

**Curtin Business School
School of Marketing**

Women and leadership in a policing context

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DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated
“To the Almighty Lord, without whom I am nothing”.

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ABSTRACT

This research examined the lived experience of middle to top-level female law enforcement officers (policewomen) with the aim of understanding why there exists a paucity of policewomen in key senior leadership positions, and what challenges face policewomen in seeking leadership roles. Existing literature indicates a negative imbalance for women at the middle-level and top-levels of leadership in policing, with female officers experiencing career stagnation, mostly occurring at the middle-level. Explored here are some of the challenges that curtail a policewoman's career progression in law enforcement, a profession that is generally considered to be gendered.

This research involved a study of policewomen in the United States and Australia to examine their lived experiences and career aspirations. The study cohort consisted of policewomen from middle and top-level positions, divided equally between state and federal law enforcement, with twenty policewomen from each country.

Legitimization theory has been utilised in the analysis of data for this study. The lived experience of policewomen examined here provides the context for their positioning of self in a gendered organisation. An individual in a gendered organisation is within a social space that is composed of normative, socio-cognitive and regulatory pillars. In this case the focus is career progression and occupation. Simply put, this study employs legitimisation theory to examine the career trajectories and aspirations of female law enforcement officers in a gendered organisation, having a gendered leadership culture of practice. The research seeks to identify and conceptualise the issues that the policewomen face when seeking career progression. The analysis methods employed here provide key insights into the reasons why women are not occupying senior positions in law enforcement.

A qualitative approach was taken in the collection and analysis of the study data so as to best explore the phenomenological and interpretivist paradigm. Initial data collection focussed on establishing a clear understanding of law enforcement practices and culture in the two selected countries. To achieve this, field data were collected using semi-structured, in-depth interviews with forty middle-level and top-level policewomen from the United States and Australia.

Australia and the United States were chosen for this study because the socio-economic contexts of the two countries as well as the policing practices are quite similar. Both countries are democratic, Anglo-Saxon and patriarchal. The researcher spent considerable time in the United States law enforcement agency settings and found that their American policewomen experienced career limiting issues that had much in common with their Australian female counterparts. In-depth conversations with the policewomen over time highlighted that despite the similarities of a cultural context there exist underlying issues in contrast. Having an existing network of collegial contacts in the American law enforcement system facilitated this research in a seamless manner that would not have been readily accessible in other countries. Law enforcement organisations are by their secure nature difficult places to gain access for data collection. In this study data were required for both state and federal law enforcement agencies in order to make comparisons to see one law enforcement area is better suited for career progression for the policewomen than the other.

Analysis of the study data revealed that policewomen entering law enforcement are thrust into a unique environment where the 'self' is immersed into a gendered organisation. The challenges that the policewomen face and the self-imposing barriers emerged as critical to career progression. In reconciling the incongruity, the policewomen strategize their career progression through self-determined goals and aspirations when charting their career in law enforcement.

The policewomen make the decision to develop a second career post retirement from law enforcement. As a consequence, protean career begins at middle-level for the policewomen. The majority of the respondents have completed post graduate studies on business and humanities rather than security or law enforcement. Data analysis also showed that such an affirmative action by the policewomen is key to them not progressing further in their careers as law enforcement is limited in requiring any other educational streams except security and law enforcement for police officers. From an organisational lens this is double bind as the skillsets of these policewomen is not competitive and for these women it is a skillset that is competitive outside the organisation.

Mandatory retirement in law enforcement is also critical in charting the policewomen's careers, resulting in a complex career progression pattern. Specifically, it seems that technical skills are not the only key to career progression in the policing context but a realm of other issues that need to be addressed by the individuals. The policewomen take into account the various strategies available to them, mentoring and networking appears to have significant impact in their career progression. At entry level, the policewomen engage with a

mentor, the success or failure of mentoring leads the way to being given the opportunity to exposure in the organisation. Through that exposure, the policewomen decide on embarking a stage two of their career strategy, this being networking. The salient point is how the policewomen have strategized to remain in policing while seeking a career progression.

Through building networks, the policewomen are in a better position to decide their career moves; those who decide to remain at middle-level build on their skillsets while those who decide to move upwards use networking to seek a sponsor. The role of the sponsor is to undertake the individual's career path into one of senior leader within the organisation.

The analysis suggest that despite both American and Australian law enforcement institutions having implemented major changes to incorporate the subsequent growth of women into leadership roles, the number of women in key positions remains low. A key finding showed that policewomen themselves question their aspirations lending a new meaning to leader identity.

The women question leader identity from a macro and micro perspective. They take into consideration the gendered environment coupled with their own personal goals. The majority of policewomen are contend being at middle-level and continue stagnation. They perceive themselves as leaders in their current roles while some of the other policewomen perceive leader identity when they are at the top of the organisation. The perception of a leader identity applies when the middle-level policewomen decide that the leader identity they possess is sufficient for the fulfilment of their aspiration. Those women who perceive that they require a career trajectory to fulfil their aspiration then strategize their career path.

While the research is limited to middle-level and top-level policewomen in the United States and Australia within state and federal jurisdictions, it raises the question of further research into other countries that are not democratic, patriarchal and Anglo-Saxon societies. The study has highlighted the paucity of women in senior leadership positions in law enforcement institutions, and inspired new theoretical insights. Future study has the potential to bring awareness to gendered organisations that salient perspectives can be considered when developing policies to recruit and retain individuals in law enforcement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Despite significant progress made by women in the workforce, they still face difficulties in entering into senior leadership roles. Major studies on women in paid employment confirm the slow progress of women in key leadership roles. While the media often reports about the rise of women in leadership in the workplace, the reality appears to be in stark contrast. Consequently, the current study is used to focus on two primary areas: women in middle-level and top-level leadership positions in policing, and the leader identity of women within the policing context.

In the study, the intention is to gain an understanding of perceived barriers and challenges experienced by women who are occupying such roles; and determine their aspirations towards executive leadership. Although previous literature posits that policewomen are as competitive as their male counterparts, there remains a gender gap between the numbers of men and women police officers; thereby contributing to a dearth of women in senior leadership positions. In the study, the aim is to examine the continued paucity of policewomen in key senior leadership positions which may indicate there are gendered challenges and barriers that curtail a woman's career growth in law enforcement.

Policing is regarded as a para-military organisation along with the Defence Force, Air Force, and Navy. Largely, these organisations are male populated and women still occupy a statistical minority in the overall numbers employed (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). When legitimacy theory compounds the justification, the imbalanced gender ethos gradually becomes embedded in the organisation and, in such situations; the male role is regarded as privileged and preferred within the organisation. It is possible that the female constructs of collaboration, cohesiveness and relational components will become important elements in policing; but for that to happen there needs to be a paradigm shift from one that is predisposed to masculine values to one that is inclusive of female values. Furthermore there are questions if senior level women identify themselves with male traits or develop their own style of leadership.

The international picture is not much different from Australia or the United States, although government intervention in developed countries like Spain and Norway has addressed the imbalance with the introduction of a mandatory quota for women in board directorships (Ahmansson & Ohlund, 2008). Globally, job statistics identify a significant variance between male and female employees in senior positions, and despite the fact that in many organisations women make up larger numbers than men, there are nevertheless more males in senior positions than females (Ahmansson & Ohlund, 2008).

Legislation on gender equity, which stipulates a quota intake, has been challenged by male officers who filed complaints of discrimination. An example of this is the recruitment campaign in the United Kingdom and Wales (2010) to recruit more women into the police force. The British government's rationale was to increase female recruits by 35%, thereby increasing critical mass, bringing women to the fore and changing the culture. However, the unions argued that it was discriminatory against men, and that entry into policing should be based on merit and not on gender (The Daily Telegraph, 2010). Despite this incident, the Home Office in the United Kingdom has published encouraging data on the assessment of women in the police service. Wilson and Heinenon (2012) observe that the impact of austerity is a growing concern among police jurisdictions; with government budget cuts, less recruitments the impact it has on police forces is detrimental.

The shift in contemporary policing has turned to austerity and the impact of retirement and the aging population of the police force in general (Wilson & Heinenon, 2012). The paucity of police women in the organisation may not be debated in the near future as governments prepare for dealings with the workforce rather than the diversity that police women can bring to the organisation.

One area that has generated attention of scholars and practitioners alike in gendered studies is the ongoing debate regarding the paucity of women in senior roles. Williams, Muller and Kilanski (2012, p. 550) state that, "although women have entered occupations previously closed to them, many jobs remain as gender segregated today as they were in 1950". To support their statement, the authors and others have largely drawn on Acker's (1990) theory of a gendered organisation. A key prescriptive of this anomaly is that gendered organisations continue the perpetuation under the pretext of an organisational logic lens. This study is designed to contribute to the limited research on the continuing disparity between the number of men and women in leadership positions, and examine the implications for the future of law enforcement as a gendered organisation.

Often, past research findings were on gender issues and diversity in gendered business organisations, with limited research related to para-military organisations (Alvesson & Billing, 2009a; Eagly & Carli, 2007a, 2007b; Metcalfe & Gavin, 2002). Thus, it was considered particularly important in this study to understand the challenges in gendered organisations and determine how women perceive themselves in order to shape their leadership and professional identities. Once the individual establishes an identity, the policewoman then self-determines her career path. Past literature has focussed on either entry level policewomen or the challenges of entering into the academy, unrealistic physical testing has often been blamed for the poor numbers in-take. This study however, chooses to focus on middle-level and top-level policewomen and the aspirations and challenges they face. Eventually the women themselves create an identity and position themselves in a gendered organisation.

Workplace changes have evolved over time, and even though the institutional theory is a powerful framework (e.g., the three pillars; Scott, 2008) other elements have imbued themselves to raise debate on the robustness of institutions. The research gap that is relevant to this study would be the gender mandate and how that is managed. Feminist writers have challenged the status quo and gendered organisations have withstood the criticism; this is possible through the legitimacy and institutional theory. By integrating different parts of theories (viz., institutional, legitimacy, and self-determination) this study would develop a model, thus giving a new interpretation to the paucity of women in senior positions. The theories selected for this study are interlinked with each other, for example legitimacy theory is linked to institutional theory.

Legitimacy theory is the theoretical underpinning for this study as it explains how the effect of legitimacy is salient in organisations. Legitimacy is an insight that the actions of an entity are appropriate and acceptable within the social constructs of the environment (Alrazi & Villiers, 2010; Tilling, 2004). To maintain the legitimacy within an organisation, stakeholders must have a certain level of satisfaction. Hence for gendered organisations to be able to operate effectively, legitimacy is embedded in the organisational structure as legitimacy explains a broad range of organisational behaviour.

1.1 Originality of Research Idea

There is an increasing call for much needed study of women in senior positions, especially with limited study of policewomen in law enforcement. The United States of America has been the driving force in research on the paucity of women in policing, followed by the

United Kingdom and Australia (Lonsway, 2001; Lonsway, 2000; Silvestri, 2007). The number of studies declined after 2002 and there has been only a limited revival during the last few years (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008; Yu, 2014). The current research has shifted from female police recruitment to the issues facing the organisation with the impact of austerity (Wilson, et al., 2012). Largely, studies that came out of America on women and policing were limited to the National Center for Women and Policing (NCWP), though the research was more than a decade old. Furthermore any literature review was based mainly on quantitative data rather than qualitative (Barratt, Bergman & Thomson 2014; Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008)

Scholarship is still lagging regarding the women who make the ultimate decision to enter and remain in policing. Similarly, there is little research on the rationale as to why women enter policing, as well as on their career path in policing. Unlike other careers, policing is a vocation and is one of the few career paths that an individual invest in until retirement. Hence, the current study is designed to focus specifically on the women themselves in a gendered organisation; namely, the police force.

Australia and the United States of America are the two countries selected for study because the socio-economic contexts and the policing practices are quite similar; viz., both countries are democratic, Anglo-Saxon and patriarchal. While the rationale for selecting the United States of America (U.S.A.) and Australia is to provide a wider perspective on the topic, there may be social or organisational differences that impact on the leadership of the women participants in the research.

In addition, there are key contextual similarities and differences between the two national contexts which may provide an appropriate comparison for analysis and allow for cross-national investigation. State and federal agencies are included to allow for a comparative study of the challenges that policewomen face in their career progression, to determine whether they face the same issues and establish whether or not there is an advantage in policing as a career choice. The study is considered to be unique inasmuch as both state and federal law enforcement in the United States and Australia will be considered. Of the similarities and differences that women face in their career progression in both countries is a broader approach to the topic than extant literature which, often, has focussed only on one jurisdiction; a research strategy that has limited the possibility for comparison.

With the researcher having an existing network of collegial contacts in the U.S.A. and Australian law enforcement systems has facilitated the research in a seamless manner that

would not have been readily accessible in other countries. Law enforcement organisations, because of the natural emphasis on security, are difficult places in which to gain access for data collection. In this study, data were collected from both state and federal law enforcement agencies in order to make comparisons to see whether or not one law enforcement system was better suited than the other to enable career progression for policewomen. Furthermore, the reason for selecting the U.S.A and Australia as comparative samples is that the researcher originates from Australia and both jurisdictions have a paucity of police women in senior positions. Previous research in an Australian context was limited and continues to be limited (Silvestri, 2007; Still, 1993; Wilkinson & Froyland, 1996).

The societies of the U.S.A and Australia are regarded as depicting five key institutional forms as described by Friedland and Alford's (1991) theory; the capitalist market, the bureaucratic State, democracy, the nuclear family, and Christianity. These concepts lay the foundation for researchers to examine institutional frameworks (Powell & Bromley, 2013). Furthermore, each concept is logically linked to build institutional frameworks within which individuals have a lived experience. At a macro level, institutionalism forces shape the three pillars (Scott, 2008) which are further morphed by the individual, according to Powell and Colyvas (2008), as recursive and self-reinforcing. Consequently, institutional forces are reproduced through everyday behaviour and meaning is shaped. Effectively, the origin of the institutional theory lies in the powerbase which is the government (the State) within which it operates and the society that legitimises such a structure for this to eventuate; subsequently, a legitimacy theory underpins the phenomenon.

Beyond the U.S.A. there was a research gap in this topic area. Previous studies also tended to use quantitative published data or conducted studies based on quantitative methods (Lonsway, 2003; Lonsway, 2001; Martin, 1996; Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008; Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013; Silvestri, 2007). In this study there is a paradigm shift where previous studies concentrated on policewomen generally, while this study focusses on the key motivators for a career in law enforcement. When there is little progression for middle-level policewomen to move upwards, there would be even less women in senior positions progressively. The study is underpinned by legitimacy theory which legitimises the gendered organisation into conducting its operations in an inherently gendered leadership context. Therefore the study addresses the research gap. As a result, a study based on qualitative rather than quantitative methodology was considered relevant and a comparative study timely.

1.2 Context of the Research

Professional experiences of the researcher encouraged her to conduct this research. The researcher travelled to the United States several times as part of her work; knowledge sharing activities with American law enforcement. During that time the researcher met with policewomen on a social level and realised that the American law enforcement systems had similar organisational patterns as Australian law enforcement; i.e., where the largest band of women remained in middle-level leadership and very few women were appointed to leadership positions at the top level.

American policewomen were very interested to know how their counterparts in Australia fared where career progression was concerned. The common denominator with the women was that they remained at middle-level and, during informal discussions; it became obvious that these individuals were highly competent in their jobs, managed large teams and yet their career progression had stagnated. The researcher posed the same questions to Australian policewomen and realised that there were similarities in career progression for these women. Therefore, for the purpose of this study a focus has been developed to differentiate between middle management and top leadership where the roles are very different; e.g., for a successful outcome, middle management leaders can remain focussed at a microscopic level where tasks are more prescriptive and team-based. It was also interesting to hear the definition of a leader amongst middle-level policewomen who perceived they were leaders and the term appeared to be fluid and non-structural.

The researcher then undertook a review of academic literature and found, although there was some research on policewomen in jurisdictions, that it was mainly based on out-dated data. The published data itself presented challenges as the information was limited and researchers based their findings only on quantitative data. Furthermore, the literature review indicated that researchers were aware of a lack of available information for further study. Hence, the current literature reveals a gap where middle and top-level policewomen were not the subject of study and furthermore there was no comparative study between the two countries.

Existing literature focussed on challenges that policewomen faced in a general consensus rather than an individual lived experience. The phenomenology of the lived experience adds a richness that can be absent in a quantitative study with data derived from statistics published by the organisation. With a research gap it is only reasonable to conduct an in-depth understanding of the lived experience of the policewomen and how that is relevant to theory and management practices. In order to address the gap, the research questions were

designed to explore the lived experience of the policewomen who would contextually provide insights into the positioning of them in a gendered organisation. From shifting past research which was heavily based on gender, this study shifts the paradigm into 'self' determination of the individual's career path. Hence the questions designed include drawing parts of several theories which merges into the identity that the policewomen adopt.

1.3 Research Questions

A few questions were raised in the mind of the current researcher; mainly the two core questions that required inquiry were a) how women are positioned in the gendered organisation and b) how do policewomen construct the identity of self? Contextually questions included the following, a) why was data on policewomen limited? b) was this a phenomena alluded only to policewomen? c) is gender imbalance unique to gendered organisations?; and the core of this questioning was, d) why policewomen continued this trend of paucity of women in senior positions. Media perception supported by academic research posit that the paucity of women in senior positions is not a new phenomenon, however within a policing context where both the male and female employment contract is the same, technical skills and promotion processes are open and transparent, then it begs the question why do policewomen fail to make it to the top positions, is it a lack of interest by the policewomen themselves or is there a gender bias.

1.3.1 Major Research Question

This research explores the dearth of women in senior leadership roles, within the police force. The study seeks to understand the reason/s for the continued under-representation of women in senior leadership. In order to address this question the study will examine:

1.3.2 Minor Research Questions

1. What are the key attributes that policewomen consider as crucial when applying for senior leadership positions?
2. What are the challenges/barriers for policewomen seeking senior leadership positions?
3. What barriers if any did the women face during the transition from low- level leadership to middle-level leadership?
4. What barriers if any did the women face during the transition from middle-level leadership to top- level leadership?

5. How do police women in leadership positions identify themselves?

1.4 Research Aims and Objectives

The key purpose of this research is to explore why there remains paucity in senior women in policing. In addressing the main research question, the objective of this study is to explore extensively the minor research questions which are aimed to identify recurring themes that would explain the reasons why there are so few women in senior positions in law enforcement. It would also address how the policewomen perceive themselves in a gendered organisation. The interview questions would be designed based on the literature review as a framework to meet the objectives of this research.

1.5 Methodology

The data that will be collected for this study is semi-structured interviews of middle-level and top-level policewomen from both countries. The interviews are conducted face-to-face within a localised setting. The in-depth interviews would explore the lived experience of the policewomen. The data analysis would give new meaning to the lack of women in senior positions in policing.

Participant selection was constrained by insufficient numbers of police officers in some States, reinforcing the need for this research. The American States chosen for this study (Minnesota, Washington DC and Nevada) had comparatively larger offices and larger workforces, and subsequently more senior policewomen. In Australia, the study included Western Australia and Canberra, due to the limited number of women in senior positions.

1.6 Definition of Terms

1.6.1 Definition of middle management

Middle management is defined as a layer of employees in the middle of the organisational hierarchy, the buffer zone between top management and lower level employees (Mabey & Mayon-White, 1993). The management level as demographic was deemed particularly important. At the time of this study, there was little known research on the paucity of women in senior positions within law enforcement through a qualitative inquiry. The gap between

middle management and top-level leadership and the underlying issues that women face were of particular interest for this study.

