Factors Affecting the Decision to Advance: A Study of Women in Law Enforcement

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Factors Affecting the Decision to Advance:
A Study of Women in Law Enforcement

by
Kathleen Mitchell-White

Lynn University,
Boca Raton, Florida

August, 1999
DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my loving family, Mike and Mallory, who have been patient and supportive throughout my pursuit of higher education. Without their encouragement, I could not have achieved my goal, obtaining my Masters Degree, and ultimately advance in my law enforcement career.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks to Judge Leonard Fleet for his support and patience in this project. Judge Fleet’s direction has been most beneficial in completing this project. My thanks to Criminal Justice instructor, Dr. Michael Loffredo and the other professors and instructors on the Lynn University staff, for their help and encouragement while completing my graduate studies.

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I also extend my deepest appreciation and gratitude to Chief Penny Harrington, the National Center for Women and Policing, and the women who attended the Fourth Annual N.C.W.P. Conference, for their cooperation and assistance in this study. Without the interest of the N.C.W.P., and the women who took the time to complete the surveys, this project would not have been possible.
ABSTRACT

Factors Affecting the Decision to Advance:  
A Study of Women in Law Enforcement  
by  
Kathleen Mitchell-White  
Lynn University, 1999  
Boca Raton, Florida  
Judge J. Leonard Fleet, Professor

The subject of women in law enforcement is fast becoming a topic of great interest and concern as many law enforcement executives are faced with the problem of promoting women police officers. Women are entering law enforcement in record numbers, however, women filling promotional positions has barely increased over the last 20 years. Law enforcement executives are trying to address the reasons why law enforcement agencies can either retain women nor find women interested in advancing to executive levels. Women police officers share their perceptions and opinions about what directly affects them, personally and professionally, in their law enforcement careers giving insight into what may influence their decisions to advance.

A survey was administered to the attendees of the 1999 Conference for the National Center for Women and Policing (N.C.W.P.), Orlando, Florida. The survey focused on demographic information and specific questions addressing why (or why not) women pursue advancement. The women indicated the primary reasons to seek promotion, not to seek promotion, and the primary factors which would figure prominently in resignation.
Respondents were asked to comment on women seeking promotions, the difficulty of women being promoted in their agency, and what reason would figure prominently if they were to resign. The results of the study were analyzed and compared to the results of the I.A.C.P. survey. The comparison of results proves interesting, especially since the responses were from diametrically opposite sample populations and perspectives. The results of both studies, on key issues, were nearly identical. Women do wish to advance in their law enforcement careers. Although most women seek advancement, a large percentage believe promotion for women is difficult. The difficulty is attributed both to gender bias issues and the small number of women who seek promotion.

Primary reasons which influence women's decision to advance, not advance, or resign from law enforcement are identified. These factors, when compared to the I.A.C.P. study, are recognized by law enforcement executives, thereby corroborating the difficult experiences expressed by women. The focus of this study was to identify the factors which influence women's decisions to advance. What the study actually did was confirm what women experience and what law enforcement agencies deal with are a similar reality for both.
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Factors Affecting the Decision to Advance:  
A Study of Women Law Enforcement Executives

THESIS:
Women face difficult personal and professional obstacles, which affect their decision to pursue an executive position in a law enforcement agency.

I. INTRODUCTION:

"I always wanted to be a cop until I became one . . ."
Unknown woman police officer

This statement says much about the situation of many women in law enforcement. Although not all women who have become officers feel this way, it does apply to more women than most realize and for many different reasons. Some people would want to believe, by this statement, this woman has realized she, as well as most other women, is not suited for the work. This is not usually the case. In fact, it is the exception rather than the rule. Many women abandon the career train due to various personal and professional pressures over which they have little or no control.

It is nearly the new millennium and the law enforcement profession is still predominantly a man's world. Although the numbers of women hired as law enforcement officers have steadily increased over the last twenty years, the percentage of women officers continues to fall well below that of men. While the numbers of women entering law enforcement has increased,

1 Fletcher, 1995, 66.
significant problems remain in the integration of women in this profession. This is especially true in placing women in executive policymaking positions of law enforcement agencies.

Women are being recruited and hired in record numbers, yet they leave the profession in nearly the same numbers as agencies hire them. Most intriguing is the fact the numbers of women in command positions have barely increased. (Table 1) Even if women remain, those with career goals of advancement and promotion have their aspirations doused and their ambitions quieted. The questions are why and is it by their own choosing?

Existing research indicates the reaction toward, and the treatment of, women officers by male officers (such as sexual harassment, ridicule, and rejection) are the primary reasons women have not made notable gains in the law enforcement professions. These same reasons also influence some women’s decisions to pursue advancement. What about women who remain in law enforcement and achieve a “relative amount of success?” How many of these women advance to higher ranks or command positions? How many have successfully advanced to control the agency? The numbers reduce significantly as the ranks go higher. Again, statistics show very few of these women achieve a promotion to ranks higher than sergeant and even fewer women have ever been appointed to command an agency.

Department of Labor statistics in 1992, show women make up approximately 45% of the total labor force. However, statistics compiled on various other non-traditional occupations for women show they comprise between 10% and 25% of male-dominated professions. In 1997, women employed as state, county, or local police officers averaged 12% of the total number of officers. Additional statistics show women make up 21% of the nation’s judges and lawyers, 15% of the health diagnostic occupations and 38% of all executive, administrative, and managerial
personnel. Women represent almost half the work force today but more than 75% are employed in a small number of occupations which are 80% female.

In a comparison of statistics for non-traditional occupations, such as physicians, attorneys, firefighters, police officers, and paramedics, the percentage of women in these fields was consistently lower than in occupations considered traditional (those occupations employing 80% or more women). (Table 2) For physicians and attorneys, women comprised approximately 20% of the total number. Paramedics consist of approximately 25% women and women comprise approximately 15% of all police officers. However, firefighters report only 10% of the total number of career firefighters to be women. Although women in law enforcement have faced a tough road, female firefighters have just begun to fight the same battles.

The increase of women in law enforcement remains at an alarmingly slow rate and, as a result, women are unlikely to achieve equality and gender balance in law enforcement agencies. While the first female police officer was hired in 1908, the first female firefighter was not employed until 1974. Although women have just recently infiltrated the firefighting profession, they have increased in like numbers (percentage-wise) as compared to women in law enforcement over the same 24-year period. So, women police officers actually had a lesser increase over the last ninety years than female firefighters. (Women police officers climbed from 2% in 1972 to 12% in 1997. Female firefighters increased the same rate over the same time.)

Statistics for women’s advancement in law enforcement are less encouraging. In 1987, women held 3.9% of top command law enforcement positions and 3.7% of supervisory positions. In 1997, women held 7.4% of top command law enforcement positions and 8.8% of supervisory

positions. This is a small change over a ten year period. In the same time span, the total number of women in law enforcement increased by nearly 49,000, or approximately a 6% increase.\(^3\)

What are the factors which affect women police officers’ decisions to advance? Can those factors be changed so women may one day achieve gender equality in the law enforcement profession?

The purpose of this research will be to attempt to identify those reasons which most greatly affect a woman’s decision to advance to an executive level in a law enforcement agency.

PROBLEM STATEMENT:

The existing problem is more women choose not to pursue advancement as police administrators or executives as compared, proportionately, with the number of men pursuing similar career paths. While some women are promoted to executive ranks, this number remains far below the number of males. Gender socialization may be an explanation of women’s difficulty in infiltrating a male-dominant field. Gender stereotyping, defined as the “channeling of boys and girls from an early age into jobs or professions suited to their sex”\(^4\), also plays a significant role in women’s struggle in gaining equal status in non-traditional occupations. Gender socialization and sex role stereotyping of women may be the primary reasons (although not the only reasons) the “glass ceiling” exists, offering an explanation as to why women have not permeated higher command levels in law enforcement agencies in significant numbers. As a result, women face many more personal and professional obstacles and demands in their law enforcement career which ultimately affects their decisions to pursue promotion.

\(^3\) Harrington, 1997, 4.

\(^4\) Kelly, 1993, 10.
This research project will examine the reasons why some women choose not to pursue advancement in their law enforcement careers. Do individual decisions made by women, not to advance, ultimately reinforce women’s inability (as a whole) to break through the “glass ceiling,” due to reduced numbers of women to be considered for promotional positions? The issues behind women’s reasons not to pursue advancement are the true barometer in determining whether women will achieve professional equality in the law enforcement profession.

BACKGROUND:

Women comprise more than 50% of the world’s population and yet women are considered “a minority.” In the non-traditional profession of law enforcement, the number of women has increased, proportionately, during the last twenty years. Women have made relatively no progress in attaining command and executive level positions. Existing studies and research show women have worked hard, but have gained little in attacking the “glass ceiling” in law enforcement. Most of the accomplishments gained by women have been made through litigation and court orders. Although women intend to achieve equality in law enforcement, they may be the victims of their own subconscious beliefs and programming, instilled and reinforced from birth.

The term “non-traditional” identifies occupations labeled primarily for a specific gender. Gender socialization is the reason non-traditional occupations exist. Men and women are socialized throughout their life to fulfill specific social functions. Gender stereotyping creates these roles as individuals are raised to believe certain people should do certain jobs.
Law Enforcement is a profession which must change to meet social demands. Gender equality is one of those demands which the profession is challenged to meet. Yet statistics show that although the numbers of women police officers have increased proportionately, the numbers of women commanders and executives have not increased.

Research has also shown that women are an asset to law enforcement agencies. However, most agencies have no women employed as officers let alone promote them to policy-making positions. Law enforcement agencies, women police officers, present and future, and communities alike, are affected by continued gender inequality.

**PURPOSE STATEMENT:**

Women may have high aspirations when they first begin their law enforcement careers. However, due to discouraging career experiences or demanding family commitments, women may not pursue advancement to higher executive positions. Such may not be the case with men holding similar career goals. Since no known studies target this subject, the reasons for which women choose not to advance are speculative at best. It is imperative to identify and understand the underlying reasons women, voluntarily or unknowingly, fail to achieve promotions to executive level positions. Only then can any real changes be made to allow women the freedom and opportunity to achieve higher career ambitions.

Statistics show the number of women hired as police officers remains very low in comparison to the numbers of men. This alone makes fewer women available to be considered for promotion. Many women leave law enforcement between the second and fifth years of
employment for various reasons. However, of those women who remain, a majority voluntarily choose not to pursue promotion, despite their accomplishments and abilities. This research will confirm this fact and identify the underlying reasons causing such actions. It will focus on women currently employed with local law enforcement agencies and will show the problems plaguing women in law enforcement which effect their decision to advance.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

Most research has focused on women’s capability and effectiveness in law enforcement positions. Other research has addressed women’s ability to perform in police supervisory roles and their acceptance in such roles. Another study addressed the factors affecting the decision of women to remain in policing. In the Poole and Pogrebin study, non-supervisory women officers were surveyed to determine the reasons why they may or may not continue their police careers. The study revealed women who choose to remain in a law enforcement career do so for reasons other than job satisfaction or promotional opportunities. However, of those women, only a small percentage aspire to advance regardless of their initial intentions.

