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Just a Girl in a Man's World: Factors Affecting Women Leadership in Law Enforcement

A Dissertation

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

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Political Science
Public Administration

by

Gina Barras Holland

B.C.J. Loyola University New Orleans, 1995
M.P.A. University of New Orleans, 2003

December, 2020

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. I am blessed to have a family that has supported my educational pursuits over the years – although they probably did not understand my relentlessness at times. To my husband, Gerald, who is my stabilizer. You made many personal sacrifices and supported me throughout this much-longer-than-expected process. Words cannot express my gratitude for all you have done to allow me to pursue my educational goals and I hope that you know that I cherish you more than any academic accomplishment. To my beautiful mom, Myrtle Barras, who passed away the day my dissertation draft was accepted by my committee chair. Your prayers, love, and support carried me through many difficult times. I tried desperately to finish while you were still with us; I'm sorry, Mama. I hope you are smiling with pride from Heaven. To my father, Ronald "Ronnie" Barras, who has been one of my biggest cheerleaders. Thank you for always being interested in my academic ventures and for encouraging me to stay the course when I thought I could not do it anymore. To my sister and brother-in-law, Annette B. Serpas and Joseph Serpas, my sister, Darlene Barras, and my nephew, Brandon Serpas, who all pushed me along in their own special ways. Thank you for not giving up on me. I love you all! And to my very special feline study buddy, Harley Marie, for spending countless hours curled up next to me while I brainstormed ideas and read to you. Thank you for your devotion.

And finally, I dedicate this dissertation to all my brothers and sisters in blue. "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." (Matthew 5:9). And to the female law enforcement officers, I say: You are not "just a girl!" Stay strong! Be safe.

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Abstract

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics from 2013 revealed that of about 477,000 sworn law enforcement officers at the local level in the United States, only 12% are women; and only 6.2% of those who hold intermediate-level rank are women (U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Local Police Department, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices, 2015). Although legal mandates have afforded women career opportunities in law enforcement, those mandates have not provided protection within the structures of law enforcement agencies regarding achieving high ranking positions. Women are more likely than men to remain in lower-ranking positions throughout their entire careers because they are less likely to be considered for higher ranking command positions. This research explores promotion rates of women employed by police departments, which are typically headed by appointed heads of agencies, and sheriffs' offices, which are typically headed by elected heads of agencies, in order to determine the similarities or differences regarding rates of promotion of female law enforcement officers as a function of the agency head (elected or appointed). As expected, I find that sheriffs' offices are less likely to promote women to executive-level positions than are police departments, but surprisingly, sheriffs' offices promote slightly more women at lower levels of rank. I also examined other variables that may affect the proportion of ranking officers who are women and the findings show that agencies with education-based incentives, higher population (in the agency's jurisdiction), and agencies in the South are more likely to promote women at lower levels of rank but less likely to promote women at higher levels of rank.

Keywords: gender bias, law enforcement, sheriffs, police, supervisory position

Chapter 1: Introduction

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics from 2013 show that of about 477,000 local law enforcement officers in the United States, 12% are women, which is a slight increase from 2001 when women represented 11.2% of local law enforcement officers in the United States (U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Local Police Department, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices, 2015). Although legal mandates have afforded women career opportunities in law enforcement, those mandates have not provided protection within the structures of law enforcement agencies in regards to achieving high ranking positions. Research suggests that gender inequality is higher at the higher levels of the profession (Kyprianou, 1996).

The qualitative portion of my research, i.e., interviews of law enforcement officers, indicates that the higher the level or rank, the higher the level of gender disparity. In other words, although women may obtain a job with a law enforcement agency fairly easily if they meet the minimum requirements, (as was the experiences indicated by the interviewees in this research), they will more than likely remain in lower-ranking positions throughout their entire careers because they are less likely to be considered for higher ranking command positions.

According to the National Association of Women Law Enforcement Executives (NAWLEE), in 2013, there were more than 14,000 police agencies in the United States and only 219 women in chiefs' positions. The term "structural discrimination" is defined as the behavior of the individuals who implement policies, specifically regarding promotions within law enforcement agencies, which result in differential or lower promotion rates for women (Hughes, p. 9). Gender bias, facilitated via structural discrimination, may be a legal means for administrators to mask their attempts to keep the "boy's club" somewhat intact as they continue

to conduct business as usual, i.e., preferential treatment of male officers during promotion processes, hence maintaining lower rates of promotion for women in law enforcement.

Women have served as capable managers in both the public and private sectors. For high-level managers, “strategic thinking is an important component of skill” (Weimer, 1992). Part of the problem for women in law enforcement is the perception that they are the weaker sex; male officers sometimes might assume that they need to be protective of female officers.

Subsequently, male officers who rise through the ranks and achieve rank that is high enough for them to be decision-makers in the promotions processes may choose a male officer over a female officer who is equally qualified. The perception that women need protection can ultimately hinder the performance of female law enforcement officers and minimize their capabilities; they may assume that they are devalued as they realize they will never be considered “strong” enough to be considered for top leadership roles. Devaluation is a hurdle for women who seek to be in leadership positions. A 2005 study by Koch, Luft, and Kruse shows that devaluation takes place for women in leadership positions, but not for men (Koch, et al., 2005). Law enforcement supervisors who view female officers through a gender lens may view them incompletely and inadequately if they do not look through the lens objectively. In such instances, supervisors seem to see the potential weaknesses of women officers through that lens, yet they do not seem to see them as the strong leaders they could be if they only see them as “a female,” – or “just a girl.” Such perceptions contribute to the hindrances that women in law enforcement encounter as they strive to achieve higher rank. Clift (2011) explains the gender lens as “the notion of adopting metaphorical spectacles to view the world so that you start seeing things through a special filter and with a special light. That light shines upon women’s realities, needs and perceptions; at the same time, it reveals the realities, needs and perceptions of men in a new way

too. One's vision becomes refined and more acute when donning these spectacles" (Clift, 2011). But, for the gender lens to be a productive tool, the view from that lens must be an unobstructed view.

In this research, I compare promotion rates of women between sheriffs' offices, which are typically headed by elected officials, and police departments, which are typically headed by appointed officials, in order to determine the similarities or differences regarding rates of promotion of female law enforcement officers. Contemporaneously, I examine several factors that may affect promotion, such as education, location, and agency size for several different levels of rank and find that agencies with education-based incentives and agencies in the South are more likely to promote women at lower levels of rank but less likely to promote women at higher levels of rank. To gain a better understanding, and to ascertain an historical perspective of the evolution of women in law enforcement, literature is reviewed that explores how women's movements have improved the opportunities of women in law enforcement over the past few decades. Also, legal political maneuvering used by some law enforcement leaders and administrators to treat female law enforcement officers as less than equal to their male counterparts is discussed. Unfair treatment of females in law enforcement may be due to the underlying values and beliefs, i.e., inherent bias within the structure of law enforcement agencies. The hiring of women in law enforcement has certainly improved over time, but gender inequality still hinders the advancement of women within those organizations. For instance, if a male officer and a female officer earn the same test scores on promotion exams, the male officer may be awarded the promotion because of a higher "merit" score, which is purely subjective. Is gender bias even more prevalent in law enforcement agencies where the "top-cop" is an elected official and employment protections are not afforded because the officers serve "at the pleasure"

of the top administrator? This research seeks to answer that question furthering what Hughes emphasized, “[a] need exists to explore the lack of female representation in top leadership positions within the field of law enforcement” (Hughes, 2011, p.3).

Background

As previously mentioned, women in law enforcement are sometimes subjected to discrimination or gender bias by virtue of the structure of some law enforcement agencies, but how are law enforcement agencies generally structured? Most law enforcement agencies are structured similarly to the military, using an organizational type rank structure designed to maintain discipline via the chain of command. An officer’s rank indicates his or her position in the hierarchy and that position is, in some fashion, decided upon by those in the upper echelon of the rank structure.

Pertinent to this study, the quantitative data from the U.S. Department of Justice dataset utilized includes three supervisory categories (U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Local Police Department, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices, 2015). In the interest of clarity, here I provide the ranks included in the dataset and provide its corresponding rank from the descriptions of ranks below: 1). First-line supervisors, i.e. typically the rank of sergeant, 2). Intermediate-level supervisors, i.e., typically the rank of lieutenant, and 3). Executive-level supervisors, i.e. typically chief or sheriff. The three levels of rank included in the DOJ dataset are typical levels that are inclusive in every law enforcement agency, however, each agency is somewhat different in the structure of their rank, hence, the data is not all-inclusive. Some of the specific ranks that are not included in the dataset are the ranks of Captain, Major, and Colonel, which I consider to be crucial because these ranks fall between the

intermediate-level rank of lieutenant and the executive-level sheriff/chief, and quantitative data relative to those ranks would seemingly provide valuable insight as to where gender disparities are most prominent.

Below is an example of the general ranking order within a typical law enforcement agency. Please note that this is a general overview and that the actual inner workings of any given department will include many specialized positions that are not discussed in detail in this section. The explanations below are meant to illustrate the order of rank and to indicate the rank of the typical decision-makers in promotion processes.

Police officers/deputy sheriffs are front-line personnel who respond to calls for service and patrol their assigned geographical areas. This lower level position also includes communications and jail personnel. The rank of a detective is technically the same as that of police officers or deputy sheriffs, but the title of *detective* is internally viewed as a promotion, as it is a coveted assignment in a specialized division. Detectives investigate and follow-up on crimes that have already occurred; usually, more serious crimes that have already been documented in a report by a police officer or deputy sheriff. In some instances, there are separate specialized divisions within the detectives' bureau, such as homicide, sexual assault, armed robbery, burglary, vehicle theft, white-collar, and juvenile divisions.

Corporal is an intermediary rank between officer and sergeant.

Sergeants are the front-line supervisors to a group of police officers or deputy sheriffs.

The group may be called a platoon or a squad. Detectives are also supervised by a sergeant called a "detective sergeant."

Lieutenant is the rank above sergeant. Lieutenants are usually responsible for several squads or platoons, and the sergeants who are the supervisors of each squad or platoon answer to the lieutenant. Lieutenant is generally considered an intermediate-level supervisory position.

Captain is typically considered to be a high-ranking position, inclusive of oversight all of the enforcement personnel previously mentioned. Captains generally have administrative responsibilities, as well, including creating orders for the lower ranks to follow. The rank of captain holds the potential for decision-making in promotion processes.

Major is typically a command position which entails the command of the ranks from captain on down. Decisions regarding promotion and rank placement are within the purview of this position.

Colonel is generally considered a command position, which is typically equivalent to being the chief's assistant – or deputy chief. Responsibilities of persons who hold this high-ranking position usually include decision making relative to departmental policies and procedures, inclusive of promotion processes.

Chief/Commissioner/Sheriff is the agency head; the top rank. They are responsible for all members of their department. Chiefs and Commissioners are generally appointed, and therefore considered “at-will” employees and not protected by civil service rules, if their department is, in fact, civil service. Sheriffs are elected officials who are usually considered “at-will” employers who are, in essence, exempt from equal rights laws. Sheriffs are the top rank and are tasked with creating and implementing departmental policies and procedures, including promotion processes.

Problem Statement

The problem is that the proportion of women in law enforcement supervisory positions are seemingly disproportionately low, as compared to the proportion of men in law enforcement supervisory positions, but are the proportions of women in law enforcement supervisory positions in law enforcement even lower in agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e., sheriffs' offices, than in agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e. police departments? Law enforcement is a male-dominated gendered subculture with a seemingly inherent bias against women. Raw numbers may show disparities at a glance, but what are the factors that affect the rates of promotion for women in law enforcement? Education, location, agency size, and population size are among the factors explored in this research, as are several levels of rank. The analysis for this research explores whether promotion rates for women are affected by an agency's educational requirements or the percentage of an agency's members who have attained a degree. The analysis also explores whether or not agencies in the South are more gender-biased than other states. Are women still subjected to gender bias in promotion processes? The analysis for this research explores promotion rates for women in law enforcement at several levels. Does the type of agency dictate the level of gender bias? Are women in law enforcement precluded from promotion by virtue of the way law enforcement agencies are structured, i.e., sheriffs' offices or police departments? These are some of the variables in my analysis of gender disparities in the supervisory ranks of law enforcement agencies throughout the United States.

Rates of promotion for women, with equal qualifications, are seemingly lower than the rates of promotion for their male counterparts. Do perceived gender roles affect promotion rates for women? Socially constructed gender roles may contribute to the low promotion rates for

women in law enforcement; gender roles can be so ingrained in our minds that it can create disparate treatment to women in law enforcement, whether intentional or not. Are women in law enforcement expected to possess so-called “male traits?” The perception that aggression is necessary in the field of law enforcement is overemphasized and misleading. Aggression is considered to be a “male trait,” therefore the perception is sometimes that women are not aggressive enough to be law enforcement officers. However, aggression is not as necessary to successful law enforcement as some might assume. Conflict resolution, which is an integral part of law enforcement, can be achieved by male or female officers who are self-managed and creative, and more times than not, this can be accomplished without aggression (Hughes, 2011). And in her study about women’s leadership styles, Rosener posits that some women “are succeeding because of—not in spite of—certain characteristics generally considered to be ‘feminine’ and inappropriate in leaders” (Rosener, 1990, p.120). According to Rosener (1997), women cope well with ambiguity; women managers more easily share power and information and regularly make efforts to empower others (Rosener, 1997). Additionally, Ortmeier and Meese (2010) forewarned leaders that the police environment has changed from one of “brute strength and aggressiveness towards a new breed of officers who are better educated, self-managed, creative, guided by values and purposes” (Ortmeier and Meese, 2010, p. 31). It seems, however, that the new breed has not been widely accepted as of yet.

In this research, I discuss factors that may affect promotion rates for women in law enforcement, and I include those factors in an agency-level analysis of gender balance among agency leaders and supervisors. And I explore the experiences of law enforcement officers – some of whom believe that qualifications and qualities seem to be irrelevant when promotions are granted by some agencies. Even if women *do* possess qualities needed to be successful law

enforcement officers, and women **do** possess qualities necessary to be successful and competent **leaders** in law enforcement, is gender more important than qualifications and qualities? Gender bias may affect promotion rates for women in law enforcement, resulting in lower promotion rates for women - making it less likely that women will achieve higher rank. This research shows that the percentage of women decreases at each level of rank included in the study, showing that on average, women represent 8.4% of the first-line supervisors in sheriffs' offices compared to 5.7% in police departments, 7.1% of the intermediate-level supervisors in sheriffs' offices compared to 5.2% in police departments, and 1.5% of the executive-level supervisors in sheriffs' offices compared to 3% in police departments. I find that women are underrepresented in law enforcement agency leadership positions generally, but they are even more underrepresented at the higher levels of rank in agencies that do not offer education-based incentives, have a lower population (in the agency's jurisdiction), and agencies located in the South.

Purpose

The purpose of this mixed-method qualitative and quantitative dissertation is to explore the factors that explain variations in gender disparities in promotion across law enforcement agencies and to investigate whether or not gender disparities are lower within agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e., sheriffs' offices than they are within agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e., police departments. In addition to statistical analyses, interviews of six male and six female law enforcement officers more adequately explain and shed light on any inadequacies in promotion processes, as well as gender inequality issues present in law enforcement agencies today. The purposive sample of interviewees was chosen due to their

occupations and array of rank within their respective agencies. “Purposive sampling techniques are primarily used in qualitative studies and may be defined as selecting units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study’s questions” (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 77). The interviews, which are investigative in nature, allow us to learn and gain knowledge and from the varied experiences and perspectives of actual law enforcement officers who have encountered this phenomenon of varied rates of promotion between male and female law enforcement officers. Seemingly trivial aspects of the career experiences of the interviewees were explored, hence enhancing our understanding of promotion processes that may be biased, overlooked, or unnoticed. It is through these interviews that any patterns or themes became apparent and enlightened us, thus allowing us to gain in-depth knowledge into promotion difficulties and/or factors affecting promotion rates for women in law enforcement from those who have experienced this phenomenon.

The goal of this dissertation is two-fold. The first goal is to show that rates of promotion for women in law enforcement are lower than rates of promotion for men in law enforcement and to explore the factors that explain why some law enforcement agencies are even less prone to promote or hire women into supervisory positions than others. The second goal is to use this information to make policy recommendations that would help free the law enforcement sector from gender disparity and discrimination.

Regardless of the findings, policy changes and the implementation thereof may be needed to provide fairness and equality to women in law enforcement, especially in sheriffs’ offices, typically headed by elected officials, as the current policies exclude “at-will” employees. Perhaps the current policies contribute to the obstacles and challenges to promotion that women in law enforcement experience between the intermediate and upper levels of rank. My

suggestion is that “at-will” employers be mandated to abide by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 – at least for employees up to and including the rank of captain, as any rank above that of captain would generally be considered part of the command staff for the head of the agency. Although “at-will” employers may hire whom they choose, it is my contention that they should be mandated to treat those they choose to hire with fairness and equality as provided in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is a law that provides protection against race or sex discrimination in hiring, promotion, and firing processes. Such policy change consideration is the intended goal of this dissertation.

Significance of Research

The significance of this research is to illustrate that although opportunities for women to be hired in the law enforcement field have manifested over the years, improvements towards gender equality at supervisory levels have lagged behind improvements at the rank-and file-level. And the opportunities for women to attain the top positions in law enforcement are still less likely than they are for men. Lack of female officers may not only negatively impact the gender make-up of law enforcement agencies, but also the communities which those agencies serve. For instance, lack of female officers may negatively impact communities, as poor community relations and more incidents of physical confrontations between the police and citizens could result if law enforcement agencies are lacking in gender diversity; women leaders may offer advantages and benefits to the law enforcement profession as a whole. What are the causes of this phenomenon of lower promotion rates for women? What are the factors that explain variations in gender disparities in promotion across law enforcement agencies? Does the mere structure or type of law enforcement agencies prevent women from achieving high-ranking

positions in law enforcement? Are “at-will” employers circumventing equal employment laws and if so, should they be allowed to continue to do so, or should policies be implemented to mandate that equal employment laws pertain to all employers – including sheriffs? This research will make important contributions to existing literature by addressing these questions and by examining the gap between women obtaining employment in law enforcement and women attaining higher-ranking positions within their organizations. In this research, I investigate factors that may affect the proportion of ranking officers who are women, including the type of agency, i.e., police departments, typically headed by an appointed official, or sheriffs’ offices, typically headed by an elected official, agencies with education-based incentives, size of agency, and geographical location of agency in order to assess the effects of each variable. Much research has been conducted about female presence in law enforcement, but this research focuses on women’s ascension within the field by examining agency-level differences in gender disparities; this will add a unique perspective to the existing literature. This research will contribute to existing literature and answer questions that have yet to be addressed about why women seem to be restricted from achieving high-ranking positions; the anecdotal interviews of the male and female officers will delve into their personal and professional experiences regarding promotion within their respective law enforcement agencies. Statistical data analyses coupled with the interviews of law enforcement officers will offer insight from officers based on their perspectives and lived experiences regarding the hurdles present for women to achieve promotion to higher rank within their respective law enforcement agencies. This mixed-method study will subsequently contribute additional knowledge on the subject matter and help in understanding the causes of the lower rates of promotion for women in the field of law enforcement. These issues are important to women in law enforcement, and presumably to

policymakers who may want to address the concerns of what are seemingly less-than-equal opportunities for advancement for women in law enforcement.

Research Question

What factors affect the proportion of supervisory/leadership positions held by women in law enforcement agencies?

In this research, I investigate the factors that may affect the proportion of supervisory/leadership positions held by women in law enforcement agencies. In this paragraph, I explain those factors and why I believe they have an influence on the proportion of supervisory/leadership positions held by women. I examine the type of agency, i.e., whether the agency is a sheriff's office (typically headed by an elected official) or a police department (typically headed by an appointed official), as gender bias may be affected by whether the head of agency is elected or appointed. I include a variable for the type of education required for employment, as I expect that agencies that have higher educational requirements have less gender bias. Another education-related variable I include is the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree, as again, perhaps education affects gender bias. Please note, however, that the dataset's survey question about bachelor's degree attainment is the only question in the survey about employees' actual education, hence, it is the only education attainment variable available. I include variables related to pay incentives for education or merit, as I expect that agencies that place importance on such accomplishments might have less gender bias. Whether agencies have pay bargaining is considered, as I expect that agencies that have employee protections have less gender bias. The size of an agency is expected to have an

influence on the proportion of women in leadership; the larger the agency, the less gender bias is expected. And finally, agencies in the South are expected to show more gender bias.

Definitions

To enhance the understanding of my research, I have included definitions of terms and phrases used throughout this study, as these terms and phrases may be specific to the law enforcement profession, and clarification of such will aid with the understanding of the research in its entirety.

Structural Discrimination: For the purposes of this study, structural discrimination is defined as the pattern of behavior among individuals who implement policies, specifically regarding promotion within law enforcement agencies, which results in differential or lower promotion rates for women (Hughes, 2011, p.9).

Command Staff: Generally speaking, any rank above that of captain would be considered part of the command staff for the head of the agency. Simply stated, the command staff is the inner circle, if you will. Agency heads will typically choose people in whom they have the utmost trust to be the decision-makers in the department, as those chosen will be expected to carry out the mission of the person-in-charge and to remain fiercely loyal to the agency head – politically and otherwise.