Earlier research focused largely on masculine attributes and the nature of the workplace that tended to favour men, but more recently, researchers have turned their attention to leadership styles and the paucity of women in senior positions (Acker, 2012; Billing, 2011). The demographic is no longer the focus of attention since large numbers of women choose to work at entry levels in gendered organisations, due to various social and economic factors (Williams et al., 2012).

1.6.2 Definition of top leadership

Top-level leadership defines as a small group of individuals that influence the organisation (Mabey & Mayon-White, 1993). Both males and females perform the same tasks, however the power struggles within gendered organisations and their future directions are largely determined by one gender group (Billing, 2011). Past research on gendered organisations focused on theoretical frameworks that were subsequently embedded in organisational policies without success, since women evidently still lag behind men when it comes to promotion to senior positions (Oakley, 2000). Eagly (2000) examines this further when she posits that a key element to this anomaly is the social differences between males and females, which influence the social roles they fulfil. There has been much debate about the reasons why women do not progress to senior positions, but research is limited into where this scarcity is prevalent; and whether it exists solely in gendered organisations or throughout the corporate world (Billing, 2011; Eagly, 2000). Contextually little has changed in the law enforcement demographics after a decade as implied by Yu (2014) who states that despite a rise in employment, policewomen remain at very low levels throughout the United States and these figures are similar globally (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013).

1.7 Setting the Scene

The participants for this research were volunteers from middle and top-level policewomen, the selection represented both state and federal law enforcement. The participants were selected for their experience in law enforcement and possessed a certain level of management and leadership skills. It is through this cohort of policewomen who would be able to reveal the lived experience that the study would highlight the barriers and challenges they face in their careers.

1.8 Research Significance

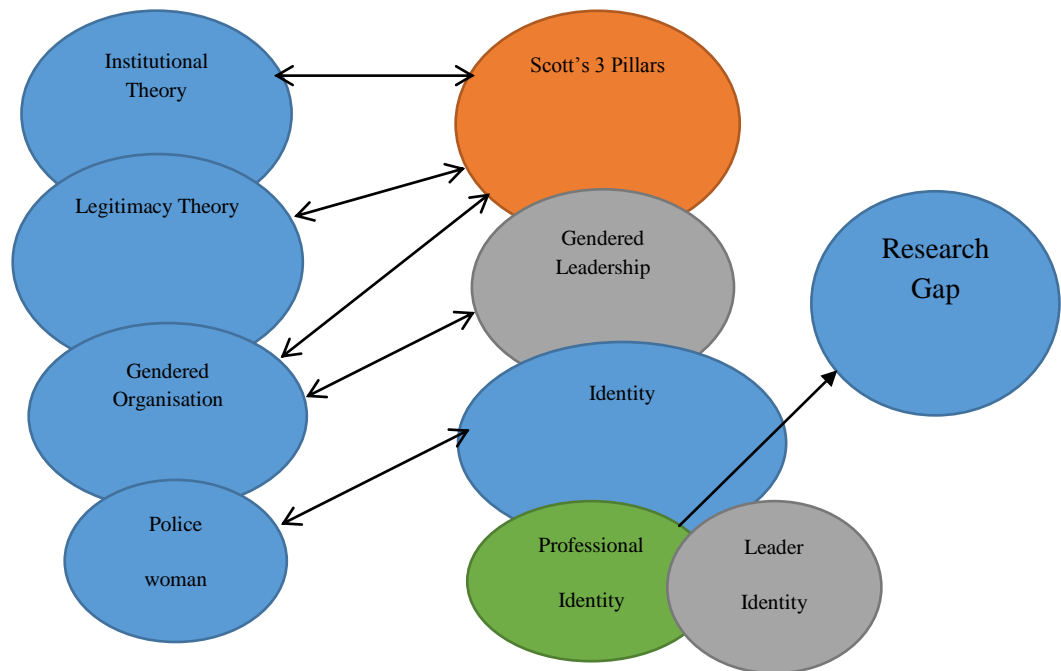
The significance of the current research is two-fold: i.e., theoretical and empirical. Theoretically, the study has the potential to contribute to expand the literature on gendered leadership, leadership identity within a policing context and women's experiences of employment in policing. From an empirical point, the study will assist law enforcement agencies in understanding the reasons why women employees in leadership positions seek alternative employment. Similarly, the results will have the potential to enhance policy and leadership development.

Previous study has shown that few women remain in the top positions and, it has been argued that with attrition the number would decline to even fewer women at the top position in a decade (Martin, 1996). Unless the reasons for this anomaly are identified and rectified in gendered organisations, there will be limited diversity among leaders. Furthermore the study can reveal actual information that could assist women in their choice of careers and career progression strategies.

From a theoretical perspective, the study will highlight whether or not policewomen at mid-level management perceive their professional contribution as meaningful and self-fulfilling and, therefore, do not see the need to progress to a higher level of leadership. In addition, the employment of the leader identity construct to determine women's view on leadership will provide further insights as to improved leadership training and development within gendered organisations such as the police.

A theoretical contribution of this study will indicate whether or not policewomen still find discrimination as the major barrier to senior promotion. Also, it will contribute to the very nascent leader-identity literature. Past research has suggested gender bias is the key barrier to women's progression in senior leadership; however, with various changes to workplace demographics, new research may well add to the extant research findings and determine new ways to promote gendered leadership. A conceptual model is drawn (Fig 1) to show the theoretical links between the theories and the research gap. These theories were selected because of the social links that the policewomen are conditioned within a gendered organisation and leadership. The conceptual model also allows the researcher to focus the research questions and guides the data analysis. As a mud map, the conceptual model kick starts this research. Furthermore Figure 1 leads the introduction and background of the study while highlighting the model and theory beneath the study.

Figure 1 Theoretical inter-relationships



The link between institutional and legitimacy theory is that policing which is the subject of this study is considered as a rigid and robust gendered organisation. To be able to operate and satisfy its stakeholders, it is important for the gendered organisation to ensure its legitimacy (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001; Priola & Brannan, 2009; Roos & McDaniel, 1996). Scott's three pillars (2008) break down the institution [gendered organisation] into pillars that microscopically conditions the individual and the position of the woman in the gendered organisation which also forms part of this study.

1.9 Conclusion

The focus in this study is the paucity of policewomen in mid-level and top-level positions in the United States of America and Australia. The aim in the study is not merely to explore the gap that exists currently between the mid-level and top-level positions but also to understand the positioning of policewoman in leadership in a gendered organisation. Largely, the results from the study will assist other gendered organisations in understanding the needs and aspirations of women in the workforce. In addition, the results will contribute to self-determination theory by exploring the institutional and legitimacy theories embedded in

gendered organisations. In order to understand the research project further, the report in this thesis has been divided into relevant chapters.

In Chapter One the scene is set by examining the significance of the research topic, its originality and fundamental research questions. Also introduced are the key theoretical frameworks which underpin the study and related inquiry methods as well as a definition of the respondents.

In Chapter Two, a review of extant literature on the topic is detailed by underpinning relevant theories, the link to gendered organisations and its potential impact on the respondents. Through the literature review, the researcher was able to identify the gaps which provided the basis for exploring the phenomenology under investigation and a hypothetical concept model is presented arising from the literature review (Chapter 2) which forms the basis of this study.

Primarily, Chapter Three is dedicated to a detailed statement of the research methodology adopted in the study. A justification for a qualitative methodology with a phenomenological paradigm within the interpretivist ontology is elucidated. The areas that form the basis for the interview questions are largely drawn from the literature review (Chapter 2). The key areas are identity viz., self, professional and leader identity within a policing context, mentoring, networking and sponsorship, within these key areas lay the main thrust of the study which is how the policewomen manage these strategies. Furthermore how they maintain their top level positions and the barriers and the challenges they face form part of the interview questions. Further, in the chapter, the backdrop for the research in terms of choice of respondents, site, accessibility and ethical considerations are explained. The methods and tools to be used in the data analysis are also introduced in this chapter.

In Chapter Four, the analysis of the collected data is covered in detail. Major themes identified in the data are discussed in-depth.

Chapter Five presents the conclusion of the thesis through an in-depth discussion of the findings which support the literature review. The discussion provides evidence to show how existing theories have supported the findings and contributed to a new understanding of the research topic. Both primary and secondary data is discussed and a relationship between the themes and theory are incorporated to create a conceptual research outcomes model (R.O.M.). The chapter concludes with a statement of the practical and theoretical

implications of the findings, a note on the limitations to the study and, finally, a comment of possibilities for future research of the topic.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, a literature review on key academic theories of women and leadership is presented including institutional theory and legitimacy theory, with a discussion on their applicability in the policing context. This includes examining several key issues and themes such as the paucity of policewomen in senior positions, gendered leadership, gendered organisations and their commonalities. Consideration has been given also to the role of the organisation as a key driver of policy formulation, and the central theory of gendered organisations underpinning the study.

In the literature review barriers that policewomen face are examined as well as the various strategies that women in police have developed to enable them to compete for senior leadership positions. Also discussed is the gendered leadership in policing with the barriers and opportunities that these policewomen face. A snap shot of other para-military organisations is researched to provide an insight into how women are placed in characteristically gendered organisations. Contextually, gendered leadership is unique to para-military organisations where operational norms include command and control with a top-down hierarchy.

Another key area of study reviewed is leader identity; viz., how women perceive themselves as leaders in a policing context and the barriers and opportunities that they manoeuvre within as they seek senior leadership positions. Integrating a leader identity into one's self identity is essential for leadership identity (Lord & Hall, 2005; Snook, Ibarra & Ramo, 2010); and extant literature is reviewed to determine how individuals manage identity in a policing context.

There is a clear difference between leader identity and leadership development; the former is an individual development of attributes and not necessarily developed by the organisation

while the latter is collective, where the organisation provides training and opportunities for development (Day, 2001; McCallum & O'Connell, 2009). Furthermore, organisations invest in human capital as an asset to the business and select a few for leadership development; viz., those who show traits of 'self-awareness', 'emotional-awareness', self-regulation' and 'self-confidence' (Day, 2001). Therefore, contextually within a gendered organisation such as police, the development of leader identity of a female police officer is examined in this chapter.

Another topic examined in this chapter is the career progression of policewomen both at middle-level and top-level management, including the strategies that the cohorts of policewomen use both within and outside the organisation. With the perceived barriers and opportunities that are within the organisation, an examination of how policewomen interact with the barriers to limit their career progression, or use the barriers as windows of opportunities, is discussed at length.

Mentoring is considered to be an opportunity for individuals in an organisation; however, constraints can limit the opportunity for an individual. Organisations promote and provide accessibility for mentoring as part of skills development (Gong et al., 2011). Furthermore mentoring as a tool can be perceived differently by each individual. An extension to mentoring as a form of networking can be achieved within the organisation or externally and, often, it can be through groups of interested individuals that form a networking base.

Networking is another area examined in this chapter; networking is one more strategy available to individuals in the work arena. Although available in an organisation, networking is different from mentoring; mentoring can be organic while networking can be external. Networking is also based on relationship building and nurturing the relationship. Networking more often provides opportunities for the individuals on a broader basis (Wolff & Moser, 2009). Both mentoring and networking by an influential sponsor can be accessed by an individual to develop them for top leadership positions.

The role of the sponsor is to develop the individual for a particular role; the role can occur either within the organisation or externally. The relationship between the sponsor and the individual is asymmetrical (Baranik, Roling & Eby, 2010) as the sponsor's profile is highlighted and gains knowledge from the individual which otherwise would not have been available (Baranik et al., 2010) while the individual is introduced to more powerful networks which would not have been accessible without sponsorship.

2.1 Gendered Organisations

Acker's (1990; 2012) work on gendered organisations partly lays the foundation for this study; other researchers have built on Acker's work to further identify the anomaly between work structure and gender. Acker (1990, p. 146) posits that there are five components to a gendered organisation: "division of labour, cultural symbols, workplace interactions, individual identities and organisational logic". She asserts that the 'organisational logic' has legitimacy in the decision-making process and taxonomy hierarchy and that, eventually, policies become accepted and normalised behaviour that is deeply embedded in the organisation. Her interest lies in the way gender is intertwined with work structure and process and the inequality that it imposes on the female worker. Britton (2000) admits that it is difficult to define gendered organisations; however, feminist writers including Acker (1990) have tried to define a term for organisations which are inherently gendered.

Based on earlier studies by Acker (1990), Britton (2000) asserts that for an organisation to be classified as inherently gendered, three key elements exist: first, the pattern in policies that are developed tend to benefit the male profile; second, it takes into consideration only the male attributes while the female individual is relegated to subordinate positions; third, the manner in which policies are developed eventually pattern out as inherently gendered.

Dye and Mills (2006) are critical of Acker's (1990) work on gendered organisations, stating that the works do not fully expose gendered organisations. Acker (1990) uses the term 'organisational lens' to refer to policies and perspectives when implementing structures in gendered organisations. The definition of a gendered organisation as offered by Acker (1990, p.146) is:

To say that an organisation or any other analytic unit is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through an in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. Gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived as gender, neutral. Rather, it is an integral part of those processes, which cannot be properly understood without an analysis of gender.

For the purpose of the current study, a definition is used that, largely, links with institutional and legitimacy theories. The theories are linked with gendered organisations and positioned in a policing context where the policewomen manage their career progression and this is seen in Figure 1. Within gendered organisations, the organisational structure creates

processes such as divisions of labour, wage structure and management styles, all which discriminate against women (Sayse, 2012; Sahgal, 2007). Men at the top of the organisational hierarchy, with women in lower positions, can be viewed as an expression of gender, which “preserves traditional power relations between women and men and confirms the symbolic association of masculinity with leadership and femininity with supportiveness” (Acker, 1988, p.7). However, it is noted that increasing the number of women in an organisation does not equate to the jobs being feminised (Roos & McDaniel, 1996).

For an organisation to be legitimately defined as gendered, researchers concur that a number of variables has to be present to give one gender a louder political voice over the other (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001; Priola & Brannan, 2009). Furthermore, the culture of gendered organisations is legitimised when the core activities of the organisation are inherently gendered (Ahmansson & Ohlund, 2008). Often, focus on gendered organisations has resulted in research converging on feminist perspectives (Alvesson, 2009a; Billing, 2011; Eagly & Carli, 2004; Eagly & Carli, 2007a; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Eagly & Johannessen-Schmidt, 2001). Britton (2000, p. 418) examines the origin of gendered organisations and concludes that the bureaucracy that was developed historically was inherently gendered, and was “deeply grounded in the working worlds and relations of men”. Britton (2000) supports the perspective that, because gendered organisations have been embedded in society as such, it is a test for theorists to challenge the concept; “it turns what should be a proposition into an assumption ... with studying the ways in which gender is deployed” (Wharton, 1991, p. 382).

Conversely, bureaucracy was built on societal structures both western and patriarchal. Roos and McDaniel (1996) argue that bureaucracy and technical knowledge are complex issues and that it is too simplistic to make a distinction between the gender compositions with gender type of particular jobs. Ideologically and socially, organisations have been built around societal values and are constantly perpetuated. Roos and McDaniel (1996) posit that to change the structures of gendered organisations into feminising structures would mean breaking down the structures of bureaucracy which would not be feasible. The argument is that the way bureaucracy is structured is inherently gendered “and that we are all dominated by bureaucracy in one way or another” (Britton, 2000, p.420).

2.1.1 Entry into a Gendered Organisation

Women who enter gendered organisations challenge the symbolic order and dominance of maleness by assuming a traditional male role (Priola & Brannan, 2009 p.248). Furthermore,

the workers themselves identify the jobs as gendered and Acker (1990) describes this phenomenon as a deeply embedded social construct. Women employees require more of a change in societal values, cultural norms and practices (Powell & Graves, 2003). Hartman's (1976) research, however, suggests that gendered organisations have a dual structure that intertwines bureaucracy with so-called genderless management and a patriarchal system of collegiality. In such organisations, dual practices are covert, and unless there are larger numbers of women in decision-making roles, the situation remains unchanged. It also signals a reluctance to empower women to bring about organisational change. In this way, women's lack of influence in gendered organisations could also be ascribed to a lack of support from their peers and senior executives (Billing, 2011; Dunn, 2007).

Together with other inequities between males and females, this creates a silo effect rather than promoting cohesiveness, and is especially complicated when the same set of tasks is undertaken by both males and females in the organisation. How does one provide for both? Dunn (2007) indicates that within gendered organisations this is extremely challenging, as women are acutely aware that male dominance is one of the reasons why it is difficult for them to manoeuvre and progress to senior positions. In effect, women are expected to fit in and operate within a male construct (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Olsson, 2000).

2.1.2 The Woman in a Gendered Organisation

Powell and Graves (2003) argue that closing the gap in middle management with female individuals will not address the paucity of women in gendered organisations. Williams et al. (2012) indicate that some gendered organisations view the changes required to address women's needs and responsibilities effectively as being 'too-hard' and inclined to differentiate between men and women in processes and procedures. This could be justified as being an organisational lens which provides for both male and female individuals.

With extensive research on the characteristics of gendered organisations, Priola (2007) posits that even in female-dominated organisations the discourse is male-dominated, and that it would make little impact to have women in charge due to decades of embedded societal values that promote a male agenda rather than a female one. Earlier studies by Williams (1992) of traditionally female-oriented industries (viz., nursing, teaching and library) found that men were viewed positively and the male presence "emphasized their distinctiveness from the female majority" (Williams, 1992, p. 259). The male respondents in the study (Williams, 1992) found that they were stereotypically discriminated by societal norms and

not by their organisation. Hence, it can be ascertained that societal norms and values are embedded in society.

In Behavioural Sciences the term 'double bind' is used to describe the dilemma facing women in organisations where, regardless of their performance and achievement at work, it would not be acceptable to their male colleagues (Oakley, 2000). Although this phenomenon is covert, the implications are real and one of the major deterrents for women seeking senior or leadership positions. Such practices covertly dictate the future careers of both men and women. Although it is important to understand gendered organisations as such, women have another challenge within gendered organisations; namely, gendered leadership. The perception that men are better leaders than women is strongly enacted in gendered organisations and the result is that male leaders are promoted at a faster rate than women (Ellemers, Rink, Derks & Ryan, 2012).

2.1.3 Gendered leadership

Gendered leadership is considered a key concept inasmuch as leadership is about influencing others, facilitating teams and effecting the environment (Ahmansson & Ohlund 2008; Alimo-Metcalf, 2010; Billing, 2011; Brown, 1979). In this context, 'effect' refers to organisational change and collective working towards common organisational goals (Yukl, 2002). Extant research confirms the existence of gendered leadership and adds to the complexity of settling on a definition. Contemporary leadership research looks at variables that incorporate followers and dyads, as well as the environment within which leaders operate (Yukl, 2002).

Bass (1996) suggests that the discipline of leadership is a modern phenomenon that developed after the Industrial Revolution. Research in the 1960s suggested leadership was synonymous with masculinity (Acker, 2012). Many terms have been used loosely to create a definition of leadership and, despite considerable research during the 1970s and 1980s; a universally accepted term has not been found (Yukl, 2002). Initially, the focus was on leadership styles, but later this shifted to issues including the scarcity of women in gendered organisations (Acker, 2012). Schafer (2010) concludes that leadership has not been adequately addressed, due perhaps to concepts such as power, authority, personal traits and management complicating its definition (Bass, 1996; Yukl, 2002).