In the decade since this study many social factors have changed. Overall, the numbers of women police officers has risen (although the proportion of women remain low) and women are now assigned to positions once considered “off-limits” for women. No research has specifically addressed women’s under representation in executive level, policy making positions or the reasons why women chose (or not) to pursue advancement opportunities. Nor have the

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5 IACP Survey, 1998

6 Poole and Pogrebin, 1988,
reasons contributing to the low numbers of female police executives been adequately explored.

Prior research generalizes the two primary reasons women choose not to pursue advancement are (a) due to men’s overall rejection of women in law enforcement and (b) lack of opportunities for promotion. Sexual harassment and gender discrimination issues are also identified as barriers to women achieving equality or advancement. What is not discussed is the reality gender socialization is the predominant factor which influences these behaviors and attitudes for both genders. This is the underlying explanation for the behaviors and attitudes of both men and women. These attitudes are firmly grounded in socially defined gender roles and have a profound effect on women who pursue non-traditional role occupations.

This study approaches the problem from the perspective of women officers, many of whom are in supervisory or executive positions. The women are asked why they chose to advance (or not advance) and explain the reason for their decisions. The results will attempt to identify, from the women’s own perspective, why women have not been successful in penetrating the “glass ceiling” in law enforcement.

**NATURE OF THE STUDY:**

This study was conducted to determine the factors which affect women’s decisions to pursue advancement in law enforcement. A survey was taken of women who are eligible for, have sought, or have attained advancement to establish those reasons why these women chose their particular career paths. The research focused on the primary reasons which presently affect women and reflect their personal and professional experiences. This research identifies and evaluates the reasons why most women do not pursue higher positions within a law enforcement
agency although their early aspirations may have been to advance through the ranks as their careers developed.

Prior research has focused on different aspects of the same problem. Predominantly, the research focused on the factors which effect women’s decisions to remain in law enforcement. Although the factors identified in prior studies are similar to the factors identified in this study, the perspective from which this study is conducted, from the point-of-view of women who can and do pursue advancement, is unique.

The Poole and Pogrebin study, conducted in 1988, in particular focused on the factors which effect women’s decisions to remain in policing. Some issues of concern in this study were addressed in the Poole and Pogrebin study. However, if the Poole and Pogrebin survey was administered to women in 1999 it may yield different results. Poole and Pogrebin, themselves, stated in their study that the factors affecting the decisions of women to remain in law enforcement are likely to change over time. They hypothesize the changes may be attributed to women adjusting to the range of obstacles inhibiting their acceptance in law enforcement or their attempts to advance in their careers.

A more recent survey, published in 1998 by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (I.A.C.P.), addresses the obstacles faced by law enforcement women and the status of their future. Although comprehensive and enlightening, this study does not ask for responses from the individuals who are most directly affected -- the women themselves. The questions used in the I.A.C.P. survey are quite relevant to this particular study. If the questions are answered by the

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7 Poole and Pogrebin, 49.

8 Poole and Pogrebin, 51.
women themselves rather than male law enforcement administrators the responses would give
greater insight as to why women may, or may not, pursue advancement.

A questionnaire was constructed and administered to women police officers so data could
be collected and evaluated from the women’s point-of-view. The research will be conducted in the
“present” perspective. Prior research has identified how women have fared in the past. This
research asks how women are progressing, from their perspective, today and identifies the reasons
why women make their career decisions.

The methodology used in this study is best classified as descriptive because it attempts to
describe the facts and characteristics of women police officers and make a systematic analysis of
the reasons which influence their career decisions. The questionnaire was developed to focus on
the specific issues affecting women’s advancement in law enforcement. Based upon the sample
population, a questionnaire was the most efficient and effective way to collect data. A newly
developed questionnaire was preferred over a pre-packaged questionnaire. Pre-packaged
questionnaires could not specifically address the issues necessary for evaluation for this study.

The sample population, although less random than most, was chosen for two reasons: to
obtain an adequate sample from a group of women police supervisors and executives from which
to collect data and to insure an adequate response to the questionnaire. It is recognized this is not
an ideal sample and the conclusions drawn from the results of this study cannot be generalized to
all law enforcement women or agencies. However, the sample will be large enough so the data
may be adequately evaluated and give an insight into the perspective of the women officers.
HYPOTHESIS:

The hypothesis is most women choose not to pursue advanced positions as police executives due to socially structured problems inherent in society developed through gender socialization.

SUBPROBLEMS:

1. Treatment by male colleagues, whether at the line position, supervisory, or executive level positions can influence whether a woman will pursue advancement in her law enforcement career;

2. Outside pressures, such as commitment to family and spousal jealousy, have the most influence on a woman’s decision to pursue her ambitions.

3. Most women who do pursue and achieve command positions do not have family commitments or spousal pressures limiting their opportunities.

DELIMITATIONS:

1. This study will not address race or ethnic differences but will focus only on gender differences and influences.

2. This study will mention, but not focus on, sexual harassment issues.

3. This study will not determine or evaluate the success of female executive officers or commanders.

DEFINITION OF TERMS:

1. **Executive positions**: law enforcement assignments of the rank of Captain and higher (or the equivalent) within a law enforcement agency.

2. **Supervisory positions**: law enforcement assignments of the rank of sergeant or lieutenant (or the equivalent) within a law enforcement agency.

3. **Line or entry level positions**: law enforcement assignments of the rank of patrol officer or detective (or the equivalent) within a given agency.

4. **Non-traditional roles**: occupations in which women make up 25% or less of the total number of workers.
5. **Gender**: an aspect of human identity that is socially learned (masculinity or femininity).

6. **Socialization**: childhood learning process which instill values, attitudes, and behaviors.

**II. LITERATURE REVIEW:**

Much of the existing research regarding women in law enforcement was conducted in the early 1970's to late 1980's. Most of that research has focused on the effectiveness of women as law enforcement officers. The research concluded women can be effective police officers and were even found to be more effective in certain areas than men. Little research has addressed the issues which affect women during employment and which affect their decision to remain (or not) in law enforcement. Virtually none of the existing research considers the factors which influence women to advance (or not) in the law enforcement profession.

Susan E. Martin reported there is good news and bad news regarding women's increased presence and their advancement in law enforcement. Martin states the "good news" is the representation of women has steadily increased over the last fifteen years and women are assigned to various duties in proportion to their representation in policing. However, the "bad news" is the rate of change is still extremely slow and women continue to be present, in many agencies, in "token numbers." This is especially true at the supervisory levels where women are "barely visible or totally absent." When compared to recent research and surveys, Martin's analysis of women in law enforcement is very accurate.

Martin discusses many reasons for the lack of advancement of women over the years. However, little research has addressed the underlying reason for this phenomenon. Martin is the

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foremost authority in the research concerning women in law enforcement. However, only recently has she addressed the issue of gender socialization and its affect on women’s success in advancement. Martin suggests “the subordination of women in justice occupations reflect larger inequalities that permeate social life.” In simpler terms, the struggle by female officers to be fully accepted in law enforcement parallels the same struggle among women to be accepted into the labor force in general.

At the center of this struggle is the existence of occupational stereotypes suggesting “masculine” and “feminine” types of work. Martin also suggests social labeling is used to reinforce male and female stereotypes. These social practices continues to prevent women from entering or succeeding in many male-dominated professions.

Many women do not enter male-dominated professions because of the conflict (masculine versus feminine) between what is “appropriate” occupational and sex role behavior for women. Appropriate feminine sex role behavior conflicts with the occupational behavior appropriate for law enforcement officers. Or if women do enter and succeed in male-dominated occupations, they do so by learning certain rules of acceptable behavior for women. These unspoken rules dictate women must choose between two polar behaviors - act either very feminine or be the least feminine as possible.

Berg and Budnick explored the “defeminization” of women in law enforcement which is characterized as a “catch-22” for women. Berg and Budnick suggest if a woman in law

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enforcement adopts traditional feminine behaviors, she risks limiting her career and threatening her opportunities for advancement. However, women who emulate male officers in order to succeed may be perceived as threats by male officers and to their (males) career pursuits and therefore may not be accepted by male officers which may also affect the woman's advancement goals.\textsuperscript{13}

Although the problems facing women in law enforcement have been identified, the underlying reasons have not been adequately addressed. Virtually no research exists focusing on the reasons behind the problems affecting women who have chosen to remain in law enforcement and pursue advancement. The Poole and Pogrebin research study did focus on the factors which affect a woman's decision to remain in policing as a career. In this study, Poole and Pogrebin suggests the foremost reasons which affect a woman's decision to remain is the response of male colleagues toward her despite her position in the agency.

Society has undergone dramatic cultural and social changes which have challenged traditional gender definitions. Skewed gender ratios prevail in most public occupations traditionally dominated by men. Studies have shown public workplaces are "gendered workplaces" in which individuals bring their own socialized biases into the organizations which color organizational decision making.\textsuperscript{14}

Individuals within organizations and positions which are traditionally viewed as male gender roles, tend to manifest hostile and sexist behaviors toward women. In these non-traditional occupations for women, women are categorically excluded by their gender and

\textsuperscript{13} Berg and Budnick, 1986, 317.

\textsuperscript{14} Rosell, 347
resented for being a part of the group. To some, being female in a male-oriented profession is simply not acceptable.

Law enforcement is sex-typed as a male occupation. Many law enforcement administrators and officers, either consciously or unconsciously, cling to occupational sex stereotypes based on obsolete attitudes. Occupational sex stereotyping occurs when employees are judged according to traditional stereotypes based on gender and rooted in culturally based prescriptions of acceptable gender behavior. In law enforcement, gendered social order is also used to preserve the male officer’s identity as a “cop and a man” by maintaining a distinction between “masculine public and feminine domestic domains.”

Women police officers face a series of occupational pressures, role conflicts, and personal choices. As a male-dominated profession, dilemmas for women in law enforcement arise from conflicts between sex-role norms and occupational role norms. When a woman becomes a police officer, she has to accomplish a gender-role reversal within herself. She, her colleagues and her family must accept this role reversal. Persistent stereotypes about women managing family responsibilities are a major reason a small percentage of the executive positions are held by women.

This may be the underlying reason why women have not been successful in eliminating the glass ceiling in law enforcement. Research suggests some larger agencies have made an effort to increase the number of women among the ranks of officers.

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15 Hunt, 21.
16 Kennedy, 348
17 Kelly, 24
However, even in these agencies, the numbers of women in executive, policy making positions have barely increased in relation to their male counterparts.

Males who are socialized with values of male superiority over women experience anxiety when faced with the reality of female competence. Masculinity has traditionally been associated with dominance over females, so the reality of female equality (regardless of occupation) can generate anxiety in some men about their masculinity. A way to diffuse the anxiety and control the environment is to engage in gender stereotyping.

Male resistance to women may result from a conflict between norms associated with sex role status and occupational roles. The majority of men and women accept occupational norms which dictate appropriate behaviors for police officers but contradict social expectations regarding proper female behavior.

“Norms regarding appropriate sex role behavior are internalized from infancy. This early socialization process structures adult behavior and accounts in large part for the persistence of sexist ideology on the part of both men and women.”