This quantitative analysis includes the examination of executive-level supervisory positions, which are considered “command staff” level rank, but only at the top-spot. “Command Staff” rank would generally include several ranks between “captain” and the top-spot of sheriff or chief, but the DOJ dataset does not adequately differentiate between the levels of rank that fall between the intermediate-level and the executive-level, but instead, combines all

levels of rank between first-line supervisors and executive-level into intermediate-level, which is less than ideal for analysis.

Law Enforcement Agencies: This research mainly encompasses local law enforcement agencies, which include sheriffs' offices and police departments that are tasked with enforcing laws and maintaining public safety. Although not included in the statistical analysis, other types of agencies, such as state law enforcement agencies and federal law enforcement agencies will be discussed for comparison purposes and informational value.

Civil Service: Merit-based employment where government employees are hired through a process requiring competitive examinations, as opposed to political patronage. Civil service employees are protected from being fired if a new administration takes office after an election, as they are entitled to due process.

Promotion Process: For the purposes of this research, the term "promotion process" is simply the process, or lack thereof, used by any given law enforcement agency; it was not my intent to delve into the intricacies of each U.S. law enforcement agency, but to speak of the manner in which promotions are granted, as reflected in the proportion of command and supervisory personnel who are women.

Summary and Outline of Chapters

This dissertation consists of six chapters, and an appendix section for data collected. Chapter 1 provides an introduction of the topic, which includes the background of the topic, the problem statement, the research questions, the purpose of the study, the significance of the research, and definitions of the terms and phrases used throughout the study. Chapter 2 presents the literature review, which is organized by sub-sections relative to topics germane to this

research, such as patronage politics and civil service, collective bargaining, gender inequality and bias in male-dominated professions, a brief history of women in law enforcement, male officers' perceptions of female officers, advancement for women as elected law enforcement officers and higher rank, law enforcement advancement opportunities for women, and court cases and legal proceedings relative to sheriffs and unfair labor practices; a discussion of court cases and legal proceedings relative to police departments and unfair labor practices are included, as well. In this chapter, I discuss the present policies for at-will employers and employees, and how the present policies may be factors that affect promotion within law enforcement agencies. I also discuss how my research adds a unique perspective to the existing literature. Although existing research regarding women in law enforcement encompasses the number of women in law enforcement and how that number has increased over the years, as well as some limited information regarding the number of female ranking officers, it falls short of delving into and explaining the gap between the number of street-level managers, i.e. lower-ranking female officers and higher-ranking female officers. This research uncovers and explores some of the obstacles that prevent women from rising through the ranks past street-level positions to supervisory positions and then on to higher-ranking positions, as I explore the factors that explain variation across law enforcement agencies in their degree of gender disparities in promotion. Exploring this phenomenon is important to the field because it will bring to light unfair practices in law enforcement that suggest policy changes, such as mandates that even "at-will" employers should be required to abide by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 – at least for employees up to and including the rank of captain. Although "at-will" employers may hire whom they choose, it is my contention that they should be mandated to treat those they choose to hire with fairness and equality as provided in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Chapter 3

reiterates my research questions and details my four hypotheses and the theoretical and practical implications of each. I then present my research plan and methodology. In this chapter, I explain my reason for using quantitative, as well as qualitative methods: Because both methods combined tell a much more encompassing story of the struggles that women in law enforcement face regarding low rates of promotion to higher rank. Here, I present and discuss the dataset used in my research, provide a description of the variables, explain the operationalization of the variables and the coding of the variables, and present the statistical analyses for the quantitative research. Chapter 4 presents the results of my quantitative statistical analyses and a detailed discussion, thereof. In Chapter 5, I present the qualitative research. Although the raw numbers from the dataset themselves are revealing and the statistical analyses provide the statistical significance of the variables, the circumstances surrounding the lack of promotion to higher-rank for females, i.e. the stories of the difficulties for some females in law enforcement, help to further explain why policy changes would help to change the culture of gender bias in law enforcement. In this chapter, the data collection and sampling procedures are explained, and the instrumentation, which contains the demographic questions and the interview questions, is presented. The participants are discussed, and the interviews of the 12 law enforcement officer participants are presented, summarized, and analyzed. Here, I explain the significance of the findings of the qualitative research, as well as the theoretical implications of the research. Chapter 6 discusses and summarizes my research and includes recommendations for policy changes and future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this mixed-method qualitative and quantitative dissertation is to explore promotion rates for women in law enforcement, as compared to men in law enforcement, and also to investigate whether or not promotion rates for women in law enforcement are lower within agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e. sheriffs' offices, than they are within agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e. police departments – and perhaps if lower promotion rates for women occur at a particular level within the rank structure. Chapter 1 introduces the topic and provides the background of women in law enforcement, as well as the problem statement, the research questions, the purpose of the research study, the significance of the research, and definitions of the terms and phrases used throughout the study. Chapter 2 evaluates literature germane to the study and presents literature related to factors that may affect promotion rates for women in law enforcement, such as collective bargaining, i.e., unions, patronage politics, and gender inequality and bias in male-dominated professions. This chapter also provides a discussion of various factors that may theoretically affect promotion rates for women in law enforcement, as it integrates court cases and legal proceedings, present a brief history of women in law enforcement, and reviews literature pertaining to male officers' perceptions of female officers, advancement for women as elected law enforcement officials and high ranking officials, and law enforcement advancement opportunities for women – moving at a slow pace.

Studies of how gender inequality affects society overall, as well as the career advancement of women in many professions, are vast and from a wide array of perspectives. This literature review explores factors that may affect promotion rates for women in law enforcement in general. Female officers are less likely than male officers to achieve high-

ranking positions within their respective law enforcement agencies. By analyzing the reasons why some agencies have higher proportions of women among their high-ranking officers than others, I can draw at least tentative conclusions about the factors that tend to hold women back.

The term “glass ceiling” is used as a metaphor for the barriers of discrimination and gender bias issues experienced by women who attempt to rise to levels of leadership in their chosen professions. For example, there are issues of gender pay gap, such as pay differential for men and women who perform the same job and are equally qualified. There are issues such as the denial of bonuses, as some women have reported being denied bonuses they have earned. There are issues of women being passed over for promotion – although they are as equally qualified as the men who receive the promotion(s). And some women have even reported being terminated when inquiring about their own specific issue of unfair treatment. Some women have been denied special accommodations by their employers - while pregnant – yet their employers offer special accommodations for other employees with specific health conditions (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). The focus of this study is gender bias issues in law enforcement. Law enforcement is traditionally a male-dominated occupation – a man’s world, so to speak, but is it a male-preferred profession, as well?

Although changes in laws, such as the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which is the landmark case that makes discrimination based on race, color, religions, sex, or national origin, illegal, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, (which applied Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC] authority to sue in federal court if reasonable cause of employment discrimination is found), have over time improved employment opportunities for women desiring to obtain employment in law enforcement, it is apparent that, in essence, equal opportunity laws have

provided women with equality on paper, but perhaps not in actuality if women are not afforded equality as it relates to advancement to high-ranking positions within the organization. And to exacerbate the problem, in the case that set precedent, *Kyles v. Calcasieu* (1975), elected sheriffs were legally allowed to classify all of their employees as “appointees,” thus providing elected sheriffs a legal loophole from being required to adhere to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. “The Courts in Louisiana have recognized that the relation of sheriffs and deputies is not that of employer and employee” (*Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff’s Department*; 395 F. Supp. 1307; 1975). Of note, once precedence was set by *Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff’s Department*, the case has been cited in at least 20 other court cases in various states – one as recently as December 20, 2018; that case was *Bryan Moore, et al., v. Randy Smith, Sheriff of St. Tammany Parish* (Westlaw City References for *Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff’s Department*; 395 F. Supp. 1307; 1975; *Moore v. Smith*; Case 2:17-cv-0529-CJB-JC; 2018).

Unfortunately for women in male-dominated professions, gender equality is an ongoing struggle. As so eloquently stated by Dorothy Moses Schulz, “Simply put: Legal equality doesn’t always equal actual equality” (Schulz, 2004, p. 31). The truth of the matter is that gender inequality and discrimination are systemic problems in the field of law enforcement. Women presently make up approximately 12% of local law enforcement officers (Reaves, 2015). This study explores some of those systemic problems that may require systematic changes in order to assure women law enforcement officers that they too can have adequate representation within their law enforcement agencies regarding promotion and positions of prestige.

Gender Inequality and Bias in Law Enforcement and Other Male-Dominated Professions

Women are significantly underrepresented in top positions of organizations, and women who manage to rise to top positions are likely to do so under less than favorable conditions, according to a 2008 study of women's careers (O'Neil, Hopkins, & Bilimoria, 2008). Male-dominated professions may be quite diverse, yet they share similar barriers for women who wish to work in those professions. Some women are simply not attracted to traditionally male-dominated professions, such as law enforcement, politics, or perhaps even mechanical engineering, to mention a few, but when women are interested in such occupations, the barriers of gender inequality are similar in nature in all the mentioned fields. Perhaps some women do not perceive themselves qualified for such positions. Regarding such perceptions in the political arena, in their 2011 study about gendered perceptions and political candidacies, Fox and Lawless wrote, "Our findings reveal that, despite comparable credentials, backgrounds, and experiences, accomplished women are substantially less likely than similarly situated men to perceive themselves as qualified to seek office" (Fox and Lawless, 2011, p. 59). This could very well be part of the reason that some women shy away from male-dominated professions. Is it perhaps ingrained in the minds of women that they are not capable of performing a "man's job?"

Professional identities may play a role of importance in career choices for women – and such is the case in the engineering profession – as indicated by Cech's study, "Gender variation in professional identities may have consequences for a variety of career outcomes, such as whether men and women feel that their profession 'fits' them, whether they feel taken seriously as professionals, and whether they intend to remain in their profession long-term" (Cech, 2015, p. 57). Professional identities may affect the working environment, as well. The general tone of a potentially hostile working environment may discourage women from pursuing such careers, as

some male leaders make it readily apparent that they do not see a place for women in certain jobs, therefore, if a woman were to pursue such a job, the environment may be unwelcoming and uncomfortable. In the same vein as other male-dominated professions, it is not unusual for women in law enforcement to receive very little support from their agency's supervisors, which can be particularly discouraging for women in pursuit of a career in law enforcement. Cech's study indicates that, "Discrimination, bias, and exclusion are still entrenched in professional education and professional workplaces, but as the cultural legitimacy of overt sexism continues to decline, we must seek to identify less immediately obvious mechanisms that contribute to the reproduction of gender inequality in professions" (Cech, 2015, p. 71). And Singh's study about engineers discusses the role of organizational supports, saying that "employees who encounter a supportive climate at work in the form of an organization that cares about their well-being, recognizes their contributions, and offers opportunities for recognition, promotion, and training and development will be more satisfied and committed to their jobs, and are less likely to consider quitting their organizations" (Singh, et al., 2013, p. 285). Thus, work conditions for women in male-dominated professions may be less than inviting to some women who perceive that they have less of a fair chance in the organization. Additionally, because of gender distribution, women in male-dominated occupations seem to experience less job mentoring, as some men are not willing to show a woman the ropes, hence, creating more difficulty for moving up the hierarchy, as indicated in a study about careers and mobility by Feldman and Ng (2007).

Gender inequality and discrimination in law enforcement may not only negatively affect female law enforcement officers, but also the law enforcement agencies for which they work, as well as the communities which they serve. According to Rosener (1990), women possess leadership traits that "can increase an organization's chance of survival in an uncertain world"

(Rosener, 1990, p.119). Yet, women in law enforcement tend to be overlooked for leadership roles. Lack of recruitment and retention of female law enforcement officers may have an adverse effect on law enforcement agencies that do not employ an adequate number of female officers to address the needs of their communities; the communities in which these officers would potentially serve may suffer the consequences of poor community relations because the needs of communities, as provided by law enforcement, may be better served by a more diverse police force. For instance, studies have shown that female law enforcement officers have a less aggressive style of policing and tend to utilize more communications-based conflict resolution styles before physical confrontation. Additionally, more female officers may decrease the risk of accusations of inappropriate behavior by male officers when searching female suspects or prisoners (Lonsway, et al, 2002). And there is also the consideration that in sensitive matters, such as sexual assault or domestic violence, female victims sometimes feel more comfortable with a female officer.

One might assume that qualities attributed to women should be sought by administrators in making employment, retention, and promotion decisions, yet studies suggest that women continue to encounter discrimination and negative attitudes as they attempt to advance into police leadership positions (Garrison, Grant, and McCormick, 1998). Regardless of the effectiveness of female law enforcement officers, some male officers still exhibit negative attitudes toward women in the field. “When negative attitudes toward women are widespread within an organization, not only are individual women limited but also the organization itself is affected. By preventing capable individuals from succeeding, the entire organization cannot recognize its full potential” (Sims, Scarborough, & Ahmad. 2003).

Law enforcement agencies may also be negatively impacted should legal action be taken against them by female law enforcement officers who allege gender bias. This type of legal action may result in enormous costs to law enforcement agencies if they subsequently must pay for damages awarded as a result of these lawsuits. However, if legal action is taken against an “at-will” employer, the plaintiff may not possess legal standing to pursue such action. Some court cases of this nature are discussed in this dissertation, including *Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff's Department* (1975), which was the case that set precedent and explored the difference between employees and appointees. (*Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff's Department*; 395 F. Supp. 1307; 1975395 F. Supp. 1307; 1975).

Even though most leaders of law enforcement agencies would probably not readily admit to being discriminatory, and some law enforcement agencies may even have a promotion process in place that is allegedly based on merit, the subjective nature of that process may contribute to lower rates of promotion for females. Merit, of course, is difficult to define. “The difficulty women face competing on merit is that merit is primarily defined by the men who got there first” (Kyprianou, 1996, p. 3). Although Kyprianou’s (1996) gender equity study was based in Australia – and the study is an older study - the gender issues she discusses appear to be similar to those in the United States at present. Kyprianou, who is a lawyer, posits, “In my view, female lawyers and policewomen share similar problems in their attempts to address gender inequality within their professions. Both our professions or vocations are clearly male-dominated: the majority of employees are male and, more importantly, the leaders of the profession are male” (Kyprianou, 1996, p. 2). And similarly, Silvestri’s 2003 study about women in leadership roles in policing in the United Kingdom attributes the lower numbers of women in leadership positions within police organizations to issues of masculinity, stating that, “The higher echelons of

policing remain firmly in the hands of men and ideas about leadership remain underpinned by traditional ideas of masculinity. In negotiating the climb to the top, women experience the true force of structural constraint” (Silvestri, 2003, p. 278).

In male-dominated professions, the higher the position, the more difficulties women seem to experience when working to achieve those positions. Women from an array of various male-dominated professions seem to share some of the same hurdles when it comes to rising within their chosen organizations. For example, difficulties for women achieving executive-level positions in Fortune 1000 companies were noticeable in 2006, as nearly 50% of Fortune 1000 companies had no, i.e. *zero* women at the executive level (O’Neil, Hopkins, & Bilimoria, 2008). And more recently, in 2014, the “number of women Fortune 500 CEOs reached an all-time high of 4.8%, up from 0.2% in 1998 and 4.2% in 2013” (Donaldson, 2015, p.3). Those women CEOs, however, are held to higher standards, and they are still paid less than men (Donaldson, 2015). It appears that men continue to be superior and hold a higher status in the workplace than women.

Although this study focuses mainly on local law enforcement agencies, it bears mentioning that in federal law enforcement, there seem to be barriers that impede the career progression of females from first-line supervisors to middle-level management positions – similar to those present in local law enforcement. In Blasdel’s (2010) qualitative phenomenological research study, he utilized methodology that facilitated the gathering of qualitative data with emerging themes and patterns for analysis (Blasdel, 2010). His study revealed several barriers for women in the male-dominated field of federal law enforcement, which he described as “elements preventing qualified women from advancing and reaching their full potential within an organization” (Blasdel, 2010). Those barriers included, “unequal pay between females and males for work of similar value, stereotyping and harassment based on

race, ethnicity, and sex, an absence of organizational programs promoting a family-friendly atmosphere, limited opportunities for females to advance into leadership positions” (Blasdel, 2010, p.2). Also, contributing to a low number of female middle-level management in federal law enforcement is the refusal of males to accept females, gender stereotyping and a “good old boy” network. Furthermore, women who achieve middle-level management positions have less social acceptance than their male counterparts (Blasdel, 2010).

Rabe-Hemp (2009) explains that women generally hold a “token status” in police organizations; the same appears to be true for women in politics and other male-dominated professions, such as engineering (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Women are underrepresented in physical sciences and engineering and overrepresented in clerical and service-oriented jobs (Feldman and Ng, 2007). Although women represent nearly 46% of the workforce in the United States, their representation in police organizations remains below 15%, and just as a comparison to another male-dominated profession, women represent only about 14% of engineers (Crawford, 2012). Because of the low percentage of women in policing, they are more noticeable. And because female law enforcement officers are a novelty of sorts, they are highly visible, subsequently, they may attract more attention than male officers because they stand out in the crowd as being different. Thus, many women in law enforcement are perceived as “in but not of” the organization (Rabe-Hemp, 2009, p. 22). Women in male-dominated professions are often subjected to more intense scrutiny and are challenged and judged in ways that men are not, often “made to feel like outsiders” (Donaldson, 2006, p. 212). Women in politics, engineering, and other male-dominated professions may experience the same sort of scrutiny, as they may be perceived as “in but not of” their respective organizations. For example, female officers are often not even considered for assignments to specialized units within their own agencies.

Assignments to specialized units, such as the detective bureau, mounted units, harbor units and SWAT teams may be unattainable for female officers (Price 1996). “Interestingly, women have always had a lower occupational status than their male counterparts” (Davis, 2005, p. 3). The mere structure of a law enforcement agency may allow “deliberate departmental policies which work to the detriment of women” (Price, 1996, p. 3). In her study, Price interviewed women police officers who felt that their departments did not value women police officers and that they are discriminated against in “work assignments, promotions, and recommendations for promotions” (Price, 1996, p. 4). In law enforcement, personnel are vital; placement of personnel is vital. Choosing the right person for each job is of utmost importance, as stressed by Taylor in his seminal writing, *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911). Sometimes, the right person for the job may just be a woman.

For those women who choose to pursue careers in male-dominated professions, some will learn that even if perhaps obtaining such a job is not much of a challenge for those who meet minimum requirements, “the problem of inequality of gender becomes worse at the higher levels of the profession” (Kyprianou, 1996, p. 2). Women are often expected to continuously defend their positions; the higher the position – the more defense required. Gender inequality is certainly not limited to law enforcement; however, gender inequality in law enforcement is the focus of this research. Some women who choose careers in law enforcement may initially expect to advance their careers but, as time goes by, their expectations may diminish. Belknap (1996) discusses a 1988 study conducted by Poole and Pogrebin wherein policewomen with less than three years of experience had higher expectations of career advancement than did policewomen with more than three years’ experience, as it becomes apparent to them that much fewer policewomen obtain promotion than policemen (Belknap, 1996).

In the law enforcement arena, the “brass ceiling” can be difficult to penetrate (Schulz, 2004). And penetrating the “brass ceiling” for women in smaller agencies is even more disparaging than it is for women in larger municipal agencies, where women hold only approximately 10% of supervisory positions. Some women in law enforcement accept “women’s work” roles in their agencies and avoid promotion opportunities because the cost of “fighting city hall” is too steep (Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

Law enforcement advancement opportunities for women seemingly continue to move at a slow pace; employment opportunities for women in law enforcement do not guarantee upward mobility. Achieving status and rank, or even assignments to specialized units are still obstacles for women. A survey of 800 police departments conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1998 showed that a staggering 91% of the departments surveyed reported having only male officers in policy-making positions (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1998). According to the National Center for Women and Policing (NCWP), only 7.3% of top command positions were held by women in 2001 (Lonsway, 2002). It appears that women are still being limited to the lowest levels of law enforcement positions; they are underrepresented, which leads to greater numbers of incidents of discrimination (Davis, 2005). It bears mentioning that according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), regarding sheriffs’ offices, “women comprised 12% of the full-time sworn personnel in sheriffs’ offices in 2007, about the same as in 1987” (U.S. Department of Justice, 2008, p. 1). Furthermore, the dataset being used for this study reports the percentage of sworn full-time female officers in local law enforcement holding steady at 12% (U.S. Department of Justice. (2015). Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices. (May, 2015).

Women's continued underrepresentation indicates that there is clearly a salient issue of some form of gender inequality in the field of law enforcement being that there was no increase in the percentage of sworn officers who are female for twenty-five years!

Patronage Politics and Civil Service

Patronage politics, also referred to as the *spoils system*, was prevalent during Andrew Jackson's tenure as President of the United States (1828-1836). Political support and personal connections were much more important than were qualifications when being considered for any job or position. Although other administrations had practiced hiring those who were politically loyal, Andrew Jackson practiced purging the politically disloyal. The domination of patronage politics over the next several decades lead to corruption and unethical behavior by elected officials (Menzel, 2012).