In her earlier work, *Hierarchies, Jobs and Bodies*, Acker (1990) addressed dominant themes of sex discrimination, equality and socialisation. Both Acker (1990) and Kanter (1977) are

frequently cited as important and influential authors on gendered organisations. Acker (1990) and Edeltraud (2012) believe that in gendered organisations the structures are shaped by history and follow a fraternity pattern. They claim that an imbalance between males and females is evidence of gender bias in the workplace caused by embedded gender inequities which over time have become regarded as the norm. Rost (1993) relates this to the gradual evolution of leadership from a traditional top-down management model to one that includes various other factors.

Uhlir (1989) contends that gender does have an impact on the type of leadership within organisations, particularly those that define leadership qualities according to male gender traits. This is supported by Blair-Loy (1999) who suggests it is the norm within gendered organisations for men to be promoted to senior positions, while women remain in supportive roles. Where bias is seen as legitimate, the perception is that such organisations will attract only one gender, and the normative dimensions will continue to create and strengthen the existing framework. Building on this, a meta-analysis study on similarities and differences between male and female leaders drew conclusions of “gender congeniality” (Eagly & Carli, 1995, p.471) whereby both were considered effective in leading, but only in their gender specific roles. Williams et al. (2012) continued to highlight that the ‘gender construct’ is to blame for the development of policies within an organisation; e.g., ranging from working hours to career paths which have been designed with the male profile in mind and embedded historically in male dominated organisations. Eagly and Karau (2002, p. 164) concluded that despite empirical studies which show that men and women can perform equally well in leadership roles, “stereotypic expectations do not change at the same rate”, and such norms create a sense of limitation to progress for both men and women.

Olsson and Walker (2003) argued that processes that support men are legitimised and the status quo is maintained, as is the notion that man is the only gender capable of leading. The contention of Natarajan (2001) was that male behavioural traits are considered to be the most effective leadership style in organisations such as the police force, while Uhlir’s (1989) findings support the notion that gender has an impact on the type of leadership espoused by organisations. A significant body of research on women and policing examined the prevalence of masculine values, norms, practices and privilege in policing environments (Gossett & Williams, 1998; McCarty, Mcphail & Smith, 2007; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Specifically suggestions were that male officers in policing are construed as ‘natural’ leaders while it is ‘unnatural’ for women to be leaders (Bailey, McNally, McNish, Powers & Uhly, 2008; Gold, 2009).

Williams et al. (2012) posit that using organisational theory on gendered leadership has caused women to continue to lag behind men in promotion. Therefore, the intention in the current study is to develop and broaden the scope of what is classified in organisational theory and leadership theory related to causes of women lagging behind men in promotion.

2.2 Institutional Theory

An early, though not overly refined, definition of institutions referred to by Powell (2007, p.1), suggested they were “processes by which such patterns achieve normative and cognitive fixity and become taken for granted”. Similarly, Powell (2007) indicated that the first ‘neo-institutional’ arguments were discussed over thirty years ago and since then debates and refinements of the theory have evolved because of environmental forces. DeMaggio and Powell (1983, p.149) highlighted three elements of institutions as “coercive, normative and mimetic processes of reproduction” and Scott (2001) further developed these into three pillars of an institution’s framework. The three pillars are used to reflect current societal values and norms, though debates still surround the relevance of institutions and this is fundamentally due to different interpretations by various social disciplines (Buanes & Jentoft, 2009).

Historically it was challenging to define problems within a single disciplinary framework; however, theorists could not agree on the method to analyse the theory and model of institutions and needed to rely on an interdisciplinary approach (Clegg & Hardy, 1999). While neither empirical testing, nor analysis and interpretations produced qualitative measures, they did produce a set of universal characteristics of an institution.

Thus, a modern institution is perceived as morally imbued and a support of society, upholding the norms and values of a social construct. The three pillars of normative, regulatory and cultural-cognitive framework introduced institutional “building blocks” (Scott, 2001, p.57) that are resistant to change, can be transferred over generations and are legitimised by external forces. A contextually appropriate definition of an institution as espoused by Scott (2001) is that institutions are built on regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars, which together with organisational resources and activities give stability and meaning to social constructs. Furthermore, for the three pillars to be effective, support is given through higher authority and ideology and Figure 1 shows the inter relationships within an organisation.

This model provided a representation of how the three elements meld with each other to

produce a social framework within which the organisation operates. Building on the definition, Scott (2001, p.1) emphasizes that “institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life ... giving ‘solidity’ [to social systems] across time and space”.

In addition to Scott (2001, p.2) stating that the pillars require legitimacy either by “virtue of being legally sanctioned, morally authorised or culturally supported”, he indicates that it is important for an organisation to identify whether the institutional framework complies out of expedience, from a moral obligation or because there is no alternative. Although there are three pillars, they do not necessarily carry the same weight; one pillar could have a greater influence than the other (Scott, 1995). In later research, Scott (2001) explains that one way to look at the three pillars is to use them interdependently to construct a social framework. The mechanisms and presentation of such structures are more often validated by external forces with the endorsement of the powerbase.

To be effective, all three of the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive pillars must be present. Each pillar plays an important role in the characteristics of an institution which, in turn, evolves into socially accepted norms and behaviours. Thus, institutional theory encompasses a particular way of structure [regulatory] which over time becomes the expectation [normative] and widely accepted social behaviour [cultural-cognitive].

2.2.1 Regulative Pillar

The regulative pillar in an institution is defined as developing rules and practices that are heavily prescriptive. Within the pillar lie restrictions, command and control mechanisms and a reward/punishment system ensuring rigidity and robustness (Scott, 1995). Within a gendered organisation it can be noted that regulations are developed for a select group of players – in the case of the current study it would be the male cohorts. These cohorts would ensure that the regulatory premise is built on their traits and every other aspect is heavily embedded on their profile. Hence the organisational lens would be single dimensional. Due to their robustness and rigidity, changes are not well regarded.

With external environmental changes and challenges to the status quo, the regulatory system goes through incremental changes; more often it stays robust for a sense of stability both internally and externally (Powell, 2007). In particular, Prenzler and Sinclair (2013, p.15) state that police organisations are “notorious for tokenistic compliance with reform agendas and management buy-in appears essential for compliance with the full spirit of equity legislation and policy”; an argument that supports the views of Baines et al. (2012), Dick and

Cassell (2002) and Dick and Hyde (2006). Prenzler and Sinclair's (2013, p.15) study of global policing and the placement of policewomen, noted that within policing there was "a significant problem with a lack of accountability in relation to reporting on key indicators".

The powerbase must legitimise the action, and provide the backing, for the actors to implement successfully the structures within an institution. Anecdotally, both internally and externally within a gendered organisation, it is mostly men that shape the strategy that influences the normative and social norms. For effectiveness to be achieved, there also needs to be a sense of 'command and control' which rigidly limits the cultural boundary and maps out the legal and moral tenets to be reinforced by the powerbase. Without the relevant tools (bureaucratic systems and institutional theory) to implement a regulatory and powerbase structure within the institution, it loses credibility.

2.2.2 Normative Pillar

The second pillar, as argued by Scott (2008), is normative as applied to social constructs of acceptable behaviour. Researchers Sewell (1992) and Giddens (1979, 1994) cited in Scott (1994) purport that, in order to maintain the norms and rules within a structure being socially accepted and positioned parallel to the regulative pillar, the normative pillar develops the social values/norms of what is acceptable and what is frowned upon.

Internally, the normative pillar consists of groups of people with similar values of kinship, religion or similar value-based groups, while externally it is seen as a social voice that endorses the regulatory and normative pillars as stable (Scott, 2003). Lizardo (2008, p.10) states that "something is regulatively institutionalised if there are explicit, reliable and robust sanctioning mechanisms that are regularly activated ... as well as regularly monitored". Contextually, normative becomes a desired behaviour and sets the cultural pattern. This is argued by Acker's findings (2012) suggesting that normative behaviour of male domination creates challenges for women who wish to enter gendered organisations where the archetype of male dominance over women has become entrenched.

Within this complexity lies the intertwining of the two pillars that support each other. Theorists March and Olsen (1989) rationalise the relationship between regulatory and normative pillars as policies set by organisations and which are to be accepted by the individual. The policies become part of the standard operating procedure which has been endorsed by the organisation and failure to comply results in a detrimental effect on the individual. Contextually, it is a command and control environment.

Prenzler and Sinclair (2013) report the number of policewomen in democratic, western societies to have reached the 10% mark; in their research they also found that some democratic societies had the lowest percentage of policewomen. This is similar in non-democratic or emerging democratic countries (Gultekin, Leichtman & Garrison, 2010; Natarajan, 2009). Several decades ago, Martin (1996) provided an explanation for this phenomenon in that no organisation other than policing has gone through legal battles, been resisted and undermined continuously to keep the male dominance and reject female entry.

Other researchers (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Hunt, 1990) contend that ongoing stereotypes about the nature of police work are inherently masculine and symbolically authoritative with a strong physique. Despite research, these myths continued as the structures were entrenched deeply within, and external to, the organisation. Further, the cultural-cognitive pillar allows an organisation to conduct itself in unique ways; this is predominantly the case in policing.

2.2.3 Cultural-Cognitive Pillar

The third element essential in an effective institution is cultural-cognitive in nature. According to Eldridge and Crombie (1991, p.26), organisational culture is a “unique configuration of norms, values, beliefs, ways of behaving and so on that characterize the manner in which groups and individuals combine to get things done”. Contextually in an organisation, the position of cultural-cognitive is “both a manifestation of the deeper elements of culture and a reflection of the collective attitudes and behaviour of an organisation’s members” (Burnes & Hakeem, 1995, p. 21).

However, theorists have regarded this element as ambiguous and not possible to institutionalise; they argue that, unlike the regulatory and normative pillars, the cultural-cognitive pillar is “empirically unsustainable and substantively vacuous” (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p.7). Although not being able to institutionalise it, Scott (2008) defends his cultural-cognitive pillar as having significant impetus when individuals are unable to think or rationalise for themselves; because societal values have been deeply entrenched, and cognitively it is incomprehensible. However that is not the case when the individual has to rationalise the normative and regulatory pillars for personal judgement. The individual is able to make decisions based on societal values. Hence the culture-cognitive position is to confirm or deny the legitimacy.

Conversely, in a gendered organisation, the dominance of one gender has the power to deny or legitimise the cultural norms and values. Specifically, according to societal presumptions, a model officer [police officer] must be endowed with male traits of aggressiveness, physical prowess and independence, while women are described as nurturing, submissive and physically non-intimidating (Berg & Budnick, 1986). This is supported further by Garcia (1989, p.67), who states that “cultural definitions of femininity underlie the general consensus that women are incompetent police performers”, thus leaving policewomen to believe that they need to take on male traits to be effective in their work and workplace. For an organisation to fully develop and implement structures effectively, it requires validation and support for its way of instilling legitimacy and institutional elements.

In positioning a woman in a gendered organisation, it is important to understand paramilitary organisations being labelled as gendered. Unlike other gendered organisations where the majority of individuals are males, for example in the IT or engineering and mining industries, law enforcement is unique; thus, it is more closely aligned with para-military organisations.

Law enforcement groups adopted the paramilitary model because its primary activity is to protect its citizens. Furthermore, by adopting the paramilitary model, there was little resistance from its citizens (Cruinshank, 2012). The citizens’ perception of paramilitary organisations is one of robustness and rigidity; hence any change in the organisations would be challenged. Jefferson (1993) clarifies paramilitary as coordination through command and control, dominated by standardised operating processes and managed through rank and file. The paramilitary model is effective in policing as the command and control is necessary during crisis and portent situations. The citizens’ perception of para-military organisations reflects that of a criminal justice system. Furthermore, for the current study, the linkages demonstrate how paramilitary ideas are applied within a gendered organisation in a policing context.

2.2.4 Institutional Theory in Para-Military Organisations

In 2011, in its Human Development Report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) ranked Sweden as the most gender-equal country in the world. In an attempt to provide a snapshot of other para-military organisations globally, the Swedish Armed Forces and U.S.A. Navy are briefly considered. A report on the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF, 2012) study of change processes with a gender perspective found that resistance to change was blamed on existing organisational structures. The organisational culture, which was

inherently masculine, was deeply embedded. Despite the Swedish government's directive for a progressive change, its own department remained weak in its direction to the armed forces (SAF, 2012). However, the study concluded that incremental inroads had been made into changing the organisational cultural perspective in some areas of the Swedish Armed Forces (SAF, 2012). Importantly, the findings also highlighted the fact that women in male jobs did not expect to be treated differently because of their gender.

As a para-military organisation, the U.S.A. Navy is a gendered organisation that has large numbers of male and female employees. Rosenfeld (1994, p.353) conducted an empirical testing on Hispanic and black female navy personnel on equal opportunity and attitudinal perceptions. The findings indicated that Hispanic and black women did not feel they were disadvantaged, even when the data was compared to that of other navy women. The overall findings showed that the "Hispanic women's responses were on the positive side of the scale for all modules including items related to overall satisfaction with the navy" (Rosenfeld, 1994, p.354). However, this contradicts an earlier study by Segura (1992) that Hispanic and black women were uniquely disadvantaged compared with other navy women. Nevertheless, it is argued that extant literature on gendered organisations' premises on feminist readings and emerging research have the potential to counter such perspectives.

2.2.5 Institutional Theory on Gendered Organisations

Institutional theory is socially constructed to validate actions and decisions made by organisations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Furthermore, institutional theories have been developed to justify the organisational structures and "societal expectations would not have to be unitary in order for legitimisation action to take place" (Kaplan & Ruland, 1991, p.371). Building on this, it can be inferred that various interpretations of institutional theories and their application in organisations has left a wide standpoint; an organisation has the ability to build a framework to suit its needs. Taking into consideration that institutional theories are fluid and socially constructed, it leaves organisations to create, develop and implement (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Contextually, this principle is applied in gendered organisations where a single gender determines the command and control mechanisms. Researchers DiMaggio, Powell and Scott (2008, p.5) allude to institutional theory as providing "a non-economic explanation of organisational behaviours and strategies".

When organisational structures are gendered, they are considered important because they replicate existing social norms and patterns that are reproduced over and over again (Perrow, 1993). Institutions do create and manipulate societal values, hence the asymmetry where

both internal organisation and the external society support each other through isomorphic processes that are: a) coercive (regulatory), b) mimetic (duplicating practices of other successful organisations) and c) normative in action (social norms) (DiMaggio & Powell, 1993). This results from the isomorphic pressures from external factors and the concept remains a core component on how gendered organisations operate legitimately. For this to be enabled, actors who would develop and implement the systems are required. In the case of gendered organisations, the actors remain largely fraternal and within a tightly knit community.

Institutional efficacy depends on policy makers in organisations, and in gendered organisations it is predominantly men who extol the virtues of accountability and transparency. At the same time, ensuring that the regulatory, normative and cultural–cognitive pillars, whether together or individually, meld as an organisational structure remains male-centric. There are commonalities in the relationship between the three pillars and gendered organisations addressed in the policing context in the current study. The commonalities of institutional theory link with the gendered organisation to give it the legitimacy it requires to operate effectively. Contextually, legitimacy operating in an organisation allows decisions to be made at an organisational level; Hybels (1995) argues that ‘good models’ operating by legitimacy theory should ensure that its implementation is transparent and accountable to stakeholders. In addition, the practice is used to ensure that the stakeholders endorse the organisational output.

In an environment where gender bias is considered as legitimate and becomes a normative dimension, such as policing, the employment attraction is focussed on only one gender, further strengthening the existing framework. Both Acker (1990) and Edeltraud (2012) claim that the presence of an imbalance between male and female senior appointments is claimed as evidence of a workplace gender bias resulting from gender inequities that have become normative over time. This echoes the determination by Blair-Loy (1999) that women in gendered organisations retain supportive roles and responsibilities while men progress to the most senior positions.

2.2.6 Legitimacy Theory and Gendered Organisations

For the purpose of the current research, employees in an organisation are referred to as internal stakeholders while society and government are referred to as external stakeholders. Brown and Deegan (1998, p. 22) define legitimacy theory as “a supposition that organisations constantly attempt to function within accepted norms and customs of the communities in which they operate”. Legitimacy itself is abstract and fluid and concretised

when the stakeholders endorse its approval during implementation in an organisation (Alrazi & Villiers, 2010; Tilling, 2004). Hybels (1995, p. 243) further explains that legitimacy exists only as a “symbolic representation of the collective evaluation of an institution” as evidenced in Figure 1. Furthermore, organisations are keen to address the legitimacy discourse because it brings a positive work flow between the organisation and its stakeholders. Also, it endorses the notion that gendered organisations are socially constructed and shape strategy that impacts both internally and externally (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; Scott, 1995). Building on this notion, Marzouk and Bouslama (2010, p. 1) argue that legitimacy is important for the survival of an organisation; i.e., “legitimacy gives players the power to influence their stakeholders to validate their interests vis-à-vis public institutions involved in the controversy or question of public interest”.

Suchman (1995) notes organisational legitimacy is made up of several disciplines that range from institutional to management levels. Suchman (1995, p. 574) offers a definition of legitimacy as “a generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate with some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions”. Building on this definition, legitimacy is a key driver and determinant in gendered organisations, where Kaplan and Ruland’s (1991) definition adds importance to gendered organisations where social systems play a large part in accountability and transparency. Their definition states that legitimacy’s role in organisations is to link “when there is congruence between the social values associated with or implied by organisational activities; and norms of acceptance behaviour in the larger social systems of which the organisations are a part of” (Kaplan & Ruland, 1991, p. 376). Contextually, organisations are given the approval to maintain a status quo which is intrinsically gendered. Consequently the robustness of organisational structures is underpinned by the legitimacy theory.

2.3 Gendered organisation in a policing context

In gendered organisations like the police and the defence forces, several factors insidiously label women as incompetent or ‘the weaker sex’. The initial labelling is perpetuated through the three pillars in different interpretations. These could range from physical testing to discrimination or exclusion; as well there is inequity between males and females when new jobs are aligned with an outdated set of skills, qualifications and remuneration that are predominantly male-centric (Brass 1985; Ibarra 1992; Lonsway, 2002). Remuneration within para-military agencies is determined by rank, leaving little room for negotiation and creating

a perception that positions are genderless. The more relevant concern is that, despite global advances and modernisation, policing has remained paternalistic (Lonsway, 2002).

The link between the three pillars and policing as a gendered organisation is the result of how policing is able to maintain the status quo. In sum, Buanes and Jentoft (2009) use the basis of institutions to explain the three pillars and their research links the discourse in particular to policewomen in a gendered organisation where Figure 1 shows the inter – relationship of the woman in a gendered organisation. The normative and regulatory pillars set the landscape at the entry point into policing. The physical testing, use of firearms, uniform and language is gendered, and when women pass through the academy, they are absorbed into the institution and behave accordingly as set out by the organisation.

The three pillars support each other and the rationale of legitimising in an organisation is explained by Buanes and Jentoft (2009), who consider that an organisation provides the resources; skills-based knowledge and a personal and professional identity for the individual which, in turn, constructs a sense of ‘we’. Also, through collegial relationships and by building networks it creates a sense of community for the individual which reinforces a common identity. This sense of belonging has a far reaching effect on the individual who wants to be part of the network [organisation].

Thus, entrance into policing as a career creates an identity that is unique; the language, uniform and professional identity is created to suit the organisational structure. Both men and women who enter policing go through this transformation and those who accept the underpinnings move through career stages using various strategies available to them. Policewomen, particularly, manoeuvre through the barriers and opportunities in an upward mobility which is a keen interest in this study.

