributed many of their personal and professional sacrifices to their desire to fit in and gain acceptance from their peers and agency leadership regardless of the personal and professional costs. As discussed, many accepted, as part of the job, that they had to work harder and longer to prove themselves. In some cases, the interviewees stated that they would have done this anyway because of their personal commitment and work ethic. Some expressed regret for not doing more to improve themselves such as obtaining advanced education but thought that they were forced to choose between their work or personal obligations. Many regretted not being more assertive and standing up for themselves or others.

Several of the interviewees expressed sorrow for lost time and relationships with loved ones, moving the researcher to tears. T15, a retired commander, put her personal life and family on hold because she thought that she had limited options due to her professional circumstances at the time. She defended her family and career choices as self-imposed sacrifices made to gain acceptance and avoid rejection in a perpetual effort to prove her worthiness. She explained:

The only thing that I really regret is being away from my daughter as much as I was... She continued: Also, I would get more education on the front end and I would be more aggressive in pursuing what I wanted to be. I mean more aggressive and stand up for myself perhaps. If there was a process that I thought I was not treated well, I would pursue those avenues that were available. I think that people don't want to make waves. They don't want to be labeled as the troublemaker because any woman that files a grievance is marked. "That's the troublemaker. You don't want her" (T15).

The primary regrets expressed by T2 were the loss of time with her son and her inability to achieve the level within the agency she alleged she earned and was denied. Since retiring, she has had an opportunity to reflect on her life and career and now concludes that, given the culture of her agency and the people with which she was required to work, she did the best she could at the time. While she continues to dwell on her inability to be the mother and trooper she hoped to be, she explained that she was proud of her achievements and had few serious regrets. She stated:

Well, I have sat down with my son and asked him, because through the course of his life, we never got the holidays. I worked on weekends. I worked shifts. I asked him did that ever harm you in any way me not, the job I did, and my not being there for you a lot of times He seems to feel like it didn't. I felt like, I apologized to him because I felt like I ... I said, "I feel like you missed out on stuff." He said that actually he didn't. You asked me about regrets. It almost cost my life a couple of times. I knew I might not go home at the end of the day. Even after going through all of that, I sometimes, when it comes right down I still don't regret it.

One of the interviewees, a retired commander, explained that she was so focused on being accepted and trying to advance within her agency that she made the mistake of thinking there would always be time to do the things she wanted to do. As she described it, "just get through this next hurdle" (T14) meant that she was always chasing some elusive goal. She described losing both of her parents before realizing that the dreams she was chasing with the patrol would never be a reality, through no fault of her own, which made the loss so much more agonizing for her. In retrospect, she attributed the successes she did enjoy in her career to the many blessings she has received, attributing disappointment, such as not being promoted to the

command level in the patrol, turning into another success by receiving a high-level job once she retired. T14 described her sense of loss and her appreciation for her successes:

[I] Would have gone home to see my mother and daddy more often instead of being married to my job. I had a good career. I'm not ashamed of anything that I did during my tenure there. I'm not saying I was perfect. Far from it. I don't know that I would want things to be different. The Good Lord provides and He puts you in those places. I think that the experiences that I had at the patrol have helped to shape me, to allow me to move forward, and to help other people. That maybe if things had been different, those opportunities wouldn't have been there. If I hadn't retired when I did and gone to the [deleted by researcher], those opportunities might not have been there for me, too. You don't consider not getting the promotion you felt you deserved a sadness. It's sad, but I just have to accept the fact that it was not what was meant to be. I can't sit there and make it any different. I can't change that fact. Had I gotten the promotion, would I still be there? Who's to say? I might have. When one door closes, another one opens. You just have to be brave enough and bold enough to run on through.

While T10 stated that she had few regrets, she described disappointment in herself for not focusing on her child during the early part of her career. At some point she recognized that the patrol should not be at the center of one's life. She explained:

I've seen a lot of troopers be so dedicated to the highway patrol and lose their families. I've tried to see and talk to them if there's a problem coming up that I can see or they'll call me. I will tell them God first, then family. I was dedicated and still am to the highway patrol but I have learned over the past especially since I had to go through all this that a lot of times we are warm bodies in a position. It will drive on regardless whether we're there or not. It's still hard for me to put things down. I'm one that doesn't like to procrastinate. I will stay up until 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning working on something because my wheels are turning and I can't sleep. I'm trying to retrain my mind to the point to where my family is more important.... A lot of times I think I should have dedicated more time to [my child] than this highway patrol but I didn't. I focused more on them.

A sense of loss and remorse were the more common themes for the retired and some of the more senior active interviewees. For some, such as T16, trying to continuously prove herself to gain acceptance and recognition began to affect her health. She described having to take a step back to learn that she had to accept things at work for what they were to be able to continue in the career she loved. She stated: "I can't say I would have changed anything. I really think it's

important to have the respect of people you work with. I feel that the people I've worked with feel that I have earned, just even to wear a badge. I really think I could have been; I really wanted to be a first sergeant, but you know, that didn't work out. I probably worked way too much" (T16).

T23 reinforced and supported the responses provided by many of the interviewees, particularly about sacrifices of time and family for the job. While she attributed her divorce to the patrol, she thought that her inability to achieve the highest levels in her agency was a failing on her part. She thought that she was not a good leader because she lacked confidence and received no training or support that, in retrospect, she thinks might have helped her. She was one of the interviewees who also expressed concern that women were removed from the patrol and placed in administrative jobs, particularly when it involved promotional opportunities. She stated that even though she would have liked to return to patrol, once she was reassigned, that was never an option for her. She explained:

[I would have] probably paid more attention. I don't have any children, but if this led to a divorce in my house, and it was strictly because I gave the department everything, the overtime hours, being away from home, and perhaps maybe if I would have devoted a little more time to my household, that things would have been different there. Maybe not. Probably maybe attended more leadership schools to investigate the different leadership abilities. Maybe try to incorporate some of them in my command years. I never wanted to change the field that I was in. I loved highway patrol. That's all I ever knew. I don't think that I would have done anything different, other than this little bit that I was in training there. I really didn't enjoy that. It was more an office job. I wanted to be out in the field. Gosh, I don't know what I would have done different, other than seeking new opportunities to explore a different command style.

The regrets of T23 were echoed by T19 who, also, prioritized her job over family. As a result, she attributed her divorce to her misguided and unappreciated dedication to the patrol explaining:

I was gone all the time. Even recently toward the end of the marriage when I was home a little bit more right after the divorce, I was still working longer hours than I should have with me having sole custody of my [child]...so it was very difficult as a single mom, anyway. I don't really know how else I could have done it.... Yeah. My years at the [job name deleted by researcher] required a lot of time and that contributed to the demise of my marriage. No doubt, that did, the long hours, the long days, time away from home. Taking my job so, so seriously over the top that I neglected home. That's probably why.

T9, like T15, T23 and others, attributed her career failures to not being more confident and assertive. Her fear of rejection, retaliation, and the desire to gain acceptance as one of the boys prevented her from speaking up when she perceived something was not fair or acceptable. She also expressed regret for failing to mentor and stand up for others. T9 expressed her self-described limitations:

I do wish that [I had been] more assertive in my command positions. As far as the department goes, not as far as my own sections or divisions were concerned. I was assertive in that they are, but as far as speaking up for the whole department, I probably – looking back I wish I had – on that. I think I would be probably a little more assertive in my younger years in lower ranks than I was. It was definitely a male-dominated department when I was hired. At that time, there [were] only [number deleted by researcher] female troopers; that was it. No sergeants. So, I think I would be a little more assertive. Looking back, knowing what I know now, it would've been easier had I been willing to leave [the area in which I worked], but you know, my career has been pretty much in the administrative area my whole career. So, that would be the only thing. I would probably have been a little more vocal; a little more assertive in my younger years to affect change. If you don't speak up, how are you going to affect any change? Probably hiring; you know, standing up to not hire certain people that were hired because internal processes. Hiring people. Retaining some people. Maybe mentoring not only females, but some males that we lost because they didn't feel like they had anyone to talk to you about what their issues were. That type of thing.

The desire to be assigned to or remain on the *road* (patrol) was shared by several of the interviewees. While several were lured away by attractive opportunities they were offered such as regular hours, many others saw this as a deliberate tactical effort on behalf of the agency to keep women from being assigned to patrol. Reassignments from patrol were primarily to administrative sections like driver's license, accident investigation, and assignments related to

women and children's issues. Many were told that these jobs were things women were good at. One consequence of this is that according to Martin and Jurik (2007), "These assignments have long-term effects on women's upward mobility" (p. 85).

Actively working the road (patrol) is akin to a mostly all-male domain such as the specialized units to which no women had yet to be offered an opportunity or assigned. There were exceptions. Several of the interviewees, primarily the more junior women, were still assigned to patrol functions. Remaining in patrol assignments appeared to occur more frequently in urban than rural areas. Many of the interviewees described more difficulty fitting in and being accepted in rural than urban areas by peers and the public. T22 explained:

I don't think that there's anything that I have done that halted my ability to move forward or the path that I had chosen. I do enjoy the road, so I kind of wish I was able to stay on the road a little bit longer. I kind of contemplate sometimes going back there. There are positions that are open that are still on the road, like I could lateral back to a lieutenant spot on the road because I do miss that portion of it, but once you move into a specialty it's kind of hard to move back out. That would probably be the only thing, I miss the day to day interaction with road troops, but it's not anything that I regret or anything. I just miss that to a degree.