Patronage politics has been a contentious topic throughout history – so contentious that in July of 1881, President James A. Garfield was assassinated because of it. Subsequent to the assassination of President Garfield, efforts to alleviate the spoils system ensued. Of note, President Garfield was shot by Charles Guiteau, who shot the president because he believed the president owed him a patronage position due to his vital political support during the presidential election. Reform efforts included the implementation of the Civil Service (Pendleton) Act of 1883, which was named for its primary sponsor, Senator George Pendleton from Ohio, but written chiefly by Dorman Bridgman Eaton, who was a Harvard educated lawyer and a staunch opponent of patronage politics (Rosenbloom, et al, 2010). Eaton later served as the first chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission. The Pendleton Act made it illegal to hire, fire, or demote employees for purely political reasons. The Pendleton Act “aimed to inject

‘merit’ and political neutrality’ into the operations of the national government, presumably leading to a modern civil service imbued with an ethical impulse” (Menzel, 2012, p. 34). Then Princeton Professor Woodrow Wilson joined in support of the merit-based system. The patronage system, however, is still prevalent in sheriffs’ offices.

For example, in the state of Missouri, there is a law known as “The Missouri Sheriff’s Pleasure Law” (RSMo57.275).

Revised Statute of the State of Missouri (RSMo) 57.201 makes it clear: All employees of the sheriff serve at the pleasure of the sheriff. RSMo 57.275 goes further to ensure deputies know they have no substantive due process rights in regard to their employment. The sheriff may hire and fire whomever he wishes, with or without cause. A deputy can be immediately terminated without cause and have absolutely no legal recourse. McDonald’s workers have more employment rights than deputies. The sheriff has this lawful authority because of the Sheriff’s Pleasure Law and groups like the Missouri Sheriffs’ Association and the National Sheriffs’ Association, which dedicate a large amount of time and resources lobbying to keep these laws in place in Missouri and across the country. The Sheriff’s Pleasure Law feeds the arrogance of the sheriff and creates an organization with unbalanced values. (Maxwell, 2018, p.1).

Although this law is a state law for only one state, it represents the framework of many sheriffs’ offices across the country.

Regarding patronage, in *Ramey v. Harber* (431 F. Supp. 657 (1977)), the United States District Court for the Western District of Virginia held that a Virginia county sheriff could not refuse to consider rehiring deputy sheriffs who had supported his opponent during a recent election campaign (*Virginia Law Review*, 63:8, 1977). It was noted that the deputies did not lose

their jobs because of their political beliefs, but they were simply not considered for rehiring, i.e., reappointment because of their political beliefs. For their decision, the court relied on the precedent set by *Elrod v. Burns* (427 U.S. 347, 1976), in which the court determined that it was a violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendment rights of incumbent deputy sheriffs to not be considered for employment, i.e., appointment, based exclusively on their political beliefs and association. “Indeed, it would seem that the potential for abuse of First Amendment freedoms is accentuated when the decision as to reappointment is totally within the discretion of the appointing authority” (*Ramey v. Harber* (431 F.Supp. 657 (1977)). The Supreme Court further noted that the non-policymaking, non-confidential government employees are subject to these Constitutional protections, but of course, the definition of policy-making employees seems to be up to the courts’ discretion in these types of cases, which is part of the reason that patronage politics continues in sheriffs’ offices; some courts have considered sheriffs’ deputies to be policymaking-level appointees because they practice discretion in the daily operations of their jobs. “The U.S. Supreme Court or Congress should articulate a lucid definition for the exception for appointees on the ‘policymaking level’ that honors Congress’s intent for a narrow exception: the exemption should apply only to positions characterized by both a direct working relationship with the appointer and an explicit duty to make substantive policy” (Galloway, 2011, p. 875).

It is debatable if Congress intended that appointees in higher-level positions, such as personal or command staff appointees be the exception, or if Congress intended to include, as excepted appointees, “street-level bureaucrats” who simply enforce policies that have been implemented, but Galloway maintains that, “Congress clearly intended a higher bar for the ‘policy’ referred to in the ‘policymaking-level’ exemption” (Galloway, 2011, p. 901). This case illustrates that some sheriffs staff their agencies with only those deputies who will comply with

or adapt to the views of the sheriff – and those who do not fit into the mold may be ostracized simply for having different views. So, who exactly is in the policymaking level class?

According to Galloway (2011), “Neither Congress nor the United States Supreme Court has defined who belongs to the ‘policymaking-level’ class” (Galloway, 2011, p. 875). Patronage politics provides the basis for my hypothesis that sheriffs’ offices have fewer higher-ranking females than police departments do because patronage politics allows sheriffs to operate with less legal scrutiny as at-will employers. Hence, if sheriffs choose to promote fewer women to higher-ranking positions, they may do so without their employees, i.e., “appointees,” having much recourse – if any.

Collective Bargaining Chaos

Generally speaking, it is reasonable for one to expect that collective bargaining reduces gender discrimination for women in the workplace - simply because of the role of unions, which is typically to promote fairness in the workplace. A variable to test the effects of collective bargaining on females in law enforcement is included in this study as a means to determine if sheriffs’ offices or police departments show variation in gender disparity based on unionization. In their 1994 study, Doiron and Riddell (1994) reported that male-female earning differences were larger in nonunion sectors than in union sectors, hence they concluded that, “The result is consistent with the view that unions reduce the impact of gender discrimination in earnings” (Doiron and Riddell, 1994, p. 26). In that study, it was determined that unionization played a part in reducing male-female earning differences. However, the inclusion of women in unions has been contentious at times. For example, “Union leaders tended to see ‘women’s issues’ as divisive and, the majority of union agendas neglected to include such concerns as gender

inequality in pay, discrimination based on marital status or pregnancy, flexible working hours, childcare, and the like” (Milkman, 2016, p. 207). Male domination in unions may affect how women’s issues are addressed. “Many individual unions are still extremely male-dominated in both membership and leadership, maintaining their traditional stance toward women and gender issues” (Milkman, 2016, p. 208). However, some unions tend to be more female-friendly. “Other occupational unions have largely female constituencies—for example, the teachers’ and nurses’ unions—and these tend to be far more engaged in issues of special interest to women and supportive of gender equality” (Milkman, 2016, p. 209).

How do unions reduce discrimination? Do unions help reduce discrimination by placing limits on discretion? In his 2015 study, Ferguson (2015) asked the question, “Does limiting managers’ discretion limit organizations’ scope for discrimination?” (Ferguson, 2015, p. 2). Perhaps limited discretion reduces gender bias in employment, but it is unlikely to affect gender bias in sheriffs’ offices because of the “appointee” status of sheriffs’ office employees. Collective bargaining, i.e., unionization, of sheriffs’ deputies has been a contentious issue over the years. Although some sheriffs’ deputies have formed unions and some sheriffs’ offices have some sort of collective bargaining agreement, sheriffs are still at-will employers, and therein lies their power, hence my suspicion that gender disparity is not affected by unionization for sheriffs’ deputies. Court decisions have been inconsistent, as the pivotal status of deputies as “employees or appointees” has been interpreted by various courts – leaving those classified as “appointees” with no employment protections. According to Galloway (2011),

Some federal judges do deem such employees [sheriffs’ deputies] as serving at the ‘policymaking level’ – a status that can cost workers some of their basic civil rights protections. Meanwhile, other federal courts take a contrary approach – declining to

label as policymakers, for instance, the director of a senior services agency, a police commander, the head of a juvenile detention training center, and—again—sheriffs’ deputies. Neither Congress nor the United States Supreme Court has defined who belongs to that ‘policymaking’ class. The result is a statutory definition of ‘employee’ so convoluted one federal judge described it as “an outstanding example of bad draftsmanship (Galloway, 2011, p. 875-877).

Sheriffs are powerful – and sometimes they even boast about their power. Boastful statements made by sheriffs would more than likely be a deterrent to any deputy who might consider taking a sheriff to court for any employment rights issues. When sheriffs’ deputies attempt to assert their rights, they must first convince the court that they do not belong to the policymaking class of sheriffs’ appointees; they should not expect much support from their sheriffs on this topic. “If we allow officials greater discretion by denying public employees the protection of civil rights laws, it must be applied only to those whom Congress intended” (Galloway, 2011, p. 903). A bill, the “Public Safety Employer-Employee Cooperation Act of 2009” was presented to Congress for consideration. The bill was intended to grant the right to participate in collective bargaining to public safety employees, including sheriffs’ deputies.

The National Sheriffs’ Association expressed their opposition to this legislation, whereas the National Association of Police Organizations and the Fraternal Order of Police supported the proposal (Doerner and Doerner, 2010). In a 2010 publication of their legislative priorities, the National Sheriffs’ Association (NSA) strongly opposed the Public Safety Employee-Employer Cooperation Act (H.R. 413/S. 1611), “which would federalize collective bargaining for public safety officers, thereby forcing sheriffs and peace officers to adhere to strict guidelines when dealing with the public safety workforce.” According to the National Sheriffs’ Association, the

act creates a “one-size-fits-all” approach to collective bargaining for public safety officers. “The needs of law enforcement agencies and their communities vary significantly depending on their size and locality. The Act fails to make this distinction, therefore doing law enforcement a great disservice. NSA believes that the decision to engage in collective bargaining should be solely left up to the states and localities” (National Sheriff’s Association, 2010). On the other hand, in a 2010 newsletter to their members, the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) stated, “The right to bargain collectively over hours, wages, and working conditions is enjoyed by virtually all employees in the United States. Yet this basic right is still denied to law enforcement officers and other public safety employees across the country. The FOP strongly supports the ‘Public Safety Officers’ Employer-Employee Cooperation Act,’ which would finally recognize the right of these employees to bargain collectively for improved working conditions while fostering a better relationship with their employers” (Fraternal Order of Police, 2010). It is interesting to see that sheriffs and police are on opposite sides of collective bargaining legislation.

A Westlaw query revealed that different versions of the Public Employer-Employee Cooperation Act have been introduced in Congress since 1995, and as of 2019, the bill had not passed. It was reintroduced in 2019 and was referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor, but no other action has been taken. Although police officers and sheriffs’ deputies perform identical duties, their job protections may be quite different. For instance, police unions may provide job protections to police officers, but sheriffs’ deputies are at-will employees, so there is typically no recourse; the sheriff has the final say - regardless if there is a union or not. Thus, it is expected that agencies that have collective bargaining have less gender bias, as unions provide employment protections for employees.

Additional Variables

Education

Does education matter in the field of law enforcement? Researchers have examined the assumption that college-educated officers perform better than their high school-educated-only counterparts (Albarano, 2015). In his study, Albarano (2015) concluded that “there is not a consensus on whether or not police officers with college degrees perform better than their non-degreed counters” (Albarano, 2015, p.46). However, Albarano (2015) noted that police officers with a college degree may possess better writing, communication, and problem-solving skills in some instances (Albarano, 2015). And conceivably, there is another benefit to hiring college-educated law enforcement officers, that being officer behavior as it relates to the use of force. A 2010 study by Rydberg and Terrill indicated that, “College education does, however, significantly reduce the likelihood of force occurring” (Rydberg and Terrill, 2010).

Law enforcement is perhaps a more complex occupation than some citizens may realize. Perhaps this old quote by the man who is considered the father of modern-day policing, former police chief of Berkley, California, August Vollmer, will help to illustrate some of the expectations citizens have of police officers: “The citizen expects police officers to have the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of David, the strength of Samson, the patience of Job, the leadership of Moses, the kindness of the Good Samaritan, the strategical training of Alexander, the faith of Daniel, the diplomacy of Lincoln, the tolerance of the Carpenter of Nazareth, and finally, an intimate knowledge of every branch of the natural, biological, and social sciences. If he had all these, he might be a good policeman!” (Vollmer, as cited in Bain, 1939).

Generally, a college degree is not required to work for a law enforcement agency. There appears to be no urgency for law enforcement agencies to require a degree for employment.

Some researchers assert that analytical and critical thinking skills learned in college are of utmost importance for law enforcement officers to do a good job; others believe that on-the-job training is just as effective (White & Escobar, 2008).

A 2009 study by Harvey and Martinko (2009) explored an interesting attribute that may exist among police officers who have a college degree: a phenomenon called psychological entitlement (Harvey and Martinko, 2009). Individuals who possess this attribute may believe that because they have obtained a college degree, they deserve favored treatment and accolades – regardless of their actual job performance. Basically, some individuals who have obtained a college degree believe that they are better than their colleagues who have not obtained a college degree, hence, they may feel entitled to be promoted over their police officer colleagues.

A 1998 study by Truxillo, Bennett, and Collins sought to examine the relationship between college education and promotions in law enforcement (Truxillo, Bennett, & Collins, 1998). That study determined that college education was positively correlated with promotions (Truxillo et al., 1998). The researchers noted that a college degree was not required for promotion but suggested that the motivation for educational achievement may be the same as for promotions (Truxillo et al., 1998).

Aside from individual law enforcement officers obtaining college degrees, do law enforcement agencies with degree requirements or higher numbers of college-educated personnel have less gender bias? Although not specifically related to law enforcement agencies, a study by Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) explored attitudes towards support for gender equality in the workplace and found that between 1974-1998, “attitudes have continued to liberalize and converge over time” (Bolzendahl and Myers, 2004, p.760). Education is believed to influence attitudes towards gender equality. And exposure to women in the workplace is believed to

induce more progressive attitudes about gender equality (Bolzendahl and Myers, 2004).

“Education is mainly thought to have effects because it provides exposure to egalitarian ideas and inhibits acceptance of gender myths and stereotypes” (Bolzendahl and Meyers, 2004, p. 766). Perhaps if a law enforcement agency has requirements of higher education, or if an agency offers higher education incentives, we can hypothesize that that agency is less gender-biased. And if agencies offer merit-based incentives, perhaps we can surmise that those agencies are more professionalized, hence less gender-biased.

Variables related to education are included in this research to explore variations in gender bias at supervisory levels in law enforcement agencies, as related to education and education requirements. As popular belief is seemingly that higher education equals less bias, I hypothesize that agencies with a more educated workforce and/or higher education requirements and/or incentives, whether those incentives are merit-based or education-based, are more likely to strive for gender equality, as they are likely more professionalized; therefore, they are less likely to discriminate by gender.

Region

It is seemingly popular belief that southern states (in the United States) have a unique culture. Some may view southerners as backward and behind the times – and some may view southerners as well-mannered people who embrace the past – even if others view this as ignorant. “The South is a region known for its charm, hospitality, congeniality, and politeness. Yet there is also the potential for sudden and extreme violence that comes seemingly without warning” (Cohen, Vandello, Puente & Rantilla, 1999). According to Rice and Coates (1995), “It is widely believed that gender role attitudes are more traditional in the southern United States

than elsewhere in the nation (Rice and Coates, 1995, p. 744). The present study explores how geographical location, i.e., region, may affect promotion for females in law enforcement.

The southern states have been historically characterized by what anthropologists call a *culture of honor* (Cohen, Vandello, Puente & Rantilla, 1999). The southern states represent a traditional honor culture wherein honor means positive moral standing and pride in one's own eyes and in the eyes of others (Leung & Cohen, 2011). The men in honor cultures are held to a stance of toughness and physical prowess – a don't mess with me demeanor - if you will, and often respond to insults, threats, and serious affronts with violence (Cohen, Vandello, Puente & Rantilla, 1999).

Comparatively, the northern states (of the United States) represent a dignity culture wherein self-worth is a private matter, dignity is inherent, and the actions or perceptions of others do not affect one's esteem as much as in honor cultures. In dignity cultures, therefore, one's esteem cannot be taken away by others through disrespectful behaviors such as insults or false accusations; in contrast, esteem is primarily internal and individualistic. "A person with a sense of dignity is a sturdy person who will behave according to his or her own internal standards, rather than being driven by impulse or the whims of the situation" (Leung & Cohen, 2011, p. 509).

Some studies suggest that Southerners tend to hold more conservative opinions on questions about women in politics and employed women; Rice and Coates (1995) offer an interesting explanation of that theory, "After all, the idea of the lady-devoted to God and her family, focused on activities of the home, and uninterested in business and politics has been an important part of southern culture for over 200 years. White southern women have struggled, however, to reach this 'exalted status'" (Rice and Coates, 1995, p. 746).

Based on information from a 2016 report by the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR), which was published in their report series, *The Status of Women in the States*, Bendix said, "Working women in the South may suffer some of the harshest inequalities in the U.S., not only in terms of how much they are paid, but how they are treated in the workforce" (Bendix, 2016, p.1). However, according to Rice and Coates (1995), gender role attitudes have become more egalitarian since the 1960s (Rice and Coates, 1995).

This research explores gender disparities in law enforcement, particularly at supervisory levels. This researcher is mindful of the perceived unique culture of "the south." Although this research includes a variable that allows for analysis of the southern states vs. all other states, geographical location aside, cultural differences are interesting facets to consider when analyzing the statistical results.

Size of Agency

Why does size matter? "Rural areas tend to have a higher concentration of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, while a majority of Americans in urban communities identify as Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party" (Parker, et al, 2018). Hence, a variable for agency size is included in this study, as agency size is an indicator of whether the agency is urban vs. small town or rural. Urban areas tend to be more liberal, thus by extension, urban areas are expected to be less discriminatory.

History of Women in Law Enforcement

To provide an adequate foundation for the inherent bias against women in law enforcement, a brief overview of the history of women in law enforcement is in order. This history begins with Marie Owens. Similar to situations we have seen throughout history, it is

sometimes customary that when an elected official dies, his wife will take over his position until the end of his term. Marie Owens was the widow of a Chicago police officer and she was appointed “patrolman” in 1893 following her husband’s death. Marie Owens technically worked as a matron. She worked for 30 years until she received a pension. During that time, women were generally given assignments as prison matrons and mainly handled women and children issues, but they were not technically considered law enforcement; they had no arrest powers. In 1908, the first female to be hired as a sworn officer with arrest powers was Lola Baldwin in Portland, Oregon. Although she was classified as a detective, her duties were limited to handling women’s issues; she was more like a social worker than a law enforcement officer. In 1910, Alice Stebbins Wells, who had two college degrees, was hired by the Los Angeles Police Department to work in the Juvenile Bureau after an ordinance was passed by the council to hire “one police officer who shall be a woman.” As we can see, there has been a pattern of limiting women to law enforcement roles that involve women and children; it required legal action and a mandate to hire a woman as a police officer before this became a reality. It was not until the women’s movements of the 1960s, coupled with women’s demands for equality that women’s duties in law enforcement began to expand. Presently, women in law enforcement tend to receive assignments that are less prestigious for less pay than the types of assignments men receive with less difficulty, regardless of whether or not the woman seeking to achieve higher rank has attained similar or, even perhaps higher education than her male counterpart.

The presence of women in law enforcement has certainly increased from 1893 when Marie Owens was appointed to “patrolman,” in essence taking over her husband’s role after his death, as 2013 federal statistics report that 72,725 women are law enforcement officers in the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). Law enforcement, however, is still a

male-dominated profession, with 554,217 male officers (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). Although progress has slowly been made to provide opportunities for women in law enforcement, career advancement still presents difficulties (Horne, 2012). This research addresses the fact that although women are accepted into law enforcement, they are sometimes not given equal opportunities to advance to higher ranks.

Male Officers' Perceptions of Female Officers

Virtually all studies on female law enforcement officers show that women are capable of performing the job of law enforcement physically, mentally, and emotionally (Price, 1996). Admittedly, Price's 1996 study is an older one, yet the findings do not seem to be readily accepted within law enforcement agencies even today, as some women law enforcement officers still sometimes face negative perceptions from their male peers. Davis (2005) studies male police officers' perceptions towards female police officers in an effort to identify and analyze those perceptions. Her study revealed that male officers have inferior attitudes towards women in law enforcement and that this has contributed to the "slow progress toward full integration in policing" for female law enforcement officers (Davis, 2005, p. 2). Although women are generally required to meet the same hiring standards as men, the research has suggested that male officers feel somewhat threatened that female officers can do the same job as them. Law enforcement officers are understandably expected to be capable of flexible responses (Lipsky, 1980). However, sometimes men doubt that women can equal men in most job skills (Price, 1996). Subsequently, female law enforcement officers sometimes assume that they are less valued as officers; lower promotion rates of women may contribute to this assumption. Although public perception of female law enforcement officers is positive, they are still

sometimes viewed with skepticism by their male peers (Price, 1996). Employment opportunities exist for women in law enforcement, but career advancement opportunities are less than equal for women. “A woman’s ability to excel in law enforcement is undermined by the lack of a critical mass of female employees” (Davis, 2005, p.1). The gender gap appears to still exist within the police culture.

Andreescu and Vito (2010) conducted a study of police managers in which they surveyed their perceptions of preferred leadership styles. In their study, they found that “Female police officers do not appear to differ from men in their preferences for a predominantly task-centered and structured leadership” (Andreescu and Vito, 2010, p.2). Their study consisted of 126 police managers, of which 88.1% were male and 11.9% were female. The low percentage of female leaders is indicative that law enforcement is still a male-dominated profession.