In isolation within the regulatory pillar of the policing structure, a set of rules and a structure are created and maintained to ensure that the status quo is maintained. Within such an environment women enter policing as a challenge to the gendered organisation, where the negativity serves as “built in motivation for persistence and their need to prove they are just as good as the men” (Yu, 2014, p. 10). Yu’s (2014, p. 11) research on policewomen in federal jurisdictions in the United States found that 90.5% of the women respondents would not leave the jurisdiction because of male resistance. Seemingly, 19.4% of the women surveyed regarded gender bias as a barrier to promotion but could not prove that the organisation was responsible for such barriers.

The way the normative pillar is embedded in policing and its effect on policewomen is very challenging as normative discourse has a set of rules to follow. Effects from failure to comply with rules range from code of conduct and punishment for disobeying, to reinforce how a member should behave (Buanes & Jentoft, 2009). At the operational level, the policewomen wear the police uniform which is male dress code, carry weapons and speak the police language. During work time the policewomen mirror policemen and, furthermore, both men and women are referred to as 'police' with no differentiation for gender, consequential of the organisational legitimacy.

Figure 2.1: Theoretical Relevance: Integrated Presentation

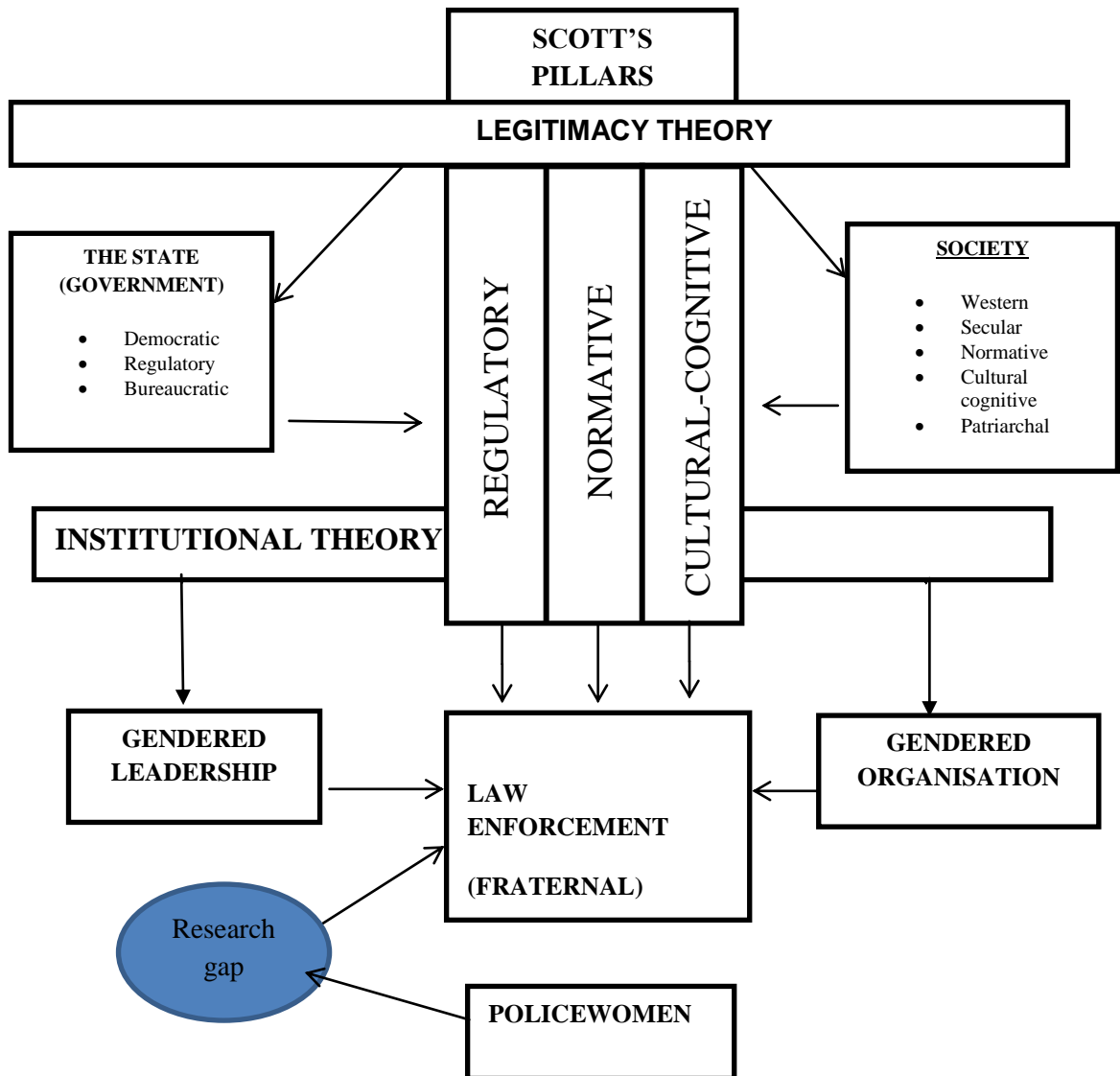


Figure 2.1, above, presents how systematically legitimacy is overarching the way bureaucracy and institutions meld to give organisational legitimacy to gendered organisations. Within the gendered organisation, the fraternity build up forms the powerbase for individual careers. Also, the powerbase is reliant on the male dominance, and contextually, policewomen are within this sphere. The research gap that emerges relates to how cohorts of, and/or individual, policewomen manage their career progression into senior positions.

So far in this chapter, the major theoretical perspectives of gendered leadership, legitimacy theory, institutional theory, gendered organisation and Scott's three pillars have been reviewed. In the following sections, a closer look is taken at the contextual setting of the current study; namely, the challenges facing policewomen in the policing context.

2.4 Policing Context

The role of police officers is multi-faceted and requires a unique set of characteristics which, in turn, defines their personality. Thibault, Lynch & McBride (2004) describe such uniqueness as collectively creating a sub-culture, with its own distinctive norms and values. Police officers deal with dangerous situations on a daily basis, making it a unique vocation that sets them apart from the rest of the community. Particularly, this is seen as masculine work arena (Gultekin et al., 2010) and raises serious questions about existing social constructs that result in bias that can make it a difficult workplace in which for women to progress.

To date, policing has maintained a male-dominated milieu, and structural reforms have been skewed to achieve male-centric outcomes. Notwithstanding minor changes of a cultural and social nature, and despite legislation to the contrary (Chan, 1997; Reiner, 1992; Waddington, 1999), policing continues to embody a form of hegemonic masculinity (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000). While changes have been made in the police force to provide some flexibility, they are not reflected organisationally. As a result, women have been largely unsuccessful in making major changes that impact the whole of the agency.

Policing as a career is limited, as there are few employment choices outside the realm, and it is for this reason that policing is seen as a vocation, stemming from a desire to protect the community. Both men and women are motivated by the same factors to enter the police force, such as job challenge, job security and pay rates; however, women terminate their employment for reasons that may suggest a gendered pattern of attrition, (Ermer 1978; Lonsway, 2003).

According to Paoline, Myers and Worden (2000, p.45), the nature of policing has created a unique set of work values "as law enforcers ... a celebration of masculinity and hero-worship norms". Fighting crime conjures up images of brutality, triumph of good over evil and other social subsets that are associated with male heroic figures. Working in this kind of

male dominated environment leaves women police officers feeling inadequate and the sense of victory (on the part of males) and vitriol (on the part of females) that ensues only reinforces further the notion of policing as male-centric.

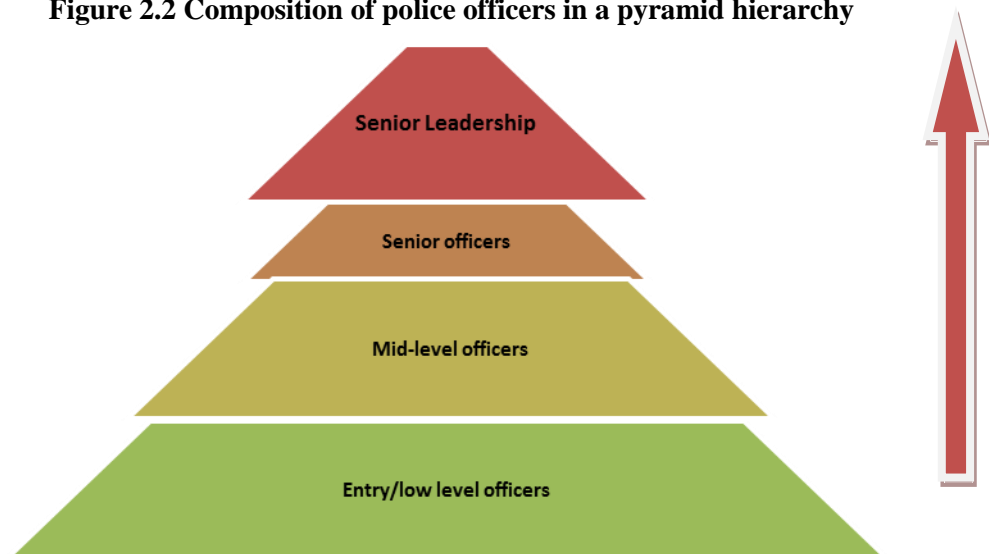
On the other hand, the role of policewomen, whilst capable of delivering the same outcomes, is not celebrated in the same way. The persistence of such bias has a significant impact, and in a patriarchal workplace such perceptions become further entrenched. Researchers (e.g., Heilman, 2001; Kruger, 2006) note that women police officers are not judged on their capabilities but according to a covert set of rules that is biased against them. A hostile work environment, in which women are not valued as equal to their male peers, coupled with negative perceptions of femininity, can exacerbate the bias.

2.4.1 Global Policing Context

In police jurisdictions there are generally three levels of leadership; low, middle and senior. Generally, statistics point to more women being in the middle-ranked level than men, and fewer women than men in senior leadership positions (Dick & Cassell, 2004; Silvestri, 2003). After graduation, police officers are directed to frontline policing. Employment figures show that the majority of both men and women work in the low and mid-level ranks where they are mainly responsible for frontline duties, have few supervisory responsibilities and are primarily engaged in operational and administrative tasks (Lonsway, 2003). Police officers progress through the ranks from the lowest level (Constable), through to the rank of Senior Constable, followed by Sergeant and Senior Sergeant (middle management). The senior management level starts from Inspector and progresses up to Commander.

The policing context is based on a command and control environment with a pyramid hierarchy, and shows the difference in composition of female police officers in law enforcement (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). Figure 2.2 is representative of law enforcements globally.

Figure 2.2 Composition of police officers in a pyramid hierarchy

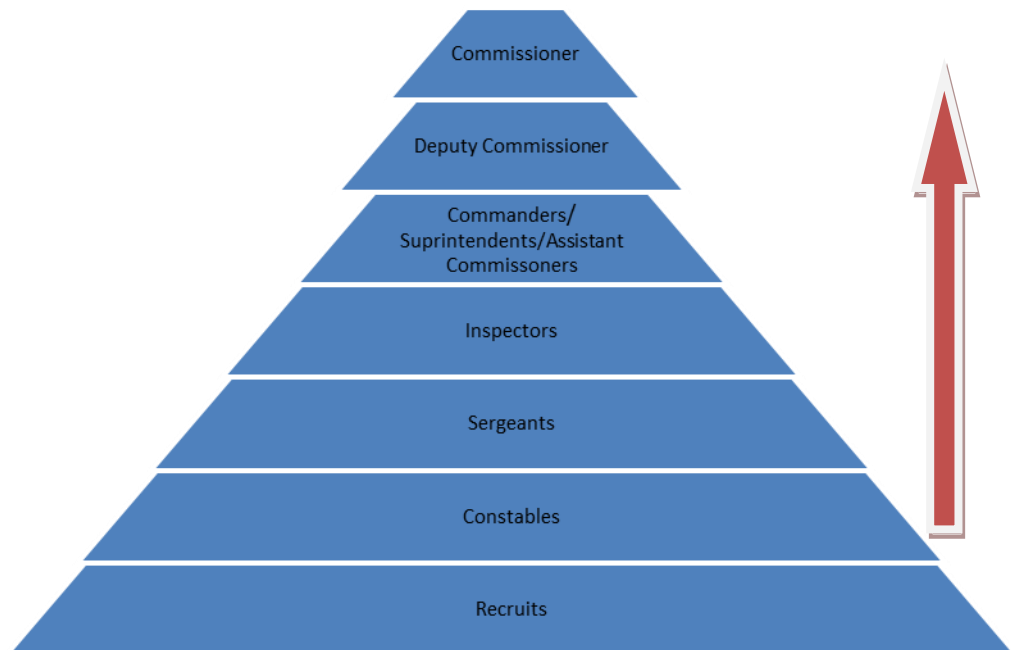


Women entered policing in the early 1900s in countries like the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States (Bradley & Tynan, 2009). Despite more than a century of policewomen working in the police force, it remains a very male dominated profession (United Nations Development Fund for Women [UNIFEM] 2007). While early studies of policing in the 1960s only drew conclusions about the impact of crime and violence on society (Heidenshohn, 1992; Heidenshohn, 1986), during the 1970s and 1980s, academics started to examine the physical testing regime and the disadvantages this posed for women who failed to enter the police force based on this testing alone (Martin & Jurik, 1996). Recent research has since shifted to consider the economic situation and its impact on general policing with dire budget cuts and the challenges of an aging police force (Wilson & Heinonen, 2012). The concern remains as a general focus on the workforce, rather than a targeted focus on policewomen.

Policing is considered to be a stressful career and for women with significant family responsibilities, it is likely to influence their decisions about work and career. There is a significant decline in the number of women in middle management within policing, which appears to correlate with the conflict between increased workloads and family responsibilities. These issues play a critical role in women's lives and may contribute to them missing out on career development and curtailing their progress, further reinforcing women's roles in western democratic societies as primary carers.

Policing exists as a classic example of gendered organisations operating within a framework developed and implemented by men, thereby reinforcing gender inequality and perpetuating a culture in which men lead the organisation (Alimo-Metcalf & Alban-Metcalf, 2005; Lonsway, 2002; Sayse, 2012).

Figure 2.3: Career Ranks in Policing



The above pyramid, Figure 2.3, is a continuum relevant to both male and female police officers from entry level to the highest ranking which is the position of Commissioner. The hierarchy also demonstrates how, as the ranking goes upward, there is a narrowing of the levels to indicate reduced numbers and create an even smaller number of senior positions within policing.

2.4.2 The Australian Policing Landscape

An Australian snapshot of the current policing landscape, discussed by Prenzler and Sinclair (2013), reports that statistics on the demographics of police officers to be scarce, particularly in a breakdown by gender. The Productivity Commission's *Report on Government Services (Police) 2012* contained very limited data on gender breakdown and, similarly, another official report, the Australian Institute of Criminology's annual compendium *Australian Crime: Fact and Figures*, once again does not have a gender breakdown of police officers (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). Thus, it can be concluded that organisational lens regards both men and women as police officers, with no difference between genders.

The 2011 Annual Report of Western Australia Police, indicated that the percentage of policewomen increased from 18.7% in 2007 to 20.5% in 2011, “with a slowing in growth in the last three years” (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013, p. 9). The report also showed there were only one senior female police officer in 2007 and none in the following years (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013, p.10). Currently, there are two female Assistant Commissioners (The West Australian Police Annual Report, 2014). Nevertheless, the information remains vague, “with the goal of a police personnel profile reflective of the community” (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013, p.10).

The Australian Federal Police do not have a rank structure which is common in para-military organisations; they are classified as ‘Bands’, Prenzler and Sinclair (2013, p. 10) report that for the period 2010-2011, there were nine senior policewomen (18.7%) out of forty eight senior officers listed in the senior executive services.

2.4.3 The American Policing Landscape

The National Centre for Women and Policing is a division of the Feminist Majority Foundation in the United States and has not published in the last decade. Past research by the Centre was critical of policing organisations and their lack of acceptance of policewomen as equal partners. The data (Harrington et al., 1997) proved that policewomen were an integral part of the organisation but lacked endorsement. Insight into the challenges that American policewomen face have not been debated, especially in recent times of austerity. A request in regard to such information was made to the various jurisdictions for Head Count Profile data, but declined due to confidentiality. Therefore, it was reported that analysis was based on available outdated data from decade old statistics (Lonsway, 2001).

Periodically, the National Centre for Women and Policing conducts a survey on the demographics of women police officers in North America, though available data remains dated; some more than a decade old. This is supported by the findings by Prenzler & Sinclair (2013) who report that the oldest data with the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) website on the breakdown of police by gender is dated twenty years ago. Even so, the most recent data is five years old where a representation of two decades (1987 – 2008) of policewomen indicates that the larger cities had more policewomen than the smaller cities. It also reported that there was a slow growth in the recruitment of policewomen, but a “fairly steady growth trajectory from 7.6% in 1987 to 12% in 2008” (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013, p.9).

2.4.4 Contemporary Research into Policing

Lack of data on policing demographics remains a challenge when research is conducted; even within national or state levels there are limited figures that can be used to analyse gender comparisons in policing (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). The researchers used available data in an attempt to highlight contemporary trends of policewomen in a global context.

While the contemporary policing landscape has shifted relatively from focussing on a gendered organisational structure, there is a gap in understanding the positioning of policewomen in the organisation and the resultant impact on the organisation. Despite calls by the United Nations (2009, cited in Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013) for a global undertaking to achieve better conditions for policewomen, figures show a different picture, as evidenced in Table 2.1. While Prenzler and Sinclair's (2013) data were sourced from websites, annual reports and other available reports, by their own admission it was difficult to analyse it thoroughly. By comparing the countries, there is a big difference between Tasmania with 28.8% of police being women compared with India's 5.1%. Similarly, the 25% female composition in England and Wales could be due to the government's recent major push for more recruitment and retention plans for women in policing. The criticism and comparison between the United Kingdom and other democratic countries, is that the recent recommendations have not translated into a trajectory of women moving into senior policing positions.

Table 2.1: Summary Percentages of Female Police Officers and Recruits.

Country/Department	Year	% Female Officers	% Female Recruits
England and Wales (43 forces)	2009	25.0	37.0
Scotland (8 forces)	2008	23.1	–
Northern Ireland	2012	26.7	–
Eire	2008	21.3	–
United States (14,744 agencies)	2010	11.8	–
Canada (approximately 156 agencies)	2011	19.6	–
Australia	–	–	–
Australian Federal Police	2011	22.1	–
New Zealand	2011	17.6	27.1
South Africa	2011	23.5	–
Ghana	2007	19.7	31.8
Nigeria	2010	12.4	–
India	2010	5.1	–
Fiji	2012	20.0	-

Source: Adapted from Prenzler and Sinclair (2013, p.121).

2.5 Challenges Facing Policewomen

Agars (2004, p.291) argued that “even a small bias against women in organisational contexts can generate substantively significant discrepancies in career outcome due to the repeated and cumulative nature of personnel decisions in organisations”. Against this landscape, various barriers faced by policewomen are examined. The raft of barriers that policewomen face are gender-based work perceptions that can be viewed as barriers to career progression or considered organisational practices and legitimised principles.

Research by Edelston and Powell (2012) reports that women’s gender based work perceptions differs from those of men, and their views about careers are largely shaped by familial ties and responsibilities. Other studies have found that most women are caregivers at

some stage in their lives. It is often assumed that they lack commitment to the job because they are assessed against male traits within gendered organisations (Metcalf et al., 2002). Conflict arises when women are torn between societal values and the image of the modern woman (Dick & Cassell, 2004).