While several interviewees characterized their agencies as not perfect, they were, nonetheless, unwilling to change the situation in which they worked. They accepted that there were obvious inequities and difficulties for women troopers, particularly those with children, households to run, or those caring for ill or elderly family members. They commented that the men, principally rank and leadership, did not understand that women had to confront employment obstacles that the male troopers did not. Several commented that the male troopers had wives or girlfriends who managed their households, freeing them to dedicate themselves to work and off-duty activities. Although they were rarely invited to off-duty activities with male troopers, several regretted not having that opportunity to hang out with the guys with whom they worked, because they had other obligations that required them to go home. T8 expressed concern

about managing a household and trying to be a dedicated patrol employee, but also described why she did not have personal regrets about her career:

No, [I have no regrets] because I love my job. I love the highway patrol. It's easy to look back and say, "Oh, I should have done this. I should have done that." But, I'm happy with where I am right now. I do look back and say, "Hey, my job did get in the way." At the same time, I love what I'm doing. If I was unhappy with my job then I would say, "Yes, I regret it." But, I'm not unhappy with it. I'm content. It's a lot easier for the male troopers I think to get married, have kids. I mean, I think it'd be very difficult as a female trooper to have a family. I can't really speak from experience because I don't have one. I know females that do and I know it's tough for them. You're the trooper but you're having to care for children. Whereas the men, their wives do that. They come to work and do their thing. Yeah, that's probably, like I said, I haven't been married and when I was younger and had the opportunity I would say that the job did get in the way, yes. I think one thing, when I joined the patrol and started, I really pretty much, my life has been my job. I was very close to getting married when I first joined. I didn't because of my career. I wish, maybe now that I'm older, I wish that I would've gotten married and kinda eased into that professional lifestyle. I didn't because I was so focused on work and learning and adapting and fitting in professionally.

The sentiments of T8 were reflected in other interviewee's comments. In spite of adversity, the interviewees loved their jobs and agencies so much that in the final analysis, they accepted whatever their fate provided. The following reflections are illustrations of this devotion shared by several interviewees:

I wouldn't do anything different. Not one thing. Every challenge I've had, every triumph I've had, all of it all came together and it all worked out. I've been blessed in my career because I feel like I'm at a point where I've not made any deals with the devil so to speak. I don't feel like I owe anyone anything for doing me any favors to get me where I am. I don't feel that way. I honestly feel like I've just given it all that I've had. I've participated in the process. I've done everything that everyone else has done for the most part. I really wouldn't change a thing. I'm proud of where I am. I pushed myself to continue to be just a good influence and to try to be an inspiration for other people. I wouldn't change anything. (T12)

I don't think I would change a thing. I think me going through what I went through throughout my career has made me who I am today. I think I'm a better trooper, a better person because of it. I've experienced a lot of crap, if that makes sense. Going through all the crap that I went through and then going through a county that's never had a female before and experiencing that I think has really done me good. Number one, it's let me know I can handle more than what I

thought I could. I think it's made me a stronger person and I also think it's made me a more understanding person. (T6)

I don't think I would do anything different as far as making a decision based upon my personal life. I think me being in the position that I'm in was hard for, you know, guys to accept, a female in law enforcement. You know it's kinda that alpha type personality. Then it's hard for, you know, some guys to accept that position on a, you know, female. But I wouldn't have done ... I wouldn't have changed anything. I mean, I didn't ... You know at the end of the day. You know when I went home, I'm not trooper so-and-so. I'm just my name. I would have got in earlier to be a trooper. I would have started my career earlier. I mean it was my dream since I was a young girl, so I would have started earlier. I probably ... I left the road and I went into an investigations position. If I had to do all over again, I don't know that I would have ever left the road. Because I literally loved the road. It was like a drug to me. I love getting out and helping people, and it felt like I truly had a purpose in life. I felt like even if I just stopped a teenager for speeding. Maybe I didn't write a ticket, but I just slowed them down and it made a difference. It made an impact on them. They remembered me. (T4)

While many of the interviewees expressed regrets about lost opportunities, a lack of support, and being treated differently than their male peers and leadership, most were optimistic about the future of their agencies. But they clearly thought that real change would not come until women and men were treated equally. This is evidenced by T21 and others when they described increasing the chances for having a more professional agency by promoting women into the top jobs with the agencies. T21 explained: "When you only have men making policy for an entire agency, I feel like you need to have different views out there. I feel like a woman just in general thinks about things differently, so I think that you need different minds up there bouncing ideas around. This way, you could find a policy that speaks to everyone" (T21).

While none of the interviewees indicated that they would have selected a different career path, every interviewee stated that they thought that their agencies were better for the contributions they and other women troopers made during their careers. During the next section, Legacies, their passion and commitment were obvious and their responses demonstrate the depth of their love, respect, and pride for themselves and their agencies.

Legacies

More important than regrets that the interviewees shared about their experiences were the contributions they thought they made to their agencies and how they characterized their efforts. Several of the interviewees expressed surprise at being asked such a question because they had never considered their careers from that perspective. The most compelling comments were those made by interviewees who had retired; they had very strong ideas about how and for what they wanted to be remembered. Their comments provide real insight into the resilience and dedication that bound and continue to bind these women to their agencies, regardless of perceived personal and professional costs.

T2, even though retired for several years, still had several painful memories associated with her service to the patrol that were discussed in previous chapters. Despite the obstacles she experienced, she expressed devotion and respect for the image of her agency and revealed a tremendous sense of pride for having had the opportunity to have been a state trooper. She explained that it was most important to her that she be remembered for not only working hard but being known as someone that other troopers could depend upon when needed. She commented:

Pride, I had pride in being a trooper and my [child] has always told me how proud [gender deleted by researcher] was. Where I never tell anybody, I was even associated with the patrol, my [child] always says "My Mom was a [state deleted by researcher] State Trooper." I have always been told that I was always classy. I always brought a touch of class to the patrol and that was a compliment, and that if I needed help I'd just soon you come help me as anybody I've been told.... So, what else, if they respected you enough to know if they put out a help call that you were coming and you were going to be there, and you had their back.

All of the interviewees expressed their commitment to service – making the agency better, providing good customer service, and taking care of people, both within their agency and the community. Several thought that many of their contributions were

ignored or underappreciated by agency leadership but reasoned that they performed their jobs and obligations out of a sense of duty, not for recognition. T3, T7 and T10 gave a brief overview of their thought process about service:

I would like to leave a legacy of, “she came in, she saw a way to change things positively, and she did everything in her power to make that happen for the agency and the employees and tried to make their job easier.” That's one thing I've tried to do with Driver License, is to make our policies more lenient, as far as the customers, be able to give them service that they want, and not badger them for unnecessary information. I've tried, brought in different types of uniforms for our examiners so they're more comfortable, but present a professional appearance. Above all, let them know that I care. I know what they do. I understand, and I am trying to make it better. Leaving it better than I found it. (T3)

Gosh, I wasn't really expecting a question like that. Hopefully that what I was a part of I left it better than what it was when I got there. I try to look at better ways to do things, more efficient ways of doing things. Gave people chances that otherwise didn't have one. It didn't matter who you are, I think I've treated people fairly. Woman, male, black, white treated them fairly. Always did everything I could for the people that were under me. I don't feel like I've set the world on fire. Other people probably could answer that question better than I can, because felt like I worked [hard]. Nobody can say I didn't do that. (T7)

Treating people fair regardless of race or gender. Doing what's right. I learned that from my dad. If you do the right thing then you can go to bed at night, put your head on that pillow and sleep with a clear conscience. I hope I have instilled that in a lot of the troopers. I hope. I'm not perfect I don't portray to be a perfect person but I do believe in doing what's right. (T10)

Another common theme shared by the interviewees was the importance of each of them being remembered for what might be described as being one of the boys by proving that they, as women, could do the job. All of the interviewees used common terms to describe themselves such as honest, hard worker, dependable, dedicated, fair, caring, respect, doing the right thing, and helping others. These descriptions are in direct contrast with the cult of masculinity as described by Martin and Jurik (2007) where traits such as aggressive, competitive, and determined are a few terms used to describe the expected

managerial masculinity in police culture (p. 86). The following comments are

illustrations of how they characterized themselves and their efforts:

I guess from what I gather from other people is I do hear the guys that I work with on the road that would say if they ever got into anything that they would be very happy to see me coming. I'm just a tough, hard worker as far as that goes, and I've always been fair. I think as far as my imprint goes, I think I've made a positive imprint on not just being a woman but being an officer that was always hardworking, always there for their people. I guess that would be the imprint. I'm a tough broad, I guess. (T22)

I'm hoping that people will remember me for the devotion, the dedication, the want to, the will to survive out there, that women can do this. Women can succeed. I'm hoping that more women will be out there looking to see that, "Yes, this is possible. Yes, we can do it. Yes, all we have to do is work hard for it" (T23).