In another type of study, Davis (2005) found that 32% of the police officers in her study who were between the ages of 18 and 34 felt more comfortable having a male as a supervisor rather than a female. However, of the older officers, who were above the age of 35, 52% disagreed that they were more comfortable having a male as a supervisor rather than a female. Interestingly, the older male police officers in Davis’s study were more likely to be comfortable with a female supervisor; however, it is bothersome that some male officers still feel uncomfortable with a female in charge.

In her 2009 study, Rabe-Hemp interviewed female officers about their experiences in the law enforcement culture. Below are some interesting comments that the women in the study had received from their male counterparts and superiors:

- “I can’t get rid of you, but we don’t have to let you take a good man’s place.”

- “Estrogen Mafia.” (Referring to an investigative unit with three females as a part of that unit).
- “Rick’s a boy. I can’t promote you over a man.”
- “No desk duty assignments during pregnancy. I would have to fire you if you couldn’t go on and do your job.”

The female officers interviewed for the Rabe-Hemp (2009) study defined their acceptance into the police culture in one of three ways: “through achieving rank, through completing some tough, manful act, or through being different or unique to the typical male police role.” Of course, “being different or unique to the typical male police role” entails highlighting their token status and conforming to gender role positions within their organizations.

The gender bias is clearly attitudinal, which is the prelude to structural discrimination. Female law enforcement officers might assume that impediments to career advancement are male domination and discrimination (Dowler and Arai, 2008). In law enforcement, “peer evaluation is one of the ways to achieve accountability in work quality” (Lipsky, 1980, p. 50). Perhaps female law enforcement officers are held to a higher standard. As in many male-dominated professions, females are expected to prove themselves on a regular basis. Even when females are performing at the same levels as males, “Men are perceived to be competent until proven otherwise; whereas women have to prove that they are competent” (Donaldson, 2006, p. 212). According to the study conducted by Dowler and Arai (2008), female officers consider themselves to be held to higher standards, while male officers disagree. “It is apparent that males and females have varying expectations and experiences toward the level and nature of gender discrimination in policing” (Dowler and Arai, 2008, p. 131). The negative attitude of

male officers towards female officers could contribute to the lack of women in law enforcement (Davis, 2005). If male law enforcement administrators fail to look at discrimination through a gendered lens, then unintentional gender bias may occur, resulting in lower promotion rates for women in law enforcement.

Advancement for Women as Elected Law Enforcement Officials and High-Ranking Law Enforcement Positions

Hughes (2011), in his qualitative structural discrimination study, specifically focused on women running for office to achieve the top-spot of sheriff and not so much on women achieving high-ranking positions. He explored three areas that he identified as factors that may affect the lack of female representation in top leadership positions within the field of law enforcement:

First, the improvement to the overall traditional leadership structure of law enforcement organizations nationwide, specifically as Sheriff. Second, the non-traditional competency components women can contribute and achieve, if not faced with discrimination. Third, redefining the law enforcement position would increase further recruitment and retention of females to occupy such leadership roles. (Hughes, 2011, p. 3).

In part, Hughes (2011) compared the top rank of sheriff, which is an elected position, to that of a top executive, such as a CEO in the corporate world. His study showed the similarities of those two top positions regarding leadership competencies, as well as team-building and planning, and organizing. The study found that women are competent to be in leadership positions, such as sheriff, but that structural discrimination discourages women from running for sheriff.

In law enforcement agencies where the top administrator is an elected official for whom his or her employees work “at the pleasure” of that official, promotions are often given

subjectively, with little process and little protection, whereas law enforcement agencies headed by appointed officials generally have some sort of procedures in place, which protect employees from random and arbitrary demotions (*Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff's Department*; 395 F. Supp. 1307 (1975); Aswell, 2019). In a political environment, such as a sheriff's office without job protection like a civil service system would provide, sheriffs' offices can be a breeding ground for continued gender inequality in law enforcement. For example, although a deputy sheriff may have worked for a sheriff's office for 20 years – or any amount of time – and perhaps achieved high rank within the department, that rank can be arbitrarily taken away. The sheriff can demote without cause, or there are situations where if a new sheriff were to be elected, not only is that new sheriff not required to guarantee a deputy's continued employment, but the new sheriff can demote that high-ranking deputy without cause. Such a situation would clearly result in a career setback for the officer who has earned his or her rank. This is because elected sheriffs are not required to provide job protection at any level. Sheriffs are, however, both managers and politicians who are accountable to the electorate, so if the electorate takes issue with unfair gender practices, the voters will presumably voice their opinions at the polls. But such unfair gender practices are usually not common knowledge to the electorate; the voters who are aware of such practices are usually those who are associated with members of sheriffs' offices where these situations occur, and the number of votes that would be influenced by this knowledge would probably not be enough votes to impact an election (Aswell, 2019). The fact remains that incumbents are difficult to defeat in elections, but the election of an unbiased leader would offer more opportunities for advancement for such women in law enforcement. Of course, political skill and the desire to hold such an elected position would be imperative for someone who chooses to run for office; it is a tough game that not everyone wishes to play. Hughes (2011)

poses that if more women would run for sheriff, then perhaps more women would become sheriff, and then perhaps those women could break through the glass ceiling of such discrimination and avoid and prevent some of the internal structural discrimination as they slowly redefine the structure of law enforcement agencies and bring forth equality for women in law enforcement. However, a more practical approach to redefine the structure of law enforcement agencies may lie in legislation regarding the reform of “at-will” employers regarding the rank-and-file of their agencies. Otherwise, it is likely that the appointee status of a deputy would be an easy defense for any sheriff to use if challenged in court regarding any employment issue, as according to the case that set precedent, *Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff’s Department (1975)*, “No sheriff is bound by objective criteria in making the appointment. All of the prohibitions and all of the remedies provided by Title VII are framed in terms of an employer-employee relationship which simply does not exist in the sheriff-deputy relationship” (*Kyles v. Calcasieu Parish Sheriff’s Department*; 395 F. Supp. 1307; 1975).

Opportunities for women in law enforcement have slowly progressed over time, but mainly through legal mandates. “Since 1971, when the FBI first started tracking a gender breakdown of police officers in the UCR [Uniform Crime Reporting], the annual rate of gain has been less than half of 1 percent per year” (Horne, 2012). Although women are afforded employment opportunities in law enforcement, there are still many obstacles in the way of attaining high ranking positions. Women law enforcement officers may be assigned duties involving women and children – in keeping with stereotypical gender roles. Although these are important, necessary, and admirable assignments, “when it comes to promotion opportunities the caring role allocated to women is not as highly valued and the employees who have been allocated these roles tend to be overlooked in favour of employees who have been performing

more masculine activities” (Kyprianou, 1996, p. 2). Promotions are generally in the hands of executive leadership within law enforcement agencies. Thus, it is through legal means that structural discrimination can be used to subtly – or overtly - hinder women from being promoted due to gender bias.

Court Cases, Legal Proceedings, and EEOC Complaints about Sheriffs and Unfair Labor Practices

In this section, I review ten cases regarding sheriffs and various forms of alleged employment discrimination and unfair labor practices. My intention here is to illustrate the power of sheriffs and the willingness of some sheriffs to assert their given power. The search to find such cases was time-consuming and difficult and I suspect that this is partly due to the hesitation of deputies to file lawsuits against sheriffs, as many believe they have no standing to do so, or perhaps they fear repercussions if they do so.

Perhaps this quote from now deceased long-time Sheriff Harry Lee of Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, will enlighten readers to the plenary power of sheriffs: "The sheriff of [Jefferson Parish] is the closest thing there is to being a king in the U.S. I have no unions, I don't have civil service, I hire and fire at will. I don't have to go to council and propose a budget. I approve the budget. I'm the head of the law-enforcement district, and the law-enforcement district only has one vote, which is me” (Barnett, 2006, p. 1). When the average deputy hears their boss say such a thing, it would probably deter that deputy from pursuing a legal battle with the sheriff – and I suspect that it is common for deputies to experience similar attitudes from their bosses. Seemingly, even if a deputy wins in court, some type of loss is inevitable. Perhaps they will be ostracized by their fellow deputies because they are viewed as malcontents, or perhaps they will be under constant scrutiny by their superiors who are supporters of the sheriffs. Regardless of

the price they pay for their “win” in court, chances are they will always be seen as “that guy/girl who sued the sheriff,” which may be an uncomfortable situation for those affected.

I investigated and reviewed some of the recent cases that I found, as I believed them to be pertinent to this research. I also decided to briefly discuss a couple of earlier cases - starting in 1984, which is the year that I started my law enforcement career. The reason for this is because as I reviewed cases for this research, I became interested in what the courts have decided regarding cases of sheriffs’ unfair practices that have occurred throughout my career. To create a foundation, a brief discussion about the power of sheriffs is provided, followed by a synopsis of the pertinent cases, as well as a summary of the conclusions of said cases.

Sheriffs are powerful elected officials. An excerpt from a South Carolina newspaper opinion piece provides an example of the point I am trying to make about the power of sheriffs: “A sheriff in South Carolina is the closest thing to a Roman emperor tolerated by state law. He can hire and fire at will all of the employees who work in the sheriff’s department. Those fired have no due process rights. By way of contrast, Columbia police officers are civil servants and have a right to a hearing before a Police Department board and can be terminated only for good cause shown” (Crangle, 2015, p.1). The cases chosen for review in this section were meant to illustrate the behavior of some sheriffs that have led to legal actions pertaining to an array of alleged unfair employment issues. This discussion intentionally includes employment issues other than gender bias issues, as it is intended to expand the focus from gender bias issues alone in order to give the reader an overall view of how some sheriffs use their power to their advantage and how the legal system sometimes allows them to do so, hence why some deputies may feel intimidated and are therefore hesitant to bring forth legal proceedings against their sheriff.

Legal Angles

It is common for lawyers to argue cases from various angles or perspectives, which is evident in the court cases and legal proceedings filed against sheriffs by lawyers who represent sheriffs' deputies regarding employment issues. Such cases have resulted in differing legal opinions from the courts, which are sometimes inconsistent and convoluted, hence the ongoing legal debates regarding employment rights and protections for sheriffs' deputies. When it comes to politics, sometimes sheriffs have an advantage because they are not required to "reappoint" deputies; this allows them to pick and choose their deputies according to their own liking, as deputies are "appointees" who are not classified as employees. Sheriffs' deputies who find themselves on the wrong side of politics are subject to lose their jobs for that very reason, and in 1984, the courts allowed a newly elected sheriff to not "reappoint" deputies from the previous administration. To explain, after being elected, Sheriff Gilbert Ybqanez took office in Jim Hogg County in Texas. He offered to reappoint some deputies from the previous administration, but not all. Five deputies who were not offered positions within the department sued him for civil rights violations. The court in this matter turned to *Elrod v. Burns* (1976) for precedence. The district court found that the plaintiffs were fired for "political" reasons; the appellate court reversed this decision. (Case Information: *Jimmie McBee, et al., Plaintiffs v. Jim Hogg County, Texas and Gilbert Ybanez*, 730 F. 2d. 1009, 1984).

Another legal angle used by lawyers representing deputies who have lost their jobs due to politics is to lean towards Constitutional issues. Sometimes deputies on the opposite side of their sheriff's politics claim that their support of a candidate other than their sheriff is protected by their First Amendment rights, which was a successful argument in 1995 for several deputies who were not rehired by their sheriff after he won election in 1992 (*Brady v. Fort Bend County*,

1995). In this case, seven deputy sheriffs were not rehired by Sheriff R. George Molina after he won the election in 1992. Six of those deputies sued. Those deputies are Kenneth Craig Brady, Bobby Lee Evans, William E. Fortenberry, James Arthur Leach, Stephen Leon Skinner, and Guy “Nubbin” Chamblee. The deputies allege that they were not rehired because they supported Molina’s opponent in the election. The deputies sued, claiming that their First Amendment rights were violated. In this case, the court states, “Indeed, as far back as 1985, the established law in this circuit has been that a public employer cannot retaliate against an employee for expression protected by the First Amendment merely because of that employee’s status as a policy-maker.” The district court denied Sheriff Molina qualified immunity in this case and with Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals agreed, citing *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 96 S. Ct. 2673, 49 L. Ed. 2d. 547 (1976). (Case Information: *Kenneth Craig Brady, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Fort Bend County, et al., Defendants*, No. 94-20057 (1995) and 145 F. 3d 691 (1998)). In this instance, the allegation of violation of a Constitutional Amendment provided the lawyer for the deputies in this matter with a viable legal argument. As we can see, cases such as these are not cut and dry and the affected parties are reliant upon the courts’ interpretations of the laws.

Another civil rights case in Illinois in which deputies claimed that they were passed over for promotion because they did not financially contribute to the sheriff’s campaign resulted in a partial judgment against the sheriff (*Williams et al., v. Zaruba*, 2013). Deputies James Williams, Joseph Delguidice, Stjepan Josic, Mark Wolenberg, Eric Koty, Guy Decastris, and Thomas Weiser filed a civil rights lawsuit against the Dupage County Sheriff’s Office, Sheriff John Zaruba, and Major Daniel Bilodeau. The deputies allege that they were penalized for unionizing and retaliated against for refusing to help Sheriff Zaruba’s campaign. In the lawsuit, one of the deputies, who is a 28-year veteran of the department, was a homicide detective and former

sheriff's office employee of the year, claims that he told Sheriff Zaruba that he could not contribute financially to his campaign, but that he would continue to do a good job. The sheriff responded that good work means nothing to him. The deputy was then demoted and passed over for promotion.

In general, the lawsuit alleges that the deputies were passed over for promotions they had earned and that political supporters with fewer qualifications were promoted while they were demoted to less desirable positions, such as courthouse security. Promotions were often given to deputies who gave money to the sheriff's campaign fund and to those who did not support unionization.

It should be noted that in two previous federal lawsuits brought about by two female deputies, Sheriff Zaruba was found to have unfairly retaliated against those deputies for political reasons. He agreed to pay \$800,000 to the former employee in one case and \$65,000 to an employee in the other case (Mahr, 2013, p.1). (Case Information: *Williams et al., v. Zaruba et al.*, Illinois Northern District Court – Chicago; Civil Rights Case, 42:1983 Action; Case Number 1:2013cv08422). These three cases, *McBee v. Jim Hogg County*, *Brady v. Fort Bend County*, and *Williams v. Zaruba*, although similar, had different outcomes seemingly due to the different legal angles.

Varieties of Discrimination

Discrimination may occur in a variety of ways in employment situations. And sometimes, standing up for your rights may have consequences, as was the case for Deputy Shawn D. Jackson of Hall County Sheriff's Office in Georgia. Jackson, a black deputy who applied for promotion and filed an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

complaint when the position was given to a white officer, alleging that the promotional process was unfair because it was manipulated to yield the results desired by the powers that be. This case discusses a sheriff's promotion process and illustrates the ongoing discussion of whether the process is fair or if the process is a façade that allows the sheriff to choose who gets promoted, regardless of whether or not discrimination is a factor.

Deputy Shawn Jackson filed a lawsuit against his employer, Hall County Sheriff's Office alleging civil rights violations stemming from his claim that he was passed over for promotion because of his race. Deputy Jackson said that he had been employed by the sheriff's office since 1995. In 2007, he applied for the position of sergeant in the patrol division and that he was the most qualified candidate for the position, but that he was passed over for the promotion, which was given to a white officer who was less qualified. Prior to filing the lawsuit, Deputy Jackson filed an EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) complaint and asserts that after filing that complaint, he was retaliated against at work by having his shift changed and having a vacation day canceled. Such retaliation is common when a sheriff's deputy takes a stand, and sheriffs are aware that they can legally get by with punishing deputies who "fight city hall." It should be noted that the EEOC determined that it did not find the sheriff's office to be in violation of the law.

The lawsuit states, in part, "Plaintiff has been subjected to systematic and pervasive racial discriminatory practices while employed by the Hall County Sheriff's Office. These discriminatory practices were designed to prevent African-Americans and other minority groups from advancing in rank within the Hall County Sheriff's Office. All promotions in the Uniform Patrol Division beyond corporal (supervisory positions) are not conducted based on the relevant factors such as accomplishments, seniority, experience, or test scores. The promotional process

is manipulated to yield the results desired by the powers that be” (*Jackson v. Hall County Sheriff’s Office GA and Sheriff Steve Cronic, 2010*).

The sheriff’s office contended that “the sheriff’s promotion process includes a written exam, review of personnel files and a formal interview with an independent review board. The review board, made up of ranking members of the office, people from outside departments and civilians, assigns a ranking of the candidates.” The sheriff’s office claims that Deputy Jackson was treated fairly and was in no way discriminated against because of his race (Gurr, 2010). The court found in favor of Sheriff Steve Cronic in this matter. (Case Information: *Shawn D. Jackson v. Hall County Sheriff’s Office GA and Sheriff Steve Cronic, 2010*. Civil Action File No. 2:10-CV-0700-WCO-SSC filed in the United States District Court, Northern District of Georgia, Gainesville Division).

Sheriffs’ deputies who are not accepted into the fold, so to speak, often become victims of a hostile work environment, as was the case for former Merced County Sheriff’s Office Deputy Ricardo Olguin. Former sheriff’s deputy Ricardo “Richard” Olguin filed a lawsuit the Superior Court of California, County of San Francisco, alleging that he was fired from the Merced County Sheriff’s Office because of his sexual orientation. Olguin complained to supervisors that he was often harassed by other deputies because he is gay; he provided several examples of said harassment, including his property being vandalized with offensive words, i.e., “homo” and “fag,” being written on items. Olguin claimed that subsequent to his complaint, nothing was done by supervisors to prevent or stop the harassment and that he was ultimately terminated because he “engaged in dishonesty or misrepresentation.” Olguin adamantly denied the allegations and the sheriff’s office was unable to prove dishonesty or misrepresentation on Olguin’s part, therefore the court recognized that there was no basis for termination and ruled in

Olguin's favor, citing that federal laws are intended to prevent sexual harassment and discrimination. (Case Information: *Olguin v. County of Merced* (2012). Case Number CGC 12 520320 in the Superior Court of California, County of San Francisco)).

Varieties of Outcomes

“No good deed goes unpunished,” as the old saying goes. That seems to be the outcome for a former Virginia deputy who did what he thought was the right thing to do. Matthew Manuel claims that he was fired in retaliation for reporting the assault of an inmate, which he says was committed by another deputy. The female inmate, Frances Irene Perkins, who was restrained at the time of the incident, was reportedly slapped by former Deputy Alma Julia Brown after Perkins repeatedly spit on uniformed deputies. Deputy Brown and the inmate were both charged with assault and both were found guilty as charged. In addition to wrongful termination, Deputy Manuel claims violation of the Virginia Whistleblower act. James M. Bowling, a lawyer for Sheriff Branch, contends that the lawsuit should be dismissed, stating “Because the sheriff’s office is not an independent legal entity under Virginia law, it may not be sued” (Simmons, 2013, p.1). This case was referred to mediation by the Culpeper County Circuit Court in Virginia, under Case Number CL12000737-00 and was ultimately dismissed by the court. In this instance, whistleblower protection was not an automatic protection for Manuel. (Case Information: *Matthew Manuel v. Culpeper County Sheriff’s Office and Sheriff Jim Branch* (2012)).

Allegations of gender discrimination stem from various perceived causes with some similarities and some differences. In *Ezell v. Darr* (2013), the allegations of gender discrimination stemmed from political issues, i.e., the plaintiffs supported the sheriff’s opponent

for election (*Ezell, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Muscogee County Sheriff's Office and Sheriff John Darr, et al.*, 951 F.Supp.2d 1316 (2013)); the plaintiffs alleged that their gender discrimination allegations were fueled by political issues. And in the EEOC complaint filed by *Heuss* (2013), her gender discrimination allegation stemmed from her allegation that she was subjected to a hostile work environment due to her sex (*Heuss v Pasco County Sheriff's Office. EEOC Complaint*, 2013), whereas Phillips's complaint was simply that she was treated differently than male employees (*Phillips v. Marion County Sheriff's Office*, 2010). And finally, in a case of alleged gender discrimination via less pay for female corrections officers, the Bureau of Labor agreed with the corrections officers Multnomah Sheriff's Office, and the federal proceedings resulted in a conciliation agreement. In each of these gender discrimination cases, the sheriffs were found guilty.

To reiterate, this discussion of legal matters regarding unfair employment practices by sheriffs was intended to illustrate the lengths to which some sheriffs will go to in order to get rid of deputies who are not accepted by other deputies or supervisors within an agency. Deputies that are not "accepted into the fold," as the expression goes, are sometimes forced out through hostile working conditions, or, if they cannot be forced out, they may be subject to false accusations that lead to their dismissals.

Case Synopses

Below I include a short synopsis for each of the gender-related cases discussed in this section, which I include as a reference guide to each case and its specifics:

Terri Ezell, Donna Tompkins, Joan Wyn, et al., v. Muscogee County Sheriff's Office (2013)

Deputies Ezell, Tompkins, and Wyn filed a lawsuit against their employer, Sheriff John Darr and his Chief Deputy John Fitzpatrick, alleging gender discrimination. Tompkins and Wyn both contend that although qualified, they were passed over for a promotion to the rank of captain and that the promotion was given to a male deputy. The sheriff explained that his command staff of five male officers had unanimously voted to promote Charles Shafer. Tompkins and Wyn both hold master's degrees and Shafer is a high school graduate who had previously signed an agreement with the sheriff that he would obtain an associate degree in three years or face demotion. Shafer did not obtain an associate degree, but he still received the promotion. Edward Buckley, a lawyer for Donna Tompkins stated in court that, "They have a pattern of promotions of only men in the department." When asked during his testimony why it took more than two years to put formal promotion policies in place, Major Robertson answered that most sheriff's offices do not have formal promotion policies.