2.5.1 Gender Imbalance in Workplace Engagement

An empirical study conducted by Mainiero and Sullivan (2005 cited in Ortiz-Walters, 2010) reports that almost half of the 497 respondents who were highly qualified professional women left their employment at some stage of their career. The reasons cited by the respondents were a change in career focus and family responsibilities. Marini and Brinton (1984 cited in Ortiz-Walters, 2010, p.107) noted that “individuals with strong feminine identities place emphasis on family responsibilities and their role as home makers”. This is further compounded by the Eagly et al. (2000) and O’Neil (1981) view that family responsibilities take precedence over career. Those who returned to the work force looked for flexibility and life balance. Within this context, questions arise about women’s ability to acquire leadership positions in gendered organisations and the need for a dramatic reconfiguration of organisational culture (Alvesson & Billing, 2004; Still, 1994).

Furthermore, women frequently justify not seeking promotion to higher positions by arguing that family needs are the priority. This is particularly difficult to reconcile when women are expected to bring diversity to the organisation but also to lead in a competitive, aggressive and harsh environment which is contrary to their very nature (Ellemer et al., 2012). Burke and Mikkelsen (2005) suggest that, even in organisations with strategies in place that encourage women to apply for senior positions, the outcomes are limited for women due to a preponderance of male applicants and the availability of a relatively small number of top-level job openings.

Findings by Willets-Bloom and Nock (1994) indicate that many organisations are inclined to factor in the likelihood that women will take long leave from work to focus on child-rearing responsibilities and, consequently, women are regarded as a liability rather than an asset during the child-rearing stages of their careers. Viewing these three career restricting examples together, it is clear from literature that the roles and contributions of women in the workplace are viewed by management in many work cultures as different to those of men in an overarching way.

Marks and MacDermid's (1996) interpretation of the work-family balance is that of an individual perspective of various roles that the individual takes on, with a wide interpretation of work-life balance. Building on that are authors Campbell-Clark (2000) and Greenhaus and Allen (2011) who posit that such role interplay simultaneously creates a sense of wellbeing and satisfaction of being able to fulfil work and family needs. Similarly, Pampell & Shoemaker (2008, p.4) in their study on work-life balance observed that women were aware of the "trade-offs between professional and personal success".

Based on a questionnaire survey, Ismail and Ibrahim (2008, p.54) conducted a study of 103 female executives in Malaysia, identifying barriers that women faced at work. They found that women regarded career success as an "interplay between work, family factors, organisational demands, and women's socio-demographic characteristics". The distinction between the theories of 'work-life balance' versus 'work-family balance' is that the former is genderless and nonspecific of the roles that women play. Juxtaposed to this, some researchers (Pocock et al., 2009) are reluctant to use the term 'work-life balance' as it does not reflect an accurate meaning of a balance between work and private life, rather an intrusion where women need to juggle work and family responsibilities.

However the key issue with the two concepts is that organisations have latched on to 'work-life balance' rather than embracing 'work-family balance' as the social context of former does not reflect gender imbalance. The social context of the 'work-family balance' has stronger female nuances and within that societal context the responsibility tends to fall on to women rather than men. In the organisational logic lens such impetus of work flexibility reflects a genderless terminology hence 'work-life balance' has been embedded in organisational rhetoric (Valk & Srinivasan, 2011). It is no surprise however, that work-life balance has been interpreted differently by men and women. In a broad context, work-life balance in an organisation refers to better working conditions for employees through the option of flexible working hours in order to more easily juggle home and work responsibilities (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008). Furthermore, as researchers have pointed out, it reflects the weakness of organisations in not being able to clearly articulate their policies (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008)

Jarrod (2007) reports that time away from work is used by women primarily to manage household chores and attend to family responsibilities, while men regard it as an opportunity for self-development and fulfilling social needs. Despite women's liberation, there has been little change in the traditional tenets of provider and nurturer. Feminist writers believe that this social consciousness is deeply rooted in beliefs emanating from gender roles (Eagly,

Wood, & Diekman, 2000; Wood & Eagly, 2010) and women find that it is already difficult for them to be accepted in their current roles and did not want to take on extra stress.

Kanter (1997) postulates that extended periods of time spent in low-level positions eventually leads to a lack of aspiration. Within a policing context, this makes it difficult for policewomen to gain the necessary experience, motivation and confidence to seek promotion. Furthermore, some women unwittingly may conclude that it is their own performance that hinders their progress (Edelston & Powell, 2012). A high level of family demands placed on the individual leads to high level of stress in being able to balance both work and family commitments (Edelston & Powell, 2012). Subsequently, women cohorts become conditioned into thinking that their participation is capped or limited. Those who do manage to break the mould and seek development are often faced with further obstacles.

Invisible obstacles and limited promotion opportunities make it extremely challenging for female police officers to progress. Litzky and Greenhaus (2002, p.70) found that women were less inclined than men to aspire to appointment in senior positions because the women perceived “incongruence between their personal characteristics and senior management”, leading them to believe that there were less opportunities for them.

Much debate surrounds a workforce in general and it is important that research is built around women who work in a gendered organisation such as police; as contemporary literature suggests, challenges would be different for women in relation to work and family responsibilities in another type of organisation.

2.5.2 Mobility

Rindicat (2008, p.19) cited in a final report on a *study on mobility patterns and career paths of EU researchers* define mobility as “international, trans-national, cross borders, cross-sectoral ... furthermore the span of mobility can also be open-ended, hence, mobility can be ‘multi-dimensional phenomena’”. Contextually, the organisation views mobility as an opportunity for an individual with providing benefits and opportunities:

- a) to enhancing the skills of the individual,
- b) to develop the individual both professionally and personally through exposure to new environments,
- c) to expand experience within the organisation so the individual can return with added skills to share with other individuals,
- d) to provide the individual with greater insight into the wider organisation, and

e) to retain the existing talent pool and reduce high attrition levels.

Looking at the issue through the organisational lens, it is an investment in the individual for career advancement (Barrat et al., 2014). For the individual, mobility poses the opportunity to up-skill and develops a path way to career progression.

Although the organisation is investing in human capital, it fails to consider that there are various issues that might be a hindrance for the policewomen in light of their family responsibilities. Viability, then, is a contentious issue for cohorts of women in terms of being able to mobilise for career advancement.

Within the state police force, there is also a form of mobility through transfers within the state to another district. All operational police officers are on tenure between two to five years. In the situation discussed here, as with most police forces, it is a standard employment condition of tenure that officers can be transferred to various districts to undertake their duties (Human Resources Policy, Western Australia Police, 2014). The transfer is usually to fill a vacant position or to provide skills development for the sworn police employee. In light of the circumventing issues, promotion does largely not appeal to the women in both state and federal agencies. Conversely the inability and or unwillingness to relocate creates a false perception that policewomen are not capable of meeting expectations sometimes interpreted as failures in performance (Heilman, 2001).

2.5.3 Mandatory Retirement

A relatively unexplored issue that has the potential to hamper the motivation of police officers is the retirement age in policing, which varies from State to State and between jurisdictions. Table 2.2 is a breakdown of the retirement age for police officers. The difference of ten years (age 55 to age 65) in the available retirement ages is not readily explainable if police universally perform the same jobs; however, the nominated age is a decision uniquely set by the jurisdiction.

The table is a breakdown of the retirement age for police officers in Australia and the United States. The organisational logic pivots on the argument that the nature of policing requires physically fit and healthy police officers. However, the rationale does not take into consideration the fact that women who have been away from work for a period of time for family responsibilities may now be at a stage in their lives where they can concentrate wholly on their careers.

Table 2.2: Australian and U.S.A. Police Retirement Ages

Country - Australia	Retirement Age	Prerequisite	Comments
New South Wales	55		State Jurisdiction
Queensland	60		State Jurisdiction
Northern Territory	65		State Jurisdiction
Tasmania	65		State Jurisdiction
Western Australia	55		State Jurisdiction
Victoria	55		State Jurisdiction
Australian Federal Police	55		Federal Jurisdiction
United States – Federal Agencies’	57	Mandatory	Federal Jurisdictions
	57	Negotiable	State Jurisdictions – retirement age is negotiable but not recommended

2.5.4 Physical training

Another challenge facing women is the emphasis in the pre-recruitment assessment is on physical testing. A survey on physical testing was conducted on 62 police agencies in the U.S.A. indicated that more than 89% of the agencies do conduct some form of physical testing (Lonsway, 2001). The authors criticise the approach taken by law enforcement to strenuous physical testing, resulting in a large number of women failing the entry test. To obtain entry into the police force, women are required to undergo the same strenuous physical testing as men, and physical testing remains the most important criterion required for entry to a police academy in the United States (Lonsway, 2003; Seklecki & Paynich, 2007; Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013).

Criticism of this issue stems from the fact that it was, and still is, based on a male physical endurance profile and, therefore, is unrealistic for women to achieve. While it is

acknowledged that there needs to be some form of physical testing, the type of testing needs to be reassessed to ensure that it is a fair evaluation of both men and women. Furthermore, the current method has not been empirically tested to prove that it is an important part of policing, raising doubts about its relevance to the job. Similarly, because testing varies among different jurisdictions the discrepancies are well documented and argued (Lonsway, 2003). Ironically, statistics show that those women who pass the entry test are subsequently relegated to supportive roles where their physical skills are not used.

Research into physical training as a criterion for entry into policing in America was driven largely by the National Centre for Women Policing. The research by Lonsway (2001), built on the work of Harrington et al. (1997) further highlighted that there was an urgent need to reassess the components of the physical testing. However, the research on physical testing remains stagnant and contemporary research is needed to establish whether or not women are facing similar issues to those found a decade ago, and whether testing criteria have been amended.

Lonsway (2003) posits that blatant discrimination is reinforced by antiquated testing methods. Using such methods can result in marginalisation of female applicants at the initial stages of recruitment, giving male police officers a sense of superiority over female officers, and the false perceptions become the accepted norm.

2.5.5 Gender Bias

Past research on gender bias in policing (deVires, 2012; Lonsway, 2001) has indicated that one of the key challenges for women in policing has been gender bias of male attitudes and resultant discrimination in the work place. Gender bias has contributed to women being reluctant to enter policing; a perception held for several decades. However, current research on the same issues has moved the position somewhat as it appears that the degree of discrimination has lessened (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008). Pampell and Shoemaker (2008) conducted a survey of top-level policewomen in American jurisdictions and found a reduced degree of discrimination, though this could be because the respondents were at higher ranks with less discrimination or where they had overcome discrimination.

Priola and Brannan (2009) posit that bias is evident when women in gendered organisations when they do not compete regarding their career progression. This is attributed to the gendered organisational traits that are linked to masculinity; Priola and Brannan's (2009, p. 387) view is that "by resisting masculine articulations of management based on competition,

instrumentality and purposive rationality” the women perceive that they are less competitive and are not aligned to the organisation’s expectations of progression.

Lonsway (2002) asserts that stamping out crime in society glorifies violence, and such nuances are strongly linked to hero worship. Within the male-dominated police force, the intangible achievements of women police officers are often overlooked at the expense of heroism and acts of male-centric aggression (Lonsway, 2002). The core of policing is fighting crime, and this is carried out by different ranks within the police force; thus, Sun and Wasileski (2010) claim that occupational beliefs in this view of policing are influenced largely by societal context. Generally, police work is about protecting its citizens and, by nature, frontline work is isolating and stressful requiring police officers constantly to make decisions in volatile and dangerous situations. By not being at the front line of such policing, policewomen have less opportunity to demonstrate their courage, skills and capacity for those acts of heroism for which their male counterparts are being acknowledged.

This is borne out by women who work in rigid male environments like policing and, anecdotally, are keenly aware that they are operating ‘in a man’s world’ (Barrat et al., 2014). Thus, policewomen have to learn to negotiate gender barriers, perform duties assigned by males, and ‘work like a man’. Although there is little empirical research to support these assumptions, it could be said that the articulation of such work reinforces stereotypical gender expectations and creates a further division of labour between male and female police officers (Brown, 2000).

Studies of the performance of male and female police officers indicates that women perform better in situations of high tension, use less physical force resulting in fewer liability cases and are better communicators than males (Kruger, 2006; Lonsway, 2002). However, women’s capabilities are not valued as highly as those of their male counterparts because they are assessed as being less influential in bringing about successful outcomes, an inherently stereotyped bias (Helman 2001; Kruger, 2006; Lonsway, 2002). This can be linked to research on gendered organisations where women have continued to be in supportive roles to men police (Barrat et al., 2014). Although the observation is skewed towards the female perception, the same ethos can apply to male police officers where they have to make similar decisions on work - life balance through long irregular work hours.

2.6 Leader Identity

The leader concept is defined as “a process by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective, and directs the organisation in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent” (Day & Harrison, 2007; Sloan, 1996, p. 106). Identity refers to various attributes one attaches to oneself as perceived by others (Gecas, 1982; Gergen, 1971). Building on this Day, (2000) infers there are many facets to an individual's overall leader identity. Lieberman (1956) states that, from an identity theory perspective, people may choose to assume leadership roles without any remuneration or recognition, until they reflect upon their current identity and their sense of value-add to the organisation. Day, Harrison and Halpin (2005), and Lord and Hall (2005) assert that leader identity is crucial for leader development. It could be argued that without a positive self-perception and positive perception of others, it would be difficult for a leader to maintain his or her momentum.

The term ‘leader’ is difficult to narrow down to a single meaning (Day & Harrison, 2007) because the very nature of leadership is dynamic and encompasses several factors. The traditional view of a single individual who leads the organisation, however, has been replaced by a more complex, multi-level perspective (Day & Harrison, 2007). Day (2000) points out that leadership evolves and that it is important for leader development to be effective. Chan and Drasgow (2001) also infer that self-efficacy is an important attribute of leaders and is linked to motivation because, without these characteristics, it is extremely challenging for leaders to perform effectively under pressure. Leader identity is an important aspect of establishing relationships with others, in these case followers; and it defines the leader, goals and aspirations (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

Leader identity is equally important for motivating the leader and articulating his or her leadership ambitions (Day, 2010). Hence, leadership development is viewed as a social process that “expands the collective capacity of organisational members to enable groups to work together ... this collective approach to capacity building invests more in social capital”, (Day, 2001). Contextually, this highlights the interdependence between the leader and leadership development thus creating an integrative perception (Day, 2001). Hence, it can be ascertained that leadership development is the starting place for a potential leader to experience an organisational identity and viewpoint.

Recent research on leadership has turned its attention to a new concept that links leadership to identity (Day, 2001; Doltish et al., 2010). Contemporary leaders have the capacity to bring teams together and motivate them to achieve organisational goals (Brown & Gioia, 2002;

Cox et al., 2003; Day, Gronn, & Salas, 2004; Lipman-Blumen, 2000). This is reinforced by the Day and Lord (1988) emphasis that executive leadership can have a significant impact on an organisation's performance.

Day and Harrison (2007) conclude that there are three aspects to the leader construct. The first is the leader them self, the second is support from staff, and the third is working within the organisational context and culture. Day (2000) pointed out that for a leader to be successful, the self has to engage widely with the organisation in order to set goals and build commitment. Building on this, DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 795) propose a leadership identity model and suggest that leadership identity should be constructed at three different levels; "a) the personal identity level, b) relational identity level, and c) the collective identity". Other theorists (Debebe & Reinert, 2012; Ibarra et al., 2010; Lord & Hall, 2005) view leadership identity as a link to relationship development. Moorosi (2014) observes that through leadership development, the leader's individual identity evolves, but not the personal traits of the individual. Within this paradigm, an effective leader is able to merge "aspects of the leader and the personal identity of the leader" (Day & Harrison, 2007, p. 368).

Ely et al. (2010) posit the concept that men and women face different challenges in their quest for leadership roles because leadership is constructed with male traits. However, there are no empirical studies that prove women are incapable of leadership. Theorists (Koenig et al., 2011) suggest that this groundless perception is a stereotype that has seriously impacted on women's advancement. The authors rationalise that the misconception stems from a mix and match of social roles, but a meta-analysis of gender roles largely drawn from the works of Eagly and Johnson (1990) proves otherwise. Similar views were raised by theorists (Brown 1979; Eagly et al., 1996; Johnson 1992) in their findings that there is still compelling evidence both for those who believe that there is a significant difference in the way men and women lead, and for critics who strongly assert that the variance is insignificant.

An examination of the various leadership development strategies and leadership styles in extant literature, led this researcher to conclude that there is a strong link between relational and transformational leadership styles as the latter encompasses four factors; a) idealised influence, b) inspirational motivation, c) intellect motivation and d) individualised consideration (Bass & Avolio, 1990). These authors purport that transformational leaders use all four factors to maximise their subordinates' performance and development. Research on women's leadership styles identifies a common trend towards a transformational model, and other studies identify women as better leaders (Gardner et al., 2005; Yammarino, Dionne, Schriesheim & Dansareau, 2008). Women possess the attributes of both profiles, and further

research will add to the existing body of knowledge on the subject. Relational leadership provides evidence of a change in focus from the heroic or male construct to a new way of thinking about leadership and leadership development, with an emphasis on asymmetrical communication and moral values, not necessarily in the moment but for the future (Cunliffe et al., 2011). These authors suggest that it is important for leaders to be prepared for the subtleties of dialogue in future scenarios. Relational leadership has become more relevant in leadership development today, especially in the current global environment, where it is vital for organisations to be able to react and respond to major global issues.

2.6.1 Professional/Self/Social Identity and Self-Determination Theory

Professional identity includes personal and social identities, and how people define themselves in a professional role (Schein, 1978). Unlike identity theory, professional identity evolves over the course of one's career and is often appraised by performance. In addition, different experiences and feedback from peers and line managers provide insights into one's performance (Schein, 1978).

Contextually, the professional identity that is assumed within policing is that of macho male traits. Hero worshipping and stamping out crime are imagery that conjures up pictures of males winning everyday battles for the good of the society. Furthermore, the interdependence of loyalty, mateship and solidarity creates a tight bond among policemen where it becomes the 'them versus us' mentality with policewomen being on the outer (Barton, 2004). The question that is raised is how do policewomen fit into this model of professional identity? Little qualitative research has been undertaken, particularly within the middle and top levels of policewomen.

Korostelina (2007) argues that an individual does have the ability to control the dynamics of identification though there are instances where, in an uncontrolled environment, the individual has to accept the rules and abide by them. In the context of a work environment, Korostelina (2007, p. 22) uses this definition of social identity:

the feeling and understanding of "we-ness" is a result of social identification processes. This feeling of identity cements a group as a social aggregate and leads to common forms of thinking and behaviour. An individual's emerging social identity can be maintained, changed, or reconceptualized in the process of social interaction. The history and culture of a society determine social identity; however, people with specific identities are active builders and developers of history and culture.

Markus and Nurius (1986) assert that 'self-concept' is an important element for motivation, that it builds self-awareness and plays a role in aligning individuals with the strategic goals of the organisation, resulting in leadership development for those individuals. Entrenched within this metaphor, professional identity becomes strongly embedded as a social identity (Crank, 1998). Avolio et al. (2004) also note "the importance of social and personal identification in the leadership process" (Avolio et al., 2004, p. 806). The authors (Avolio et al., 2004, p. 806) continue by arguing that "leaders affect the identities of followers in turn influencing their self-regulatory processes". According to this argument, relational leadership is not a model or a theory but instead draws on an "inter-subjective view of the world to offer a way of thinking about who leaders are in relation to others" (Cunliffe et al., 2011, p. 1434) and who work together within complex situations. Relational leadership, therefore, is defined as an entwined relationship between the self and others. Within the context of the current study, a policewoman's individual identity combined with her professional and social identities does align with self-determination theory.