I'd say that they respected me. I think that ... 'Cause I still have the ones that I graduated ... Not even the ones I graduated with, but other ones call and text me and check on me. So, they knew that I had their back. At the end of the day, they knew that I had their back. I would take a bullet for them. I wasn't gonna go the other way when a bad ... Maybe a shooting happened. I wasn't gonna go the other way. I was gonna go as fast and I could to back up that trooper or back up that deputy. So, not only that there's a lot of other instances in that regard. You know where I've walked down the iced over embankment, drugged the man out of the car. Changed many a flat tire for women, older women. Different individuals have wrote letter to the Highway Patrol on my behalf as far as things that I've done. To assist them like changing a tire or getting gas for somebody or whatever. So, I ... Just knowing that lets me know that I've made a positive impact on my community. (T4)

I think when I leave ... Well, I've been called two things since I took over [deleted by researcher]. I've been called a drill sergeant. That's because of people who really don't know me. I mean, I'm up front and I'm honestly their advocate when they come in. If you can't handle me on day one, you're not going to make it. Overall, for the troopers that know me now, the troopers who have known me and have worked with me, they going to tell you that I'm a good caring person. I can honestly tell you when I retire I have been happy with my career. I know I haven't treated anybody wrong. I haven't done anything bad. I haven't done anything to be ashamed of. I've been true to myself and I think that I've worked hard for my name. That was an issue in the past story. I've worked hard for who I am. The guys and gals know that if something happens I got their back and they're not going to have to worry about me. I'm proud of that. (T6)

Only a few interviewees spoke about mentoring others, particularly other women troopers. This was discussed in previous findings and it is not known if women feel no obligation to mentor other women or fear the retaliation that might result from being perceived as banding together with other women. Only seven interviewees spoke about the importance of encouraging or inspiring other women to either become troopers or attempt special assignments or promotions. Some thought that their personal career success should be an inspiration to other women but did not mention any specific effort on their part to mentor.

That I mentored other women and got other women, let them know or encouraged them to pursue avenues in this career, I don't think they would have. I have encouraged women to get hired on that wouldn't have with our department other than wouldn't have before, they would have went with another department. I have just treated people fairly. (T13)

First master sergeant, first lieutenant, and first captain. I like to think that if you would go back there today and if there were people there who knew me, civilian or sworn, that they would tell you that I was respected and I was loved and that I was fair. I hope that my actions and the things that I did during my career will make it easier for the women who follow in my footsteps. I do believe that my peers, when I retired, respected me in my position and the fact that I was a female had nothing to do with that. I have some lifelong friends. I have some brothers. I have some good memories and I have some sad memories. Am I legend in my own mind? Well, I got to do quite a few things first on the Highway Patrol. (T14)

I've been told by people that I left the legacy that, you know, I was the first female all the way up. So, that is a legacy in itself I guess. A lot of people make that a big deal. Not a lot of people, but when I'm introduced, when I'm doing different things, there is; she was the first female Sergeant. First female Lieutenant. First female Captain. First female – only female, Major. It's a little embarrassing to me because I'm not really that I'm just not a real assertive person when it comes to my personal life. So, calling it a legacy is a little disconcerting to me sometimes. I would hope that at least having attained all of those ranks and having attained some of the successes that I've had, that it would be something that other female officers could aspire to; that it is possible. I'm open – everyone knows. I mean; troopers call me all the time and some female troopers call me and they ask, "What should I do here? What should I do there? I'm having this issue or whatever." So, I tried to still give advice based on my experiences. So, maybe that's my legacy. Maybe it's the fact that I did it, however happened, whether it was luck or skill or being good at my job or whatever. (T9)

Only nine interviewees described themselves as leaders or spoke of their leadership ability. As stated previously, the interviewees most often used personal character traits such as honest, hardworking, and fair to describe themselves or their contributions.

I would say that I'm a leader who ... It's important that the people that I work with every day, I don't feel like they work for me, it's actually the other way around. It's almost that sort of servant leader style of we see the issue, we see what they need and I'm going to make sure that we get them what they need in order to get the job done. At the same time, I'm a leader who expects everybody to be accountable. Any subordinate supervisors, I expect them to hold their folks accountable. We're not going to mistreat one another. We can get this job done together. We can get it done as best we can in a way that we're respecting one another and those internally within our agency and with the public as well. I'll counsel and I'll go through all the different steps of correction trying to get a preferred performance out of them, but at the same time I'm not going to hesitate to issue and delve out discipline when needed. I think I'm probably looked at as being fair and being helpful. I'm not really sharp. I don't believe in anybody handing anyone anything it's just we try to help one another, but you've got to work for it too. (T12)

I think people will respect my work when I leave. They may not have always liked some of the decisions that I made once I became a supervisor and actually supervised people, but I think that people will have always been and will continue to be impressed with my work. I think in the end people will, when my name is mentioned, they'll say she worked her way from the bottom to the top, and if you look back, remember she did that, she did that, she did that, and we didn't really give her credit for that, but look at what all she accomplished and even when she had that hiccup, she kept smiling and moving forward. She didn't let it get her down. She didn't stop performing. She didn't take any less pride in her work. She just kept chugging along and overcame and outlasted all those people. It just seems like when the women leave here, they're not looked at in a positive light. It is very important to me that I leave on top. I don't leave on bottom. I don't leave in the midst of controversy. I don't want to leave because I'm asked to leave or asked to retire. I'm eligible to retire, today, but when I leave I want to leave on my terms at the top of my game, like when I felt like I've gone as far as I can go. I feel like I've had a good career. Other than a couple of hiccups down the road, I've just kept doing my thing. I feel blessed. I feel like I've been afforded opportunities, but I've also earned opportunities. I'm a firm believer that in any profession a little bit of luck and timing is sometimes necessary. I've had a little bit of luck, I had a little bit of timing, but I feel like I've had a good career. I wouldn't trade it. I've learned about myself. I've learned about my leadership. I've developed skills that most troopers never get to develop, that will carry me on after I leave here. I feel like I could go work in business. You know, I think I can just work in the corporate world, in the business world, because of the places I've been and the things that I've done. (T19)

Several of the active interviewees expressed themselves in the same ways as interviewees who retired many years earlier, regardless of the levels they achieved within their agencies. They continued to think that their personal attributes were indicative of the potential for success.

I think that if I continue working hard, sticking to the core values and the goals that I've made for myself, I think I will have a good legacy. I have a very good reputation. I would be very comfortable if you would say, "Give me names of five people I can talk to." I'd be very comfortable giving you names and people calling you and tell you about my work ethic. I do very well on my performance appraisals that we do every year. I fully believe I'm capable of being promoted and supervising. I've done everything that the agency has asked of me. I would hope that if anyone were to ask, "Is Trooper [name deleted by researcher] a good Trooper " That they would tell you, I would be comfortable with saying that, yes, they would tell you I am. That I do a good job, that I work hard, that I'm dependable and trustworthy and that I can do the job. (T8)

That the old cliché of you have to work twice as hard to be half as good, is a load of crap. As long as you work hard, you're honest, and you treat people with respect in the way you'd want to be treated, aka you follow the golden rule, because how I treat people. That you get what you give. I think that's what I'll leave behind, is when I retire, people say, "You know what, she was fair, she was honest. She'd bust her butt to get everything she had. Nothing was handed to her and she was one hell of a trooper." That's what I think...I think I probably did make a difference in some of my coworkers or employees that I worked with. I don't know that I really made a difference as far as the public and the community. I'd like to think I did, but I don't know if, I think that in my community and my area, the areas that I've worked, I think it's been shown that there are women in law enforcement that are professionals. I've seen there's a certain type of women a lot of people's perception is that and you know loose women or a heavier woman that's sort of masculine and I think that the areas I've worked I think I've probably been successful in that changing that perception that a woman can be a good trooper and be professional without cussing like the man or being loose women. I would like to think that I tried to help the women because I fought really hard to get the women's conference in. It was the first thing they'd ever had like that and I hope they recognize that. I encourage all of them to educate themselves and that's almost like a broken record. I hope that is my legacy that to help. I'd like to think that I was a really good trooper and a good leader and that I really impacted the way the women troopers look at leadership roles. (T15)

T21 was the only interviewee who spoke with enthusiasm about limitless opportunity for her future, although, she did reveal in earlier parts of her interview that she did not have a sense that everything was equitable for women within her agency. When discussing her future legacy, she exclaimed: “I’ve also dreamed of being the first female colonel. I want to go as high as I can possibly go in this agency. I’d love to see what I can do” (T21).

Chapter 10: Conclusion

The underrepresentation of women in policing will not be resolved easily or quickly. After over 40 years, not only has there been no significant increase in the actual numbers of women or women occupying command level positions, but, also, opportunities for assignment to traditionally coveted masculine jobs remain limited. Dodge, Valcore and Klinger (2010) describe policing bastions, such as S.W.A.T, as “the last vestige of male dominance in law enforcement that is grounded in masculine notions of policing” (p. 219). They reported that the majority of officers in their study, both male and female, agreed that women were not welcome in these specialized divisions. Their study maintained that gendered occupational segregation in roles and assignments, along with disparities in training and access to formal and informal networks continued to affect both career opportunities and promotions for women. Balkin (1988) suggested that women pose a threat to male-oriented occupational solidarity, which is based on common interests, attitudes, values, backgrounds and a shared definition of what it means to be masculine” (p. 35).

The exclusion from formal and informal networks, as suggested previously by Balkin et al. (1977), was described by interviewees who clearly thought that they were outsiders within their own agency, particularly as it pertained to access to formal and informal networks and opportunities for certain assignments and promotions to upper command levels. Several interviewees thought that this exclusion was unintentional and most accepted this exclusion as just being the way things are. The more junior the interviewee, the more accepting they were. This form of false consciousness is a coping strategy that prevents the interviewees from being able to understand the true nature of their situation.