In the lawsuit, Ezell also claimed that Darr retaliated against herself and Tompkins because they supported their boss, former Sheriff Ralph Johnson, in the 2008 election that Darr won. On an interesting note, U.S. District Court Judge Clay Land, who presided over the case, said, "If you shoot at a king, you must kill him" – paraphrasing Ralph Waldo Emerson (Emerson, 1843). The federal jury deliberated for more than 20 hours and determined that Sheriff Darr violated federal law in the promotion process; that Tompkins and Wyn had been discriminated against. (Case information: *Terri Ezell, et al., Plaintiffs, vs. John Darr, et al., Defendants*, Case No. 4:11-CV-93 filed in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia – Columbus Division).

Ezell’s case was subsequently argued before the United States Court of Appeals, Eleventh Circuit and the court decided on September 23, 2015, that Ezell failed to show that gender disparities were a pretext for discrimination against her in particular. The court did note, however, ‘that the general disparities in promotion and rank of men and women in the Columbus Consolidated Government (CCG) sheriff’s office under Sheriff Darr give us pause for reaching our decision today. Regardless of whether such disparities were present before Sheriff Darr's administration, they heighten our sensitivity to any evidence in the record that Ms. Ezell was treated differently than similarly situated men. In this case, we conclude that those disparities alone cannot give rise to a reasonable inference that gender discrimination was at work in Ms. Ezell's transfer. The number and modesty of Sheriff Darr's promotions of women allow for the theoretical possibility that discrimination was at work in his employment decisions regarding those women, but Ms. Ezell has failed to show how those disparities support an inference that his jail reorganization plan was a pretext for discrimination against her in particular’ (*Ezell v. Darr*, No. 13-15851, 11th Cir., 2015).

April Heuss: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2013)

Ms. Heuss filed a complaint with the Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) against the Pasco County Sheriff’s Office in Florida. In her complaint, Ms. Heuss alleged that she was “subjected to a hostile work environment and disparate treatment based on her sex” (Orlando, 2013). This complaint concludes that Ms. Heuss agreed to settle for \$25,000 in exchange for dropping her EEOC complaint, resigning, and reimbursing the sheriff’s office for classes she took.

Kristine M. Phillips v. Marion County Sheriff's Office, OR (2010)

In this gender discrimination case, Ms. Phillips alleged that she was treated differently than similarly situated male employees. Additionally, she alleged Section 1983 claims, i.e., civil rights violations claim, for alleged violations of her due process equal protection rights. The following is a gist of the case: Ms. Phillips's employment was terminated after repeated violations involving the mistreatment of inmates. Ms. Phillips objected to her termination and the case was brought to arbitration – with both the plaintiff and defendant in agreement. The arbitrator found that there was no just cause for the firing of Ms. Phillips and ordered her reinstatement. Upon returning to work, Sheriff Isham refused to reinstate Ms. Phillips, saying that he would challenge the arbitrator's decision. All claims were dismissed, with the exception of the gender discrimination claims regarding the arbitration award. Due to Sheriff Isham's refusal to reinstate Ms. Phillips after an arbitrator ruled in her favor, a federal jury awarded her \$100,000 for wrongful termination. (Case Information: *Kristine M. Phillips, Plaintiff v. Marion County Sheriff's Office*, Case Number CV-09-6061-TC).

Multnomah County Corrections Officers Association v. Multnomah County Sheriff's Office, et al., (1987)

Seventeen female employees of the Multnomah County Sheriff's Office in Oregon filed for equal pay for comparable work under the Equal Pay Act. The female corrections officers were paid less than the male corrections officers. The county conducted a study and determined that the women's job classification was undervalued and underpaid. The female officers lost their case because the judge ruled that they failed to show sex discrimination (Off Our Backs: A Women's Newsjournal, 1986). The defendants subsequently filed a lawsuit in federal court in 1987, claiming violation of the civil rights act, which resulted in the county and the corrections

officers' association signing a conciliation agreement. Although the Bureau of Labor conducted an administrative review, which resulted in findings in favor of the corrections officers, the federal government's counsel maintained that the court proceedings satisfied that the policy did not discriminate against females. (Case information: *Multnomah County Corrections Officers Association v. Multnomah County Sheriff's Office, et al.*, U.S. District Court, Portland, Oregon Docket No. 3:87cv932 (1987)).

Analyses of Sheriff Case Outcomes

In seven of the ten cases above, the outcome was in favor of the plaintiffs/deputies. In one of the cases, the courts ruled in favor of the sheriff, in another case, there was a partial judgment against the sheriff, and one of the cases was dismissed – in favor of the sheriff. Taking into consideration that the cases reviewed cover a short period of time, the court rulings may indicate a trend. Future research of additional legal proceedings would be needed to help determine if there is a pattern to the courts' decisions. It is possible that deputies are hesitant to file lawsuits against their sheriffs because the price is too steep, i.e., loss of job or retaliation in other ways, like bad recommendations to other law enforcement agencies, but when they do come forward with complaints, the courts seem to be carefully reviewing the facts of the cases. There are still some inconsistencies within the court rulings, as every case is different - and interpretations of legal issues that remain such a gray area within the law are very subjective.

Interestingly, *Elrod v. Burns (1976)* was the case most discussed in some of the reviewed cases and appears to be the common thread and the precedent case in many patronage cases. As the First Amendment barrier to patronage practices by sheriffs, *Elrod v. Burns (1976)* affords protections to sheriffs' employees/appointees who are in non-policymaking decisions. However,

court discretion determines the outcome of each case individually.

In the interest of full candor, my interest in the court cases discussed in this section is more about the experiences of the women than about the court's decision. Sometimes those who have become desperate enough to move forward with legal proceedings may win in court, but they will always be "in but not of" (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). And not all women who are subjected to unfair treatment have the strength or desire to endure potentially years of fighting legal battles; some make the difficult decision to move on from their career in law enforcement - and it is their stories will never be heard by the courts.

Court Cases, Legal Proceedings, and EEOC Complaints about Police Departments and Unfair Labor Practices

In this section, I discuss several cases regarding police departments and various forms of alleged employment discrimination and unfair labor practices. I explore the allegation(s) made by female officers against their respective agencies, as well as the outcomes of the lawsuits. The search to find cases was once again time-consuming and difficult. For this section, I rely heavily on a 2007 case study by Kimberly A. Lonsway & Angela M. Alipio, as it adequately explains the lack of such cases to be found and the reasons why women are reluctant to proceed with such lawsuits (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). Hesitation to file lawsuits against police departments is seemingly a common theme throughout the study. The reluctance to file lawsuits is understandable because even if the officer wins the case, there is typically a heavy price to pay, which sometimes is career-ending and/or life-changing.

Perhaps the information presented in this section will enlighten readers as to why women may decide against making a complaint or filing a lawsuit. According to Lonsway, et al., 2007,

“...one of the most significant problems cited by female officers is the negative attitude of their male colleagues. This negative attitude can be a considerable source of stress for female officers” (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). The negative attitudes of some male colleagues, as described by female officers, included threatening the women with the possibility of not being backed up in an emergency situation (which could be dangerous or life-threatening), refusing to work with them, and lack of promotional opportunities – to name a few (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). Aside from the women in the study, female officers have experienced discrimination because some men simply do not believe that women should be police officers. In an employment discrimination action brought by a female police officer against the city of Montgomery, Alabama, the following remarks made to a female officer by the police commissioner, "I don't want you here, you have no business being here, you are a woman, and a woman has no business being a police officer," provided enough evidence of discriminatory intent to support a violation of civil rights claim. (U.S. vs. City of Montgomery, Alabama, 1990).

The female officers who ultimately decided to file lawsuits against the police departments for which they worked disclosed some of the issues they experienced leading up to their decisions to take legal action. The negative workplace experiences included lost opportunities – described as opportunities that would help their careers being withheld from them, failure to give them an award or recognition they deserved, rating them lower than they deserved on an evaluation, refusing to work with them, withholding information they need to do their jobs, and denying them training, education, or a promotion they deserved, the spreading of false rumors or lies about them, interrupting them or speaking over them, and their salary or overtime pay being decreased (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007).

In their study, Lonsway and Alipio (2007) explored the factors that led the women to the filing of the lawsuits against their respective police departments – and money was not the primary reason for any of the women; money was secondary to standing up for themselves in some fashion, and feeling obligated to the women subsequently coming into law enforcement. Denial of promotion was a common reason that the women in the study gave for filing their lawsuits. Some of the women said that they had scored first on the promotional exam, yet they were not promoted. Another said that she was passed over for promotion by six male officers with lower scores on the promotional exam. And one woman was on the promotional list for five years but was told that “men could not take orders from women” (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007).

Denial of promotion was followed by unfair discipline as the reason some of the women filed lawsuits. Some of the women were terminated or demoted after being disciplined for “minor or non-existent infractions” – the very same infractions that the women said were acceptable when it came to the male officers, noting that the male officers were not disciplined for those same infractions (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). One of the female officers said she was in an altercation with four other officers, all of whom were male. She said was fired following the altercation and shortly thereafter, the other four (male) officers were promoted.

The women in the study experienced retaliation in many forms after they made formal complaints or filed lawsuits. One woman was ordered by her superior officer to see the city nurse for an evaluation of her mental fitness; another received death threats. Another had the tires of her personal vehicle flattened while she was on duty and her vehicle was parked at the police station. And one female officer said that she was forced to provide medical records that included questions about her sexual relationships; she described the experience as “the department’s subsequent rape of me” (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). Such retaliation may serve as

deterrents to other female officers who are considering legal action against their respective agencies. One of the female officers offered advice to other females considering filing a lawsuit against their respective police department, “Be prepared for a long journey of isolation, alienation, rejection, and total negativity from co-workers, managers and superiors (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). One woman even said to prepare to be abandoned by so-called women’s organizations, adding the chilling statement, “Your life will never be the same – and you will never be the same person” (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007). In most of these cases, the women said that subsequent to the lawsuits, no changes were made within their agencies – and this was the worst and most discouraging aspect of their ordeals. One of the participants declared, “The lawsuit was further victimization” (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007).

Some of the women in the study who endured the unpleasant process of a lawsuit found strength in their own endurance – and in some cases, they learned to rely on their own spirituality to survive the experience. But others left the law enforcement profession. One woman said, “Filing this lawsuit has ruined my life!! It has destroyed any possibility to be promoted in the future.” In this 13-case study, seven of the cases were settled, resulting in financial awards for the plaintiffs and one of the cases was one at trial (Lonsway & Alipio, 2007).

In yet another case where female officers brought an action against the police department for which they worked alleging that they were denied promotions because of their sex, the testimony from witnesses for the department was quite telling. One official testified that “women could not generally perform as well as men because they suffered from hormonal fluctuations related to the female menstrual cycle” (*Jordan, et al., v. Wilson, 1986*). And the police chief himself testified that “a woman should not serve as the mayor’s aide because a woman could not ‘run through ditches’ and physically keep up with the mayor” (*Jordan, et al., v. Wilson, 1986*). It

is unnerving that these testimonies were offered as defenses for their sexist actions.

In its decision, the court noted that, “It is ironic that the police department commanders criticized Pierce [one of the defendants] for lacking ‘presence’ and strength of character. In her unfailing commitment to the rule of law, she has withstood the indignity of discrimination and retaliation from many, if not all, directions within the police department she has often had to stand alone, often strenuously opposed by her fellow female as well as male officers. From this fact, as well as the other evidence presented at trial, this court is convinced that, whatever shortcomings there may be in Pierce’s character, lack of ‘presence’ and strength of character is not one of them” (*Jordan, et al., v. Wilson, 1986*). The testimonies of these defense witnesses seemingly provided evidence of sexism within the police department.

Again, in the interest of full candor, my interest in the court cases discussed in this section is more about the experiences of the women than about the court’s decision. Sometimes those who have become desperate enough to move forward with legal proceedings may win in court, but they will always be “in but not of” (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). And not all women who are subjected to unfair treatment have the strength or desire to endure potentially years of fighting legal battles; some make the difficult decision to move on from their career in law enforcement - and it is their stories will never be heard by the courts.

Summary and Conclusion

Gender inequality and bias in male-dominated professions is not a new phenomenon. In law enforcement, the higher the rank, the lower the percentage of women who hold those ranks (U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices. (2015)). Acceptance into male-dominated professions for

women may be limited and can be a challenge. Sometimes, women in law enforcement are perceived as “in but not of” the organization (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Although women are sometimes conditionally accepted into law enforcement, achieving promotions to higher rank remains difficult, and the higher the rank, the higher the level of difficulty. According to Garcia (2003, p. 330), “the continual practice of women police as different has created conflict within the police organization and worked to keep women police within the lower ranks of the organization.”

Virtually all studies on female law enforcement officers show that women are capable of performing the job of law enforcement physically, mentally, and emotionally (Price, 1996). But women still sometimes face negative perceptions from their male peers. Subsequently, female law enforcement officers sometimes assume that they are less valued as officers; lower promotion rates of women may contribute to this assumption. Promotions are generally in the hands of executive leadership within law enforcement agencies, and perhaps subjective. “The difficulty women face competing on merit is that merit is primarily defined by the men who got there first” (Kyprianou, 1996, p. 3). The irony is that public perception of female law enforcement officers is positive.

Women offer many positive reinforcements to law enforcement agencies that may not be realized. Women are generally less aggressive in their policing styles, resulting in fewer lawsuits against law enforcement agencies - and they are valuable for handling sensitive investigations involving female victims, resulting in fewer misconduct allegations against officers (Lonsway, et al. 2002). Lack of recruitment and retention of female law enforcement officers may have an adverse effect on law enforcement agencies that do not employ an adequate number of female officers to address the needs of their communities; the communities in which these officers

would potentially serve may suffer the consequences of poor community relations because the needs of communities, as provided by law enforcement, may be better served by a more diverse law enforcement agency (Lonsway, et al. 2002).

Chapter 2 provides a review of literature relative to factors that may affect promotion for women in law enforcement. Included in the literature review are topics such as patronage politics and civil service, collective bargaining, gender inequality and bias in male-dominated professions, history of women in law enforcement, male officers' perceptions of female officers, and advancement for women as elected law enforcement officials and high-ranking positions, and law enforcement advancement opportunities for women. This chapter also provides a review of court cases and legal proceedings relative to sheriffs' offices and police departments and their unfair labor practices – illustrating the power of elected sheriffs and the theoretical effects that power may have on the lack of promotion for women in law enforcement and the general gender bias that exists in law enforcement. The literature review associates the relationship of the factors discussed in the chapter with the difficulties of women in law enforcement regarding their attempts to achieve high-ranking positions within their agencies. The chapter addresses an array of theories regarding the lack of women in the law enforcement field, especially in leadership roles.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology used in the research study to establish credibility in the study regarding the promotion rates for women, as compared to men, in law enforcement, and at various levels of supervisory roles. The research study uses quantitative methods to run linear regressions to analyze the data, which will be supplemented by a qualitative portion in which the anecdotal interviews of 12 law enforcement officers are summarized. Chapter 3

includes a discussion of the research designs for both the quantitative and qualitative portions of this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

Simply stated, the purpose of this study is to explain gender disparities in different types of law enforcement agencies at various levels of rank. This researcher is a career law enforcement officer and was interested in this topic because there appeared to be a gap between the likeliness of females being hired to work in law enforcement and females attaining high-ranking positions once they become law enforcement officers. This study examines gender disparity in promotion in law enforcement agencies, concentrating on the differences in gender disparity at various levels of supervisory positions, i.e. rank, and additionally examines gender disparity rates between agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e. police departments, and agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e. sheriffs' offices, by analyzing numerous variables and determining how those variables explain the variation in gender disparity in law enforcement agencies. The purpose of this study is to examine factors that influence gender disparity in different types of law enforcement agencies at various levels of rank.

This mixed-method study was designed to include both quantitative and qualitative analyses; the research is more encompassing and telling than when using quantitative analyses alone. In this chapter, the details of the quantitative data are provided, and the statistical procedures utilized to analyze the data are discussed. In Chapter 5, the details of the supplemental qualitative interviews are discussed, including the sampling procedures and the development and implementation of the survey instrument utilized for the interview participants. Also discussed in Chapter 5 is the important issue of the confidentiality of the participants in the qualitative portion of this study. The research questions, hypotheses, research design, dataset, data collection, and methods are described in this chapter. For the present study, the dataset used

was from the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices. (2015). Note that the DOJ has periodically conducted this survey since 1987, with the previous study to the 2013 study having been conducted in 2007. The DOJ survey data being utilized for this dissertation is for the year 2013; it specifies police agencies as the unit of analysis.

The dependent variable in this study is the disparity that exists in the percentages of supervisory levels between males and females in law enforcement, hence, the Gender Disparity Rate (GDR). The researcher was interested in determining what factors have contributed to the lower rates of promotion for females in law enforcement, and if the disparities are greater at certain levels of supervisory positions, i.e. first-line supervisor, intermediate-level supervisor, or executive-level supervisor, i.e., sheriff or chief, and if disparities are more prevalent within certain types of agencies. Therefore, there was a specific focus on types of agencies, i.e. sheriffs' offices vs. police departments – or typically elected heads of agency vs. typically appointed heads of agency. The researcher found the existing research lacking regarding specific levels of rank. The DOJ dataset provides data for supervisory categories, i.e., first-line supervisors, intermediate-level supervisors, and executive-level positions, but does not provide the specific rank to which these three levels refer. Law enforcement agencies generally have numerous levels of rank and it would be useful and more accurate to have the actual rank/title included in the dataset for analysis. A report was published in 2002 by the National Center for Women & Policing (NCWP), a division of the Feminist Majority Foundation (Lonsway, et al, 2002), which included some statistics regarding the numbers of high-ranking positions held by women, but no further reports have been published by the NCWAP, which is unfortunate. The lack of specific information gives importance and credence to this incipient research, as well as

to further research on this topic. This study was designed to contribute to the existing literature about women in law enforcement and to provide insight for those who aspire to not only have a career in law enforcement but to achieve upper-level ranking positions within their respective law enforcement agencies. By narrowing the topic to explore perspectives and viewpoints of those in the field of law enforcement, the study focuses on an area that is lacking in literature: factors that affect promotion for women in law enforcement.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Questions

In the present study, the following two research questions were investigated:

1. Do law enforcement agencies have lower percentages of female law enforcement officers than they do male officers and if so, what factors explain the disparities?
2. Do law enforcement agencies headed by sheriffs, i.e. elected officials, have lower percentages of female law enforcement officers in supervisory positions than do law enforcement agencies headed by police chiefs, i.e. appointed officials, and what other factors explain the disparities?

Hypotheses

Law enforcement is a male-dominated profession. The data show that men greatly outnumber women in law enforcement agencies, and even more at supervisory levels. In this study, I test hypotheses about why those gender disparities at supervisory levels are greater in some agencies than in others.

In the present study, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: *Law enforcement agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e. sheriffs, are more likely to have lower percentages of female law enforcement officers in supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies headed by appointed officials, i.e. chiefs of police.*

H1a: *Law enforcement agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e. sheriffs, are more likely to have lower percentages of female law enforcement officers in first-line supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies headed by appointed officials, i.e. chiefs of police.*

H1b: *Law enforcement agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e. sheriffs, are more likely to have lower percentages of female law enforcement officers in intermediate-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies headed by appointed officials, i.e. chiefs of police.*

H1c: *Law enforcement agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e. sheriffs, are more likely to have lower percentages of female law enforcement officers in executive-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies headed by appointed officials, i.e. chiefs of police.*

Hypothesis 2: *Law enforcement agencies that have education requirements and incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have educational requirements.*

H1a: *Law enforcement agencies that have education requirements and incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in first-line*

supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have educational requirements.

***H2b:** Law enforcement agencies that have education requirements and incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in intermediate-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have educational requirements.*

***H2c:** Law enforcement agencies that have education requirements and incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in executive-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have educational requirements.*

***Hypothesis 3:** Law enforcement agencies that have merit incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in supervisory positions, than are law enforcement agencies that do not have merit incentives.*

***H3a:** Law enforcement agencies that have merit incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in first-line supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have merit incentives.*

***H3b:** Law enforcement agencies that have merit incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in intermediate-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have merit incentives.*

***H3c:** Law enforcement agencies that have merit incentives are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in executive-level*

supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have merit incentives.

Hypothesis 4: *Law enforcement agencies that have collective bargaining/unionization are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have collective bargaining/unionization.*

H4a: *Law enforcement agencies that have collective bargaining/unionization are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in first-line supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have collective bargaining/unionization.*

H4b: *Law enforcement agencies that have collective bargaining/unionization are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in intermediate-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have collective bargaining/unionization.*

H4c: *Law enforcement agencies that have collective bargaining/unionization are more likely to have higher percentages of female law enforcement officers in executive-level supervisory positions than are law enforcement agencies that do not have collective bargaining/unionization.*

Other variables included in the analyses are region and size, which are used as control variables.