Employee socialization in law enforcement is of crucial importance, more than for most occupations or professions. Few occupations incorporate the history and the demand of creating a strong occupational identity as does law enforcement. It combines the job with the personal life of the individual officer, which colors and modifies all other social roles of the officer. New officers are socialized in learning the norms and roles necessary to function in a law enforcement organization. This occupational socialization is imperative for officers to develop the contacts and

18 Hunt, 4
support of superiors which is necessary to advance in the agency successfully. However, not only do women face the childhood-socialized beliefs and sex-role stereotypes held by their male counterparts and supervisors but they must deal with specific occupation socialization in order to survive and succeed in the profession.

Women's representation at the supervisory levels falls far behind their presence in policing overall. The increase in the number of women promoted to supervisory ranks has been extremely small as compared with the total number of women hired as officers. Statistics show women in 1978 made up approximately 2% of police supervisors. In 1986, women made up 3.3% of all supervisors. In 1997, approximately 6% of all police supervisors are women.  

Women attribute the high attrition rate or change of attitude toward career advancement to a combination of discriminatory practices, unequal or limited promotional opportunities, and constant pressures to demonstrate their competence and effectiveness. Although studies show the employment turnover rate for men and women officers is nearly equal. The reasons behind the turnover vary greatly. Research shows when male officers resign, it is usually to accept another job in law enforcement.

Women, on the other hand, have been found to leave for other, non-occupational reasons such as family and children, move to accommodate her husband's job, or job dissatisfaction. Law enforcement executives perceive these actions as women being less involved in their work, less committed to careers than men and, therefore, less qualified for promotion. Also, as women move up in rank, they face further intimidation, harassment and malicious treatment by male


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The long-term consequences of this treatment for women (akin to the self-fulfilling prophecy) are poor performance, reduced career commitment, and increased turnover.

Martin states given the differences in the childhood socialization of males and females, more women may feel they are not suited for the demands of law enforcement. Other factors such as hostile work environment, difficulties in meshing family and work related demands, inadequate light-duty or pregnancy leave policies, all which makes having a family and continued employment difficult or impossible for many women officers.

The Poole and Pogrebin study attempted to identify the factors which affect a woman’s decision to remain in policing. The results of their study showed the longer a woman remains in policing, the less likely she is to pursue advancement. The study revealed only a small number of female officers still aspired to rise in a police organization after a short tenure in a law enforcement agency. However, the scope of the study did not address why the women made this decision:

“After their first few years on the force, most female officers apparently no longer view career advancement as a major motivation for work, instead placing greater emphasis on other aspects of their job to justify their continued employment in policing.”

The researchers also concluded women in policing lack a variety of female role models in higher ranks with whom they could realistically strive to emulate. Those women who have been promoted to command positions may be perceived by other women as exceptional or favored and,

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20 Harrington, 5

21 Poole, 54.
therefore, see their own chances of being promoted as limited or non-existent.

An earlier study conducted in 1983 by Fry addressed the factors related to turnover of women police officers. Fry suggests the primary factor of turnover of women in the sheriff’s department studied was the increased competition among law enforcement agencies to hire women. Fry concludes women may have greater opportunities at other law enforcement agencies. Women may leave one law enforcement agency for better opportunities at another agency. Women do not always leave law enforcement for “stereotypic” reasons. No other studies have tested or support this finding.

The lack of success of women may be attributed partially to a significant lack of unity among women. Martin addresses this problem by discussing two contrasting strategies which women adopt to deal with their roles as law enforcement officers. These conflicting styles, referred to as “defeminized” and “deprofessionalized”, reinforce the lack of unity and severely limit the ability of women to act as an effective political group for themselves to facilitate change and advancement. Women law enforcement officers are continuously confronted with the dilemmas inherent in the choice between the defeminized and deprofessionalized patterns of occupational role behavior.

The first style is the Policewoman (defeminized). This person conforms to accepted occupational norms within the law enforcement agency. She tends to be an overachiever (striving for male acceptance), seeks individual advancement, and keeps a low profile to assimilate into the

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22 Fry, 1983, 149

23 Fry, 152

24 Martin, 1979, 323
male-dominated profession. The Policewoman tends to be overly critical and less accepting of other women as she wishes to avoid isolation from male colleagues and to build allies. The Policewoman is ambitious and aspires to promotion. She is self-confident and comfortable with the prospect of supervising male officers. The Policewoman adopts “male assigned” behaviors such as assertiveness and the ability to take control of situations and tends to disassociate her identification with other women.\textsuperscript{25}

The second style is the Policewoman (deprofessionalized). This person accepts the stereotypic roles of women and fails to accept occupational norms. She is perceived as having a low work commitment which tends to lack credibility with male officers (and some Policewomen). The Policewoman struggles with job satisfaction, acceptance, discrimination, and a lack of assertiveness. She may also feel her femininity threatened by performing as a police officer.

These Policewomen/Policewomen behaviors may be a common response by women who work in any male-dominated profession and may not be unique to women in law enforcement. These behaviors may be the result of women adopting male practices in order to gain acceptance in male-dominated workplaces. This is not a new phenomenon and is labeled “sex role spill-over.”\textsuperscript{26} Sociological research has shown that individuals often feel pressured to differentiate themselves from their own minority cultural group and adopt characteristics associated with the higher-status, dominant culture in order to ensure survival.

\textsuperscript{25} Martin, 1979, 315.

\textsuperscript{26} Ely, 1995, 7.
Women officers are often forced to choose between femininity and professionalism and becoming “de-feminized” or “de-professional.” Women in law enforcement violate a cultural stereotype of women as nonaggressive, weak, and incapable of protecting men. Women who compete with men on this level are viewed by others as unfeminine (often stereotyped as a lesbian, even though sexual preference is not an issue). On the other hand, women who choose to not compete with men but, instead, fit within social bounds and assert the importance of family are considered incompetent and uncommitted by co-workers and supervisors.²⁷

Attempts by male officers to de-feminize women are reinforced by police managers who also oppose the presence of women.²⁸ As a result, most women are forced to choose between the two differences (de-feminizing or de-professionalizing) when deciding whether to pursue advancement. Research has confirmed the largest barrier to increasing the number of women in law enforcement, especially as it relates to promotions, is the attitudes and behaviors of male supervisors and colleagues.²⁹

Hostile environments and systemic discrimination keep women from being hired and being promoted to higher ranks, especially to policymaking positions, in significant numbers. In many police agencies, gender discrimination is pervasive. Supervisors and commanders may not always be effective in aiding a women in combating discriminatory actions against her as many of these men not only tolerate discriminating practices by others but are frequently the perpetrators.³⁰

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²⁷ Balkin, 1988
²⁸ Hunt, 21
²⁹ Harrington, 1.
³⁰ Harrington, 1.
Many women face some sort of abuse, discrimination, and harassment once hired as officers, which has resulted in many women abandoning their law enforcement careers, let alone career goals.

Ely has identified profiles of women who work in male-dominated professions. He labels these profiles as: the Accomodator, the Resister, and the Self-blamer. Women who adopt masculine characteristics are identified as Accomodators. Resistors emulate characteristics typically associated with women, view themselves as unfavorable for success and are angry and frustrated to be pressured to act like men. The Self-blamer internalizes the devaluation of women. Women adopt these behaviors, in male-dominated organizations, to insure their survival but not necessarily their success, in the profession.

By contrast, women in sex-integrated organizations adopt far different behavior patterns. Ely identified profiles which emerge in women who work in sex-integrated organization as the Minimizer and the Integrator. Minimizers observed sex differences and see the differences as insignificant and unrelated to success in the organization. Integrators drew on both masculine and feminine characteristics to enhance their ability to succeed.

Studies have indicated sex roles are more stereotypical and problematic in organizations with low proportions of women in executive or policy-making positions. In organizations with a balanced representation of men and women, sex-role stereotyping is reduced.

31 Ely, 25.
32 Ely, 26.
33 Ely, 26.
and a broader range of acceptable behaviors for women is created giving women a greater sense of value and acceptance. Women's presence in positions of power affects the "social construction of gender difference and the processes that create and sustain women's gender identity at work." In other words, in organizations where more women occupy policy-making positions, the "good ole boy network" is diminished and women are less likely to be sex-stereotyped in certain occupational roles. In law enforcement, because there are so few numbers of women in executive positions, women's influence on their own success is almost negligible.

In his study, Ely explains in organizations in which men prominently hold positions of power, women will evaluate characteristics attributed to men more favorably than those attributed to women and tend to discount women's characteristics as they relate to requirements for success. Sex-integrated organizations are less constrained by sex-role stereotypes than in male-dominated organizations. Women in sex-integrated organizations are more likely to evaluate themselves and women's characteristics favorably.

In the Poole and Pogrebin study, the researchers conceded their population sample was somewhat biased as the respondents were members of "an international professional society" (female law enforcement organization) gathered for an annual convention. Their observation was interesting because these respondents (who were described as committed to "improving the status of women in contemporary American law enforcement and are relatively committed to pursue law

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34 Ely, 1995, 2.
36 Poole, 55
enforcement as a career) very few aspire to more advanced positions.\textsuperscript{37}

Many women have concerns about highlighting gender-based differences in police work, especially those women who have struggled for years to achieve equality. Many women fear complaining about the treatment by male colleagues and supervisors carries other risks for them such as a lack of support when competing for promotional positions.\textsuperscript{38} Although the proportion of women in law enforcement has grown steadily over the past 25 years, the number of women hired have not increased dramatically in proportion to the total number of officers being hired. More distressing is the reality the number of women promoted to top level executive or administrative positions has not increased. (Table 3) Where there has been substantial progress in equalizing women’s presence, the change has been only as a result of legal action taken to fight discriminatory hiring and promotional practices. Instead of voluntarily and willingly increasing women’s presence, these agencies were forced to increase the numbers of women hired and promoted.\textsuperscript{39}

Affirmative action has had a positive impact on the proportion of women in supervisory positions. In the agencies which have court-ordered decrees to advance women, women make-up 3.5\% of the supervisors as compared with those agencies who advance women voluntarily, where women make-up 2.4\% of agency supervisors. Those agencies without mandates show 2.2\% of their supervisors are women.\textsuperscript{40} Joseph Balkin summed up women’s situation in law enforcement

\textsuperscript{37} Poole, 55

\textsuperscript{38} McDowell, 3

\textsuperscript{39} Harrington, 1.

\textsuperscript{40} Martin, 1989, 35
with a quote from a study by M.W. Lehtinen:

"Women are fighting injustice within the police
department more than on the streets. The only trouble
with women in policing is men in policing."41

Women police officers have experienced both passive and aggressive actions by male officers who intend to make life uncomfortable for women officers. In 1997, the National Center for Women and Policing (N.C.W.P.) conducted one of the most recent studies addressing women's continuing struggle to attain equality in law enforcement. N.C.W.P. findings identify the "single largest barrier to increasing the numbers of women in law enforcement" as the attitudes and behavior of their male colleagues.42 This study strictly concerned hard statistics of women and their positions in law enforcement agencies. The study does not address women's perceptions or circumstances which may affect their positions.