As discussed, the number of women police may be decreasing (Lonsway et al., 2002). The Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics (UCR, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010) indicated that state law enforcement agencies made the least amount of progress in hiring and retaining female troopers when compared to local law enforcement agencies (p. 2). The FBI's statistics are supported by the Bureau of Justice (BOJ) Statistics Crime Data Brief: *Women in Law Enforcement, 1987 – 2008* (Langton, 2010). BOJ reported "During the 1990s and 2000s, the percent of sworn law enforcement officers who were women increased only slightly in federal, state and local agencies" (p. 1). The report concluded that women accounted for only 3.8% of state police agencies although "trends varied by agency type, with the majority of women being represented in local police departments; state police agencies made only slight progress, with a decline between 2003 (6.7%) and 2007 (6.4%)" (p. 3).

As a result of the 2010 Department of Justice (DOJ) findings, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) began to review state police, highway patrol and local police agencies for discriminatory behavior against women. In 2014, the DOJ sued the Pennsylvania State Police for gender discrimination. The suit maintained that the physical agility and fitness test used since 2003 disproportionately discriminated against female applicants and created artificial barriers to employment (Chokshi, 2014; Jones, 2014; Levy, 2014). Of note, Pennsylvania, the fifth largest state, founded the first state police agency, which is ranked today as the third largest state law enforcement agency in the United States.

In 2016, the Department of Justice (DOJ), Office of Civil Rights (OCR) issued a compliance review report finding that the Alabama State Police, now known as the Alabama Law Enforcement Agency (ALEA), failed to provide equal employment opportunities to female trooper applicants and female troopers. Alabama has 633 male troopers and 17 women, 2.69%.

According to OCR, they employed only one woman since 2009, but employed 66 males, based primarily on the outcome of the physical agility and fitness test required and administered. This is another example of an agency using a physical agility test that results in a disparate, adverse impact on females (Roop, 2016, p. 1; DOJ OCR, 2016, p. 1). Additionally, DOJ (2016) issued a press release detailing plans to enter into consent decrees with six more state police and highway patrol agencies for discrimination against women in employment, retention, and promotion (p. 2).

As discussed throughout this research, in most societies, women are deemed inferior and are ascribed lower status with less power and prestige. In male-dominated social structures, such as policing, a system of patriarchy prevails where women are expected to meet the standards established by males and are considered inadequate or less capable if they do not. Berger, et al. (1974) attributes this to gender role expectations, which suggests that men and women are judged based on the categories to which they belong. These jobs that are of a lower status than their male counterparts relegate women to jobs that prevent them from gaining experience required or desired for certain positions and promotions (Corsianos, 2009; Lonsway, 2004; Lorber, 1994, 2005).

Chafetz (1990) discussed gender as an institution that constrains and facilitates individual behavior and results in an unequal allocation of resources, power, privilege, and opportunities (p. 220). Kanter (1977) argued that the gender differences in organizational behavior are a result of structure instead of the individual attributes of men and women. Moreover, she argued that the difficulties women experience in organizations are due to their placement within the organization (pp. 291-292).

Susan Martin (1991) reported that law enforcement is reluctant to embrace meaningful reform in human resources (particularly in terms of gender integration)” (p. 500). Shelley et al. (2011) argued that the failure of police agencies to hire, retain and promote female employees “has wide-ranging effects on the agency, the community and society” (p. 363). They discuss the ramifications of this failure as a continued inability to attract and retain qualified female candidates, along with never realizing the benefits of a diversified police force (p. 363). The low numbers of women in each of these agencies demonstrate that the face of their agencies remain male and masculine. There did not appear to be any effort on behalf of the agencies themselves to ensure they were representative of their communities. Nor was there any dedicated effort to integrate qualified women across all spectrums of the agencies, especially in the upper levels of the agencies.

This research sought to answer the following primary question: What effect has gender role expectations and the organizational police structure and culture in state police and highway patrol agencies had on women trooper’s perceptions of equality in recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotional opportunities between 1972 and 2012? Four themes emerged from the data in this research: Through the Looking Glass, The Tar Meeting the Road, Cracking the Glass Ain’t the Same as Breaking the Glass, and Shoulda, Woulda, Coulda. Through the Looking Glass discusses what women see in the mirror (the image) and what happens when they figuratively step into the mirror, into a strange parallel world with which they have no experience and are unprepared (employment).

The second theme, The Tar Meeting the Road, discusses the sub-theme of the academy experience which is characterized as Hell on Earth, the requirement of proving oneself to peers and agency leadership; the search for women within the agency, particularly in the patrol

division; exploring the difference between male and female troopers; and women being isolated from other women and the absence of mentors or others who can help navigate the strange world of policing. The third theme: Cracking the Glass Ain't the Same as Breaking the Glass considers the absence of opportunities for women through assignments, access to training and formal and informal networks, and promotional opportunities. Finally, theme four: Shoulda, Woulda, Coulda is a compilation of interviewees' thoughts about what benefit women provide to state police and highway patrol agencies and a look back at their own careers, both their contributions and regrets.

The words of the interviewees revealed that the perceptions of the women troopers in this research was fairly consistent between all seven states. There was no discernable difference between their perceptions of equality whether they were black or white, young or older, active or retired, and regardless of their rank or position within their agency. However, the more junior troopers were more optimistic. Most of the interviewees thought that any and all differences between themselves and the men they work with were due to the gender roles that men ascribe to women. Gender, as described earlier, is concerned with masculine or feminine traits that are learned through social, cultural, and psychological links which reflects the attitudes and behaviors associated with each sex. It is gender that links males and females to categories (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & Van Engen, 2003, p. 782).

An overall conclusion in this study confirms that women have historically and continue to face obstacles and challenges to recruitment, employment, valued assignments, access to formal and informal networks, training, and promotional opportunities. After interviewing a cadet and former and active women troopers who served at various levels within the agencies,

the findings show that not much has changed for the women in state police and highway patrol agencies between 1972 and 2012.

The good old boys club, described by many of the interviewees throughout the research, continues to value masculinity and contribute to the women being viewed as outsiders within their own agency. The organizational structure and culture contributes to the perception of us against them which is detrimental to the careers of the women and can result in harassment and hostile work environments. Lorber (2005) argued that gender is an intrinsic part of institutions and systems and that it is almost impossible to break down gendered structural barriers because they are so ingrained in our society; ways of doing things that are so long-standing that they are rarely questioned. They create inequities, conflict of interests and severe power differences (p. 14). Lorber argued that “The social construction perspective on gender recognizes the equal importance of agency (what people do) and structure (what results from what people do)” (p. 14). Or more simply summarized, gender has a significant influence on what is expected of women and how women meet those expectations. This is an explanation for why some of the interviewees chose to model their behavior after male police officers, which is described as female workers engaging in and benefiting from doing masculinity or doing gender in male-dominated organizations (Connell, 1995; Corsianos, 2003, 2009; Martin, 1998; Martin & Jurik, 2007). This is a coping strategy used by some women to defeminize themselves and take on masculine traits to fit in with their co-workers (Corsianos, 2003, 2009; Martin, 1999). However, research demonstrates that this strategy can prove unsuccessful and further marginalize the women (Corsianos, 2003). Corsianos (2009) stated that many women “learn to tolerate or accept a degree of disempowerment for survival and acceptance” (pp. 99-101), while some women neglect to see the manipulation of power and consider gender differences as innate.

Women seeking to occupy leadership positions, or even roles normally attributed to men such as police, violate traditional gender stereotypes and face a variety of obstacles, particularly with their own male colleagues and agency leadership. Acker (1992) explains that these gendered processes control work and expectations (p. 140). Acker links these inequalities to the historical, political, and cultural society in which the organization is situated and to the socially constructed differences between men and women along with beliefs that support difference. Noting that organizations are hierarchal which are typically gendered and racialized, she confirms that the top positions within organizations are most often occupied by white males (p. 445). Although some African American males have reached the upper levels within state police and highway patrol agencies, the majority are white males, and few, if any, females. No women have ever lead any of the agencies under review.

According to Acker (2006), the gender patterns created in hierarchical organizations, also, influence the recruitment and hiring of bodies that determine the “ideal worker” (p. 449). Explaining that “the gender and race of the applicant and the decision-maker affects judgment often resulting in decisions that white males are the more competent, more suited to the job” (p. 450). Once employed, informal interactions are impacted by gender and continuously create inequalities and the devaluing of women. As discussed previously, Acker suggests that there is explicit evidence of these practices as evidenced in failing to listen to women in meetings, not inviting them to formal and informal events, sexual harassment, and differential expectations. One outcome of this issue is that those advantaged in the gendered organization often accepts the differences and trusts the advantages are deserved, “the legitimacy of male and white privilege” (p. 454).

Although Kanter (1977) argued that differences in organizations are due more to their structure than the characteristics of men and women as individuals (pp. 291-292), Adams, Blumenfeld, Castaneda, Hackman, Peters, and Zuniga (2000) defined structural discrimination as the policies of dominant race, ethnic, or gender institutions and the behavior of the individuals who implement these policies and control these institutions (p. 6). They state that this form of discrimination is a primary obstacle for women in policing because they are embedded in informal values and principle. They concluded that discrimination “is not intentional and it is not illegal; it is carrying on as business as usual. Confronting structural discrimination requires the reexamination of basic cultural values and fundamental principles of social organization” (p. 35). They are convinced that defeating structural discrimination would inevitably lead to more recruitment, retention and the advancement of women in policing. Hughes (2011) addressed the issue of structural discrimination in his research and, also, concluded that both law enforcement agencies and the corporate world need to improve their structure, policies, informal beliefs and attitudes in an effort to reduce or eliminate the existing disparate treatment towards women (p. 12). Lorber (1994) explained that one problem is that women are clients and employees of modern states but do not yet control government and politics that affect their lives (pp. 265-266).