Research Design

Through quantitative and qualitative methods, this study investigates and examines factors that may contribute to lower rates of promotion for females in law enforcement, with a specific focus on types of agencies. Quantitative analyses using linear regressions, i.e., ordinary least squares (OLS) for continuous dependent variables as well as logistic regressions for dichotomous dependent variables, were conducted utilizing survey data from the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, LEMAS 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices (2015). The percentage of persons in rank who are women was investigated, as were the differences in percentages of persons in rank for males and females employed by agencies headed by officials who are typically elected, i.e., sheriffs, compared to agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e., police chiefs. Education-related variables were explored to determine if the level of education required, the attainment of a bachelor's degree, pay incentives for educational attainment, or tuition reimbursement contributed to the gender disparity rate. A variable was included for pay incentives that are based on merit to determine any effect such incentives might have on the gender disparity rate in law enforcement agencies, as was a variable pertaining to collective bargaining. The size of a law enforcement agency, i.e., the number of full-time sworn officers in an agency, was included in the analysis to determine whether the size of the agency had any effect on the gender disparity rate. And finally, whether southern states differed from other states in gender disparities in law enforcement was also explored.

The quantitative portion of the study was supplemented by qualitative analysis via interviews of law enforcement officers, which were anecdotal in nature. The interviews were summarized to provide a more complete account of promotions issues for males and females in

law enforcement. Although quantitative research methods can quantify amounts of change through analyses of relationships between significant variables, qualitative research methods can answer exploratory questions specific to the population of the study, offering, in this instance, an in-depth view of the essence of the participants' specific lived experiences in the field of law enforcement. While the primary focus of the study is on promotion rates for females in law enforcement, the researcher included the experiences and perceptions of males in law enforcement to provide a more comprehensive look into law enforcement officers and promotions.

Chapter 4: Quantitative Analysis

Part 1: Quantitative Data

This section provides a description of the variables and their operationalizations as used to test the hypotheses. For the quantitative portion of this study, I used survey data entitled Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) 2013, which was published by the U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices. (2015). Please note that throughout this research, the data set may be referred to as the DOJ survey data. “The LEMAS Survey, conducted periodically since 1987, collects data on a range of topics from a nationally representative sample of state and local law enforcement agencies. Prior to the 2013 survey, the most recent LEMAS Survey was conducted in 2007” (LEMAS, 2013). Permission to use this dataset was obtained from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) via email. (See Appendix D). This dataset provides the number of males and females in law enforcement agencies, the number of males and females in first-line supervisory positions, i.e. sergeants, the number of males and females in intermediate-level supervisory positions, and the number of males and females in law enforcement who hold executive-level positions, i.e. chiefs and sheriffs, or equivalent. The agencies are listed by states and categorized by type of agency, i.e., sheriff’s office or police department.

The data were separated and coded to run appropriate linear regressions for this research. The data were then analyzed utilizing statistical software by Stata (StataCorp. 2017. Stata: Release 15. Statistical Software. College Station, TX: StataCorp LLC) for data science. Below I provide descriptions and operationalizations of the dependent variables and independent variables used in this study to test the hypotheses.

Dependent Variables

I used various dependent variables to test the overall theory. I was interested in determining the percentage of female law enforcement officers at each level of rank included in the dataset.

- **FRank** is the percentage of all persons of rank who are females, i.e., supervisory, female law enforcement officers in each agency. To create this variable, I first added three separate variables that were included in the original DOJ dataset. One of those variables represented “supervisory full-time sworn personnel female sergeant or equivalent,” one represented “supervisory full-time sworn personnel female intermediate supervisor,” and the third represented “supervisory full-time sworn personnel female chief executive” (U.S. Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices, (2015)). The sum of these three variables created a new variable that represented the total number of ranking female law enforcement officers per agency. That total was used to create FRank by dividing the number of female ranking officers by the total number of all ranking officers (meaning female ranking officers + male ranking officers) multiplied by 100 to convert it into a percentage.
- **FRank** is a continuous variable, so no coding was required.
 - **Equation:**
$$\text{FRank} = (\text{female_4} + \text{intm_f} + \text{SGT_F}) / (\text{female_4} + \text{male_4} + \text{intm_m} + \text{intm_f} + \text{SGT_M} + \text{SGT_F}) * 100.$$
- **female_1** is the percentage of all non-ranking females in each agency. This variable was created by subtracting the total number of all ranking female officers from the total number of full-time sworn personnel. The difference is the total number of non-ranking female officers, which represented the total number of non-ranking female law enforcement officers per agency. That total was used to create the variable, female_1, by dividing the number of

non-ranking female officers by the total number of all non-ranking officers (meaning non-ranking females + non-ranking men) multiplied by 100 to convert it into a percentage. This is a continuous variable, so no coding was required.

- **Equation:** $\text{female_1} = (\text{non-ranking females}) / (\text{non-ranking females} + \text{non-ranking males}) * 100.$

- **female_2** is the percentage of females in first-line supervisory positions, i.e., sergeant or equivalent in each agency. The DOJ dataset included a variable for the number of females in first-line supervisory positions, therefore I created the variable, **female_2**, by dividing the variable for female sergeants by the total number of all sergeants (meaning female sergeants + male sergeants) multiplied by 100 to make it a percentage (U.S. Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices, 2015). This is a continuous variable, so no coding was required

- **Equation:** $\text{female2} = (\text{female sergeants}) / (\text{female sergeants} + \text{male sergeants}) * 100.$

- **female_3** is the percentage of females in intermediate-level supervisory positions, which would typically be the rank of lieutenant in most law enforcement agencies. The DOJ dataset included a variable for the number of females in intermediate-level supervisory positions, therefore I created this variable by dividing the variable for female intermediate-level supervisors by the total number of all intermediate-level supervisors (meaning female intermediate-level supervisors + male intermediate-level supervisors) multiplied by 100 to make it a percentage (U.S. Department of Justice. Bureau of Justice Statistics – Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices, 2015). It is a continuous variable, so no coding was required.

- **Equation:** $female_3 = (female \text{ intermediate-level supervisors}) / (female \text{ intermediate-level supervisors} + male \text{ intermediate-level supervisors}) * 100.$
- **female_4** is all females in executive-level supervisory positions. The DOJ dataset included a variable for the number of females in executive-level supervisory positions. Since there is only one executive-level supervisory position in each agency, female_4 is a dichotomous variable that is coded 0=Male, 1=Female.

Independent Variables

I used various independent variables to test the overall theory and to control for factors that might obstruct the relationship between promotion rates for female law enforcement officers and the type of agency, i.e. sheriffs' office, typically elected head of agency, or police department, typically appointed head of agency. Overall, I was interested in testing whether female law enforcement officers are less likely to achieve promotion to higher levels of rank if they work for a sheriff, i.e. an elected official.

- **sheriff** is a dichotomous variable that indicates the type of agency, i.e., whether the agency is a sheriff's office, which is typically headed by an elected official, or a police department, which is typically headed by an appointed official. This variable is coded:

1= Sheriff, 0 = Police.

- **edu_required** is a variable that indicates the type of education required for employment by an agency. This variable is an ordinal variable and is coded as follows:

0=No Requirements, 1=High School Requirement, 2=Some College Required, 3=Associates Degree Required, 4=Bachelor's Degree Requirement.

- **bachelor** is a variable that indicates the percentage of people in an agency who HAVE a bachelor's degree. This variable is a continuous variable that was created by dividing the number of officers with bachelor's degrees by the total number of full-time sworn officers in each agency. (Note that this is the only question in the dataset's survey about employees' actual education, so this is the only education attainment variable available).
- **PAY_INCT_EDU** is a dichotomous variable that indicates if an agency offers incentives for full-time sworn personnel based on educational achievement. This variable is coded
1=Yes, 0 = No.
- **PAY_INCT_MRT** is a dichotomous variable that indicates if an agency offers incentives for full-time sworn personnel based on merit/performance. This variable is coded
1 = Yes, 0 = No.
- **PAY_BARG** is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether sworn personnel are represented by a collective bargaining organization. This variable is coded 1= Yes, 0 = No
- **PAY_RMB_TUIT** is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether tuition costs are reimbursed for full-time sworn personnel. This variable is coded 1 = Yes, 0 = No.
- **ftsworn** is a variable that indicates the size of an agency, i.e., the number of full-time sworn personnel in the agency. It is a continuous variable, so no coding was required. The average agency size is 145.080 for sheriffs' offices with a range of 1 -9266 and the average size for police departments is 146.090 with a range of 0 - 34,454.
- **south** is a variable that indicates that a state is one of the 13 Confederate States (South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky or a non-southern state, i.e., all other states.

(See <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/secession-acts-thirteen-confederate-states>.) It is a dichotomous variable coded 1= South; 0 = non-South.

Examination of Independent Variables

The variables were examined to determine if any of them were highly correlated with each other, as to check for any multicollinearity problems. Initially, a variable for population size in an agency’s jurisdiction was included, but the variable was removed when it was found to be highly correlated with the “full-time sworn” variable, which is the variable that indicates the number of full-time sworn officers in an agency. (The variance inflation factor between those two variables was .85). No other multicollinearity was detected. Note that analyses were run with and without the “population” variable and that removing the variable did not change the statistical significance or the positive/negative direction of the other variables included in the analyses.

Table 1
Summary Statistics for Dependent Variables

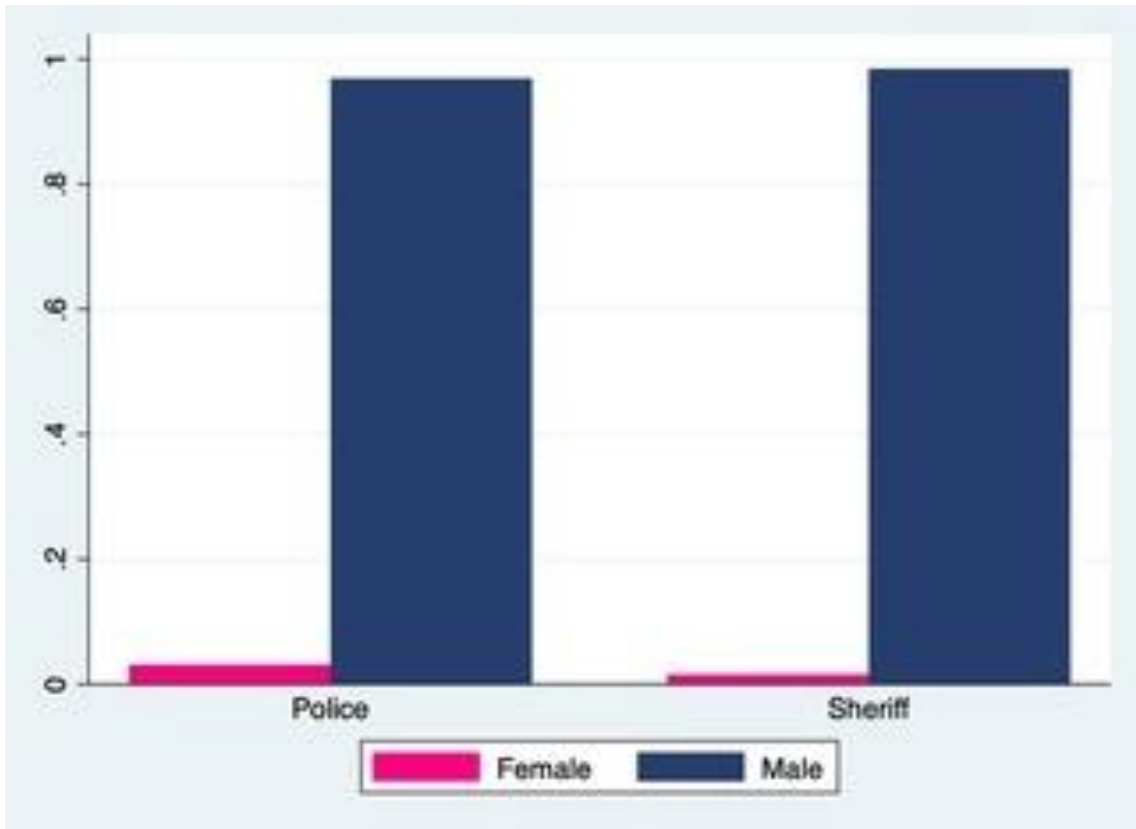
Variables	Sheriff and Police Combined	Sheriff	Police
Females at all supervisory ranks	6.1%	7.9%	5.5%
Female first-line supervisors	6.4%	8.4%	5.7%
Female intermediate-level supervisors	5.7%	7.2%	5.3%
Female executive-level supervisors	2.7%	1.5%	3.0%

Table 2**Summary Statistics for Independent Variables**

Variables	Sheriff and Police Combined (%)	Sheriff (%)	Police (%)
Sheriff or Police	N/A	25.8%	74.2%
Education Pay Incentives	43.0%	32.2%	46.8%
Merit Pay Incentives	23.7%	23.8%	23.6%
Collective Bargaining	84.8%	77.3%	87.4%
Tuition Reimbursement	45.9%	36.0%	49.3%
South or Non-South	38.4%	49.7%	34.5%
Bachelor (average % attained)	5.2%	1.9%	6.3%

Figure 1

Graph of Executive-Level Supervisors Compared by Type of Agency



Average percentage of executive-level males in police departments: 97%

Average percentage of executive-level females in police departments: 3%

Average percentage of male executive-level, i.e., sheriffs: 98.5%

Average percentage of female executive-level, i.e., sheriffs: 1.5%

Table 3***All Female Ranking Officers Combined*****Linear regression**

	FRank	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Sheriff		2.231	.473	4.71	0	1.303	3.159	***
edu_required		.238	.286	.83	.406	-.323	.799	
Bachelor		-.824	1.622	-0.51	.612	-4.005	2.358	
PAY INCT EDU		1.415	.407	3.48	.001	.618	2.213	***
PAY INCT MRT		1.47	.46	3.20	.001	.568	2.372	***
PAY BARG		-.806	.562	-1.43	.151	1.908	.296	
PAY RMB TUIT		.984	.403	2.44	.015	.193	1.775	**
Ftsworn		.001	0	3.86	0	0	.001	***
South		1.304	.423	3.08	.002	.473	2.134	***
Constant		3.811	.736	5.18	0	2.368	5.254	***
Mean dependent var			5.939	SD dependent var			9.629	
Adj R-squared			0.0352	Number of obs			2399.000	
F-test			10.712	Prob > F			0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)			17598.368	Bayesian crit. (BIC)			17656.196	

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

I regressed *all female ranking officers combined*. This linear regression yielded six statistically significant variables with four of those variables, i.e., *education-pay incentives*, *merit-pay incentives*, *tuition reimbursement*, and *size of agency*, reaching statistical significance in the expected direction. Two of the statistically significant variables, i.e., *sheriff vs. police*, and *South*, reached statistical significance, but not in the expected direction.

The results for the *sheriff vs. police* variable are surprising, as the results indicate that the percentage of *female ranking officers* within sheriffs' offices is slightly higher than the percentage of *female ranking officers* within police departments when controlling for other factors. I expected to find that the percentage of *female ranking officers* was lower in sheriffs' offices at every level, but when analyzing the total combined number of *female ranking officers* within each agency type, sheriffs' offices have a slightly higher proportion of *female ranking officers*. On average, sheriffs' offices, has **2.23** percentage points more *female ranking officers*

than the comparison group, police departments, when controlling for the other variables.

Although not in the expected direction, *the sheriff/police* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

For the *education-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer pay incentives for educational achievement are predicted to have **1.42** percentage points more *female ranking officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

For the pay *merit-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer pay incentives for merit are predicted to have **1.47** percentage points more *female ranking officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

For the *tuition reimbursement* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer tuition reimbursements are predicted to have **.98** percentage points more *female ranking officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .015$.

For the *size of agency* variable, the analysis indicates that as the agency size increases, the number of *female ranking officers* increases. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .0.001$, but the number is so small (.0009638), that it is not practically significant.

For the *South* variable, the analysis shows that on average, agencies in the South have **1.30** percentage points more *female ranking officers* than agencies in non-south states. This is surprising because seemingly, the South is generally viewed as backward, i.e., behind the times. This variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .002$.

Of note is that the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree is very low, i.e., an average of only 5.2% of sheriffs' offices and police departments combined. The DOJ dataset's survey question about bachelor's degree attainment is the only question in the survey about employees' actual education, hence, it is the only education attainment variable available. The *bachelor* variable did not reach statistical significance, as it hardly varies because only a small percentage of employees have attained bachelor's degrees.

The adjusted R-squared value for this regression model is 0.0352, which indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable, i.e., *female ranking officers*, which can be predicted from the independent variables is 3.5%.

Table 4

Non-Ranking Female Officers

Linear regression

female_1	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Sheriff	.035	.006	6.05	0	.023	.046	***
edu_required	.014	.003	4.08	0	.007	.021	***
Bachelor	.009	.021	0.42	.675	-.033	.05	
PAY_INCT_EDU	.008	.005	1.55	.121	-.002	.017	
PAY_INCT_MRT	.014	.006	2.46	.014	.003	.025	**
PAY_BARG	-.001	.007	-0.17	8.68	-.015	.012	
PAY_RMB_TUIT	.001	.005	0.23	.82	-.008	.011	
Ftsworn	0	0	2.11	.035	0	0	**
South	.023	.005	4.44	0	.013	.033	***
Constant	.063	.009	7.06	0	.046	.081	***
Mean dependent var		0.106	SD dependent var			0.115	
Adj R-squared		0.034	Number of obs			2336.000	
F-test		10.019	Prob > F			0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		-3530.418	Bayesian crit. (BIC)			-3472.856	

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

I regressed the *non-ranking female officers*. This linear regression yielded five statistically significant variables with three of those variables, i.e., *education required*, *merit-pay incentives*, and *size of agency*, reaching statistical significance in the expected direction and two

of those statistically significant variables, i.e., *sheriff vs. police* and *South*, reaching statistical significance, but not in the expected direction. Please note that this regression pertains to ***non-ranking female officers*** and is provided mainly for informational purposes, as the focus of this study is on disparities in percentages of females in ranking/supervisory positions in law enforcement.

The results for the *sheriff vs. police* variable, are somewhat surprising, as the results indicate that the percentage of ***non-ranking female officers*** within sheriffs' offices are higher than the percentage of ***non-ranking female officers*** within police departments when controlling for the other variables. I expected to find that the percentage of ***non-ranking female officers*** was lower in sheriffs' offices, but when analyzing the total percentage of ***non-ranking female officers*** within each agency type, sheriffs' offices have a slightly higher number of ***non-ranking female officers***. On average, the reference group, i.e., sheriffs' offices, has **3.47** percentage points more ***non-ranking female officers*** than the comparison group, police departments. Although not in the expected direction, *the sheriff/police* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: **$p < .001$** .

For the *type of education required* variable, which is an ordinal variable, the analysis shows that for each level of education required of officers, the average percentage of ***non-ranking female officers*** increases by **1.42** percentage points. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: **$p < .001$** .

For the *merit-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer *merit-pay incentives* are predicted to have **1.36** percentage points more ***non-ranking female officers*** than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: **$p < .014$** .

For the *size of agency* variable, the analysis shows an ever so slightly higher number of *non-ranking female officers* in sheriffs' offices. On average, the reference group, i.e., sheriffs' offices, has **0.0000063** percentage points (converted from **6.33e-060**) more *non-ranking female officers* than the comparison group, police departments. Although not in the expected direction, the *sheriff vs. police* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .035$.

For the *South* variable, the analysis shows that on average, agencies in the *South* have **2.29** percentage points more *non-ranking female officers* than agencies in non-south states. This is surprising because seemingly, the *South* is generally viewed as backward, i.e., behind the times, thus I expected to find an overall lower number of female officers in the *South*. This variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

Of note is that the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree is very low, i.e., an average of only 5.2% of sheriffs' offices and police departments combined. The DOJ dataset's survey question about bachelor's degree attainment is the only question in the survey about employees' actual education, hence, it is the only education attainment variable available. The *bachelor* variable did not reach statistical significance, as it hardly varies because only a small percentage of employees have attained bachelor's degrees.

The adjusted R-squared value for this regression model is **0.0336**, which indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable, i.e., *non-ranking female officers*, which can be predicted from the independent variables is 3.4%.

Table 5***First-Line Ranking Female Officers*****Linear regression**

female_2	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
sheriff	.032	.007	4.76	0	.019	.045	***
edu_required	.003	.004	.80	.423	-.005	.011	
bachelor	.011	.023	.46	.645	-.035	.056	
PAY_INCT_EDU	.016	.006	2.68	.007	.004	.027	***
PAY_INCT_MRT	.013	.007	1.98	.048	0	.026	**
PAY_BARG	-.004	.008	-0.52	.6	-.02	.012	
PAY_RMB_TUIT	.015	.006	2.66	.008	.004	.027	***
ftsworn	0	0	2.63	.009	0	0	***
south	.016	.006	2.66	.008	.004	.028	***
Constant	.031	.011	2.95	.003	.01	.052	***
Mean dependent var		0.064	SD dependent var		0.137		
Adj R-squared		0.023	Number of obs		2408.000		
F-test		7.155	Prob > F		0.000		
Akaike crit. (AIC)		-2790.017	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		-2732.152		

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

I regressed the *first-line ranking female officers*. This linear regression yielded six statistically significant variables with four of those variables, i.e., *education-pay incentives*, *merit-pay incentives*, and *size of agency*, reaching statistical significance in the expected direction and two of those statistically significant variables, i.e., *sheriff vs. police* and *South*, reaching statistical significance, but not in the expected direction.