Deci and Ryan (1980) first developed self-determination theory (SDT) as a theory of self-motivation. SDT, a broad framework used by practitioners in the study of human psychology, is concerned with the individual's intrinsic needs and wants. Other researchers have refined and elaborated the original theory. For the purpose of this study, its key elements will be considered.

Deci and Ryan (1985) propose that self-determination theory fulfils three key psychological needs; a) the need for competence where the individual performs at optimal level, b) the need for autonomy where the individual experiences a sense of empowerment, and c) the need for relatedness where mutual respect and reliance is established with others. The Deci and Ryan (1985) research results showed that self-determination theory in organisations is strongly linked to work environment. The interpersonal relationship that the individual has with supervisors, and the support received, determined the individual's motivational level.

Thus, Ryan and Deci (2000) posit that individuals are generally curious, motivated, inspired and strive to apply their skills to optimise their potential. However if the social environment is not conducive, the individual can reject self-development and responsibility. Therefore, the social-economic context must support the individual's need to function effectively (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Contextually, then, the decisions that policewomen make are closely related to self-determination theory.

2.6.2 Leadership Aspirations of Women

Researchers recognise the socialisation factor as the key difference between the ways in which men and women lead. A positive self-identity is important to individuals, especially to women (Brown & Gillian 1992; Gillian 1982; Lloyd & Du Veen, 1993). Other authors (Covington, 1984; Learly et al., 1994) contend that, to achieve a sense of being positive, women tend to look to others for approval. An Eagly and Johnson (1990) study found that, while men were goal-oriented, women tended to focus more on relationships. Bass and Avolio (1990) developed the transactional and transformational concepts of leadership; transactional leadership is modelled on male traits such as task-orientation, while transformational leadership embodies collaboration and engagement, characteristics more closely aligned with female traits.

The leadership style of women is dichotomous in a fraternal organisation which only recognises and promotes males. The literature on leadership styles suggests that a transformational model is most effective in a changing work environment, and that it has a cultural impact on the organisation (Anderson, Gisborne & Holliday, 2006; Avolio et al., 2004; Kawatra & Krishnan, 2004). Several authors contend that feminine traits are well aligned with transformational leadership (Eagly, et al., 2003; Kawatra & Krishnan, 2004). Eagly et al. (2003) believe that having more women in top leadership positions increases the likelihood of a reconfiguration in the organisation. These authors also hypothesise that although women tend to use a transformational style of leadership, they are nevertheless evaluated through the male lens, particularly in a gendered organisation. Empirical studies have shown that men and women lead in similar fashion; however there are differences in the approach that both genders take; the output, however, is the same since both genders operate within preconceived organisational systems.

Also, women tend to be more collaborative and empathetic in their leadership style and, consequently, are labelled 'unsuitable' for a man's job because it requires aggressiveness and male macho in order to be successful (Metcalf et al., 2002). This is further justified by the notion that females are not as physically robust as men; coupled with a perceived lack of commitment because their priorities are centred on family commitments.

Although transformational leadership is genderless, male and female attributes add different dimensions that impact on the culture of an organisation. Burke and Collins (2001) observe male attributes of aggression, dominance, task orientation and a tendency towards a transactional style of leadership is the accepted norm in the police force as it aligns with the

culture of command and control. Despite limited data, Eagly and Johnson (1990) conclude that where there are more males in the hierarchy making important decisions, the tendency is for both males and females to homogenise about a male leadership style. Deviating from this ethos is daunting and virtually impossible.

Figure 2.4 The Positioning of Woman in a Gendered Organisation

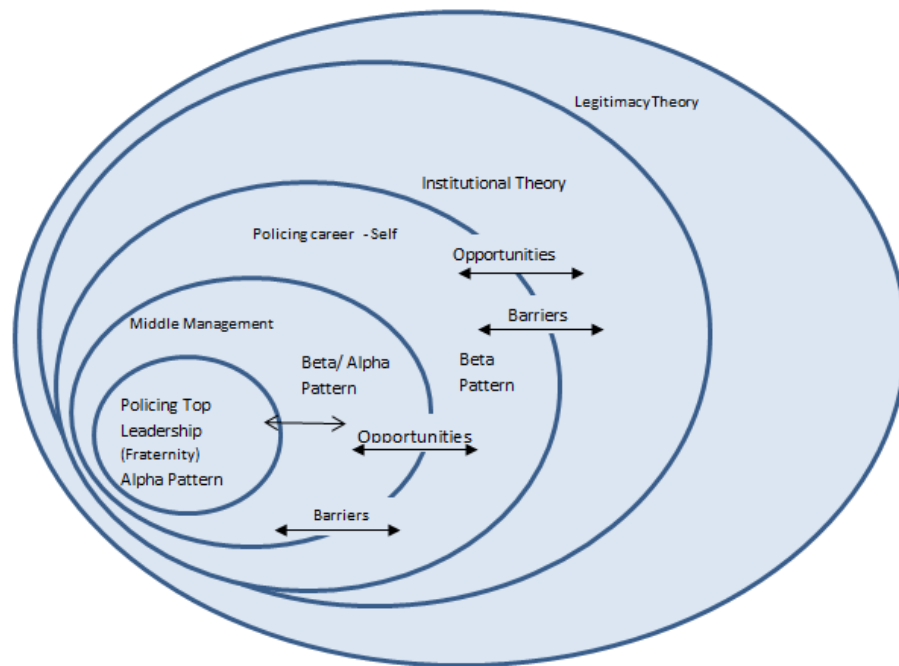


Figure 2.4 is presented to draw attention to how policewomen are conditioned within a gendered organisation and how they view career progression for themselves. It recognises the macro realities within which a career in the police force evolves. The organisational lens provides perceived opportunities and barriers to do with each level of potential career progression. The concern in the current study is with middle management policewomen who, it is argued, within a beta/alpha pattern decide on their interest to either pursue further career progression or remain at their existing employment level.

2.7 Career Progression in a Gendered Organisation

Women first entered policing over a century ago in America and Australia, yet policewomen today experience little change in circumstances (Lonsway, 2002; Silvestri, 2003). The first intake of women into policing was as carers for women and children, a theme still evident today as policewomen are more often than not appointed to roles in community policing (Natarajan, 2008). Seklecki and Paynich (2007, p. 27) posit that the motivations for women

entering policing are “the desire to help people, the excitement of the job and the notion that every day the job is different”, supported by the job security that policing offers. Seklecki and Paynich (2007) showed that women wanted to remain in policing; even those who left temporarily for family responsibilities or having children wanted to return to policing. This contrasts with a study conducted by Cabrera (2009, p. 75) in which it was noted that those women who were looking for re-entry into the work force wanted “protean career paths in order to achieve flexibility and balance in their lives”.

According to Alvesson and Billing (1997) and recently Carli and Eagly (2012), there is no real psychological difference between men and women’s aspirations to climb the corporate ladder. Studies however show that women use higher education to link with the perception of career advancement which in turn can link to financial gains and social status (Langowitz & Minnitti, 2007; Schuck, 2014). Langowitz and Minnitti (2007) found that men were motivated by macroeconomics which was disputed by Fischer et al, (1993) study which showed that women scored higher than men in monetary motivation. Contextually within policing salaries are not negotiable but are based on rank and file.

As with Nancherla (2009), they claim that women do not invest sufficiently in their own human capital. Holmes (2005) makes an important observation that, historically, men used mentors to gain career progression and the result is there are more senior men in organisations. She explains further that researchers have looked at successful leaders and determined that behind them were male mentors. Predominantly, successful male leaders have acknowledged their role models as being other males who guided their careers (Ehrich, 1994, p. 4). This can involve both the mentor and protégé having similar values, worldviews and interest of the organisation (Barratt et al., 2014).

The current study examines women police in mid-management level roles who have experienced challenges to their progress into senior positions. Research studies into gendered organisations, particularly policing, report that women often occupy subordinate roles (Burke et al., 2005). Some studies suggest that such roles are often regarded by male police officers as not fitting their psyche and while such men progress to senior levels, the same opportunities for women of equal role status are not as readily available and thus, incrementally, some women more than others, are confronted by a range of challenges to attaining promotion to senior levels (Acker, 2012).

The existence of challenges to promotion is said to be a key factor in women police becoming alienated from the promotion process. More women remain in lower level ranks

and perform community-based duties, rather than being on the frontline fighting crime alongside their male counterparts. More recent data provided by Prenzler and Sinclair (2013) shows that women are still at the lower ranks of the policing hierarchy, although there are figures showing a small number of women being promoted ahead of the men. While there is a substantial pool of women at the low and middle-levels, one would expect that, even incrementally, a number of these women would progress to senior positions; at what against the men remains arguable (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). This issue has impacted negatively on training development and promotion for policewomen and further highlights the need for a reconfiguration of organisational culture in order for women to access leadership positions (Alvesson & Billing, 2009b; Still, 1994).

There are several strategies that an individual can apply to develop their career path; viz., mentoring, networking and sponsorship (Holmes, 2005). These strategies, when applied effectively, can create career progression for the individual. Mentoring in particular is perceived as a stepping stone (applied strategy) for an individual who is relatively new to the organisation and is keen to develop their skills with support through various strategies (Patton, 2010). Although mentoring, sponsorship and networking are discussed, rather more attention is given to mentoring and its discourse in gendered organisations and in the policing context. The causal effect of mentoring has implications on the career path of the women in gendered organisations, and as well as sponsorship and networking is discussed in a generalised perspective.

2.7.1 Mentoring

The concept and functions of mentoring can be relatively complex and its effectiveness lies largely on the selection of a mentor by the protégé. The contextual aspects of mentoring and its impact on the protégé including gender orientation are discussed next.

Mentoring is defined as “the guidance process that takes place between a mentor and a protégé” (Friday et al., 2004, p. 637; Hagberg & Leider, 1988). Guidance is linked to providing professional advice and can sometimes lead to personal development (Caldwell & Carter, 1992). A mentor is defined as an individual who has considerable experience and is of a higher position in an organisation and the protégé is somewhat dependent on the mentor for career progression (Fagenson, 1992; Gong, et al., 2011). Although a junior person with less experience in the organisation is defined as a protégé, mentoring is not a random process; it is a motivated action by the protégé to assist in career progression (Fagenson, 1992).

Building on this, the Gong et al. (2011) study on mentoring and its relationship between personal and career development of a protégé found that mentoring had a significant impact on career progression. In their empirical findings, Gong et al. (2011) conclude that, although mentoring plays a major role in career progression it did not increase the skills level of the individual; furthermore mentoring did not guarantee a promotion. Research (Ortiz-Walters et al., 2010) has shown that not all mentor relationships are equal; the mentorship value to the protégé can remain static – with no promotion and the skills that the protégé gains are relational. Arguably, even though there is a strong correlation between mentoring and career progression (Eby et al., 2008; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux & Brinley, 2005; Jacobi, 1991; Rhodes, 2005) other research has shown that there is a negative relationship in mentoring (Noe, 1988; Ragins, 1999; Russel & Adams, 1997; Wanberg et al., 2003), hence the relationship between mentoring and career outcomes can be convoluted (Gong et al., 2011).

There are several strategies available for employees as part of staff development. Arthur and Rousseau (1996) and Hall (1996) cited in Gong et al. (2011) identify four direct organisational influences on the personal development of employees: viz., a) contractually the organisation is not directly responsible for the career progress of its employees; b) modern technology has a functional impact on the employees' career progression; c) the changing organisational structure affects the source where employees can access developmental programs and d) the diversity in the organisation and limited resources make developmental programs competitive. Conversely, Higgins and Krams (2001) stress that it is important for the individual to engage in a mentoring program at each stage of their career. Consequently, the onus is on the protégé to seek out a mentor for career satisfaction and progression.

2.7.1.1 Strategizing Mentoring

Unlike male protégés who use a descriptive approach, female protégés are inclined to structure their mentoring sessions and follow a prescriptive approach (Maxwell, 2009). Gold (2009) asserts that men are better at self-promotion than women. One explanation for women not progressing is that they are inclined to highlight other employees' performance while their male counterparts are more inclined to self-promote and create additional networks to support them in the organisation (Wade, 2001).

Early studies on mentoring by Kram (1985) identify two types of mentoring; vocational and psycho-social. Vocational mentoring is referred to as an action plan to assist in career

progression, while psycho-social mentoring is referred to as building networks, networking and mentoring to assist the female protégé (Kram, 1985). The empirical findings by researchers Kram (1985), Kram and Isabella (1985), Burke (1984) and Noe (1988) found that senior ranking mentors provided career mentoring that had a direct link to career progression, while psycho-social mentoring provided by peers did not translate to career progression.

Allen (2007) cites that little research has been undertaken on the mentor; hence, it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of mentoring programmes. Contextually, both the mentor and protégé develop skills unique to their innate abilities; i.e., both are receiving benefits by developing skills but at different stages of their career. The mentor enhances their leadership skills while the protégé develops skills toward career progression (Day, 2001).

2.7.1.2 Mentoring in a gendered organisation

Nevertheless, mentoring can be fulfilling and provide potential for growth and development (Ragins & Krams, 2007). Ibarra et al. (2010) observe that while women are being mentored, men are being sponsored. The male sponsor undertakes to ensure necessary exposure, eliminate negativity and promote their male protégé into career trajectory. Women protégés are provided with moral support, a role model, professional and personal development and learning how to manoeuvre in a gendered organisation (Eagly & Carli, 2007b). Consequently, if mentoring fails to provide women with organisational exposure, they will be left with few options; the same limited options as exist in their current roles without any exposure to skills development or new responsibilities to advance their careers (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008).

Mentoring is a relatively new concept in gendered organisations and, traditionally, has been associated with men (Holmes, 2005). However, it is emerging as an important avenue for women to express themselves and utilise their unique set of skills (Holmes, 2005; Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008). Acker's theory of "gendered organisational logic" (1990, p. 146) implies that women who enter a gendered workforce are seen as 'the other', have limited support and must create their own networks to operate within a male domain. This idea is contradicted by other studies referred to by Ramaswami et al. (2010, p. 367) who state, "studies indicate that the impact of mentoring is greatest for women in male-dominated professions and industries especially if they have a powerful male mentor ... females in these work places seem to be especially in need of sponsorship and legitimacy".

In a gendered organisation it is important to determine whether or not gender plays a role in mentoring; e.g., are women mentors more influential than men mentors? At one level, mentoring can be confused with coaching; or negatively viewed as being part of a small social network comprising women in a male-dominated organisation (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008). Researchers (Cox, 1993; Hansman-Ferguson & Garofolo, 1995; Hite 1998) contend that, in gendered organisations, mentoring sessions are more readily available to men than women. For women, several barriers emerge, including mentoring sessions that are held outside working hours, lack of motivation and a lack of support networks to help find the most appropriate mentor (Holmes, 2005).

Maxwell (2006) posits that mentoring can be viewed also through a gender lens to support the notion that women are equally as keen as men for promotion. The researcher considers women's goals are similar to those of males when it comes to ambition and individualism. Furthermore, mentoring in a gendered organisation has become more of a necessity for employees who are seeking to become professionally competitive (Higgins & Kram, 2001; Ragins & Cotton, 1991).

Mentoring also is recognised by women in gendered organisations as vital to their progress and an important strategy in their career development, and signals a shift in power (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008)). However, the study by Pampell and Shoemaker, (2008) does not identify the type of mentoring the women are seeking – career or psycho-social. The gap is supplemented by Ortiz-Walters et al. (2010, p. 66) who state that “human capital and social capital are critical factors for women's career development” and identify a “vertical trajectory along with financial power and status rewards [that] continue to prevail in organisational systems” (Ortiz-Walters et al., 2010, p. 66). Mentoring as a programme develops the skills and a consciousness of how one perceives their identity in the gendered organisation context. At this juncture, the protégé decides on a career path (Ortiz-Walters et al., 2010). In examining further, it is relevant for the protégé to decide the type of mentoring the individual is seeking.

In examining protégé satisfaction with the mentoring programme, Lyons and Oppler (2004) consider that there is no major evidence that same sex mentorship was more satisfying than opposite sex mentorship; hence, it may be deduced that gender identity does not play a major role in choice of a mentor. The satisfaction is related to the expectations of the protégé. Researchers state that the satisfaction a protégé experiences relies largely on the individual's expectation of the mentoring programme; i.e., wholly towards career success (career progression), or psycho-social support.

The key objective of a mentor is to increase the opportunities for the protégé in seeking career progression. Ortiz-Walters et al. (2010, p. 105) state this can be satisfied when the protégé is clear of the objectives and understands that “gender identity as opposed to physiological gender, includes two independent dimensions – masculinity, beliefs about the extent to which one possesses traits such as aggressiveness, ambition, dominance, and independence; and femininity, beliefs about the extent to which one possesses traits like compassion, sensitivity to the needs of others”. In this context, the masculine traits appear to be tunnel visioned and if the female protégé is seeking social support in understanding the organisation, ultimately, it is incongruent to the needs and expectations of the protégé. In gendered organisations, men regard mentoring as a ‘soft’ approach and in sharp contrast to the ‘boys club’ mentality where groups of men gather and generally bond around similar interests (Rabe-Hemp, 2007). On the other hand, women regard mentoring as a means of networking and identifying opportunities for themselves and each other within the organisation through relational practices (Holmes, 2005).

In gendered organisations it is vital that mentoring programmes are encouraged, as they open professional doors for women in the organisation, while providing male mentors with insights into the ways that women operate (Maxwell & Ogden, 2009). The emphasis is on women having mentors more so than men due to the gender imbalance. Since there are more males than females in policing, it could be inferred that female protégés are deprived of a role model when they are teamed with male mentors.

Discrimination of women in the workplace, through marginalisation and invisible barriers, emphasises the need for women to seek appropriate mentoring programs to facilitate their career development (Maxwell & Odgen, 2006). This theory is supported by researchers who reflect on the male constructs of leadership where male-dominated leadership persists. However, there are conflicting findings where protégés have reportedly been satisfied with cross-gender identity mentors (Ortiz-Walters et al., 2010). Dreher and Ash (1990) have suggested that, although mentoring is seen as an important tool for employees seeking upward mobility, gender as a construct at this juncture may not necessarily provide positive outcomes through mentoring for future promotion.

2.7.1.3 Mentoring in Policing

In a predominantly male workplace like the police force, it stands to reason that there are more male mentors than females, giving rise to an inadvertent imposing of male-centric

culture on females in the organisation (Brogden & Shearing, 1993). However, due to the paucity of policewomen in senior positions there are more male senior officers who would be mentors. Within a policing environment where a ‘top-down’ organisational culture prevails, therefore, it could be expected that protégés have little input into determining how their skills are developed and what outcomes are pursued. With a predominance of males making up the police force, it could also be said that the women protégés acquire skills valued by male police officers and have limited opportunities to develop female-centric skills.