The concept of the brotherhood shared by the male members of the organization goes beyond male officers socializing on and off work, it can compromise the safety of the women and limit their success. One specific example was shared by an interviewee who was left at a Driving While Intoxicated checkpoint to manage three intoxicated suspects who were under arrest, but not restrained. This would be an impossible situation for any trooper, male or female, to manage and resulted in an even more dangerous situation, a vehicle pursuit. Additionally, this

behavior by the male officers was not in keeping with training or the policies and procedures of police agencies.

This inability or unwillingness to fully integrate women into all levels of the agency is detrimental to the agency and the profession of policing. Women police officers, like the interviewees, have proven they are as capable as their male counterparts, and in some situations more successful (Garcia, 2003). Organizations are dysfunctional when they are inflexible and do not consider the needs and benefits that others such as women and minorities can contribute (Acker, 1990, 1992, 2006).

As stated throughout this research, the over emphasis on physical strength and agility has continued to dictate what characteristics are most valued in policing. Corsianos (2009) argued there are specific tools and technology that offset the need for physical strength such as police batons, tasers, pepper-spray, physical tactics, and even guns. Additionally, Gerber (2001) extolled the benefits of good communication skills, a trait most often, but not necessarily, attributed to women. The interviewees supported these findings as well stating almost unanimously that women bring a different but powerful skill set to policing which includes communications, patience, alternative perspectives, and strong work ethics, as examples.

Aside from the structural discrimination, women must endure the status of outsider and being the unwanted. As Garcia (2003) explained, “Efforts to keep women out of male occupations have been the product of society’s gender norms and have resulted in a lack of recruitment and failure to keep women in the profession, and inability or refusal to define women as competent, and to stagnate the occupational culture” (p. 336). Since most positions of power are held by men, only one of the agencies under review ever had a woman at the highest levels

within their organizations. That one occurred while the agency was under a federal consent decree so it is not known if this opportunity would have normally presented itself.

Corsianos (2009) warns of the continuing dangers of using gender assumptions such as women are less aggressive than men and more likely to possess traits associated with empathy because they continue to define, influence and limit opportunities for women (pp. 86-87). As evidenced by this research, women are still expected to fulfil certain roles, particularly jobs that require communication skills or administrative work. Males, on the other hand, continue to be selected for positions that require physical strength and aggressiveness and leadership over those type divisions. This leaves women in the margins and unable to obtain the same opportunities and advantages that male officers receive, particularly involving job placement and promotion. This results in a void of women in powerful positions where policy, procedure and agency decisions are made. The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (Center for Creative Leadership, 1995b) summarized this exclusion as “an unbreakable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements” (p. 4).

The importance placed on the paramilitary structure of traditional policing is a self-perpetuating assurance that women will almost certainly continue to be locked out of these positions and, consequently, proactive approaches to policing that are more frequently attributed to women will remain devalued and unavailable. The reason paramilitary structure was established was to standardize and professionalize policing, primarily due to the rampant corruption that permeated departments across the United States (Bittner, 2006). This militarism values masculinity and silences the voices of its members because its nonlinear hierarchy ensures communication is top down. Additionally, the paramilitary structure promotes cultural

dominance of males over females in society and continues to promote traditional patriarchal themes in law enforcement (Dodge et al., 2010, p. 219). This silence was detected during numerous interviews. There was an undeniable concern about saying things that might get back to their agencies and there was a predominate fear about speaking out at work, even when they thought they were being discriminated against or harassed.

Several of the obstacles and challenges faced by women were described by the interviewees and are listed here. However, not all of the interviewees had personal concerns about each of these issues. For example, while several interviewees expressed concern about the recruiting and employment of women, few expressed a desire for any changes in their agency standards or methodology, primarily arguing that if they were able to do it, so should others.

- Recruitment plan for women non-existent or inconsistent
- Recruitment efforts do not typically involve women recruiters
- Screening protocols effectively weed out women and weaker males - inconsistent and invalid selection criteria – not consistent with business necessity
- Relocation fears
- Too much emphasis placed on physical agility and fitness during employment
- Too much emphasis on physical agility and fitness during academy process
- Academy procedures unnecessarily burdensome on cadets and often unrealistic (Example, cadets not being able to call family members during training)
- Behavior of academy staff and hidden curriculum during training, often targeting women and weak males
- Treatment by peers and rank during initial employment period
- Lack of female mentors and limited or no access to female role models

- Lack of opportunity for special assignments
- Perception that women are not desired working or supervising patrol division
- Assignment of women to primarily administrative roles
- Maintenance of a separate sphere for male and female troopers
- Exclusion from formal and informal networks internal and external to organization
- Limited to no access to leadership or development training
- No clear path to promotional opportunities or transparency in process
- Inability of women to ascend to upper command levels within agencies; no female role models
- No visible support for women from leadership
- No dedicated effort for retention
- No active participation by Human Resources to ensure equal opportunity
- No family-friendly policies
- No effort to revise the gendered image of desired trooper
- No clear support for eliminating harassment and hostile work place environments
- No clear support for a diversified workforce
- No clear plan for assimilation of women either into the patrol or the leadership

Despite their personal and professional costs, all of the interviewees expressed high hopes and great expectations for their agencies. While many did not think that their careers would reap the benefit of future changes, two have been promoted since being interviewed, although the timing of their promotions also coincides with the reviews of state police and highway patrol agencies by the Department of Justice. At the time of the interview, they did not envision that possibility. All but two interviewees stated they would recommend their agency to

a prospective female candidate with the caveat that they get themselves physically and mentally ready to exist in a man's world. T23 described achieving success in the patrol as: "There's going to be times whenever things don't go your way, but put them behind you and move on, press on" (T23).

Matters pertaining to recruitment, employment, assignment, retention and advancement rest squarely on the shoulders of law enforcement leaders. Cordner and Cordner (2011) found that the reason most often cited by police chiefs for the low number of women was that women have other employment options that are more attractive. Yet the same study demonstrated that women did not think that they were recruited or desired by police agencies (p. 213). Schuck (2014) discovered that law enforcement leaders have the greatest impact on female representation within their agency though organizational police and procedures, even more so than community factors. The law enforcement leadership determines the norms of the organizational culture and possesses the ability to create a more egalitarian, woman-friendly environment. It is the role and responsibility of these leaders to enact system-wide structural changes that will encourage women to enter the field of policing, seek non-traditional assignments, and apply for and receive training and promotions that lead to the command level. It is also incumbent on the leadership to ensure that women are not excluded from the informal and formal networks to increase their chances for acceptance and success.

As stated previously, in policing over the past 40 years, most of the changes appear to be a result of consent decrees, litigation or court orders; it has not been through the leadership of the agencies themselves (Price, 1996; Lonsway et al., 2002). Lee (2005) argued that if the federal government does not support affirmative action, then state and local governments probably will not either (p. 69). Her study discovered that although each department under review had written

affirmative action plans, these plans did nothing to improve the recruitment, employment, retention or promotion of women (p. 69).

In summary, the interviewees in this study, both active and retired, agreed that recruitment and employment opportunities for women are limited. Special assignments in male-dominated divisions such as S.W.A.T or being assigned to the patrol division are non-existent or limited, particularly in positions of rank. There was a general consensus that women were often encouraged or assigned to roles and positions that appear to be gender appropriate such as positions within sections like driver's license or administrative sections. Barriers continue to exist for upward mobility and promotions, particularly at the upper tiers of their organizations. Consistent with the findings of Dodge et al. (2010), policing remains enmeshed in a hegemonic environment that continues to isolate and discount the abilities of women (p. 233). All but two of the interviewees expressed the idea that they remained outsiders in an all boy's club. One interviewee confided information about the inequity of special assignments such as S.W.A.T while not being recorded that directly contradicted what she said while being recorded. While this may have been an effort to protect the image of her agency, it is also an example of the fine line the women walk to avoid being labeled trouble makers or whiners.

Eight of the women were retirees, two resigned, and 15 active. All, but the cadet, were able to effectively navigate the employment and academy process. All but one interviewee expressed concern about the equity in their agencies. All but one active interviewee intends to continue working at her agency. Additionally, all of the active interviewees expressed a desire to be promoted. The ones already at the command level hoped to obtain promotions into the highest tiers but expressed reservation that it would actually happen. All of the retired interviewees expressed regret that they were unable to achieve higher promotions before they retired.

While this study is exploratory and cannot be generalized to all state police and highway patrol agencies, the results are consistent with and has applicability to research about women in law enforcement. There are some factors in other states that could affect recruitment, employment, assignment, retention and promotions. Factors such as collective bargaining, unions, affirmative action programs, court orders, consent decrees, and DOJ reviews and suits can affect the opportunities for women and others that must be considered.