The results for the *sheriff vs. police* variable, are surprising, as the results indicate that the percentage of *first-line ranking female officers* within sheriffs' offices are higher than the percentage of *first-line ranking female officers* within police departments. I expected to find that the percentage of *first-line ranking female officers* was lower in sheriffs' offices, but when analyzing the percentage of *first-line ranking female officers* within each agency type, sheriffs' offices have a higher proportion of *first-line ranking female officers*. On average, the reference group, i.e., sheriffs' offices, has **3.22** percentage points more *first-line ranking female officers* than the comparison group, police departments, when controlling for the other variables.

Although not in the expected direction, *the sheriff/police* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

For the *type of education required* variable, which is an ordinal variable, the analysis shows that for each level of education required of officers, the average percentage of *first-line ranking female officers* increases by **0.33** percentage points. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .42$.

For the *education-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer pay incentives for educational achievement are predicted to have **1.55** percentage points more *first-line ranking female officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .007$.

For the pay *merit-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer pay incentives for merit are predicted to have **1.30** percentage points more *first-line ranking female officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .048$.

For the *tuition reimbursement* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer tuition reimbursements are predicted to have **1.53** percentage points more *first-line ranking female officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .008$.

For the *size of agency* variable, the analysis shows an ever so slightly higher number of *first-line ranking female officers* in sheriffs' offices. On average, the reference group, i.e., sheriffs' offices, has **0.00000939** percentage points (converted from **9.39e-06**) more *first-line ranking female officers* than the comparison group, police departments. Although not in the

expected direction, the *size of agency* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .009$, the number is so small that it is not practically significant.

For the *South* variable, the analysis shows that on average, agencies in the *South* have **1.61** percentage points more *first-line ranking female officers* than agencies in non-south states. This is surprising because seemingly, the South is generally viewed as backward, i.e., behind the times. This variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .008$.

Of note is that the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree is very low, i.e., an average of only 5.2% of sheriffs' offices and police departments combined. The DOJ dataset's survey question about bachelor's degree attainment is the only question in the survey about employees' actual education, hence, it is the only education attainment variable available. The *bachelor* variable did not reach statistical significance, as it hardly varies because only a small percentage of employees have attained bachelor's degrees.

The adjusted R-squared value for this regression model is **0.0225**, which indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable, i.e., *first-line ranking female officers*, which can be predicted from the independent variables is 2.3%.

Table 6***Intermediate-Level Ranking Female Officers*****Linear regression**

female_3	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
sheriff	.018	.007	2.56	.011	.004	.031	**
edu_required	.007	.004	1.60	.11	-.001	.015	
Bachelor	-.017	.023	-0.73	.465	-.063	.029	
PAY_INCT_EDU	.02	.006	3.47	.001	.009	.032	**
PAY_INCT_MRT	.027	.007	4.11	0	.014	.04	**
PAY_BARG	-.001	.008	-0.07	.946	-.016	.015	
PAY_RMB_TUIT	.005	.006	0.88	.378	-.006	.017	
Ftsworn	0	0	2.38	.017	0	0	**
South	.021	.006	3.43	.001	.009	.033	***
Constant	.018	.011	1.66	.098	-.003	.039	*
Mean dependent var		0.056	SD dependent var			0.139	
Adj R-squared		0.024	Number of obs			2408.000	
F-test		7.645	Prob > F			0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		-2726.100	Bayesian crit. (BIC)			-2668.235	

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

I regressed the *intermediate-level ranking female officers*. This linear regression yielded five statistically significant variables with three of those variables, i.e., *education-pay incentives*, *merit-pay incentives*, and *size of agency*, reaching statistical significance in the expected direction and two of those statistically significant variables, i.e., *sheriff vs. police* and *South*, reaching statistical significance, but not in the expected direction.

The results for the *sheriff vs. police* variable are surprising, as the results indicate that the percentage of *intermediate-level ranking female officers* within sheriffs' offices are higher than the percentage of *intermediate-level ranking female officers* within police departments. I expected to find that the number of *intermediate-level ranking female officers* was lower in sheriffs' offices, but when analyzing the percentage of *intermediate-level ranking female officers* within each agency type, sheriffs' offices have a higher proportion of *intermediate-level ranking female officers*. On average, the reference group, i.e., sheriffs' offices, has **1.75**

percentage points more *intermediate-level ranking female officers* than the comparison group, police departments, when controlling for all other variables. Although not in the expected direction, the *sheriff vs. police* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .011$.

For the *education-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer pay incentives for educational achievement are predicted to have **2.04** percentage points more *intermediate-level ranking female officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

For the *merit-pay incentives* variable, the analysis indicates that on average, agencies that offer pay incentives for merit are predicted to have **2.74** percentage points more *intermediate-level ranking female officers* than agencies that do not. This variable is statistically significant in the expected direction at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

For the *size of agency* variable, the analysis indicates that as the agency size increases, the number of *intermediate-level ranking female officers* increases, but ever so slightly. On average, the reference group, i.e., sheriffs' offices, has **.00000861** percentage points (converted from **8.61e-06**) more *intermediate-level ranking female officers* than the comparison group, police departments. Although not in the expected direction, the *size of agency* variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .017$, the number is so small that it is not practically significant.

For the *South* variable, the analysis shows that on average, agencies in the South have **2.10** percentage points more *intermediate-level ranking female officers* than agencies in non-south states. This is surprising because seemingly, the *South* is generally viewed as backward, i.e., behind the times. This variable is statistically significant at the .05 level: $p < .001$.

Of note is that the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree is very low, i.e., an average of only 5.2% of sheriffs' offices and police departments combined. The DOJ dataset's survey question about bachelor's degree attainment is the only question in the survey about employees' actual education, hence, it is the only education attainment variable available. The *bachelor* variable did not reach statistical significance, as it hardly varies because only a small percentage of employees have attained bachelor's degrees.

The adjusted R-squared value for this regression model is **0.0242**, which indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable, i.e., *intermediate-level ranking female officers*, which can be predicted from the independent variables is 2.4%.

Table 7

Executive-Level Ranking Female Officers

Logistic regression

female_4	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Sheriff	.342	.151	-2.43	.015	.144	.812	**
edu_required	.961	.186	-0.21	.837	.658	1.404	
Bachelor	.522	.632	-0.54	.591	.049	5.607	
PAY_INCT_EDU	.958	.261	-0.16	.874	.561	1.635	
PAY_INCT_MRT	1.137	.344	0.43	.67	.629	2.057	
PAY_BARG	1.119	.451	0.28	.781	.508	2.466	
PAY_RMB_TUIT	1.107	.3	0.38	.707	.651	1.885	
Ftsworn	1	0	0.33	.742	1	1	
South	1.084	.31	0.28	.778	.619	1.898	
Constant	.027	.014	-7.04	0	.01	.074	***
Mean dependent var		0.025	SD dependent var			0.156	
Pseudo r-squared		0.015	Number of obs			2406.000	
Chi-square		8.656	Prob > chi2			0.470	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		572.800	Bayesian crit. (BIC)			630.657	

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Note: `_cons` estimates baseline odds.

I regressed the *sheriff vs. chief* variable. This logistic regression indicates that sheriffs' offices compared to police departments decrease the odds of having a female executive-level

supervisor by a factor of **.34**, holding all other variables constant. The p -value for the logistic regression is $p < .015$. No other variables in this analysis reach statistical significance.

Of note is that the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree is very low, i.e., an average of only 5.2% of sheriffs' offices and police departments combined. The DOJ dataset's survey question about bachelor's degree attainment is the only question in the survey about employees' actual education, hence, it is the only education attainment variable available. The *bachelor* variable did not reach statistical significance, as it hardly varies because only a small percentage of employees have attained bachelor's degrees.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to explore the factors that explain variations in gender disparities in promotion across law enforcement agencies and to investigate whether or not gender disparities are higher within agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e., sheriffs' offices than they are within agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e., police departments. The expectation was that the analyses would show that sheriffs' offices have a lower percentage of women than police departments at every supervisory level analyzed, but this was not the case. Instead, the results indicate that the variable for the type of agency, i.e., *police vs. sheriff*, is consistently significant in each of the regression analyses, however, the magnitude is in the opposite direction than expected for all levels of rank, except for the executive-level, where the statistical significance is in the expected direction and the odds of having a female chief executive-level supervisor in a sheriff's office decreases by .34, holding all other variables constant. The analyses revealed that the percentages of women in sheriffs' offices were only slightly higher at each level of rank, i.e. 2.23 percentage points for all female ranking officers

combined, 3.22 percentage points for first-line ranking female officers, and 1.75 percentage points for intermediate-level ranking female officers. Although the analyses did not support the hypotheses at these levels, the analyses show that the higher the level of rank, the lower the percentages of females, which supports the overall theory that as rank levels increase, women's chances of achieving rank decreases. Although the significance is not in the expected direction for the first-line and intermediate-level supervisory positions, the results show that the type of agency does affect gender disparities in law enforcement. And, the suspicion that the highest level of rank holds the highest level of gender disparity was confirmed, supporting the hypothesis that more gender bias exists at the highest supervisory level. Of note is that the bivariate relationships between the dependent variables and the *sheriff vs. police* variable show the same results without controlling for other variables – meaning that sheriffs' offices have a higher percentage of women in supervisory positions below the executive level than do police departments. It is also worth mentioning that the *sheriff vs. police* variable is the only variable that reached statistical significance for every level of analysis.

Two of the variables did not reach statistical significance in any of the regressions: *bachelor* and *collective bargaining*. *Bachelor* indicates the percentage of people in an agency who have attained a bachelor's degree. This is interesting because other education-related variables reached statistical significance, such as *education required*, which indicates the type of education required for employment by a law enforcement agency, and which reached statistical significance in the regression for non-ranking officers. *Pay incentives for educational achievement* reached statistical significance in the regressions for *all female ranking officers combined*, *first-line supervisory positions*, and *intermediate-level supervisory positions*. And

tuition reimbursement reached statistical significance in the regressions for *all female ranking officers combined* and *first-line supervisory positions*.

The *merit-pay incentives* variable is a variable that indicates whether a law enforcement agency offers pay incentives to sworn personnel based on merit or performance. The *merit-pay incentives* variable reached significance in the regressions for *all female ranking officers combined*, *first-line supervisory positions*, and *intermediate-level supervisory positions*. This variable reached statistical significance in the regression for non-ranking female officers, as well. Perhaps the significance of this variable may be seen as an indicator of an agency's commitment to professionalism.

The *collective bargaining* variable is a variable that indicates whether sworn personnel are represented by a collective bargaining organization. It is interesting that the *collective bargaining* variable did not reach statistical significance in any of the analyses. Summary statistics show that 77.3% of sheriffs' offices in the survey have collective bargaining agreements, as compared to 87.4% of police departments. However, police departments seemingly have more binding agreements that may provide employment protections, such as gender equality, whereas sheriffs' deputies are at-will employees/appointees and there is typically no recourse, as the sheriff usually has the final say on personnel matters.

Chapter 3 provides the methodology used in this research study to test the hypotheses and to measure associations of factors that may affect promotion for women in law enforcement. Quantitative analyses were used to determine if gender disparities exist in law enforcement and if the level of those disparities increase as rank levels increase, as well as whether or not gender disparities are higher within agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e., sheriffs' offices than they are within agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e., police departments.

Some of the findings were not as expected, but the disparities at the executive-level supervisory position support the hypothesis that the higher the level of rank, the greater the gender disparity and the greater the disparity between the types of agencies.

Chapter 5 presents the qualitative portion of this study, which includes interviews of 12 law enforcement officers. The details of the supplemental anecdotal qualitative interviews are discussed, including the sampling procedures and the development and implementation of the survey instrument utilized for the interviews of the participants. The analyzed and summarized interview results are presented in this chapter and the important issue of the confidentiality of the participants in the qualitative portion of this study is discussed.

Chapter 5 – Qualitative Research

Qualitative Research

Qualitative Data (Interviews of Law Enforcement Officers)

Participants

For the present study, a supplemental qualitative portion was conducted. The purposive sample of interviewees was chosen due to their occupations and array of rank within their respective agencies. “Purposive sampling techniques are primarily used in qualitative studies and may be defined as selecting units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study’s questions” (Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p. 77). The interviews, which are investigative in nature, allow us to learn and gain knowledge from the varied experiences and perspectives of actual law enforcement officers who have encountered this phenomenon of varied rates of promotion between male and female law enforcement officers. Seemingly trivial aspects of the career experiences of the interviewees are explored, hence enhancing our understanding of promotion processes that may be biased, overlooked, or unnoticed. It was through these interviews that any patterns or themes became apparent and enlightened us, thus allowing us to gain in-depth knowledge into promotion difficulties and/or factors affecting promotion rates for women in law enforcement.

The qualitative portion of this study consists of interviews of twelve law enforcement officers for which six males and six females were recruited. Access to these law enforcement officers allowed the researcher to have a convenient, yet suitable, sample of participants. Three of the male participants work or have worked for a sheriff’s office and three of the male participants work or have worked for a police department. Equally, three of the female participants work or have worked for a sheriff’s office and three of the females work or have

worked for a police department. The purposive sample of interviewees was chosen due to their occupations and array of rank within their respective agencies. The interviews seek to discover the perceptions and viewpoints of the participants regarding their experiences with and observations of opportunities and/or hindrances for promotions for women in law enforcement.

Instrumentation

The survey instrument, which was designed by the researcher and, was entitled:

Law Enforcement Officers' Questionnaire was used to gather qualitative data. The *Law Enforcement Officers' Questionnaire* contained two sections with a total of 17 questions.

Section I contained four demographic questions:

Demographic Questions:

1. What is your gender?
2. What is your age?
3. What is your level of education?
4. In what state within the United States of America is the law enforcement agency for which you work or previously worked?

Section II, the Main Questionnaire, contained 13 questions regarding the law enforcement officer's experience regarding promotions processes.

Main Questionnaire:

1. Describe the type of agency by which you are or were employed (i.e., sheriff's office or police department).
2. Is your head of the agency appointed or elected?

3. What is your agency's promotions process? Does your agency's promotions process, require testing, requirements of certain previous assignments, merits, time "on the job," etc.?
4. Did you incur any difficulties obtaining employment as a law enforcement officer?
5. Have you attempted to achieve promotion and if yes what was the outcome?
6. What is your present rank?
7. How long have you been or how long were you a law enforcement officer?
8. Do you believe that your agency's promotions process is fair?
9. Do you believe that your agency's promotions process is gender-biased?
10. Do you believe that females in law enforcement are hindered from promotions to first-line supervisor positions, (i.e., sergeant)?
11. Do you believe that females in law enforcement are hindered from promotions to intermediate level supervisory positions (i.e., lieutenant)?
12. Do you believe that females in law enforcement are hindered from promotions to executive-level supervisory positions, such as chiefs' positions?
13. Are there any other remarks that you would like to add?

Sampling Procedures

The sampling methods used for the selection of participants were convenience and purposive; the results are intended to be used as anecdotal information. For the qualitative portion of the study and prior to the data collection, an Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained from the University of New Orleans (UNO) (see Appendix A). After obtaining IRB approval, the researcher contacted law enforcement officers by email, in an effort to recruit participants. The email requesting participation included the invitation letter and the informed consent (See Appendix B). *Law Enforcement Promotions Rates Study: Invitation*

Letter to Law Enforcement Officers and Informed Consent (see Appendix C). The Informed Consent included the following IRB guidelines: (a) purpose of study, (b) procedures, (c) voluntary nature of participation, (d) possible risks and benefits, (e) confidentiality, and (f) contact information of the researcher. The participant's affirmative response to the recruitment email served as consent to participate in this study, indicating that the participant understood the informed consent form and desired to participate in this study. To ensure participants' anonymity, participants were simply referred to in numerical order, i.e. "Participant 1," etc., throughout the study.

Qualitative Study Findings

Once the interviews were completed, the answers to the questions were summarized. Twelve law enforcement officers were interviewed as participants in this study. Three participants (25%) were female law enforcement officers who work or worked for a sheriff's office. Three participants (25%) were male law enforcement officers who work or worked for a sheriff's office. Three participants (25%) were female law enforcement officers who work or worked for a police department. Three participants (25%) were male law enforcement officers who work or worked for a police department. The participants' ages range from 45 to 69, with an average age of approximately 59 years of age. The years of law enforcement experience reported by the participants range from 5 years to 42 years, with an average of 29.6 years of law enforcement experience.

Summary of Interview Questions

Sheriffs' Offices (females)

All three female participants who work or have worked for a sheriff's office answered that their agency is headed by an elected official and that their agency does not or did not have a process for promotion; that all promotions were at the discretion of the sheriff. None of them incurred difficulties obtaining employment as a law enforcement officer. All participants in this category attempted to obtain promotion; two attained the rank of lieutenant, i.e., mid-level supervisor, both of whom have Master's degrees; one did not attain promotion, although she attempted to achieve promotion. All three female participants who worked for a sheriff's office have been or had been law enforcement officers for over 30 years. None of them believe that their agency has a fair promotion process, and all believe that their agency's promotion process is gender-biased. All of them believe that females in law enforcement are hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, intermediate-level supervisory positions, and executive-level supervisory positions.

To further illustrate their opinions, below are some of the remarks made by the females in the sheriff's office category:

Sheriffs' Offices Female Interviewee #1

“Sheriffs' Offices are the worst! They have complete control. EEOC is a joke.”

“Sheriff Webre [of Lafourche Parish] wanted to implement promotions testing and procedures and was met by resistance from other sheriffs. They don't want equity; they want control.”

Sheriffs' Offices Female Interviewee #2:

- “I tried to make my own way with my own merit, but I stepped on toes and I was punished.
- “It’s a chauvinistic club. It’s the glass ceiling.”

Sheriffs' Offices Female Interviewee #3:

“When I earned my master’s degree, the sheriff himself promoted me to Detective Lieutenant - because my commander would not recommend me – even after the sheriff ‘suggested’ that he do so. My commander was incensed! He called me into his office and told me that ALL of the (male) detectives were pissed because I was promoted; he was so mad, he was shaking! I asked him if any of the pissed off detectives had more time, more experience, or more education than me; they did not. Maybe it wasn’t very ‘lady-like,’ but I also asked him if any of the pissed off detectives had more balls than me, because if so, tell them to come in here and speak their piece. I thought he was going to come across the desk and grab me; he was PISSED!”

Summary of Interview Questions

Police Departments (females)

All three female participants who work or have worked for a police department answered that their agency is headed by an appointed official. All participants answered that their agency has a promotion process, specifically, Participant #1 said that her agency had a written test, Participant #2 said that her agency was civil service and followed a process which included a written test, and evaluation, and an interview, and Participant #3 said that her agency had a testing process. One of them incurred difficulties obtaining employment as a law enforcement officer and asserted that the entry testing process was unfair; the other two participants did not

incur difficulties obtaining employment as law enforcement officers. Two participants in this category attempted to attain promotion – and with success. One of the promoted participants has a Master’s degree and was promoted up to a commander’s position and the other promoted participant has two years of college and achieved the rank of lieutenant. The third participant did not attempt to attain promotion. The three female participants who worked for a police department have been or had been law enforcement officers for between five and forty-two years. Interestingly, the two participants who achieved promotion believe that their agency’s promotion process was unfair and gender-biased, and the participant who did not attempt to achieve promotion believes her agency’s promotion process to be fair. And in similar fashion, the two promoted females believe that females in law enforcement are hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, intermediate-level supervisory positions, and executive-level supervisory positions, and the third participant does not believe that females are hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions or intermediate level positions. However, she believes that females are hindered from promotion to executive-level supervisory positions, but for reasons other than gender bias.

To further illustrate their opinions, below are some of the remarks made by the females in the police departments category:

Police Female Interviewee #1:

The police department for which she worked had a testing process for promotions – but only up to the rank of lieutenant; captains and above were appointed. (As an aside, this is precisely the type of process I would like to see implemented for sheriffs’ offices). She was one of the top two scoring candidates on the test but did not get the promotion. She was even asked to withdraw so they could promote who they wanted in that spot. She filed a lawsuit – and won.

Participant #1 also offered some insight into her agency's hiring process. She said, "There is an unofficial list for blacks and whites; it is not affirmative action, which is actually a process. Captains decide who is hired from the list of test scores and it is very political, but they can choose anyone from list."

This participant also shared her thoughts about another reason there may be disproportionate percentages of female ranking officers in law enforcement: "Sometimes, women want to be with their families, so they may not attempt to achieve promotion. Women have been in policing for over 40 years, yet the gains are minimal. The number of women who hold top spots are still minimal. Why hasn't anything changed?"