In a study conducted by Pampell and Shoemaker (2008) it was found that women in law enforcement preferred to have male mentors rather than female mentors, as senior ranks are dominated by male officers. This can be attributed to there being more male senior officers supporting female officers, and the perception that male mentors would be able to progress their development much earlier (Burke et al., 1990; Noe, 1988; Ragins, 1989). In policing, mentoring is seen as a strategy used by both men and women in influential positions to provide support to their staff. This may create an impression that women want to develop the same skill set as their male counterparts (Holmes, 2004). This idea is further compounded by Barratt et al. (2014) view that, in law enforcement women police officers have a higher success rate of mentorship because contextually they adopt masculine traits. How policewomen perceive their gender role-orientation has a direct impact on their career progression because, historically, policing is a male dominated organisation.

Barratt et al. (2014, p. 23) build on this by stating that “women who conform more to stereotypically masculine behaviors and worldviews will receive more mentoring than their less masculine peers”. The central argument is that women who take on male attributes are relatively more successful in gaining career promotion than their peers. This is supported by Fagenson (1992) who indicates that earlier research (Fagenson, 1986; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Roche, 1979) shows that a woman protégé’s profile displays a need for high achievement, power, high task performance and competitiveness, which is similar to male attributes. O’Neil (1981) noted that women who reflect more male traits are keen on career progression, whereas women who strongly identify with feminine traits tend to seek mentors more for psycho-social benefits.

If career progression is the benchmark for mentoring, then there is a direct link to Sullivan and Mainiero’s (2007, p. 70) research identifying two key career patterns: “the alpha pattern characterized by a focus on challenge, then authenticity and finally balance over the life span and the beta pattern characterized by a focus first on challenge, then balance and finally

authenticity". Also, they found that men tend to follow the alpha pattern and women followed the beta pattern. Contemporary research on female policewomen suggests that the women are resisting stereotypical feminine traits so they can assimilate better in the organisation (Rabe-Hemp 2009); an argument compounded by cohorts of policewomen being perceived as masculine female officers and better received by the organisation (Barratt, 2014).

Since then, Pampell and Shoemaker (2008) supposed in their study that law enforcement women perceived that, currently, women are better at mentoring others than previously. Notions of women mentors in the past being reluctant to mentor others for fear of competition and feelings of insecurity were cited for there being a lack of female mentors in law enforcement (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008). Current research on mentoring in policing sees a shift in the paradigm, with (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008) finding that women in law enforcement strongly believe mentoring is important to career advancement. However, there are no statistics to gauge whether mentoring has increased women's success in gaining promotion.

Within a policing environment where a 'top-down' organisational culture prevails, it could be expected, therefore, that protégés have little input into determining how their skills are developed and what outcomes are pursued. From an organisational logic perspective, the key difference is gender imbalance. With a predominance of males making up the police force, it could also be said that a protégé acquires skills valued by male police officers and have limited opportunities to develop female-centric skills (Barratt et al., 2014). Juxtaposed to this perception are the senior ranking women themselves who prefer to have male mentors and for the junior ranking women not having a preference between male or female mentors (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008).

It is widely accepted that the social attitudes of police officers are already formed by the time they step into the 'real world' of policing. The attitudes and biases are developed at an early stage and become entrenched in the world view [legitimacy theory]. This is evident, particularly, in situations where male police officers organise activities that exclude women from participating; thereby, perpetuating male-oriented social dynamics that marginalise female officers (Oakley, 2000). Nevertheless, the evidence of strongly opposed perspectives by the male order in the organisation attests to the existence of underlying forces in shaping policing.

Dreher and Ash (1990) suggest that, although mentoring is seen as an important tool for employees seeking upward mobility, gender as a construct at this juncture may not necessarily provide positive outcomes from mentoring for future promotion. Within policing, there are no data or statistics to gauge whether mentoring has increased women's success in gaining promotion. Nevertheless, the lack of data and the evidence of strongly opposed perspectives by the male order in the organisation attest to the existence of underlying forces in shaping policing. The resulting conflict leaves female protégés disillusioned and unmotivated to continue the programme (Tannen, 1995).

Barrat et al. (2014) conducted an online survey of 280 women police officers in the U.S.A. to measure masculinity/femininity in policing and mentoring. The researchers used an adapted version of Scandura's (1990) model on mentoring. The results indicated that "a more masculine gender role orientation resulted in more career mentoring" (Barrat et al., 2014, p. 28). The rationale that the researchers offer is that masculine women mirror masculine traits in gendered organisations such as police. The notion of 'similar to me' effect is most likely compounding male traits (Barratt et al., 2014). Masculine female police officers tend to be attracted to male traits (aggression, assertiveness). The mentor who is of a higher rank is comfortable to mentor a masculine female officer as she (the protégé) mirrors his values in the organisation (Barratt et al., 2014). Allen (2007) further builds on this notion, claiming that mentors choose a protégé who mirrors their own personality.

There are three types of mentoring relationships; this is particularly important for the protégé because at the end of the mentoring session, the protégé becomes aware of their relative place in the gendered organisation. A further realisation for the protégé is the value that a mentor has on their career progression (Fagenson, 1988; Fagenson, 1989 cited in Fagenson, 1992; Hagberg & Leider 1988).

Hagberg and Leider (1998) posit that the three types of mentoring relationships comprise:

- a) The first, an "associate mentor-protégé" relationship, where the mentor defines the goals and outcomes. It is also the mentor who determines the skills that are needed for development, who monitors and evaluates performance at the conclusion of the program (supply/mentor driven).
- b) The second, relational model is the "adaptive model", where mentor and protégé have an asymmetrical relationship; in which the relationship evolves to meet the demands of the organisation and the necessary skills are developed to meet those

demands. The outcome is both professional and personal development (demand/organisation driven).

- c) The third is the “reflective model”, where both mentor and protégé give and receive feedback on personal and professional development. There are no time constraints and unlike the other two relational models, the reflective model provides a benefit for both parties (equilibrium driven) (Hagberg & Leider, 1998).

Each of these models embodies conflicting interests, and the notion that a lasting solution can be found in any one of them to benefit women in organisations is unlikely.

2.7.2 Sponsorship

A lead on from mentoring is the concept of sponsorship (Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008). Through each step of promotion, both men and women use various strategies to assist them in moving to the next step; mentoring is one such avenue and another is the use of a sponsor. Pampell and Shoemaker (2008) define the role of a sponsor as someone contextually who is more influential than a mentor. There are more mentors than sponsors in an organisation due to the executive nature of the role of sponsors, though Pampell and Shoemaker (2008) posit that individuals tend to use the term ‘sponsor’ interchangeably with ‘mentor’ but are aware of the different role that a mentor and sponsor play in career advancement; this is a frequent occurrence in literature as well, where sponsors are referred to as mentors (Dworkin et al., 2012).

There is limited research on the role of a sponsor and the impact on the sponsee; this is a gap that is salient to the career progression for women who seek senior positions in an organisation. Most available research is extended to corporate tips on how to seek a sponsor. Part of the reason why there is limited research on sponsorship is that it affects a very small population and, thus, is not considered worthy of extended research. Furthermore, past literature has interchanged the term, mentor with sponsor and, until a clear delineation is drawn between the differences, the terminology will remain a grey area of study on the role of a sponsor.

The role of the sponsor is to campaign on behalf of the individual. Building on this concept, Baranik, Rolling and Eby (2010) suggest that the sponsor invests more contextually and is willing to publicly endorse the individual and provide all forms of organisational support, including building executive skills required for the individual (Baranik et al., 2010). The aim

of the sponsor is to ensure that the individual is groomed for a significant position in the organisation. The benefits of a sponsor can reflect a sense of power, (Dworkin et al., 2012; Schipani, Dworkin, Kwolek-Folland, & Maurer, 2009). There are no formal sponsorship frameworks or training, therefore, unless there is affinity between the sponsor and the individual there are associated risks (Dworkin et al., 2012). With only a small number of women in senior positions, the seeking of a sponsor remains a challenging task.

The role of the individual may appear less clear, but a shared trust and loyalty are core to the relationship (Mann, 1980). Furthermore, the individual who is selected by the sponsor needs to have qualities and attributes that are closely aligned to the organisation and reflect an endorsement by the organisation (Baranik et al., 2010). There is limited research on the dynamics of sponsorship although corporate periodicals such as Harvard Business Review anecdotally emphasise the importance for an individual to have a sponsor to assist with career trajectory. Various empirical studies (Baranik et al., 2010; Eby et al., 2010; Mann, 1980; Wanberg et al., 2006) on the functions of mentoring tend to group mentoring, networking and sponsorship together as one variable; hence, it is difficult to differentiate the value of each strategy.

2.7.3 Networking

Networking is an important tool for leadership development as it provides shared work knowledge among peers (Zhang & Bartol, 2010). Building on this, Williams et al. (2012) indicate that networking has become contemporary and is necessary for promotion. Unlike mentoring or sponsorship, networking is a case of the individual developing professional relationships with others and, eventually, building a work group (network) that is maintained. Thus, the rationale underpinning the building of a network is to develop and sustain opportunities for the individual's career success (Forrest & Dougherty, 2004; Langford, 2000; Orpen, 1996; Yukl, 1993).

Networking is one of the "predictors of network structures" (Wolff & Moser, 2009, p. 3). In linking networking with career success, the researchers Wolff and Moser (2009) have identified through other research (Gattiker & Larwood, 1989; Judge & Thorensen, 1995; Seibert et al., 2001) two types of career success; objective and subjective. Objective career success refers to performance on key performance indicators as observed and assessed by others, then rewarded by a pay rise or improved career trajectory. Subjective career success is achieved mostly through networking and is assessed by the individual within a social context, social constraints and the individual's aspirations (Wolff & Moser, 2009). Previous

research (Forrest & Dougherty, 2004; Langford, 2000; Orpen, 1996; Yukl, 1993) has found that networking links both subjective and objective career success.

Networking leads to objective and subjective career success. A study using a survey distributed to 455 employees in Germany concluded that subjective and objective networking did have a positive impact on higher salaries for the individual and “networking behaviours can contribute to differential salary growth over time” (Wolff & Moser, 2009, p. 10). Ultimately, the individual was satisfied with their career progress being linked to networking.

Within the networking realm, two types of networking exist; internal networking within the organisation and external networking. Wolff and Moser (2009), in their longitudinal study, found that internal networking was a stronger indicator for career progression than external networking. The theoretical implications of the study indicated that among higher positions (higher salaries) in the organisation, there is an expectation for the individual to network internally as part of their job (Wolff & Moser, 2009). The findings also evidenced that individuals needed to be alert when maintaining internal contacts as too many contacts can lead to superficial networking; i.e., socialising with little impact on career progression. The same research showed external networking had the least impact on career progression and a plausible explanation was that external contacts have little influence on the internal organisation (Wolff & Moser, 2009).

Recently, women’s exclusive networks have emerged as a strategy to assist women in career progression, though results have been mixed (O’Neil et al., 2011). Albeit there is limited research into the direct link between networking and career progression, nevertheless professional women have started their own networks where they share knowledge and build relationships (Cross & Armstrong, 2008; Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995). This is claimed to be due, partly, to being excluded from the men’s networks (Vinnicombe & Colwill, 2008). Research on women’s networks has been around the structure and best practice of networks rather than quantifying the success rates of the women’s entry into senior positions through use of networks (O’Neil et al., 2011).

Networking for women in a gendered organisation does have its limitations as family responsibilities may hinder or prevent networking outside of working hours. Furthermore, women have refrained from membership for fear of being stereotyped and the risk of that being counterproductive to career progression (Pini et al., 2004). With protean careers, individuals shape their careers especially when it is evident that networking can have a direct

link with career progression and that, ultimately, career management remains the responsibility of the individual and not of the organisation (Gong et al., 2011).

It can be concluded that organisations do not necessarily invest in sponsorship or networking, as that is applied to the individual to strategize their own career progression past the mentoring stage. This is a research gap in that there is little known on the effects of career progression of women.

2.8 Research Gap

In this chapter the way in which institutional and legitimacy theory instils paradigms necessary for gendered organisations to develop and implement policies have been examined. Results from extant literature appear somewhat unsatisfactory when positioning women in a policing context. Largely, past research has concentrated on gendered organisations and how women generally manoeuvre within such a landscape. It has failed to consider the roots of organisational legitimacy that has been the main cause for gendered organisations' promotion of inherently gendered policies.

The current study is used to examine a specific band of police women; viz., the mid and top-level women, and the paucity of women in senior, leader positions. Mainly, past research has looked at women in policing generally; unlike in this study where middle-level policewomen are the focus because they are often stagnated at that career level. The contention is that the middle-level band is critical to the organisation because the police service needs to understand this cohort of employed women and decide on appropriate career paths for the benefit of the organisation, its employees and the society in which it operates.

There is no known such study between Australia and the U.S.A. at federal or state level. Furthermore, a wide spread of respondents across different geographical locations within the similarly structured organisation has not been researched directly. By means of comparison in this study, similarities and differences that policewomen experience internationally in a western patriarchal society can be articulated.

Past research in the discipline area has been directed at a generalist level; however, by means of a phenomenological and interpretivist study there is impetus to understand the role of contemporary policewomen's lived experience. Thus, questions that have not been addressed previously will form the research interest for this study. It is expected that the analysis of data regarding policewomen and their perception of challenges and opportunities for career

progression will enable an understanding to be developed of causes as to why there is a paucity of women in senior leadership positions in policing. Similarly, collected data may lead to understanding better the connection leader identity and women in leadership positions in the Australian and U.S.A. law enforcement.

The following research questions form the basis for the study:

- What are the key requirements that policewomen need to apply for senior leadership positions?
- What are the challenges and opportunities that women face, when seeking senior leadership positions in police?
- What are the current progression strategies for women to access and maintain higher-level positions?
- What challenges, if any, did the women face during the transition from middle-level to top level leadership?
- How do policewomen in leadership positions identify themselves?

2.9 Chapter Conclusion

Underpinning the study is the legitimising theory and Scott's three pillars because it is through social conditioning within a gendered organisation that the legitimacy is accepted both by the State (government) and the organisation. Conversely, there is legitimacy in the operation of policing towards male-centrism through institutionalisation and bureaucracy. Women, who enter policing, condition themselves to be part of the environment where normative rules abound in ways of dress code, accouchements, language and behaviour.

In policing, the institutional theory compounds the belief systems of gendered leadership and influence the creation of gendered construct of self-identity and leader-identity. The institutional theory is underpinned by the legitimacy theory within which the context influences the barriers and aspirations of women police who must decide between seeking senior leadership positions or remaining at middle-level or lower positions. Through the literature review, leader and professional identity of the policewomen were examined within a gendered organisation and within policing.

A key element relevant to the career progression of police women is the role of mentoring/networking. As strategies, the police women apply to broaden their networks and build skills to be competitive in career progression. Mentoring, particularly, had several options to which police women could be drawn; one was the relationship developed between the mentor and protégé. The impact of the mentoring was also two pronged, where the mentor and protégé benefitted from mentoring but not at the same developmental rate. Furthermore, police women were drawn to mentors who relatively mirrored their image; women who were family oriented sought mentors who provided psycho-social experiences while those who sought a career progression preferred vocational experiences. Within the realm of mentoring there was also positive and negative mentoring where, for a range of reasons, not all women did benefit from mentoring and those who did benefit had their careers progress.

Another key component of the review was the challenges that police women faced. The challenges ranged from mobility issues, physical training and family responsibilities to gender bias. Police women have moved away from gender bias as being a serious contender in their limitation to career progression but, other challenges that impeded their progress were exposed.

Understanding the perspectives of these cohorts of police women is important in shedding light into the positioning of the women in policing. The literature discussed at length the impact of women in gendered organisations and how they view themselves and their career plans. Therefore, the research conducted in the current study will provide policy makers with a deeper understanding of the positioning of women within a gendered organisation, their quest for career progression and the paucity of women in senior positions. Furthermore, for academic researchers, this research can provide a basis for continuous building of theory based on the perceptions of women in a gendered organisation; in sum, the perception of the women's self, professional and leader identities.

The theories discussed in this chapter have laid the foundation for the analysis of data which have highlighted the gap that exists between the positioning of the women employed in law enforcement. These discussions have led to highlighting a gap in previous research focussed on quantitative data and the difficulties of developing theory from outdated statistics. The research gap also highlighted the limited research focussed on comparative study of middle-level and top-level police women between the U.S.A. and Australia, and between federal and state law enforcement.

In the next chapter, an appropriate methodology for use in this study will be developed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the research methodology and design are explained. It is important that the choice of research methodology is consistent with the objectives of the research (Finlay & Ballinger, 2006). The design is constructed on an interpretive ontology and a social constructivist epistemology because of the reality that is assumed by the individual, and asserted as the truth, is unique to the individual (Weber, 2004). Contextually, a qualitative approach is taken to examine the reasons why there is a paucity of policewomen in senior positions. The rationale for using a qualitative methodology is to gain insight into the women's perception of leadership and their position in a gendered organisation in terms of career progression. Methodology identifies the particular practices used to attain knowledge and the appropriate theory guides the researcher in research design, research strategy, question design and sampling (Maholtra, 2009).

Prior to any qualitative research being undertaken, it is important that the researcher has an understanding of the philosophical assumptions that underpin the study; for example, a positivist ontology theorises that reality is separate from the individual who observes it, whereas an interpretivist ontology theorises that reality and the individual's experience cannot be separated (Weber, 2004). Even with different opinions of positivism and interpretivism, both theorists seek to understand phenomena.

This chapter has been divided into four sections which explain: a) first, the ontological and epistemological position embedding the philosophical assumptions in the research; b) the second part covers the qualitative approach taken for the methodology, c) the third part covers the various data collected d) finally, the last part covers information development which moves through methodical steps from data analysis to interpretation. As the institutional systems within the policing organisation have already been established, the individual lived experiences of policewomen are unique in making meaning of their environment (Wellington, 2000).

3.1 Interpretivist Ontology and Social Constructivist Epistemology

A simple definition of ontology is that it is the study of what exists, that is interpreted by every individual contextually and it affects how they come to understand their reality (Joniak, 2000; Mason, 2006; Maxwell 2004; McCann, 1999). Ontology is the starting point of all research followed by positioning the epistemology and methodology (Grix, 2002). It is important for a researcher to fully understand their own ontological and epistemological assumptions as those guide the research inquiry (Grix, 2002).

Ontology involves the philosophy of reality; epistemology addresses how we come to know reality (Krauss, 2005). Ontology deals with how social reality is constructed and interpreted in various ways (Lee, 1991). This can be attributed to the interpretivist paradigm where each experience is unique to the individual and interpreted as seen through the eyes of the individual and the context within (Klein & Meyers, 1999).

The ontological perspective in this study is linked closely with an epistemological viewpoint embedding the alignment between the researcher who is inquiring about the phenomenon and the respondent who has relevant knowledge (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Furthermore, the researchers summarise this link between ontology and epistemology by stating that it is consistent with the ontological view. The link between ontology and epistemology lends itself to a deeper insight into the lived experience and perceptions of those individuals (Glesne, 2006; Ireland, Hitt, & Simon, 2003; Schwandt, 1994).

Conversely, an interpretive ontology was the most appropriate for this study as it allowed inquiry at a deeper level of the policewomen's perception of self, leader and professional identity. Without an interpretive ontology it would be useless to seek any other form of ontology as without the policewomen's own words of their lived experience, the meanings are lost.