The researcher's desire is that these findings will encourage leadership within police agencies to explore this topic further to ensure that all personnel within their agencies are treated equitably and that the best person, not the ideal, is selected for recruitment, employment, assignment, retention, and promotion. She also desires that the interviewees will recognize that their exclusion and limitations are not necessarily a failing on their part and they are not alone. Another desire is that this research will open doors for the women who are currently serving state police and highway patrol agencies and enable them to reach the upper tiers of their organizations, if desired, before they, like many of their predecessors, resign or retire.

Perhaps the findings will inspire women police officers to embrace their profession and give a hand up to other women by recruiting them to this profession, then mentoring and sharing information that will enable women to prepare for and achieve their personal and professional goals. Finally, the researcher desires that this research will impact future generations of men and women by creating change within male-dominated professions, such as policing, thus giving women the credit and respect they deserve; not more than, just the same as.

Limitations of the Study

This qualitative case study was not without challenges. As indicated by Creswell (2007), the most difficult part of the process, aside from determining the type of approach to select for

research, is trying to determine the boundaries within which to confine the study. The researcher sought to select enough cases to apply generalizability, but not so many cases that the researcher is constrained by the challenges associated with the process, such as time, money, and other potentially limiting factors (pp. 75-76).

There were numerous threats to the research design. Although in qualitative research generalizability to the entire population is not required, there are several limitations that could negatively impact the sample. Some agencies were unwilling to participate. Some women troopers were difficult to locate, especially those who served in the 1970s and 1980s. Some women troopers, both active and former, refused to cooperate or withheld information. This could have been for any one of several reasons: fear of reprisal or loss of camaraderie, loss of memory, lack of trust of the researcher or agency, a change in perception over time, etc. Some women made it clear they no longer cared about what happened to them in their careers or did not want to conjure up unpleasant experiences. Factors such as honesty and self-awareness can affect the data. None of the women contacted appeared to be mentally impaired, but several did state that some of their specific memories have faded over time.

Another consideration that may have impacted the acquisition of truthful data was the inability to conduct face-to-face interviews, in some cases. Every effort was made to conduct face-to-face interviews to minimize this risk, but it was not always practical and some women were unavailable for in-person interviews during the research period. Telephone interviewing does not always permit establishing a personal connection or invoke a level of trust between the researcher and the interviewee. The researcher relied on her many years of employment as a trooper with a state police agency to establish a level of comfort with the interviewee which would hopefully elicit honest and open answers to questions.

Another limitation was the review of only seven of the 49 states with state police and highway patrol agencies. As stated previously, generalizability is not a requirement of qualitative studies, but a larger number of participants from a greater number of states would have provided a greater depth and range of study. However, based on the 2008 statistics from the Bureau of Justice, the census numbers support that these seven states are representative of the majority of the state agencies.

Creswell (2014) warns researchers to be aware of bias that the researcher brings to the study. He notes that “Good qualitative research contains comments by the researchers about how their interpretation of the findings is shaped by their background, such as gender, culture, history, and socioeconomic origin” (p. 202). The researcher remembers the excitement she felt each time a woman received an appointment or reached the top tiers of their law enforcement career ladder. She considered them role models and imagined that gender equality may actually be being achieved by women in policing and other traditionally male-dominated professions. However, considering the fate of many of these women and so many other women police officers she has met in her extensive law enforcement career, she questions how much progress has been made in achieving gender equality in policing, whether it be in the beginning of women’s careers or later.

The researcher’s many years of experience in local, state and federal policing, combined with her 23 years of military experience, provides her with a unique, insider’s perspective to the research. Yet, she made every effort to ensure that her extensive experience and biases did not interfere with her objectivity when conducting research or interpreting the data. She allowed the interviewees to tell their stories, in their own words, in an effort to not compromise the validity of her findings. While she prepared for the risks that could be encountered during the research, she discovered that she could obtain more relevant data when the recorder was turned off by

talking informally. In at least two interviews, some of the experiences the interviewees related about personal regrets of professional sacrifices, moved the researcher to tears.

Lastly, the researcher used far too many questions in an open format. An effort to allow the interviewees to guide the research, resulted in some questions not being asked to the earlier interviewees.

Future Research Implications

The researcher plans to employ a second method of research by acquiring and conducting a content examination of available documents such as: newspapers, journals, other media sources, books, court records, archival records, statistical data from state and federal agencies, consent decrees, court orders, litigation information or records, affirmative action programs, evidence of discrimination complaints involving women, historical promotional data. From this data, the researcher will conduct a coding analysis of the data. The additional data will be compared to this study's coding to determine if the records have further implications that support the initial research and possibly provide information that the researcher did not discover in this study.

The researcher will provide a brief history of each agency within the select southern states detailing the organizational rank structure, promotional process, staffing numbers by gender, procedures for the selection of agency commander and command staff, state demographics, agency demographics, the year and number of women employed as troopers between 1972 -2012, the rank and varied assignments of the women troopers during this period and any retirement, termination, or resignation data on the women under study.

The researcher will expand the research to include other states and interview male troopers and agency leadership during the period under study to provide their perspective as to

why they think that women have not been recruited, employed, retained, or achieved special assignments or promotions within state police and highway patrol agencies.

Lastly, it would be thought-provoking to compare women troopers employed during the early years, 1972-1982, to women employed between different decades: 1982-1992, 1992-2002, and, finally, 2002-2012. There were important changes in policing during those decades, even though employment numbers for women were not significant. This comparison of the Old Guard, known as the pioneers, versus the women troopers of today might provide a completely different perspective.

Researcher's Final Thoughts

Looking back over the past 40 years, there has been some change but it has been at a glacial pace and many unreasonable expectations and standards remain in place. As stated previously, in policing over the past 40 years most of the changes appear to be a result of consent decrees, litigation or court orders; it has not been through the leadership of the agencies themselves (Lonsway et al., 2002; Price, 1996).

Women have been patient. In the 1970s and early 1980s, height and weight requirements prevented women from being employed as police officers. Once these obstacles were removed by the courts, these limitations were followed by challenging and difficult agility and fitness standards. For example, many agencies required applicants to jump a six-foot fence, an advantage to males who are typically taller and have greater upper body strength than women. Other requirements included pulling a 150-pound dummy, jumping a five foot “creek,” pushing a fully loaded, full-sized vehicle – all screening activities that favor the physique of most males. In the researcher’s experience, these activities, which are a test of strength and agility, are rarely encountered in police work. In addition, as the research supports, most police work is sedentary,

yet agencies continue to employ persons based on the basic patrol structure and do not characteristically require or enforce these rigid fitness and agility standards after employment.

During the 1980s and 1990s, affirmative action plans, consent decrees and court orders helped increase the numbers of women in policing. Some agencies adopted a fitness standard known as the Cooper Standard that made allowances for women and men based on age and gender. This standard provided many women opportunities for employment than previously. Today, agencies appear to be returning to the single standard which is again creating a more severe adverse impact on women during the employment and academy phases. The most common justification for the single standard is the conviction that every person employed as a trooper or police officer should be able to perform the same functions and, therefore, meet the same standards. However, what that standard actually is or should be and who makes that determination is what appears to be troubling to the courts.

When the researcher worked with Industrial Psychologists in preparation for establishing fitness standards for the state police academy, the most critical skill sets, such as rescuing people from a variety of circumstances or physically fighting someone, were used for determining standards. These incidents, activities such as pulling someone from a burning car, in reality, happen infrequently. Yet, once the troopers are no longer on probation, there is no requirement that they continue to meet the same fitness standards required for employment, even though they are now performing the jobs for which the employment standards were created. In truth, troopers spend most of their time on patrol issuing citations, investigating crashes, or working traffic incidents. Yet, there is limited to no testing for skills that are more important than fitness in today's policing environment – analytical thinking, problem solving, de-escalation, communication, and ethical decision-making traits that much of the research attributes to women.

Another expressed concern is that to require less of women would permit weak men to slip through; another indication of how important physical strength is to the organizational leadership. One interviewee who stated she believed in the importance of fitness and agility requirements, nonetheless questioned why if the fitness standard is so critical why women who work in local and federal agencies have successful careers when those agencies do not require the same high level of fitness standards. One could argue that because local police are patrolling and policing in urban areas that their jobs more frequently subject their officers to a higher risk of injury or death than does the state police and highway patrol.

As of late, as indicated by the following notes, some women have and are seeking change through litigation. The courts appear to be supporting the allegations of adverse impact on women. A few select filings are illustrated here:

- June, 1994 – Three troopers (two females, one male) file suit against Maryland State Police – sexual harassment, discrimination (Higham, 1994).
- June, 1998 – Massachusetts State Police female trooper sues for sexual harassment and an allegation she was raped by another trooper (*American Police Beat*, 1998).
- April, 2000. Six women sue the Nevada Highway Patrol claiming they simply do not want women. (*Las Vegas Sun*, 2000). Women Claim sexual harassment, sue Nevada Highway Patrol.
- October, 2008 – Female trooper sues Nevada Highway patrol for hostile work environment (*MASSCOPS*, 2008)
- October, 2011 – Cadet sues North Carolina Highway patrol for paramilitary boot camp environment designed to eliminate cadets (Burns, 2011).
- July, 2014 – Pennsylvania State Police sued by DOJ over failure to hire women for entry-level trooper positions on an equal basis with men (Levy, 2014).
- October, 2014 – Female cadet files federal lawsuit for being harassed during the Colorado State Patrol academy – female cadet states she and three other women cadets were targets and forced to resign (Landrock, 2014).
- April, 2015 – Female commander sues Mississippi Highway Patrol in complaint of race-discrimination over promotion (U.S. Court of Appeals, 2015).
- October, 2016 – New York State Police Academy staff resigned after inappropriate conduct with female recruits during academy class (Lyons, 2017).
- August, 2017 – Female trooper sues Nebraska State Patrol over medically unnecessary and sexually invasive examination for pre-employment (Schulte, 2017).