Police Female Interviewee #2:

- "I was the first female hired by the department – maybe as a token."
- "I was promoted twice – to sergeant and lieutenant - through normal processes, testing, etc., and promotion to captain was supposed to follow the same process, but the governing authority interjected, and politics and friendship superseded. The man who was promoted didn't even have a high school diploma! He didn't even pass the test! I was first on the list. The appointing authority said, 'Ain't no Bitch getting that job!'"
- "Women in law enforcement are held to higher standards. Females are more likely to be scrutinized than males. Males were less likely to buck a male supervisor."

Police Female Interviewee #3:

Participant #3 believes that her agency's promotion process is fair, explaining that the agency is a type of civil service and that employees' rights are protected. She further indicated that although she feels that females are competent as police officers, she believes there are other factors that come into play regarding promotions, such as home life. She said, "Maybe females

have too many other responsibilities, like children and family, that prevent them from trying to get promoted.”

Summary of Interview Questions

Sheriffs' Offices (males)

All three male participants who work or have worked for a sheriff's office answered that their agency is headed by an elected official and that their agency does not or did not have a process for promotion; that all promotions were at the discretion of the sheriff. None of them incurred difficulties obtaining employment as a law enforcement officer. All participants in this category attempted to attain promotion; two attained the rank of Captain, i.e., (upper) mid-level supervisory position. One of the promoted male officers has an Associate's degree, but a total of about four years of college, and the other has some college, but said he was promoted because he had specialty training, i.e., “a state of the art unique certification.” Participant #3 attained promotion, to the rank of sergeant, and has some college. The three male participants in this category have been or had been law enforcement officers for between 26 and 37 years. None of them believe that their agency has an entirely fair promotion process, and all believe that their agency's promotion process is somewhat gender-biased. All of them believe that females in law enforcement are in some fashion hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, intermediate-level supervisory positions, and executive-level supervisory positions.

To further illustrate their opinions, below are some of the remarks made by the males in the sheriff's office category:

Sheriffs' Offices Interviewee Male #1

- “When I was promoted to Lieutenant, it was because they ran out of political favors and I had merit and seniority. Seniority was key.”

- “For me, the process became less fair over the years because the higher the rank, the more politics came into play.”
- When it comes to promotions to upper levels of rank, females may be hindered because there are usually more quality males to choose from - because there are more males in the pool. The pool of females is smaller, overall.”

Sheriffs’ Offices Interviewee Male #2:

- “Promotions are given willy-nilly. There is no consistency; there is really no process.”
- “There are no female chiefs in my agency.”
- “A lot of the issues are because ‘Alpha Males’ are making decisions. They see females as weaker. A lot of them think females shouldn’t be in this profession at all.”

Sheriffs’ Offices Interviewee Male #3

- “There is no promotion process; promotions are given at the will of the sheriff.”
- “I find that law enforcement is a heavily male-driven occupation. I find that men tend to accept women in law enforcement but not in positions of direct supervisors or as higher-level rank. It seems that women are pushed towards victim assistance programs or domestic violence outreach programs but seldom into positions that are typically male-dominated.”
- “I did not achieve promotion because of a personal conflict between me and the sheriff.”
- “The sheriff was chauvinistic AND racist.”

Police Departments (males)

Two of the male participants who work or have worked for a police department answered that their agency is headed by an appointed official; one worked for an elected chief. All three participants answered that their agency had a promotion process, specifically, testing. None of

the participants incurred difficulties obtaining employment as a law enforcement officer. Two participants in this category attempted to attain promotion – and with success. One of the promoted participants has an Associate’s degree and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and the other promoted participant has two years of college and was promoted to “Police Officer 2,” which is a step up in grade, but not in rank. The third participant did not attempt to attain promotion. The three male participants who worked for a police department have been or had been law enforcement officers for between 26 and 37 years.

Two of the participants in this category believe that their agency’s promotion process is fair; the other did not believe his agency’s promotion process to be fair. Regarding gender bias in promotion processes, one participant said it depends on who the decision-makers are at the time, one said their agency’s promotion process is gender-biased, and the third participant said he did not believe his agency’s promotion process was gender-biased. One of the participants said that it depends on who the decision-makers are at the time as to whether females in law enforcement are hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, another participant said that females were hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, and the third participant said he did not think females were hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, but that females ARE hindered from promotion to intermediate-level supervisory positions, and executive-level supervisory positions. One of the participants said that it depends on who the decision-makers are at the time as to whether females in law enforcement are hindered from promotion to intermediate-level supervisory positions and another said that he believes females are hindered from promotion to intermediate-level supervisory positions. And lastly, all three participants in this category believe that females are hindered from promotion to executive-level supervisory positions.

To further illustrate their opinions, below are some of the remarks made by the males in the police departments category:

Police Male Interviewee #1

This participant offered no further remarks.

Police Male Interviewee #2

This participant believes that the higher the rank, the less women eligible for promotion.

Police Male Interviewee #3

“I think the PD was happy to promote females to a lower level of rank not getting higher than sergeant. There were very few women lieutenants even though the PD had several ranking officers at that position. The higher the rank the less females were in them.”

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to explore the factors that explain variations in gender disparities in promotion across law enforcement agencies and to investigate whether or not gender disparities are higher within agencies typically headed by elected officials, i.e., sheriffs' offices than they are within agencies typically headed by appointed officials, i.e., police departments. The results of the qualitative analysis indicate that the type of agency, i.e., *sheriff vs. police*, has an effect on gender disparities in law enforcement; these results reinforce the findings of the quantitative analysis. (Although at some levels of rank, the findings show significance is in opposite directions, the *sheriff vs. police* variable is consistently significant in the quantitative analysis). The results of the qualitative portion of this research also indicate that the type of agency, i.e., *sheriff vs. police*, is indicative of higher proportions of gender bias when the type of agency is a sheriff's office. All of the interviewees who work for or previously

worked for a sheriff's office indicate that their agency does not or did not have a process for promotion and that all promotions were given at the discretion of the sheriff – and those same interviewees believe that their agency's promotion process is gender-biased. In contrast, all of the interviewees who work for or previously worked for a police department indicate that their agency does in fact have a promotion process. One interviewee said that her agency's promotion process is fair - that the agency is a type of civil service and that employees' rights are protected.

The results of the qualitative analysis via interviews reinforced this researcher's expectations regarding females obtaining employment as law enforcement officers; the female interviewees who work for or previously worked for a sheriff's office said that none of them incurred difficulties obtaining employment as law enforcement officers. However, one of the female police interviewees said that she did incur difficulties obtaining employment as a law enforcement officer – asserting that the testing process for her agency was not fair. And furthermore, one of the interviews reinforced this researcher's theory that gender roles exist in law enforcement and that female law enforcement officers are sometimes delegated to positions that are viewed as “girl jobs.” One of the male officers interviewed said, “It seems that women are pushed towards victim assistance programs or domestic violence outreach programs but seldom into positions that are typically male-dominated.” One of the male police interviewees did not think females were not hindered from promotion to first-line supervisory positions, but that females ARE hindered from promotion to intermediate-level supervisory positions and executive-level supervisory positions, which supports this researcher's general hypothesis – that the higher the rank, the less likely a woman will be promoted.

Chapter 5 presents the qualitative portion of this study, which includes interviews of 12 law enforcement officers. The details of the supplemental qualitative interviews are provided,

including the sampling procedures and the development and implementation of the survey instrument utilized for the interviews of the participants. The analyzed and summarized interview results are presented and discussed. Additionally, the important issue of the confidentiality of the participants in the qualitative portion of this study is discussed. The similarities and differences between the results of the quantitative and qualitative research are presented and a discussion about the extent to which the interviews reinforce or contradict this researcher's expectations.

Chapter 6 discusses and summarizes my research and includes recommendations for policy changes and future research.

CHAPTER 6: Implications, Suggestions for Future Research, and Conclusion

This research shows that gender bias is an underlying factor that contributes to the lower percentages of women in law enforcement, particularly regarding promotion to higher ranking supervisory positions for women. As indicated in the summary statistics, only 6.1% of all supervisory levels of rank are held by women. This research contributes to the existing literature, which examines women in law enforcement from a purely numbers perspective, i.e. the number of women in law enforcement compared to the number of men in law enforcement, by examining the effect of gender on the percentages of women in higher ranking positions in law enforcement. Gender inequality exists for women in law enforcement, which was confirmed by the quantitative analysis conducted in this study, as well as the qualitative methods, i.e. interviews of law enforcement officers. And the type of law enforcement agency, i.e. sheriff's office or police department, may affect the percentages of female ranking officers, particularly at the higher levels of rank.

The results of the models used to test the various hypotheses support that gender inequality exists in law enforcement, particularly at the executive-level where the average percentage of females in executive-level positions in police departments is 3% and the average percentage of females in executive-level positions in sheriffs' offices is 1.5%, thus the findings from the quantitative portion of this study have implications for female officers who aspire to achieve executive-level positions in law enforcement agencies, such as sheriff or police chief. Although the results of the analyses at the first-line and intermediate-level supervisory positions did not support my hypotheses that sheriffs' offices would have fewer women than police departments at every level of rank, it is reasonable to suspect that the several levels of rank

between the intermediate-level and the executive-level supervisory positions that are not included in the dataset may have contributed to misleading results, as all levels of rank are not considered in the DOJ dataset. To clarify, intermediate-level supervisory positions are typically one step up from first-line supervisory positions, and then several ranks between the intermediate-level and the executive-level are not included in the dataset. My theory was that women encounter obstacles and challenges to promotion at *some* level in law enforcement, so it is reasonable to theorize that perhaps those obstacles and challenges to promotion for women occur at one of the several levels of rank that are not included in the dataset, such as the ranks of captain, major, or colonel. It is reasonable to suspect that if more levels of rank were included in the data, they might show more of a “brass ceiling” effect in sheriff’s offices at higher ranks below the executive-level supervisory positions.

Another point of interest is that the DOJ dataset did not clarify the distinction between sheriff’s deputies who are assigned to corrections divisions and sheriff’s deputies who are assigned to enforcement divisions, such as patrol deputies and investigators. To explain, it is typical for sheriffs’ offices to have a jail/prison which is staffed by sheriffs’ deputies, but police departments typically do not have a jail/prison. Newly hired sheriff’s deputies are often required to start their careers in the corrections division before they can move on to other assignments within their agencies. It is not unusual for sheriff’s deputies to achieve promotion quicker when working in the corrections division, which may be partly incentive-based, perhaps as a means to keep the jail staffed. Because the numbers reported to the DOJ by sheriffs’ offices include deputies assigned to the corrections divisions, this may explain the higher percentage of women in first-line and intermediate-level supervisory positions. The inclusion of correctional deputies in the number of ranking officers could possibly explain why the quantitative findings do not

support my hypothesis that sheriff's offices have lower percentages of women at all levels of rank.

Another possible explanation as to why the quantitative research did not support the hypotheses at the levels of rank below the executive-level is that the DOJ data was self-reported by the participating law enforcement agencies. It is possible that some nonrandom error in agencies' self-reporting may have occurred – perhaps because of the lack of specifics in rank provided by the survey questionnaire – or perhaps some participants saw the opportunity to demonstrate efforts toward gender equality with how they chose to categorize their female ranking officers.

The findings from the qualitative portion of this study support the idea that the higher the rank, the higher the gender disparities; the interviews of both female and male officers offer insight into their experiences and discuss barriers that women face in achieving promotion in law enforcement agencies. And although not specifically discussed, the interview participants all have a working knowledge of the levels of rank in law enforcement, so perhaps the obstacles and challenges they have seen or experience do in fact occur at the levels of rank that are not included in the dataset. The survey questions posed to the interviewees were based on the levels of rank included in the dataset but perhaps should have included more detailed questions about more levels or rank. Future research should consider a discussion of more levels or rank to determine at what level the obstacles and challenges regarding promotion for women are most experienced.

The results of the analyses indicate that women are better represented in agencies where education matters; education-related variables were significant at every level of analysis.

Agencies that offer incentives, whether those incentives are merit-based or education-based, are

more likely to strive for gender equality, as they are likely more professionalized, therefore, they are less likely to discriminate by gender. The results also indicate that women are more likely to achieve ranking positions in larger agencies. Surprisingly, the variable for the South, which reached statistical significance, indicates that there are more females in first-line and intermediate-level ranking positions in sheriffs' offices than there are in police departments. However, the opposite is true at the executive-level, i.e., more women have achieved executive-level rank in police departments than in sheriffs' offices, which, on the surface, supports the theory that sheriffs' offices are more gender-biased, but admittedly, sheriffs are generally elected officials, so voters' choice is perhaps a factor to be considered for future research. There seems to be a lack of women candidates running for sheriff, so oftentimes, the elected position will be held by a man, regardless. As previously mentioned, Hughes poses that if more women would run for sheriff, then perhaps more women would become sheriff, and then perhaps those women could break through the glass ceiling of such discrimination and avoid and prevent some of the internal structural discrimination as they slowly redefine the structure of law enforcement agencies and bring forth equality for women in law enforcement (Hughes, 2011). Perhaps women in law enforcement are discouraged if they have experienced gender bias when trying to achieve promotion, so they assume that they would experience the same from voters if they ran for the "top-spot" of sheriff.

My suggested solution to this problem: changes to policy. Similar to laws that were implemented to allow women into the law enforcement field in the first place, policy changes should be implemented to not only recruit and retain women law enforcement officers but to protect female law enforcement officers from discrimination during promotions processes, as well. This research shows that education-based pay incentives variables are significant, as are

merit-based pay incentives. Hence, projected policy changes should include the implementation of such incentives as a means to professionalize law enforcement agencies and reduce gender inequality in promotion processes. These policy changes would provide advancement opportunities for more women in law enforcement so that they too can have an equal and fair chance to succeed in attaining higher ranking positions. If such policies were to be implemented, it could be difficult to enforce them, but over time, I would expect improvements should occur with the general attitudes towards the existence of high-ranking females in law enforcement. To be fair, the “top cop” in any given agency should be afforded the privilege of choosing his or her own command staff – the inner circle, if you will. As an administrator, the top person in any law enforcement agency should be able to choose those whom they trust and those who are loyal to be the decision-makers in the department, as they will be expected to carry out the mission of the person-in-charge. This study is meant to address the rank-and-file positions earned by those in law enforcement and why I might assume that policy changes are necessary to provide job/position protection to those who may be arbitrarily affected by “absolute power.”

Suggestions for future studies include survey data inclusive of more levels of rank. This would allow further investigation into any gender disparities at more levels of rank, as the data set used for this study included only three levels of rank. Exploring gender disparities at more levels of rank may provide a more realistic view of at what level the greatest levels of gender bias occur.

Women are sometimes subjected to gender inequality in law enforcement because their superiors are in a position to prevent them from being promoted; and this is somewhat due to the type of law enforcement agency, i.e., sheriffs’ office or police department, and the lack of mandates. Administrators who allow these discriminatory practices should be held accountable,

even if by changes in laws or federal oversight – such as a consent decree, which is a mandate that requires a specified course of action in order to correct a pattern of misconduct. Women should be able to feel confident that should they choose a career in law enforcement, they will have a chance to break through the “brass ceiling” and have the same career advancement opportunities as men. It is an injustice to continue to allow the administrators of law enforcement agencies to be the arbiters of fate for women in law enforcement.

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Appendix A

IRB Approval Letter

**University Committee for the Protection
of Human Subjects in Research
University of New Orleans**

Campus Correspondence

Principal Investigator: Christine Day, Ph.D.
Co-Investigators: Gina Holland, M.P.A.
Date: November 19, 2017
Protocol Title: Rates of Promotions for Women in Law Enforcement:
Comparison of Agencies Headed by Elected and Appointed
Officials
IRB#: 10Oct17

The IRB has deemed that the research and procedures are compliant with the University of New Orleans and federal guidelines. The above referenced human subjects protocol has been reviewed and approved using expedited procedures (under 45 CFR 46.110(a) category (7)).

Approval is only valid for one year from the approval date. Any changes to the procedures or protocols must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to implementation.

If an adverse, unforeseen event occurs (e.g., physical, social, or emotional harm), you are required to inform the IRB as soon as possible after the event.

I wish you much success with your research project.

Sincerely,



Ann O'Hanlon, Chair
UNO Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research

Appendix B

Informed Consent



Informed Consent. In accordance with the Office of Human Subjects Research at the University of New Orleans, the following information provides you, the potential participant, with an explanation of the purpose and delivery method of my research study entitled, “Just a Girl in a Man’s World.”

Introduction/Purpose. I am a doctoral student in the Political Science program at the University of New Orleans. I am conducting my dissertation research under the direction of my chairperson, Professor Christine Day. The purpose of my research study is to explore promotions rates for women in law enforcement, as compared to men in law enforcement. The delivery method of this qualitative portion of my research will be in the form of a telephone interview in which the participant will answer a series of questions regarding his or her experience relative to their experience(s) and observations of promotions processes within their respective agencies. The inclusionary criteria for this study are that participants be a law enforcement officer, a former law enforcement officer, or a retired law enforcement officer.

Procedures. If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in a telephone interview conducted by me; said interview will be regarding your experience with, and knowledge of promotions processes in law enforcement. Demographic questions will also be a part of this interview, which may take up to 30 minutes of your time. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will remain confidential.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty.

Risks/Discomforts. No known risks or discomforts.

Benefits. Although there may be no direct benefit to you, the possible benefit of your participation is improving promotions processes in law enforcement.

Confidentiality. The identities of the twelve participants will only be known to the co-investigator and the principal investigator; identities of participants will otherwise remain confidential. Participants’ responses to the questions will simply be coded/referred to as “Participant 1,” etc., throughout the study, to safeguard participants’ confidentiality. Participants’ responses to the questions will be kept in a double locked file cabinet, to which only the co-investigator and the primary investigator will have access. The data will be shredded after three years.



Questions about the Research. Please direct any questions or concerns about this study to the co-investigator, Gina B. Holland [REDACTED] or the principal investigator and faculty adviser, Dr. Christine L. Day [REDACTED].

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, please contact Dr. Ann O'Hanlon at the University of New Orleans [REDACTED].

Your response to this email will serve as your consent to participate in this study, indicating that you understand the above consent form and that you desire to participate in this study.

Thank You,
Gina B. Holland, M.P.A.
Doctoral Student at the University of New Orleans

Appendix C

Invitation Letters to Law Enforcement Officers (Participants)



Invitation Letter

Dear _____,

I am a doctoral student conducting a research study under the direction of Professor Christine Day in the Department of Political Science at the University of New Orleans. The purpose of my research study is to explore promotions rates for women in law enforcement, as compared to men in law enforcement.

This study has been approved by the University of New Orleans' Institutional Review Board (IRB #10Oct17).

The inclusionary criteria for this study are that participants be a law enforcement officer, a former law enforcement officer, or a retired law enforcement officer. I am requesting your participation, which will require you to participate in a telephone interview conducted by me; said interview will be regarding your experience with promotions processes in law enforcement; this will take up to 30 minutes of your time. Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. The results of the research study may be published, but your name will remain confidential. Although there may be no direct benefit to you, the possible benefit of your participation is improving promotions processes in law enforcement.

In advance, I appreciate your willingness to support my research project. If you are interested in participating, please respond to this email and I will contact you to arrange a telephone appointment with you.

Please direct any questions or concerns about this research study to the co-investigator, Gina B. Holland [REDACTED] or the principal investigator and faculty adviser, Dr. Christine Day [REDACTED].

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, please contact Dr. Ann O'Hanlon at the University of New Orleans [REDACTED].

Sincerely,

Gina B. Holland, M.P.A.

Appendix D

Permission to Use Dataset (from ICPSR)

From: ICPSR User Support <[REDACTED]>
Sent: Tuesday, September 5, 2017 9:15 AM
To: Gina Barras Holland
Subject: Permission to use Dataset: ICPSR_36164-0001 LEMAS 2013 Local Police Departments 2013: Per... ISSUE=260591 PROJ=17

----- When replying, type your text above this line -----

Notification of Request Change

Workspace: ICPSR User Support
Request: Permission to use Dataset: ICPSR_36164-0001 LEMAS 2013 Local Police Departments 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices
Request Number: 260591

Description:

Gina,
You have our permission to use this dataset.
Best regards,
Arun Mathur
ICPSR

NOTICE: This message, including all attachments transmitted with it, is intended solely for the use of the Addressee(s) and may contain information that is PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL, and/or EXEMPT FROM DISCLOSURE under applicable law. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, copying, distribution, or use of the information contained herein is STRICTLY PROHIBITED. If you received this communication in error, please destroy all copies of the message, whether in electronic or hard copy format, as well as attachments and immediately contact the sender by replying to this email or contact the sender at the telephone numbers listed above. Thank you!

VITA

The author was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, and grew up in St. Bernard Parish. She obtained her Bachelor's Degree in Criminal Justice from Loyola University New Orleans in 1995. She obtained her Master's Degree in Public Administration from the University of New Orleans in 2003 and her Master's Degree in Political Science from the University of New Orleans in 2015. She continued her education at the University of New Orleans and obtained her Ph.D. in Political Science, with a concentration in public administration in 2020. She worked as a full-time law enforcement officer/criminal investigator while pursuing her degrees.