Interestingly, the NCWP study determined the status of women in policing has barely changed over the past twenty years. Concentrating on the larger law enforcement agencies nationwide, the study showed the numbers of women has increased with the percentage in the double-digits. While a number of agencies have sought to increase the number of women police officers, many agencies have not rolled out the welcome mat. Women still have often had to resort to legal action against law enforcement agencies in order to obtain employment, retain employment or gain promotion. The N.C.W.P. makes this distinction clear, most (eight out of ten) of these agencies have increased the presence of women, including top command positions, only

41 Balkin, 34
42 Harrington, 2
as a result of litigation and court order.⁴³

Recognizing the need to identify the scope of the problem, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (I.A.C.P.) conducted the most current and comprehensive study of the status of women in policing. The I.A.C.P. surveyed 800 of their members (consisting of Department heads and top commanders) about women in their respective agencies. The issues at hand were recruitment, hiring, promotion, retention, assignments, attitudes, discrimination and harassment. The results of the study acknowledged serious problems still exist for women in law enforcement in all of these areas.

The I.A.C.P. survey confirmed critical information regarding the status and future of women in policing. The survey confirmed the number of women in law enforcement is growing progressively, and women are advancing to more supervisory and command positions. However, neither number has grown significantly. (Table 4) The I.A.C.P. study revealed these distressing facts:

a. there are still fewer women in policing as compared to male counterparts,

b. male officers still harbor and display bias toward women officers,

c. many agencies lack strategies for recruiting women,

d. women officers still face gender discrimination and a "glass ceiling."

e. sexual harassment still occurs,

f. few mentoring programs exist for women officers.⁴⁴

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⁴³ Harrington, 5.

⁴⁴ I.A.C.P., p. i.
The I.A.C.P. survey focused on the opinions and perceptions of the agency leaders (again predominantly male). The significance of the I.A.C.P. study is although the respondents were predominantly male law enforcement executives, the responses corroborate what women officers have been reporting for years. What is even more significant is the timeliness of the survey results and the fact these attitudes and actions still exist in the twilight of the new millennium.

What are the perceptions and experiences held by women which most affect their decisions to enhance, stifle, or end their careers? Connie Fletcher published an “expose” of sorts when she published a book detailing the personal and professional experiences of women law enforcement officers. These women shared their experiences, good and bad, within the realms of law enforcement. First-hand accounts personify much of the statistics and data collected in the aforementioned research.

Fletcher writes:

“The truest picture of women in policing is found in the voices themselves - in their stories. Yet, many times, women’s voices are silenced or discounted... Statistics and surveys reveal that women keep quiet lest they’re ostracized or hung out to dry on the street.”

Women law enforcement officers consistently complained about two specific problems, with male officers and superiors, they faced during their careers. The first problem women officers face is a men’s club with a strict hierarchy which operates in a culture of socializing and informal contacts. The second problem is women must continuously prove themselves, from

\[45\] Fletcher, 1995.

\[46\] Fletcher, 1995, 18.

\[47\] Fletcher, 1995, 19.
assignment to assignment, promotion to promotion to gain respect or acceptance. Her ability to do the job is not taken for granted. She must show others she has the ability to perform for each new position she fills. 48

Another problem identified by Fletcher is women do not support other women for the sake of gender. Quite the contrary, women are more apt to reject and sabotage the efforts of other women just for that very reason. Fletcher heard the complaint, repeated all too many times, women in law enforcement are their own worst enemies, failing to organize and support each other. An analogy made by a Fletcher interviewee to illustrate this fact is one of comparing women in policing to crabs in a barrel - “when one is trying to get up the others are pulling her down.” 49

Women not only must compete against men for limited advancement opportunities, they must also compete against other women for those same limited opportunities. It sometimes becomes a situation of every woman for herself. At no time is this more evident than when a woman is seeking advancement. Women do not automatically support another woman who has succeeded or is poised for promotion. Unlike other minority groups which bond for the benefit of the group as a whole, women are less likely to participate in such activities. Many times, women who do participate in such causes are negatively labeled and rejected not by men but by other women.

48 Fletcher, 1995, 21.
49 Fletcher, 1995, 207.
III. METHODOLOGY:

Conduct of the Study:

This study identifies the reasons which influence a woman's decision to pursue advancement in the law enforcement profession. This research was directed toward the attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of the women police officers who are eligible or currently holding supervisory or command positions. The focus areas in the study are:

1. whether women will pursue advancement if eligible,
2. the reasons why (or why not) advancement is pursued,
3. do women seek promotions in their respective agencies, and
4. whether it is difficult for women, in their agencies, to be promoted.

This study shows women officers who do advance to command level ranks may be faced with the same professional pressures as other women officers who choose not to pursue advancement. However, women police executives may have experienced their roles as law enforcement officers differently, an occurrence which may have positively influenced their decisions to raise in the command ranks.

Those women who have decided not to advance may be very successful as entry level officers or in other assignments or ranks but may have decided advancement was not worth the additional pressures and problems. A woman’s decision not to pursue promotion is not necessarily due to a lack of interest on her part or necessarily minimal opportunity within her respective agency but due to other less tangible influences (of both men and women) affecting her long before she decided to became a law enforcement officer.
Research Methodology

The history of women in law enforcement is based upon information collected over the last twenty years during which time women had begun to show a growing presence. Most of the research in this field was conducted more than ten years ago with little focusing on women in promotional positions. The main focus of this study is to determine what influences a woman's decision to advance in law enforcement. Comparison of data and research regarding the number of women promoted to supervisory and command positions was made in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Are women fighting personal and professional obstacles to pursue advancement? And if so, what are the obstacles?

2. Are more women seeking promotion or not?

3. Is it difficult for women to be promoted in a law enforcement agency?

Descriptive and Explanatory Analysis:

The success of this study stems on the proper analysis of the data collected in order to understand the plight many women officers face. The present conditions under which these women make their career decisions must be examined. Unless these conditions, as the women themselves are experiencing them, are identified a detailed and accurate account cannot be made and recommendations for improvement will not have a reliable foundation from which to develop. The purpose of this research is to provide detailed and accurate information, from the women's perspective, to pinpoint areas of needed improvement.

With the publication of the I.A.C.P. survey, the problem regarding the future of women in law enforcement has been acknowledged and highlighted. The I.A.C.P. Study yielded interesting
results from data collected from a sample population answering questions regarding the experiences of another group.

The purpose of this research project is two-fold: (a) to offer a descriptive analysis of the women police officers who pursue advancement, and (b) to offer an explanatory analysis which goes beyond description in an attempt to explain why (or why not) these women make certain career decisions. Descriptive analysis is a systematic analysis and description of the facts and characteristics of the population. Descriptive analysis is necessary to learn the attributes of the sample population so as to get a clear picture of the characteristics of these women police executives.

To understand the factors which influence women in their decisions to advance in the law enforcement field, it is necessary to understand their background and history. The demographic questions in the survey provided the information necessary to describe the sample population and gain insight into the women participating in the study, their personal and profession situations, and their perceptions of the treatment of women officers in their respective agencies.

The research takes on an explanatory approach by attempting to determine the reasons some women seek promotion and other women choose not to advance. The study takes on an important meaning when its results are compared to the results of a larger study identifying the problems women police officers face during their career. The significance of the comparison rests on the fact the responses to each study yield virtually the same results even though the studies differed in size (a population of 88 for this study versus 800 for the I.A.C.P. study) and contrasting perceptions.
The results of this study reinforce the results of the I.A.C.P. study which state - although women have come a long way in the law enforcement profession they still face obstacles and hardships throughout their careers. These experiences influence the career paths women choose to pursue.

The Sample:

The sample population used in this study was a self-selected, non-random sample. Since the purpose of this study is to identify the factors which affect the decision of women to advance, the sample focused on women who are presently assigned to executive level positions and those women in lower positions but eligible for promotion.

The study population was selected from women police officers who attended the 1999 Annual Conference of the National Center of Women and Policing in Orlando, Florida. The total number of registrants for the Conference exceeded 350 individuals. Although this sample population was self-selected, it contains representatives of female officers, supervisors, and executives from numerous law enforcement agencies, of different sizes, in different areas of the United States. This sample population was selected for this study due to the convenience of administering the survey to a large group of women police executives and for the fact that the majority of the Conference attendees met the criteria set for the target group.

Respondents:

Of the 350 surveys which were distributed during the conference, 94 surveys questionnaires were returned. Four surveys were rejected because the respondents were identified as civilian, non-sworn police employees or as having law enforcement duties in non-police organizations such as a district attorneys office or a crime victim’s advocate organization.
Because this study focuses on women law enforcement officers, the responses in these surveys were considered unusable for this analysis. Additionally, as this study focuses on the reasons women may or may not pursue advancement, those respondents who were ineligible for promotion in their current agency were also excluded. As a result two additional surveys were eliminated bringing the total to 88 respondents.

Choosing this particular group added diversity in the study as a number of agencies had representatives collected in one location. Survey respondents represented a variety of agencies ranging in size. The number of agencies ranged in size from: 10 agencies with fewer than 100 officers, 14 agencies with officers between 100 and 300 officers, 12 agencies with officers between 300 and 500 officers, 16 agencies with officers between 500 and 1000 officers, 36 agencies with more than 1000 officers.

Attempting to administer this survey to group of women executives of this size through means other than a pre-arranged meeting or conference would have been a time-consuming, expensive and logistical nightmare. The convenience of this Conference placed a large number of women police executives together which increased the probability of obtaining a sample large enough to obtain reliable data.

It should be noted, as this is not a random sample, the results of this study cannot be generalized to the entire population of women police officers and executives. The results of this study can be used only to illustrate the attitudes and opinions of those women participating in this study.
**Research Instrument**

**Surveys:**

The survey used for this research consisted of ten questions focusing on the career ambitions (if any) of each respondent and the reasons each respondent would or would not seek promotion. Questions concerning the demographic information, such as age, education, marital status, job tenure, years of law enforcement experience, rank, agency size and number of women officers was included.

Respondents were asked to answer both open-ended and closed-ended questions. For the closed-ended questions, the respondents chose one response from the list provided which they believed was the most important in their decision either to pursue or decline to pursue advancement. Each list had a optional area in which the respondent could fill in an answer which best described her experience. Demographic questions were included to determine the make-up of the sample population and make a comparison analysis of the respondents and their answers to determine any correlation between the respondents, their background and experiences as law enforcement officers and their answers.

The survey was constructed and administered to collect as much information as possible in a form comparable to the study conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (I.A.C.P.). The strategy for this format was considered so the results of this study can be compared and contrasted to the results of the similar study conducted by the IACP to draw some conclusions as to why women law enforcement officers choose not pursue promotions. Additionally, to reduce validity problems, the questions were patterned after those in the I.A.C.P. survey to obtain the most reliable data possible.
Why was this type of instrument chosen?

The survey questionnaire was chosen as the most favorable instrument to use to conduct this study. This descriptive research method allows the collection of data in large numbers of participants. Research questionnaires were designed to survey the attitudes, opinions, perceptions, and information held by women police officers as it related to their experiences and influences on their careers. The questionnaire focused on the attributes of the respondent (such as age, education level, job tenure,) which provides the information necessary to paint a picture of the sample population to assist in the evaluation of the data.