Men and women make valuable contributions to policing. Many men and women want to be police officers for the same reasons: to help people and to make their communities safe. Yet women continue to be viewed and treated differently, in an unwelcoming environment. Lonsway, et al. (2003) argue that the increased representation of women provides agencies the benefit of transforming the agency climate, thereby, reducing the prevalence of gender discrimination, under-utilization, and sexual harassment complaints in today's environment of ever-increasing litigation (pp. 9-10). They further concluded that recruiting and employing more women, not only expanded the supply of police personnel, but reduced costs and provided better community representation (p. 10). In the final analysis, to effect and create lasting change in the recruitment, employment, assignment, retention and promotion of women, the leadership of state police and highway patrol agencies has to be committed to diversifying their ranks and providing real opportunities for women, particularly leadership opportunities.

One thing is certainly true, if they do not employ, retain, or promote women, there can be no women to reach the upper tiers of state police and highway patrol agencies. That was true of the generation of women pioneers employed in the 1970s and early 1980s and appears to be true for the generation of women employed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Based on the findings of this research, this generation of women are not yet on track either.

On November 26, 2017, Carly Fiorina, the former CEO of Hewlett-Packard spoke on *Fox News Sunday*. Her words are prophetic and have application to this research and any research concerning gender role expectations and the gendered structure and culture of organizations. She condensed the problem and concept of equity into a few words, followed by a possible solution to resolving future conflict. She recommends that men *Man Up* and model leadership, behavior, decency and respect for others. As such, her message is as follows:

“I am tired of the posing and the posturing, the meaningless statements of outrage when necessary for self-preservation and the deafening silence the rest of the time. A man who demeans, harasses, or abuses a woman has made a choice. It is a personal choice about how to behave. Another man, who suspects, who knows, who fears and looks away is making a choice as well.

Women have been fighting for our right to contribute to our full potential for at least the last one hundred years. We have been fighting to be treated with the respect our compassion, our capability and our brainpower deserve for one hundred years. One hundred years later though, I think it is men’s turn. It is men’s turn to stand up and say: we actually need women to be full participants in every walk of life, every industry and every community because we all need their smarts, their heart and their potential. It is men’s turn to stand up and speak out about unspeakable behavior—and not wait, hoping that it never comes out, until some brave woman finally cannot stay silent anymore. It is men’s turn to tell their fellow men that respect from others requires respect for others.

This is now a time for men to choose. Are you going to laugh and look the other way? Are you going to josh that boys will be boys? With a wink, a nod, and a choice word here and there are you going to make it clear that while you love women, you actually don’t think they are capable of whatever you care about most? Are you going to keep quiet when you should speak up?” (p. 1).

While Fiorino’s comments were directed at the recent “Me Too!” Movement, it does have application to this research. Not until the leadership within organizations actually embrace the concepts of equality for all employees and make a genuine effort to ensure equality can we all move forward toward real change. Not one of the interviewees asked to receive special treatment or consideration. In fact, many did not begrudge their peers for their networks, special assignments, or promotional opportunities. Their primary concern was that even when they considered themselves the best qualified and most suitable candidates, they were not able to gain those positions. This was demoralizing and shook the confidence of the interviewees. Yet in the final analysis, they all remained resilient and hopeful to a great degree. These interviews revealed some incredibly qualified and dedicated women. They are credits to their agencies and true asphalt magnolias. They have earned their badges.

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Appendix A: FBI Percentage of Female Data 1995-2014

Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Report DATA Tables 74 & 75, 1995-2014

| YEAR | # Agencies | # LE Officers | % Female |
|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 2014 | 12,656 | 627,949 | 11.9 |
| 2013 | 13,051 | 626,942 | 11.6 |
| 2012 | 14,006 | 670,439 | 11.9 |
| 2011 | 14,633 | 698,460 | 11.8 |
| 2010 | 14,774 | 705,009 | 11.8 |
| 2009 | 14,614 | 706,886 | 11.7 |
| 2008 | 14,169 | 708,569 | 11.9 |
| 2007 | 14,676 | 699,850 | 11.7 |
| 2006 | 14,336 | 683,396 | 11.8 |
| 2005 | 14,291 | 673,146 | 11.6 |
| 2004 | 14,254 | 675,734 | 11.6 |
| 2003 | 14,072 | 663,796 | 11.4 |
| 2002 | 13,981 | 665,555 | 11.3 |
| 2001 | 13,530 | 659,104 | 11.2 |
| 2000 | 13,535 | 654,601 | 11 |
| 1999 | 13,313 | 637,551 | 10.7 |
| 1998 | 13,865 | 641,208 | 10.5 |
| 1997 | 13,339 | 618,127 | 10.3 |
| 1996 | 13,025 | 595,170 | 10.1 |
| 1995 | 13,052 | 586,756 | 9.8 |

* Data from FBI Uniform Crime Report, Tables 74 & 75

* # Agencies = Total # LE agencies reporting in U.S.

* # LE Officers = Total # LE Officers reported in U.S.

* % Female = Total % of female LE Officers in U.S.

Appendix B: NCWP 2001 Survey

Data Reported in National Center for Women in Policing

| State Agency | Total Sworn Officers | Total Sworn Women Officers | Percentage of Sworn Women Officers | Percentage of Women Top Command |
|---|----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Massachusetts | 2297 | 219 | 9.53 | 3.7 |
| California | 6765 | 606 | 8.96 | 8.92 |
| Minnesota | 526 | 47 | 8.94 | 12 |
| Oregon | 785 | 69 | 8.79 | 0 |
| Rhode Island | 218 | 19 | 8.72 | 0 |
| Vermont | 290 | 22 | 7.59 | 0 |
| Indiana | 1285 | 78 | 6.07 | 5.26 |
| Texas | 3130 | 167 | 5.34 | 2.46 |
| Nebraska | 356 | 16 | 4.49 | 0 |
| Kentucky | 795 | 33 | 4.15 | 2.33 |
| Pennsylvania | 4108 | 166 | 4.04 | 3.33 |
| Kansas | 479 | 19 | 3.97 | 0 |
| Missouri | 1084 | 42 | 3.87 | 3.23 |
| Virginia | 1712 | 66 | 3.86 | 0 |
| New Jersey | 2658 | 90 | 3.39 | 3.85 |
| Georgia | 775 | 25 | 3.23 | 0 |
| Utah | 399 | 11 | 2.76 | 11.11 |
| Louisiana | 963 | 26 | 2.7 | 2.63 |
| Wyoming | 174 | 4 | 2.3 | 0 |
| Oklahoma | 830 | 17 | 2.05 | 0 |
| **States appear in ranked order according to survey results (NCWP 2002) | | | | |

As reported in Equality Denied: The Status of Women in Policing: 2001 (2002)

Appendix C: Quasi-Military Ranking Structure

The United States of America police rank model is generally quasi-military in structure. Not all ranks exist in every agency. Highest to lowest rank:

State

- Colonel (some departments use Commissioner, Director, Chief or Superintendent)
- Lieutenant Colonel (some departments use Deputy Director, Deputy Chief or Deputy Commissioner)
- Major
- Staff Captain (optional)
- Captain
- Lieutenant
- Technician Lieutenant (some departments only)
- Sergeant Major (few departments only)
- Master Sergeant (some departments use First Sergeant, Sergeant First Class or Staff Sergeant)
- Sergeant
- Senior Corporal (Optional)
- Corporal
- Master Trooper (or Trooper First Class, Senior Trooper, Technician)
- Trooper, Patrolman, Detective
- Cadet, Probationary Trooper

County (Parish in Louisiana)

- Sheriff, Chief
- Undersheriff, Deputy Chief
- Assistant Sheriff
- Division Chief
- Area Commander
- Superintendent
- Captain
- Lieutenant
- Sergeant
- Corporal
- Senior Deputy Sheriff, Senior Deputy
- Deputy Sheriff, Deputy
- Cadet

Municipal (City)

- Chief of Police (some large departments use Superintendent, Director or Commissioner)
- Deputy Chief
- Major (Inspector or Commander used by most large departments)
- Captain
- Lieutenant
- Sergeant
- Detective (some departments use the rank of Corporal at or above this rank; in some departments, "Detective" is not a separate rank, but a designation used by a police officer trained as a detective, and who does not have supervisory authority)
- Technician (some departments only)
- Police Officer/Patrol Officer
- Cadet

(**Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Police_rank#State on June 18, 2016)

Appendix D: Institutional Review Board

All necessary steps were taken to comply with the University of New Orleans Institution Review Board (IRB) panel. Required information and documentation were forwarded to the Board for review and approval before any research was initiated or conducted. The researcher made every effort to protect the rights of the study participants and minimize any risk that could have been associated with the participant during the study or as a result of the study. The researcher provided Informed Consent, as required by the IRB, to each participant prior to each interview. The Informed Consent detailed the benefits of participating in the study, along with the guarantee of confidentiality and the freedom to withdraw from the study or stop answering questions at any point during the study.