Survey questionnaires also offer a number of advantages in data collection and research which other testing instruments do not offer given the present testing conditions. The survey was chosen because it is relatively easy to construct, administer, and evaluate. The responses can yield a great amount of data on a number of different variables.

This method has proven to be extremely effective for this project. Although the sample population was large, the return of surveys was not as great as expected. Yet, the results generated from the information provided was reliable and produced results comparable to a study with a much greater sample population and resources available to conduct a large-scale investigation on the same subject matter.

The object was to make the questionnaire easy to read yet not so overly simple as to “water-down” the responses therefore affecting the quality of the data. Choosing the N.C.W.P. Conference as the setting and the attendants as the sample population group, using survey questionnaires were the easiest, most efficient and effective instrument to administer given the conditions of the testing environment.
Additionally, the survey was the easiest instrument to create in which to obtain the most reliable data. Patterning the questions from the questions used in the I.A.C.P. study assisted in formulating questions which would yield the most reliable data for the focus areas.

**Validity and Reliability of the testing instruments:**

The survey was designed in a manner which is easily readable, comprehended, and completed by respondents. This was done to encourage the participants to complete and return the survey for analysis. I was present at the Conference to distribute and collect the surveys to ensure the surveys were completed properly by the participants.

Women police officers is a subject which is not commonly studied. Pre-tested surveys and questionnaires constructed to obtain the desirable data pertaining to this research question were not available. Using the questions from the I.A.C.P. survey as a guide, the questions in this survey were patterned so as to obtain reliable data. The core questions, questions 9 through 13, focused on women police officers and promotions and were structured on the information in the I.A.C.P. survey.\(^{50}\)

The primary focus was on the advancement of women officers. This study does not address the suitability of women in law enforcement nor does it address racial issues. Racial discrimination is recognized as a problem in addition to any other forms of discrimination. However, this study is not the vehicle in which to discuss those problems. This study strictly addresses the overall problems faced by most women officers of any color or ethnic background. In short, it only seeks to address the gender issue in law enforcement. The attitudes and perceptions of women officers are the subject of this study, not the perceived skills and

\(^{50}\) I.A.C.P., 9 - 11.
accomplishments of these women within their professions.

Although gender discrimination, the "glass ceiling," and negative treatment by male officers figures prominently in many women officers' career experiences, it was not the intention of this study to suggest these concepts to respondents from questions within the survey. Questions were specifically designed to avoid leading or slanted questions which would produce directed responses.

The questions were designed for open-ended responses, a response from a list of options or a write-in response based upon the respondent's experiences. The questions were patterned after the questions used in the I.A.C.P. study in order to generate responses which may be compared in the final analysis. To ensure success of the study, the respondents were asked to answer the questions according to their own experiences and opinions.

Care was taken not to use influential terms when formulating the questions. Use of terms such as "gender or sexual discrimination", "sexual harassment", "glass ceiling", "bias", or other terms suggesting unacceptable treatment of women were consciously avoided so as not to be suggestive to the respondents. To use such terms within the survey may have unduly influenced the respondent's answers, resulting in unreliable data. However, if the respondent answered the survey questions using those terms, the responses were acceptable. It was assumed that the respondent used the terms to describe specific actions which directly affected the respondent in her law enforcement career.

The Conference was open to all individuals in the law enforcement field and not limited strictly to law enforcement officers nor was the Conference limited to just women officers. Therefore, in order to control the quality of data obtained from the survey and reduce the bias of
the sample, criteria was established to identify those participants whose responses would be considered for this study. The criterion set for sample selection was the following:

1. a registered participant of the 1999 National Center for Women and Policing Conference (N.C.W.P.), and
2. a certified, sworn female law enforcement officer, and
3. holding a supervisory position in a law enforcement agency, or
4. eligible to compete for promotion in a law enforcement agency.

A cover letter (Appendix 1) was attached to each survey explaining the essential information of the study to the respondent, such as: (a) the purpose of the survey, (b) the focus of the research, and (c) basic information about the researcher. The cover letter stressed the importance and value of the survey responses and assured confidentiality to each respondent. All respondents were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality.

Surveys were distributed individually to the members of the sample population during the first general session of the Conference. (Appendix 2) The participants were asked to complete the questionnaires during the course of the session. Each person was asked to complete only one survey. The participants were asked to return the surveys to a box located in the Conference room or in a box located on a table in the main registration area.

**Design of Data Collection:**

In order to take advantage of the large number of women police executives in a single, pre-arranged setting, the survey and testing conditions were constructed to be as simple as possible to encourage participation in this study. The survey was limited to ten easy answer questions. The surveys were distributed before any business was initiated giving the respondents time to read and complete the survey.
The surveys were placed on the seats in the general conference room before the start of the general session - one survey placed on each seat. The attendees were given the opportunity to read the cover letter, review the survey, and complete the survey if so desired. Upon the start of the general session, Chief Penny Harrington, president of the N.C.W.P. introduced the study and the reason for the survey, and requested their cooperation in completing the survey.

Each respondent was asked to complete the survey during the general session and return the completed survey either to a collection box located at the entrance to the conference room or in the registration area. All uncompleted surveys left in the conference room were gathered at the end of the session. If any completed surveys were left behind, the surveys were placed in the collection box. Instructions were also left with the N.C.W.P. employees handling conference registration. They were instructed to place any completed surveys turned over to them into one of the collection boxes.

The surveys were reviewed for completeness and eligibility of the respondents. Incomplete surveys or surveys completed by respondents who do not meet the criteria were removed. The remaining surveys were analyzed to determine if women share common experiences and identify those reasons which influence a woman’s law enforcement career decisions. The responses from the questionnaire were interpreted for this project.

**Testing the Hypothesis**

The predominant test applied to the hypothesis was the comparison of the results with the results of the I.A.C.P. survey. The I.A.C.P. survey discussed the status of women in law enforcement from the perspective of the heads of the law enforcement agency, the majority of which were men. Test validity was established when, as compared to the I.A.C.P. study, the
results were nearly identical regardless of the fact the sample population of the I.A.C.P. study was 10 times larger than the population of this study.

The second (and perhaps the most significant) difference between studies is the difference in the sample populations. The I.A.C.P. study asked men about women officers’ experiences as compared to this study, which asked women about women officers’ experiences. The similarities in responses validates the test and the hypothesis and reinforces the reliability of the findings.

**Problems encountered obtaining the data**

In part, the sample population was chosen so a large group of female police executives could be tested in one setting thereby increasing the chance of obtaining a large percentage of completed surveys for analysis. The likelihood of receiving surveys by any method other than distributing and collecting the instruments during the same period is reduced severely. A return of five percent, in most situations, is considered a good response. However, because of the self-selection bias factor for the sample population, I believed to obtain valid and reliable data, the survey return had to be significantly higher than five percent.

Having the majority of the Conference attendees in the conference room at the time of distribution, I expected a higher response rate. Although 100% participation in any study is never likely, I believed given the conditions under which the survey was administered, a 50% response would be achieved. I was surprised by the fact so few surveys were completed and returned given the simplicity of the testing procedure. Of the 350 surveys distributed, only 92 surveys were completed and returned. Regardless of the low return, this study still provided a 26% response rate which is far above the 5% acceptable return.

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51 Aiken, 101.
I considered the use of interviews to supplement the information and data from the surveys. I broached the subject with several women who I believed could provide interesting information regarding this topic due to their positions, experience in law enforcement, and their status among other women officers. I abandoned that idea when I found many of these women were hesitant to speak individually on the subject, even for a research paper. Polite as they were, four of six women I approached were apprehensive in speaking about these issues and would not agree to an interview. The remaining women were willing to speak about the issues but were concerned about publication of the information.

I found these responses especially puzzling since the Conference was to celebrate women who have broken the “glass ceiling” in law enforcement and offer support and mentoring to other women who choose to follow the same path. Perhaps this is subject matter for another research project at a later date. Without supporting facts and information, I can only speculate as to why these women were apprehensive and suspect of such research. These reactions supported the findings of Connie Fletcher in her interviews: many women are not willing to share their feelings, insights or frustrations, about what they may have encountered during their experiences as law enforcement officers.52

I decided not to include interviews as a research instrument. As time became a critical factor, the search for an acceptable number of interviewees willing to participate became too burdensome. The interviews would not have been completed in time. I found, after analyzing the results of the written survey, the personal interviews were not necessary to either supplement or support the research.

52 Fletcher, 50.
IV. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS:

This study set out to prove not only are women forced to battle their way throughout their careers for acceptance and advancement, they must face pressures from family who hold them to traditional social roles such as wife, mother, and homemaker. These responsibilities are gender-assigned commitments which can be in direct conflict with the demands of the profession.

The survey results were expected to show a sample population of women who were either unmarried women or married women without children. Surprisingly, the results of this research confirms neither. The results actually showed many of the women in executive level positions are married, with children, who have similar constraints or family commitments as those women who abandon their career goals for similar reasons.

The results of this research found the factors which effect a woman’s decision to seek advancement in the law enforcement profession, regardless of her success and tenure as an entry level officer, are not a lack of commitment, incompetency, or unsuitability. Nor are the factors which influence women completely rooted in socialized beliefs and predetermined gender roles defined by society and re-enforced by both men and women in the law enforcement profession.

The women who participated in this study are dedicated to the law enforcement profession. Most intend to advance to higher ranks as they work to enhance their careers. The majority of these women have attained command positions within their agencies. However, these women are still faced with the same obstacles and problems, such as family commitments, lack of advancement opportunities, gender bias, and lack of support from administrators, when deciding their career goals.
Only in the areas of family commitment and child care issues does this research show a strong correlation between predisposed socialized beliefs and their effect on a woman’s decision to advance to a executive law enforcement position. Family commitment figured prominently in many women’s career decision. However, negative attitudes by men toward women officers did not rank as high as expected. No assumption should be made that the results of this study can be applied to all women in all police departments. Because of the self-selection bias in the sample population, the findings of this study cannot and should not be generalized to the population of women police officers, nationwide. The findings are only applicable to those who participated in this survey.

The research shows that female executives, who have achieved what most women officers do not, have similar problems and concerns as other female officers. The research also shows that they have experienced similar problems with sex role socialization such as family constraints and gendered occupational roles. Surprisingly, these women have successfully maintained both family and job commitments while attaining their professional goals. Those respondents who have either been promoted to a supervisory rank or who are eligible for promotion and still wish to continue report similar positive professional experiences.

Conversely, many of the respondents who have chosen not to seek advancement indicate experiencing negative professional experiences with male colleagues or face outside pressures which dictate the priority over their career goals. Many of these women indicate job satisfaction with their current assignments but also state the satisfaction lies within the ability to meet family commitments given the parameters of the assignment. These women believe they must choose between sacrificing their career aspirations or sacrificing time with their family.
This is the ultimate example of gender socialization affecting women law enforcement officers.

Demographic information provided by the respondents provides a clear picture of the women who compose the sample population. The results of the surveys are more easily understood and compared when the traits inherent to sample population are identified.

**Demographic Data**

**Age:**

The age of the respondents (Table 5) in the sample population ranged from age 21 (youngest) to 55 (oldest). Although this conference was open to all law enforcement personnel (male and female), the conference was geared toward women police executives in leadership positions. The majority of respondents fell within the age range between 30 and 50 years. As most law enforcement officers achieve promotional status after several years of service, this may be an explanation for the older age of the sample population group.