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form

ASPHALT MAGNOLIAS: Women in Southern State Police and Highway Patrol Agencies, 1972-2012

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

1. Pamela Jenkins, PhD, and Genny May, MS, University of New Orleans, has requested your participation in a research study at this institution.
2. The purpose of the research is to document the experiences of the women who were employed by and graduated from the training academy and successfully completed training requirements in select southern state police and highway patrol agencies between 1972 and 2012.
3. Your participation will involve an interview either by telephone or in person. You may also be asked to complete a survey and/or provide historical records or documents.
4. There are foreseeable risks or discomforts to you if you agree to participate in the study. Possible discomforts include answering questions that are sensitive concerning your career or that of your friends, family, peers or co-workers. You may also find it difficult to sit for an hour or more during an interview.
5. Although there may be no direct benefits to you, the possible benefits of your participation in the research are to have an opportunity to “set the record straight” and provide information about any sacrifices you or other women may have made during your career, to provide information about obstacles or barriers you were either able to or not able to overcome. The research may also provide information that could be used by agencies and/or administrators to open doors for other women who are within the agency ranks today or in the future.
7. The results of the research study may be published, but your name and any identifiers will not be revealed without your express permission. In order to maintain confidentiality of your records, Genevieve L. May will ensure all collected data will be secured and no one but Genevieve L. May will have access.
8. You will not be paid or compensated for your participation.
9. Any questions you have concerning the research study or your participation in it, before or after your consent, will be answered by Professor Pamela Jenkins (504-491-1321) or Genevieve L May (225-931-0697), University of New Orleans, Milneburg Hall, Room 176, 2000 Lakeshore Drive, New Orleans, LA 70148.

10. If you have questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the University of New Orleans, Office of Human Subjects Research, Geology and Psychology Building, Room 2074, 2000 Lakeshore Drive, New Orleans, LA 70148 (504-280-5454) or the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, Dr. Ann O'Hanlon, at 504-280-6501.
11. This form explains the nature, demands, benefits and any risk of the project. By signing this form, you agree knowingly to assume any risks involved. Remember, your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time. In signing this consent form, you are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies. A copy of this consent form will be given to you.

Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in the above study.

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------|-------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Subject's Signature | Printed Name | Date |

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other Signature | Printed Name | Date |

13. "I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits and possible risks associated with participation in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature."
14. "These elements of Informed Consent conform to the Assurance given by the University of New Orleans to the Department of Health & Human Services to protect the rights of human subjects."
15. "I have provided the subject/participant a copy of this signed consent document."

Signature of Investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix F: Sample Recruitment Letter

SAMPLE RECRUITMENT LETTER

October 12, 2016

POB 2545

New Orleans, LA 70176

Colonel XXXXX

Alabama Law Enforcement Agency

301 South Ripley Street

Montgomery, AL 36104

Dear Colonel XXXXX:

I am a retired Louisiana State Police lieutenant colonel; I was employed in June of 1978 and retired in February 2010. In March, 2010, I received an appointment in federal law enforcement. As many of my colleagues in law enforcement, I have continued to further my education. I am writing to tell you about a research study as part of my doctoral program at the University of New Orleans. The title of my dissertation is ASPHALT MAGNOLIAS: Women in Southern State Police and Highway Patrol Agencies, 1972-2012.

The purpose of this research is an oral history of the lived experiences of the women who were employed and successfully completed the training academy of select southern state police and highway patrol agencies between the period 1972 and 2012. My purpose is to record the unique history of their careers. My plan is to conduct interviews with women who served or currently serve as troopers.

I would appreciate your assisting me in locating some of the women who began with your agency and no longer serve and giving me permission to interview some of the women who currently serve. I will also request some historical agency data, if available.

I would like to arrange a brief phone call with you or one of your staff to explain further this research. The email address for this project is asphaltmagnolias@gmail.com. I can be reached by phone at 225-931-0697. You can also call my Committee Chair, Professor Pamela Jenkins, PhD, at 504-491-1321.

At the conclusion of the study, I will share the results of the research with you and your staff. Thank you for your time, consideration, and support. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Appendix G: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

- 1) Please tell me about the agency employment process
 - a. Describe the requirements for employment when you began your career.
 - b. Describe the specific physical/fitness employment requirements when you began your career.
 - c. Describe how the process has changed over your career.
 - d. Describe any opportunities you may have had to participate in the employment or promotional process as a reviewer or selector
- 2) Describe the agency organizational culture
 - a. Tell me about the climate and work environment of the agency now
 - b. Describe how the organizational culture has changed since beginning your career
- 3) Tell me about the selection process for special assignments such as SWAT, investigations, traffic reconstruction, K-9, etc.
- 4) Tell me what you know about the special assignments of women troopers in the agency
- 5) Describe the agency promotional process.
 - a. Tell me about the women troopers who were promoted
 - b. Describe their leadership style
 - c. If you have ever been supervised by a woman, please describe that experience.
 - d. Tell me what you know about the promotion of or failure of promotion for other women troopers within the agency.
- 6) Personal experiences

- a. Talk to me about why you wanted to join the state police/highway patrol.
- b. Tell me the history of your personal participation in the promotional process
- c. Tell me about your qualifications.
- d. Tell me what it was like for you to be promoted or have special assignments.
- e. Describe what it was like to supervise male troopers, if applicable.
- f. Describe the experiences if you thought you were passed over for promotions or special assignments you felt you earned.
- g. Tell me about the relationships of other women within the agency to each other
- h. Tell me about your relationship with other women troopers

7) Personal qualifications

- a. Tell me about your leadership style and philosophy
- b. Describe briefly any Use of Force incidents in which you have personally been involved
- c. Tell me about your personal relationships within the agency such as mentors, people that did or did not help you.
- d. Describe how the agency encourages or supports mentorship or succession planning.

8) Tell me about the importance of height, weight, strength and agility tests in the employment of troopers.

- a. Describe what the agency policy is to enforce these standards throughout one's career, regardless of rank or position.

9) Tell me about the employment history of female troopers in your agency

- a. Tell me about women you know who may not have made it through the process and why you believe they were either successful or unsuccessful.
- 10) Tell me about women troopers you know who successfully completed the academy but may have resigned, been terminated, or left under other than normal retirement.
 - a. Describe any changes that could have been made to accommodate the woman
 - b. Describe how women troopers are treated by male troopers and supervisors.
 - c. Describe how women troopers who are supervisors are treated by subordinates.
- 11) Looking back, tell me what, if anything, you would change or do anything differently about your career
- 12) Looking back, tell me what, if anything, you would change or do anything differently about your personal life
- 13) Talk to me about the legacy you will leave or left the agency.
- 14) If a young woman wanted to join your agency today, what advice would you give her?
- 15) Is there anything you want to talk about or tell me before we end this interview?

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION:

- 16) What is your employment date as a state trooper?
- 17) If no longer with the agency:
 - a. When did you leave?
 - b. Under what circumstances (quit, retired, terminated, etc.)?
- 18) How many years of service did you have?
- 19) Describe the rank structure within your agency.
- 20) What is the highest level of rank you achieved?
- 21) If still with the agency:

- a. What is your current rank?
- b. What is your current assignment?
- c. When are you eligible to retire?

22) What is your race/ethnicity?

23) What was your age when you began?

24) What is your current age?

25) What is your marital status? Both at the time of employment and currently.

26) What is your highest level of education attained?

27) What level of education did you attain prior to your employment?

28) If a supervisor, how many civilians and commissioned persons do you supervise?

29) Prior to being employed as a trooper, did you serve in the military? If so, for how long, what branch and what level of rank did you achieve?

30) Prior to being employed as a trooper, did you serve with another law enforcement agency? If so, what type, for how long and what rank did you achieve?

31) What major assignments have you had?

32) Please describe any special assignments, such as SWAT, for which you have applied and the outcome.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND SERVICE!!

Vita

The doors to policing began to open for women in Louisiana in 1974, while she was a senior at Southeastern Louisiana University. She joined the Jefferson Parish Sheriff's Office (JPSO) in 1975, the fifth woman employed. She resigned from the Sheriff's Office in 1978 to accept a position with Louisiana State Police, as the first woman in patrol for Troop B, preceded by five other women troopers in the agency employed between 1974 and 1978.

While serving the State Police, she attended the 168th Session of the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy, the United States Navy Senior Enlisted Academy, and numerous leadership, management, administration, and specialized courses of instruction. She completed a Masters of Public Administration at Louisiana State University in 2002, a Masters of Criminal Justice at Southern University of Baton Rouge in 2006, and a Masters of Urban Studies at the University of New Orleans in 2016. She is the first and only woman in the State Police to date to advance through the ranks of sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and major to lieutenant colonel, the second highest sworn rank in the State Police. The highest rank, colonel, requires a political appointment by the governor. She did unsuccessfully compete for the position of colonel under two governors, one of which was a female.

She ascended to the rank of Master Chief (E9) while serving 23 years in the United States Navy on both reserve and active duty. During her honorable service, she was assigned as a Command Master Chief, serving as a senior enlisted military leader and advisor.

She retired from the State Police in 2010 to accept a United States Presidential appointment as the United States Marshal of the Eastern District of Louisiana, the first woman to be appointed as U.S. Marshal in Louisiana and one of only a few presidentially appointed women marshals in the history of the Marshals Service.