**Education Level:**

The education level of the study participants (Table 6) ranged from high school graduate to Masters and Juris Doctor degrees. Over 80% of respondents held either a bachelors degree (48%) or a Masters/JD degree (33%). Of the remaining 20%, only 8% did not indicate any college experience. The remaining respondents completed some college training or received an Associate level degree. None of the respondents indicated completing doctorate level degrees.
**Marital Status:**

The survey determined over 50% of the respondents were married (Table 7). Nearly 35% of the respondents were single. The number of respondents who indicated being divorced was just over 10%. This statistic was surprising as the survey was expected to show a higher percentage of the sample population to be single women. Although more than one-third of the respondents were single, the number of married respondents far exceeded the anticipated results.

**Children:**

Like the results produced in the marital status demographic, the results of this question was equally surprising. The number of respondents indicated 56% had children. (Table 8) Of the respondents, 44% indicated they did not have children. Although the difference between the two statistics is not overwhelming, the larger percentage was expected to fall within the “no children” category.

**Job Tenure:**

The respondents have been employed at their current agencies between 2 through 25 years (Table 9). Seventy-five percent of the respondents have worked for their current law enforcement agency for 16 years or more. Thirty-four percent of the respondents have worked for their current agency between 6 and 15 years. Again, the respondents were women police executives who have been promoted after serving several years in their respective departments. It is unlikely, except for the position of Sheriff (which is an elected position) or Police Chief (which is an appointed position but many times awarded to someone from outside the agency), that these women would have gained promotions without dedicating many years of service.
Law Enforcement Experience:

As with job tenure, most of the respondents (55%) have at least 16 years or more of law enforcement experience. (Table 10) Respondents with experience between 6 and 15 years totaled 33%. Women police executives have achieved high levels of law enforcement experience which is an important consideration for qualified candidates eligible for promotion.

Rank Held by Respondents:

The breakdown of the respondents, by rank, (Table 11) is somewhat more diverse than the other demographics. Respondents held positions from line officer to Police Chief. However, in this study, the majority of respondents held supervisory positions of Sergeant or Lieutenant (52%) which are not usually considered policy-making positions. The number of respondents, in total, (a combination of seven categories) who held police executive positions (Captain or higher) was 30% of the total number of respondents. The remaining respondents (18%) were in line officer positions such as patrol, corporal, or detective.

Agency Size:

The respondents represented agencies, nationwide, ranging in size from less than 100 officers (11%) to as large as over 1000 officers (16%). (Table 12) Agencies with 500 officers or more were represented by nearly 60% of all respondents. Agencies with less than 500 officers were represented by 40% of all respondents.

Agency Percentage of Women Officers:

The most contrasting data provided by the survey, which supports the original hypothesis, comes from the question of the percentage of women officers employed by the respondents respective agency. (Table 13) The majority of the respondents (90%) stated their agencies had
20% or fewer female officers employed of their total compliment of officers.

In analyzing the responses, it was determined, in some cases, the larger the agency the lower the percentage of women employed. In one such instance, a respondent stated she worked for an agency which employed 1,500 officers. Of that number, only three were women. Thus women made up less than one percent of the total officer compliment. Another agency employed 5,200 officers but had only 125 women among their ranks for a total of 2.4%.

However, one agency whose Police Chief was a woman, had a compliment of six officers, three of whom are women (50%). Another agency has 20 police officers and employs five women as officers for a total percentage of 25%. The respondent indicated she was the Assistant Chief of her agency. This particular demographic illustrates the position taken in the Ely study (page 51) regarding women working in sex-integrated organizations, especially with women in executive positions. The proportion of female to male officers is much higher in these agencies than in the larger agencies with few or no women in executive positions.

V. RESULTS

The results of hypothesis testing

The stated hypothesis is most women choose not to pursue advanced positions as police executives due to socially structured problems inherent in society developed through gender socialization. Women are socialized to be the primary care-giver in the family, taught to place the needs of her spouse and children over those of herself and her job. Men are equally socialized to expect women to fill this social role and, therefore, be less committed to her career and less qualified for promotions.
The results partially confirmed the hypothesis as family commitments are still predominant in the reasons women decline promotional competition. However, more women than expected had families and held executive level positions within their agencies, thereby disputing the assertion more women who seek and obtain advancement do not have the same family commitments as those women who choose not to advance.

Subproblem Number 1 did show to have some effect on whether a woman decides to seek a promotion. Although not a predominant factor among the respondents, treatment by male colleagues (5%), at the line, supervisory, or executive level positions can influence whether a women will pursue advancement in her law enforcement career. Subproblem Number 2 was more influential in a woman's decision to advance her career. Family commitment (14%) and other outside pressures did show to have a significant impact on a woman's career decisions.

Subproblem Number 3 was not found to be consistent as the majority of the respondents (56%) had a family and a career as a high-ranking officer within their respective agencies. The results of this study thereby disprove this theory and show many women, although faced with family commitments and responsibilities, are not precluded nor totally discouraged from holding executive level, law enforcement positions.

**The significance of findings**

The data from this survey produced several unexpected results. First, the data did not completely support the original premise of gender socialization factors affecting a woman's desire to pursue advancement in the law enforcement field. The survey results suggest women have pursued and can be successful regardless of the female gender stereotypes and social norms with which we are raised. However, the most predominant factor which falls into social gender roles
which does appear to influence women officers is the commitment to family and children.

The original premise of this study was to confirm women in law enforcement are affected by socialized factors which ultimately influence their career decisions in seeking advancement. This study was expected to find most of the female police executives and commanders who participated in this survey would be single women or married women without children. The demographics of the respondents disproved such theory. The majority of respondents were married with children. But family issues and commitments still figured prominently in the decisions women made regarding their careers.

The most surprising findings of all was with the comparison of results between this study and the study conducted by the I.A.C.P. Although the sample population of the I.A.C.P. study was by far greater in number and more random, the responses to the three most relevant questions in both studies were nearly identical. This is significant in two ways:

1. The responses to this study were from female police executives reporting their perception of how they and other women are treated and what they and other women experience within their respective agencies;

2. The responses to the I.A.C.P. survey were from police executives, most of whom were males reporting their perception of how women are treated and what women officers experience within their respective agencies; (the men acknowledged what women are experiencing).

The results for both studies were nearly the same in the three focus areas: women seeking promotion, difficulty in promoting women, and the reasons women resign. This indicates male law enforcement executives recognize what women are facing and understand the effects on their agencies. The results of this study, being nearly identical to those of the I.A.C.P. survey, indicate women may be experiencing the hardships and problems in law enforcement as described in earlier
research. However, both studies indicate although these hardships exist, women are pursuing advancement and more agencies are promoting more women.

The predominant comparison between this study and the I.A.C.P. study is all of the agencies represented in this study have at least one female officer in its employment. This does not dismiss the fact women are arguably not present in law enforcement agencies in significant numbers. The statistics still hold true as women represent only slightly more than 10% of the total number of law enforcement officers nationwide.

The respondents in this study were asked the total number of officers employed by their agencies. The study then focused on the number of women officers within the agency. Although 74% of the respondents were from agencies with more than 300 officers, survey results indicate 89% of the represented agencies have fewer than 20% of women officers employed. Only 6% of the agencies represented had a compliment of 20% or more of women officers in their agencies. This study indicates the larger agencies had more women in executive ranks than did smaller agencies. Also noted in this study, some of the largest agencies noted in this study had the smallest compliment of women officers (for example, of 2700 sworn officers, 85 are women officers which is 3% of the total number of officers.)

**ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES**

**Long Term Goals:**

As expected, a majority of respondents have long-term goals for their careers (Table 14). Two-thirds (68%) of the respondents would like to advance in law enforcement. Due to the fact many of the respondents were close to retirement, the number of those women who indicated they did not have long term goals for retirement decreased drastically. Of the 28 respondents who
listed “no long term goals”, 18 of those respondents indicated retirement was anticipated within a few years. Therefore, the actual percentage of respondents in this study with long-term career goals is 85%.

**Competition for next highest position:**

Most of the women eligible for promotion indicate they will compete for the next highest position. (Table 15) An overwhelming majority (73%) of the respondents indicate they will pursue promotion to the next highest position. Women currently in supervisory positions and eligible to compete (62%) will seek to advance. Those who do not hold a supervisory position but are eligible to compete (11%) will seek a promotional position. Again, eighteen of those women (20%) eligible for promotion but who indicated they will not compete are those who anticipated retirement.

**Seek Promotion - Reasons:**

The respondents were asked to choose from a list of six items: (a) salary, (b) challenge of position, (c) power and control, (d) career advancement opportunities, (e) work relations with male officers, and (f) job satisfaction (Table 16). The respondents were allowed to fill in an answer marked “other” to relate what best describes their reasons to advance.

Challenge of the position is the reason most of the respondents (37%) will seek to advance. Career advancement opportunities and job satisfaction (18% each) were the primary reasons for the advancement of 24 other respondents. Salary was also a motivating factor for some of the respondents (16%) to seek advancement. Those who chose the fill-in option listed reasons such as personal and professional growth and development, increased ability to effect change, desire to make a difference for officers and managers.
No Interest in Promotion - Reasons:

The respondents who did not wish to advance were asked to choose from a list of eight choices: (a) job satisfaction/current assignment, (b) positive work relations with male officers, (c) job security, (d) family commitments, (e) no advancement opportunities, (f) have to re-prove self as a supervisor, (g) greater pressure, (h) negative treatment by male officers (Table 17). The respondents were allowed to fill in an answer marked “other” to relate what best describes their reasons not to advance.

Job satisfaction/current assignment, by far, was the most likely reason women choose not to advance in their career (41%). Family commitments was listed by 14% of the respondents as a reason they would not seek advancement. It is important to note many of the respondents who listed job satisfaction/current assignment also indicated by write-in the reason they were most satisfied with their current assignment was due to family commitments or childcare issues.

Lack of advancement opportunities was considered an obstacle to advancement by 9% of the respondents and negative treatment by male officers was a problem for 5% of the respondents. None of the respondents listed job security, re-proving self as supervisor, or greater pressure as deterrents to seeking advancement. Reasons other than those listed ranged from Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) lawsuit, retirement, and lack of confidence in current administration as some of the reasons influencing the respondents reasons not to advance.

Do Women Actively Seek Promotions in Agency:

Women do actively seek promotion (Table 18) in their agencies (83%), however, these women feel other women, overall, do not compete in significant numbers. Women observe other women deciding not to compete for promotional positions for a variety of reasons. The
respondents indicate although many women do seek promotion, many others who are eligible choose not compete. Seventeen percent of the respondents indicate women do not actively seek promotion.

The results of this study and the results of the I.A.C.P. study are nearly identical. This study has a slightly higher percentage of women who indicated women seek promotion. This response may result from these women responding from their own opinions and actions. The I.A.C.P. study indicates a higher percentage of women (31%) do not actively seek promotion. The respondents in this study did indicate, by write-in, many other women (not participating in this study) do not seek advancement.

**Difficulty in Promoting Women in Agency:**

The responses to this question (Table 19) hold significance when compared with the responses to the question “Do Women Actively Seek Promotions in Agency?” This question was also posed to the respondents in the I.A.C.P. study. The overall results of both surveys were again similar in response. In this study, 60% of the respondents (compared with 62% in the I.A.C.P. study) indicated it was not difficult to promote women in their agencies. Nearly 40% of the respondents in this study (34%) indicated some difficulty in promoting women. Although the respondents in both surveys indicated a majority of women officers seek promotion, a majority of the respondents also indicated, at the same time, it is difficult to promote women within their agencies.

The reasons listed as the primary factors contributing to the difficulty in promoting women are again similar in both surveys. (Table 20) Smaller numbers/fewer women ranked the highest in both surveys (17% in this survey and 18% in the I.A.C.P. survey). The glass ceiling and gender
bias ranked third in both surveys (11% in this survey and 9% in the I.A.C.P. survey).

Lack of available promotions/no advancement opportunities appeared in the top five reasons for both surveys. Lack of available promotions ranked second in the I.A.C.P. survey (13%), whereas, in this survey, 11% of the respondents believe “no advancement opportunities” were an obstacle to women's promotions. Ranking second in this study was the indication not enough women are interested in seeking promotions (17%).

Eight percent of the respondents in this study indicated “Chief/Administration unsupportive of women” was a deterrent to women's ability to advance. This was not an issue named by the respondents in the I.A.C.P. survey. The closest response to this was a “lack of acceptance” which ranked sixth (6%) in the list of factors making promotion of women difficult.

**Prominent Reasons for Resignation from Agency:**

The retention of women as law enforcement officers is a problem which, if left unaddressed, will never allow women officers to increase in significant numbers. The respondents in this study were asked to identify the reason which would figure most prominently if she were to decide to resign. The respondents listed twenty-five different answers. The top five reasons identified by the respondents in this study are: (a) retirement, (b) family/children/childcare, (c) better career opportunity, (d) career change, (e) money/finances. More importantly, four of the top five reasons for resignation listed by the respondents in this study were also listed as the primary reasons for resignation in the I.A.C.P. study (Table 23).

Retirement was listed as a primary reason for 20% of the respondents in this study. Again, due to the age and tenure of 20% of the respondents of this study, retirement was the primary reason the respondent would leave her current law enforcement agency. Family/Children/
Childcare was the second most prominent reason (16%) for resignation in this study as compared to 12% in the I.A.C.P. study. Family/Children was ranked as the number one reason (12%) for a woman to resign as an officer, in the I.A.C.P. study. Better career opportunity, career change and money were also within the top five reasons for resignation in both surveys. Advancement opportunities ranked five on the I.A.C.P. survey; this category did not appear in the responses of this survey.

Of significant importance, the two groups of respondents (of different sample populations and answering from different perspectives) listed four of five identical reasons for women to resign from their current agency with percentage responses nearly statistically comparable. Family and childcare matters still figure prominently in most women's decisions about their law enforcement careers.

**Observations made in relationship to the problem**

Perceptions by male police executives of what women officers experience were nearly identical to the responses provided by the women themselves about their own experiences, attitudes and opinions. This observation, in particular, speaks volumes for women in their quest to improve hiring, working, and promotional conditions within law enforcement agencies. It also speaks highly of the observations made by law enforcement executives regarding the problems of women in law enforcement. The inference to be drawn from this observation is women's complaints of discrimination, bias, and male domination in the promotion process are quite real. Likewise, law enforcement agencies are attempting to remedy the problem by recognizing the social constraints and demands on women which are not necessarily experienced by men. The results of both surveys corroborates the allegations made by women against the "law enforcement
system” as a whole.

**Women Seeking Promotion**

As compared to the Poole and Pogrebin study, this study confirmed women remain in their law enforcement positions for job satisfaction and career advancement opportunities. The Poole and Pogrebin study determined only 7% of their respondents chose to pursue advancement after serving just three years as a police officer. However, this study shows 68% of the respondents indicated they would choose to pursue advancement. Even though more women are seeking to advance, as stated before, the total numbers of women, proportionate to their male counterparts, seeking promotion is not increasing.

Women who have the incentive to advance see other women as a problem because other women choose not to seek promotions. This drastically reduces the number of women who could be considered for promotional positions, thereby making it harder for women to increase their presence in the upper ranks of law enforcement agencies.

**Difficulty Promoting Women**

The general consensus is it is not difficult to promote women within law enforcement agencies. This statement must be made with some reservation and clarification. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents in both studies reported no difficulty in promoting women. The significant response to this question lies in the one-third where respondents perceive difficulty in promoting women. The reasons attributed to the difficulty of promoting women shouldered the responsibility for this problem on both men and women.

Do individual decisions made by women not to advance ultimately reinforce women's inability (as a whole) to break through the “glass ceiling” due to reduced numbers of women to be
considered for promotional position? It was noted by several respondents in this study some of the difficulty in promoting women in their agencies lies with the fact many of the eligible women officers either lack interest or decline to compete for promotional positions. Many of the respondents of the I.A.C.P. study also indicate they want to promote women but are stifled by the low (or non-existent) numbers of women who chose to compete. Many of the respondents in this study indicate women as a contributing factor to the problem of women police officer's inability to break the “glass ceiling.”

On the other hand, lack of support by police administrators, gender bias, lack of acceptance and a male dominated process still permeate the promotional system. Women perceive men (in all ranks) as a major obstacle. As a result, many women view their opportunity and likelihood for promotion dimly, discouraging even those with the best of intentions for a career in the higher ranks of law enforcement.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

Summary of what study found

This research identified and confirmed the underlying reasons affecting the decisions of women law enforcement officers to pursue advancement. Women may have high aspirations when they first begin their law enforcement careers, however, due to negative career experiences or demanding family commitments, women may become discouraged from pursuing advancement to higher executive positions. Men and women are still predominantly socialized to believe specific gender roles are assigned to different occupations and social norms. These roles are expected to be maintained by the specific genders, assigned to those occupations, no matter what professional
roles we may choose to fill.

The conflict which arises is the woman is expected to fulfill her social role as family caretaker. If she chooses a career in a non-traditional occupation, such as law enforcement, she faces obstacles and pressures, both internal (such as being a woman in a “man's job”) and external (family commitments) to the agency, which ultimately affect her career goals. She must meet her obligations to her husband and children. As a law enforcement officer, in order to be accepted as a committed member, she will be expected to place the demands of her job before the demands of her family.

The results of the Poole and Pogrebin study, conducted 11 years earlier, is now dated. The attitudes of women presently entering law enforcement have changed over time, although not drastically. Whereas the majority of women in the Poole and Pogrebin study decided against advancement the longer they were in law enforcement, the present study showed more women are choosing to pursue advancement in their careers and attempting to break through the “glass ceiling.” More women will pursue law enforcement careers. The difference now is law enforcement agencies are recognizing and acknowledging the problems and downfalls within their agencies as it relates to women.

More women officers are choosing to have and succeeding in having, both career and family. They are dedicated to both aspects of their lives and work. More women are competing for promotional positions and have aspirations of moving through the ranks during their careers. They acknowledge problems inherent to women who advance but see this more as a challenge than a hindrance. Women officers are better educated now and seem to be preparing for the competition. This trend appears to be growing as the attitudes of women entering law
enforcement are more accepting of the demands which will be placed upon them and their families.

A significant number of women are still relinquishing career aspirations for family or perceive their chances of promotion as slim and decide to abandon their career goal altogether. These women were not necessarily respondents in this study. Rather, the respondents identified other women who fall into this category and are more apt to be influenced and affected by social stereotyping, demands, and bias. These women officers, by their lack of involvement in the promotional process should be the focus of additional studies to identify ways of enabling them to successfully meet both personal and professional demands.

Women will still likely face problems of discrimination, bias, and negative attitudes. Unless values and social roles are redefined and men and women are no longer socialized to believe certain genders must fill certain occupational and social roles, this problem will persist. Probably, the problem will not be to as great a degree as in the past. The changes are due to the heightened awareness of gender discrimination, the legal ramifications, the political correctness, and the recognized value of women to law enforcement agencies.

Many of the problems of women in law enforcement highlighted in this study will be difficult to remedy unless drastic changes in social attitudes occur. The social expectations placed on women regarding family and children will forever be an obstacle to the success of women achieving equality in the ranks of law enforcement. As long as women bear the major responsibility for family, and agencies do not change their attitudes and policies regarding the occupational demands placed upon their executives to place the job before family, this problem will remain unsolved. Women will be forced to choose between family and career, which in law
enforcement can be mutually exclusive for women.

Women have shown they are interested in pursuing advancement but still find frustrations in their effort to achieve the ranks for which they strive. Both women officers and law enforcement executives recognize a problem promoting women because not enough women seek promotional positions. Greater emphasis in identifying the specific problems within each individual agency is necessary so the needs of the officers (both men and women) and the department, itself, can be met. Unless each agency is willing to identify and accept the responsibility for the obstacles to women in their departments, women will continue to be driven from the law enforcement profession.

**List of things needing closer examination**

Women who remain in law enforcement yet choose not to advance must be considered more in this research to determine why women decide against promotion. The factors which influence their change in attitude need closer examination so that changes can be made in the attitudes of the organization to encourage women to seek advancement.

The questionnaire in this study did not probe far enough for those respondents who did not wish to pursue advancement. The Poole and Pogrebin study showed women who choose to remain in a law enforcement career do so for reasons other than job satisfaction or promotional opportunities. Of those women, only a small percentage aspire to advance, regardless of their initial intentions.

This study could have addressed this issue had one additional question been included. Those women who indicated they did not wish to pursue advancement should have been asked whether their decision not to advance had changed from the time they began their law
enforcement career and, in so, why. Without this question, this study cannot adequately assess the
number of respondents who may have changed their initial career goals or the reasons for change.

An area of interest which should be considered for further study is the influence the
woman officer's family (spouse, children, and parents) have on her career decisions. Have her
career paths changed? Why? Were these changes as a result of pressures from home? How has
her family influenced her career? These are issues which warrant additional study to determine
which outside factors have the greatest influence on women and their career goals. If agencies
identify these elements, recruitment, hiring and promotional policies and procedures can be
structured to help increase the rate of retention for female officers and encourage more women to
participate in the promotional process.

As it relates to this study, the N.C.W.P. was very interested in the results of the I.A.C.P.
survey as it validated what the N.C.W.P. and other women have been expressing over the years -
gender still plays a large part in the ability of women to increase in numbers in executive law
enforcement positions. What was of particular interest was the I.A.C.P. sample population which
was predominantly men, relating what they perceived as problems which their agencies
experience.

The opinions of law enforcement executives are important in order to exact change for the
women in their agencies. What makes this study of particular interest to the N.C.W.P. are the
negative experiences related by women officers, which have long been debated (and often
litigated) are corroborated by law enforcement executives and other women in law enforcement.
The plight of the woman officer has been recognized by a major police organization, by its own
members, about their own officers. This is a huge step taken toward correcting serious and long-
overlooked problem in law enforcement.

**How will the information obtained effect sample, population and society**

Again, it should be noted, because of the self-selection bias in the sample population, the findings of this study cannot and should not be generalized to the population of women police officers nationwide. No assumption should be made the results of this study can be applied to all women in all police departments. The findings are applicable only to those who participated in this survey.

The numbers of women in law enforcement have grown steadily, but slowly, over the last twenty years, but women are hardly represented in significant numbers, especially in the command ranks. For those women who choose a career in an occupation contradictory to one designated by society, they have an unspoken price to pay which accompanies the decision. Women may be tolerated in law enforcement but they are not yet accepted at any level. The factors which influence a woman as to whether or not to advance are rooted deeply in our socialized beliefs regarding gender roles in society. Both men and women are taught certain beliefs and values as to the roles men and women are expected to fulfill. Women may be discouraged to advance due to treatment by and attitudes of male colleagues and supervisors. They may also be discouraged by family pressures and commitments such as the woman's place is still in the home. Either way, it is our social beliefs which ultimately affect the acceptance and success of women in law enforcement.
APPENDICES
Dear Participant:

I am a graduate student in Criminal Justice Administration at Lynn University in Boca Raton, Florida as well as a female law enforcement officer who has served for over 25 years in this profession. I am currently researching my thesis project which involves the factors which affect women's decisions to pursue advancement as law enforcement executives. I feel this is an important subject, the research of which, has been long overdue. This topic has not been adequately addressed by past or current research in the criminal justice field.

The study I am conducting strictly concerns the reasons why women choose to pursue (or not pursue) advancement. Prior research indicates various reasons why women choose not to remain in law enforcement. However, there is no research to address why those, who do remain, choose to advance or not. The reasons here should be varied as well. However, they have yet to be identified or addressed. I would like to identify those reasons which women seek to pursue advancement as well as identify those reasons for which women would NOT seek advancement in their law enforcement career.

I am asking for your assistance in conducting this study. Please take a few moments to complete and return this survey. Please be complete and forthcoming in answering these questions. The greater the response, the more accurate the statistical analysis. Please help me to gather the necessary data in order to make the most reliable analysis possible. All participants are guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality in their answers provided in the survey. Anyone interested in the results of the study will be sent a copy at their request. Thank you for your interest and participation.

Kathleen Mitchell
Appendix 2:

SURVEY QUESTIONS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information from women police officers concerning the factors which influence the pursuit of advancement in law enforcement. All respondents are guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality in their answers provided in this questionnaire.

1. Please provide the following demographic information:
   - age:
   - education level:
   - marital status:
   - children:
   - years with current agency:
   - size of current agency:
   - number of women officers employed:
   - present position and rank:
   - years as a sworn law enforcement officer:

2. Do you have long-term goals in your law enforcement career? If so, what are those goals?

3. Do you presently hold a supervisory position?
   A. If yes, which rank do you currently hold?
   B. If no, are you currently eligible to compete for promotional positions in your agency?

4. If you are eligible to compete or currently hold rank, are you interested in competing for the next highest position?
   (If yes, continue to Question number 8)
   (If no, go directly to Question number 10)

5. Which is the next highest rank for which you may compete?

6. Why would you consider seeking promotion?
   List the most important factor for which you would consider advancement.
   - ( ) salary/benefits of the position
   - ( ) challenge/excitement of the position
   - ( ) power and control associated with the position
   - ( ) career advancement opportunities
   - ( ) work relations with male colleagues or supervisors
   - ( ) job satisfaction
7. If you are not interested in competing for a promotional position, why not? List the most important factor which would be considered in your decision NOT to advance.

- ( ) job satisfaction in current assignment or schedule
- ( ) positive work relations with male colleagues or supervisors
- ( ) job security
- ( ) conflict with personal or family commitments
- ( ) lack of career advancement opportunities
- ( ) prospect of having to re-prove yourself capable in a management position not appealing
- ( ) greater pressure, heightened stress, lower peer acceptance not worth the advancement
- ( ) negative treatment by male colleagues or supervisors
- ( ) other ____________________________________________

8. In your agency, do women officers actively seek promotions or not?

9. Is promoting women officers difficult in your agency? Why or Why not?

10. If you were to resign from your current law enforcement agency, what reason would figure most prominently in your decision to resign?
TABLES AND GRAPHS
Table 1:

Women in Command Positions: National Statistics

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total # of Officers</th>
<th>Total # of Women</th>
<th>Total % of Women</th>
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<tr>
<td>Commanders</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenants</td>
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<td>200,000</td>
<td>4.000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
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<td>28,027</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>Sergeant</td>
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</table>
Table 2:

Women in Non-Traditional Roles

- Physician
- Paramedic
- Attorney
- Firefighter
- Police Officer
Table 3:

Comparison Men/Women Officers by Rank

Table 4:

**SURVEY RESULTS - I.A.C.P. STUDY (November, 1998)**

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<tr>
<th>Number of Females Employed</th>
<th>All Agencies Female (n=800)</th>
<th>&lt;21 Female (n=277)</th>
<th>21 - 50 Female (n=311)</th>
<th>51 + Female (n=210)</th>
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<td>7</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 50</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 or more</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mean** | **8** | **1** | **3** | **25**

RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

Table 5: AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20+</th>
<th>30+</th>
<th>40+</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Pie chart showing age distribution]
Table 6: EDUCATION LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associates</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters/JD</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n</strong></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Pie chart showing the distribution of education levels.]
Table 7: MARITAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Single: 34%
- Married: 52%
- Divorced: 2%
- Widowed: 1%
- Unknown: 11%
Table 8: CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Children**: 56%
- **No Children**: 44%
Table 9: JOB TENURE (with current agency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-5 YRS</th>
<th>6-10 YRS</th>
<th>11-15 YRS</th>
<th>16-20 YRS</th>
<th>21+ YRS</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Pie chart showing job tenure distributions](image)

- 0-5 years: 35%
- 6-10 years: 17%
- 11-15 years: 17%
- 16-20 years: 9%
- 21+ years: 22%
Table 10: LAW ENFORCEMENT EXPERIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;5 YRS</th>
<th>6-10 YRS</th>
<th>11-15 YRS</th>
<th>16-20 YRS</th>
<th>21+ YRS</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- <5 years: 22%
- 6-10 years: 31%
- 11-15 years: 23%
- 16-20 years: 16%
- 21+ years: 7%
Table 11: RANK HELD BY RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officer</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division Comm</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Chief</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undersheriff</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ofc</th>
<th>Cpl</th>
<th>Det</th>
<th>Sgt</th>
<th>Lt</th>
<th>Cpt</th>
<th>Maj</th>
<th>AC</th>
<th>DC</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>USher</th>
<th>LtC</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing the distribution of ranks among respondents.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;100</th>
<th>100-300</th>
<th>&gt;300-500</th>
<th>&gt;500-1000</th>
<th>1000+</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: AGENCY SIZE

![Pie Chart](image-url)
Table 13: AGENCY PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN OFFICERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>&lt;10%</th>
<th>11-20%</th>
<th>21-49%</th>
<th>50%+</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Pie chart showing percentages of women officers in different agencies.]

- <10%: 47%
- 11-20%: 42%
- 21-49%: 4%
- 50%+: 2%
- Unknown: 5%
ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES

Table 14:
Question #2: Do you have long term goals in your law enforcement career?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15:
Question #4: If you are eligible to compete or currently hold rank, are you interested in competing for the next highest position?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS/NE</th>
<th>NS/E/C</th>
<th>NS/E/NC</th>
<th>S/C</th>
<th>S/NC</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NS/NE = Not Supervisor/Not Eligible  
NS/E/C = Not Supervisor/Eligible/Competing  
NS/E/NC = Not Supervisor/Eligible/Not Competing  
S/C = Supervisor/Competing  
S/NC = Supervisor/Not Competing
Table 16:  
Question #6: Why would you consider seeking promotion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenge of Position</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Advancement Opportunities</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Satisfaction</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power/Control</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Relations with Male Officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Salary 18%
- Challenge 37%
- Power/Control 3%
- Career Opportunity 18%
- Work relations 3%
- Job satisfaction 18%

88
Table 17:
Question #7: If you are NOT interested in competing for a promotional position, why not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job Satisfaction/Current Assignment</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Commitments</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Advancement Opportunities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Work Relations with Male Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Treatment by Male Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Security</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have to Re-prove self as Supervisor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Pressure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Pie chart showing the distribution of reasons for not competing for a promotional position.](chart-url)
Table 18:
Question #8: In your agency, do women officers actively seek promotions or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of Results: IACP Study and this Study

![Bar chart comparing percentages of women actively seeking promotions between IACP Study and this Study.](chart.png)

Women Actively Seeking Promotion
Table 19:

Question #9: Is promoting women officers difficult in your agency? Why or why not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison of Results:
IACP Study and this Study

Is Promoting women officers difficult?
Question #9: Is promoting women officers difficult in your agency? Why or why not?

Comparison of Results: IACP Study and this Study
Is Promoting women officers difficult?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.A.C.P. Study</th>
<th>Difficulty to Promote Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smaller numbers/fewer women</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of available promotions</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Bias</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnover/seniority</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Take Advantage/No desire</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>This Study</th>
<th>Difficulty in Promoting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not enough women with experience to advance</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough women interested in promotional tests</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass Ceiling</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No advancement opportunities</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief/Administration unsupportive of women</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21: Difficulties in promoting women

Question #9: Is promoting women officers difficult in your agency? Why or why not?

Total number of responses: 36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not enough women with experience to advance</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Not enough women interested in promotional tests</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Glass Ceiling</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>No advancement opportunities</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chief/Administration unsupportive of women</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Male Dominated Selection Process`</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Double standard/Good Old Boy Network</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Subjectivity in selection process</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Attitude of Male Counterparts</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Women not dedicated enough</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Women overwhelming minority</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Promotions too political</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Outside assessment center</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Difficult for ANYONE to be promoted</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 22:

Question #10: If you were to resign from your current law enforcement agency, what reason would figure most prominently in your decision to resign?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Family/Children/Childcare</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Better Career Opportunity</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Career Change</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Money/Finances</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Discrimination/Sexual Harassment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Burn-Out/Change/Frustration with Agency</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lack of Challenge</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Continue Education</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Double Standard/Good Ole Boys</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>New Life/Time for self</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Health/Disability</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Not retained by current administration/political</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Undesirable work environment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Glass Ceiling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Job Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bosses who limit power</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Reassignment from current position</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Not allowed to do job properly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sexual Orientation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Law Enforcement abuse by Politicians/Media</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bureaucracy/Lack of Agency Commitment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Change in Interests</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Negative Male Attitudes towards women</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Inability to be Effective</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 23: Comparison of Results: I.A.C.P. Study and this Study

Top Five Reasons for Resignation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>I.A.C.P. Study</th>
<th>This Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family/Children/Birth of Child</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job/Career/Better Job/Opportunity</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Pay/Money</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Change</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advancement opportunities</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.A.C.P. STUDY

- Family/Children
- Better Job Opportunity
- Better Pay/Money
- Career Change
- Advancement opportunities

This Study

- Retirement
- Family/Children/Childcare
- Better Career opportunity
- Career Change
- Money/Finances
Reference Bibliography