3.1.1 The Interpretivist Ontology

The individual interprets meanings as seen through their eyes and the current study is grounded in an interpretative paradigm. The purpose of selecting an interpretative epistemology for this research is twofold; firstly, that the researcher has no preconceived perception of how the data emerge and, secondly, the primary data are driven by the

respondents and their lived experiences which comprise their social reality. The crux of the research is to understand why policewomen do not attain senior positions within policing; hence, the goal is to understand the phenomena of the situation that policewomen face. As an anomaly exists globally, as examined in the literature review in Chapter 2, an interpretive paradigm is most suited for use in the study. The inquiry, led by the researcher to address complex issues surrounding the paucity of policewomen in senior positions, looks for underlying meanings that would be lost in a quantitative study. Hence, a qualitative approach is deemed the most suitable to undertake the research into the lived experiences of these cohorts of policewomen to provide the richness of data that is not accessible through a quantitative study.

Interpretivism is an inductive approach which uses observation of a phenomenon to develop theory (Saunders et al., 2007). The difference between an inductive and the deductive approach is that the inductive analysis approach uses “detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes or a model through interpretations made from the raw data” while the deductive analysis approach refers to data analysis through hypotheses regarding present theories as set out by the researcher (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). In a deductive analysis there is little room to explore emerging themes from raw data. Hence, it is relevant in the current research that an inductive approach be used.

Diverging from interpretivism, positivism relies on established theories and hypotheses. The current study is not used to test any hypotheses; rather, the intent is to better understand the social context of phenomena to which respondents have been exposed within the policing organisation (Rowlands, 2005). Positivist epistemology tries to build knowledge of a reality that is already existing (Weber, 2004) and positivist theorists believe that lived experience is an independent reality; they prefer to test their hypotheses based on a large base of empirical data. Contextually, a positivist approach was taken in past studies of policewomen (Lonsway, 2000; Pampell & Shoemaker, 2008; Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013; Yu, 2014).

However, through the positivist approach the very essence of the lived experience is lost as there is no human insight into the actual experiences of the individual. The researcher recognises that previous studies on women in leadership within policing have failed to reveal the reasons why they are still lagging behind men in senior positions. Past research on the paucity of policewomen in senior positions has relied heavily on quantitative data. This is particularly relevant when analysing qualitative, lived experiences as the data are rich and, unlike in a quantitative study, more often unexpected phenomena are exposed which adds to

the value of the research (Walsham, 2006). The richness of a qualitative inquiry lies also in the context that no two responses are the same (Angen, 2000; Joniak, 2000).

Also, the argument for the current study is that the legitimacy of the gendered organisation is a human construct dependent on the perspective of external players; in this instance, the value systems of a western democratic society and how a patriarchal society views gender roles and perceives gendered careers. Hence, an appropriate approach to a contextual study would be an interpretivist epistemology (Cordella & Shaikh, 2006; Walsham, 1995).

By adopting an interpretive research approach one is able to obtain deeper insights into the respondents' personal careers and experiences. An interpretive approach is recommended also for studies of organisations because they deal with people and the phenomena that exist within (Lee, 1991). The main aim in this study is to understand why the policewomen are not applying for senior positions. While interpretivist theorists believe that the knowledge they build reflects their particular goals, they try to make sense of the world based on societal values and personal experiences (Weber, 2004). Therefore, the narrative will explain the phenomena of these cohorts of policewomen.

An interpretive approach provides deeper insights into 'the complex world of the lived experience from the point of view of those who live it' (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118). Interpretative research does not rely largely on statistical probability but broadens the research to include a phenomenology rather than specific hypotheses (Erickson, 1986). Interpretivist research, then, is argued to be congruent with a social constructivist epistemology (Erickson, 1986; Gallaher, 1991).

3.1.2 Social Constructivism Epistemology

Epistemology relates to the way people understand the social world (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010). A qualitative inquiry assumes that social reality is contextual and the epistemological paradigm is used to seek in-depth knowledge of the social reality (Joniak, 2000). Social constructivism is a branch of constructivist thought (Schleiber & Valle, 2013) and has emerged as an important theory in social sciences (Werhane, Hartman, Moberg, Englehardt, Pritchard & Bidhan, 2011). Constructivism is concerned with the individual's lived experience and how the individual constructs meaning within pre-existing social and natural systems (Hunter & Krantz, 2010; Ireland, et al., 2003). However, the term has been used loosely by researchers and has caused confusion (Cobern, 1993; Young & Collin, 2004). Constructivism develops a rational viewpoint where knowledge is intertwined with social

action (Ireland et al., 2003). Hence, it is important to distinguish constructivism from social constructivism.

Social constructivism holds that an individual builds his or her knowledge through experience with cognitive factors including social and situational elements (Schleiber & Valle, 2013). It challenges the concept of other philosophical assumptions, mainly objectivism, where 'truth' is replaced by 'reality' (Schleiber & Valle, 2013). Conversely, social constructivism focusses on the lived experience of the individual, contextually, taking into consideration the external forces that impact on that lived experience (Ireland et al., 2003; Willig, 1998). Furthermore, there is more than one reality even within the same environment; this is because each individual interprets his/her environment and the impact of the experience is uniquely personal (Willig, 1998). Social constructivism purports that the mental mind does not interpret what it sees but, rather, filters those perceptions to fit into one's own reality (Werhane et al., 2011).

Social constructivism attempts to uncover complexities and various meanings in the qualitative inquiry rather than limiting it to a few interpretations (Creswell, 2003). In the current research emphasis is placed on the respondents' views. From the data that are extrapolated from the viewpoint of the respondents and analyzed, theory is generated to develop a meaning of the lived experiences (Creswell, 2013). Hence, a social constructivist approach is applied in this research.

Contextually, it is important that the social constructivism approach is applied because the literature review concurs that social constructs are being legitimized by institutional theory that is gendered and which has been established historically. Therefore, social constructivism attempts to capitalise on the paucity of policewomen in senior positions. Consequently, the pre-existing normative, regulatory and cultural cognitive pillars within the organisation are already established. The 'truth' [environment] is already established and the policewomen's lived experiences within the environment are under the microscope. Equally, the social constructs perceived by policewomen are common because the environment [gendered organisation] is imposed on them.

3.2 Methodology: Qualitative Research, Exploration, Explanation and the Researcher's Role

All research methods are grounded in philosophical assumptions underlying the collection and interpretation of data; these assumptions direct the researcher's approach in designing a research method (Knox & Burkard, 2009). Qualitative research is a term broadly used for a range of inquiry approaches in social sciences disciplines (Flick, 2007). It describes a methodology that examines lived experiences by capturing holistically the environment and the subject matter (Andrade, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan & Smircich, 1980).

Qualitative research is placed as an activity in the lived experiences and the meanings attached to them through text rather than interpreting meaning through numerical data (Flick, 2007; Pathak et al., 2013). When the lived experiences are recorded as text, qualitative inquiry is used to identify recurring themes in the experiences, not in the random assertion of the text (Flick, 2007). The focus in qualitative research is in understanding each phenomenon in a naturalistic setting and, then, is interpretive in nature (Endacott, 2008; Pathak et al., 2013).

Embedded in a philosophical paradigm, qualitative study is used to interpret phenomena in terms of meanings that individuals perceive (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). A paradigm is described as a system of ideas or world view that researchers use to generate knowledge (Fossey et al., 2002). Within this paradigm, researchers must ensure their neutrality by being objective in the study; especially as in a qualitative study the researcher is more actively involved with the respondents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The researcher's focus is to ensure the study is located within the environment with which respondents are familiar and that the interpretation accurately fits situations as seen through the eyes of the respondents (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

Researchers support the use of qualitative methods as being more in-depth than quantitative methods used to measure outcomes (Hoepfl 1997; Oinas, 1999; Roshan & Deeptee, 2009). Qualitative methods provide flexible ways of collecting data, analysing and interpreting, which adds to the richness of the data. A qualitative approach 'sets the scene' for the collection of data; it determines the type of respondents, instruments and sites, and is in control of the research methodology, allowing for meaningful insight to be derived from responses that would not otherwise be available (Westbrook, 1994).

Qualitative research draws on several theoretical backgrounds (Flick, 2007). The starting point for a qualitative study is the social constructivism of the reality that the individual experiences. The qualitative research objective is to create knowledge through its appropriate methods and methodology. Hence, it is important when planning the research that the inquiry, methods and methodology are congruent. The most commonly used method for gaining data is through interviews, and raises the question of the relationship between the researcher and the respondents (Cleary, 2014). Moreover, it is important that the method used to collect data is rigorous.

A qualitative approach can be used where the study of the phenomena is not easy to measure or quantify (Hoepfl, 1997). Another reason why qualitative methods have been adopted in the current study is that they provide a detailed study and uniqueness that have the potential to indicate new theories (Bazeley, 2002; Hoepfl, 1997). Finally, it would be difficult, currently, to undertake a quantitative methodology as numerical data in policing are not easily available (Buanes & Jentoft, 2009; Yu, 2014). Furthermore, this study is centred on social constructs related to policewomen; therefore, the use of qualitative methods is most appropriate to generate the theoretical and empirical insight sought by this research.

In qualitative research there is impetus to explore and examine the phenomenological paradigm; hence, in this research, both exploratory and explanatory elements are encapsulated. A compelling argument for the examination of the paucity of policewomen in senior positions approach in a qualitative paradigm is the capacity it provides for exploring and describing the phenomena (Marshall & Roshan, 1995). The questions are aimed at achieving an understanding of the respondents' experiences of higher duties and their exposure to decision-making. Furthermore, the qualitative approach employs a broad range of interconnected methods to interpret and make meanings of phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

3.2.1 Exploratory and Explanatory Research

The decision in the current research was to use an exploratory and explanatory approach. Primarily, exploratory research is concerned with the discovery and generating of theory (Stebbins, 2001); in the social sciences it is concerned with the discovery of phenomena where the origins are undiscovered or insufficiently understood, but where there is a value in discovering of new ideas and/or theories (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Stebbins, 2001; Zikmund, 2003). Exploratory research is a useful tool in qualitative inquiry when investigating phenomena where inductive reasoning is the key focus of exploring the lived

experience in order to discover what exists (Stebbins, 2001). Thus, the exploratory component enables the uncovering of recurring themes and patterns which can be structured into a theoretical framework.

Through an exploratory approach, the paucity of policewomen in law enforcement allows for new interpretations of women in gendered organisations where legitimacy theory sanctions unique behaviours to be accepted as a social phenomenon. Central to this inquiry is the intention to explore why there is a paucity of policewomen in senior positions and, then, conceptualising the themes and findings in a theoretical framework, to explain and predict outcomes of the positioning of policewomen in law enforcement. To enable that to eventuate, an exploratory approach was deemed necessary.

Exploratory research has a methodological emphasis on discovery and description of different concepts and understandings (Holliday, 1964; Jupp, 2006). This is achieved through a systematic process of generalisation about the group under study by exploring the phenomenon (Stebbins, 2001). Furthermore, weakness in sampling, validity and generalisation can be corrected through several exploratory researches (Stebbins, 2001).

Explanatory research identifies the causal effects that shape the phenomenon (Flick, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). The approach does not describe the phenomenon but attempts to explain the divergence that is extracted. Researchers posit that, in explanatory research, there is clarity through explaining consistent relationship patterns in the lived experiences of individuals (Babbie, 2013). It instigates an explanation of the phenomenon and how the effects of the causes influence each variable and the outcome of the causes (Maxwell, 2005).

The alignment of exploratory and explanatory components in this qualitative study allowed for a new perspective for approaching the positioning of women in a gendered organisation. Furthermore, it gave a new perspective as to how the individual perceived herself as an identity in the organisation. This compelled consideration of the researcher's role in the qualitative and exploratory context of the study because, largely, all research design, data collection and research findings are constructed by the researcher.

3.2.2 Researcher's Role

In qualitative research the role of the researcher is important due to her/his presence in the respondent's life (Marshall & Rossman, 1995); the researcher becomes the instrument of inquiry and somewhat responsible for the level of participation with the respondent. The

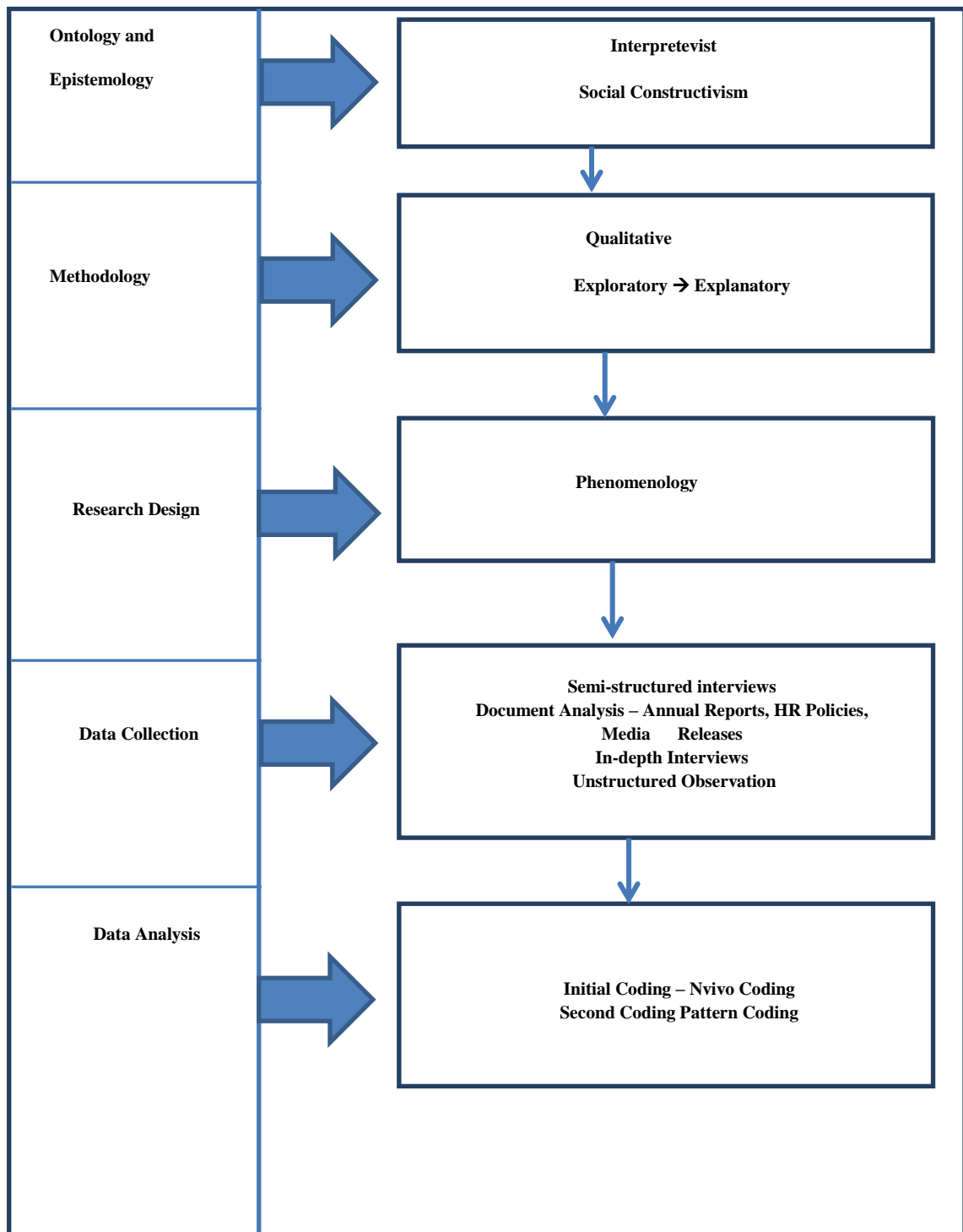
researcher becomes the fundamental (Maxwell, 2005) instrument in the exploratory inquiry, by gaining access to the respondents and identifying the perspectives of the phenomenon under study (Flick, 2006). The role of the researcher, then, is to interpret meanings within that context.

It is a fine line between the close proximity that the researcher develops with the respondents, as identifying too closely to the respondents can create bias or emotional attachment that can blur the objectivity of the study (Murray-Thomas, 2009). On the other hand, if the researcher has an inadequate appreciation of the individual's understanding of the phenomenon, the researcher would fail in gaining adequate data to determine the background and to derive insightful interpretation (Murray - Thomas, 2009). Therefore, the researcher plays a vital role in creating an environment within which the respondents are able to articulate their experiences.

The researcher, although employed within a police jurisdiction, is an administrative employee and does not make up part of the policing structure. Furthermore, none of the respondents had a line management, or a reporting line, to the author; i.e., the researcher does not have any police officers reporting to her in a managerial or supervisory position. The study is wholly on policewomen in middle-level and top-level leadership roles.

Figure 3.1 indicates the methodical steps taken regarding the study; philosophical assumptions were identified, leading into a qualitative inquiry with ontology at the starting point.

Figure 3.1: Methodology Outline



3.3 Research Design - Phenomenology

Phenomenology is about determining lived experiences where human beings are used as the vehicle to explain the phenomenon; it is about the way in which it is approached that the difference lies. The term phenomenology was first defined by Kant (1764); however, it was Husserl (1970) who built on the idea to posit that all knowledge was derived from experience (Priest, 2002). Husserl's (1970) objective was to develop a scientific method aimed at being descriptive of lived experiences (Goulding, 2005).

Phenomenology can follow either Husserl's (1970) concept of a philosophy or choose Schutz's (1967) concept of it as a methodology (Goulding, 2005). Schutz (1967) establishes his position to include the ordinary experiences of individuals where they experience socio-cultural norms and interpret the influence they have on them (Goulding, 2005). Therefore, the aim of the phenomenological method is to describe actual experiences/phenomena. Qualitative researchers have viewed phenomenology as socially constructed and, consequently, look for meanings in the lived experiences of respondents (Bahari, 2010).

Phenomenology seeks to broaden and deepen the researcher's insight into a range of lived experiences (Spiegelberg, 1982; van Manen, 1990). Thus, other researchers (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Goulding, 2005; Moustakas, 1994) support qualitative inquiry when a researcher identifies a phenomenon and builds a compounded profile and framework based on the lived experiences of respondents.

A phenomenological research design was undertaken in this study; it was deemed most appropriate for understanding the lived experiences of participants and uncovering common themes in the experiences (Creswell, 2013). Contextually, the aim in the study is to understand the policewomen's lived experiences in a gendered organisation including the perception of self, professional and leader identity in relation to their employment position. The very nature of the inquiry is subjective, hence applicable to a phenomenological paradigm (Ryan et al., 2007).

The first stage in determining the research design is to identify the specific problem or issue to be studied, and to assess its significance. The purpose of a design is to link the theory and arguments proposed; one which can assist the researcher to validate or reject the findings (Nachmias & Nachmias 2008). Also, the onus is on the researcher to follow strict ethical guidelines with regard to every aspect of the research design.

3.3.1 Constructing a Phenomenological Approach

The research inquiry in this research centres on an interpretivist epistemological paradigm where the researcher is interested in the meanings that the respondents attribute to their lived experience (Saunders et al., 2009). The phenomena described in the research participants' responses remain the key source of information for interpretation (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004). There is no absolute reality in an interpretive study; themes emerge contextually from the data (Saunders et al., 2009; Walsham, 1995). As seen by the respondents, their reality is influenced by their values, how they perceive others' interpretation, different social settings and negotiation of interpretation by all involved (Fisher, 2007). Phenomenology attempts to understand a deeper level of the subject at hand, by understanding various individuals' human experiences which constitute the relevant phenomena (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

The current study is limited to exploring the paucity of women in middle and top level leadership, specifically to examine the factors that encourage and/or hinder them from seeking promotion. This creates a context as seen through their eyes (Sprinthall, Schmutte & Sirois, 1991; Stake, 2000; Wiersma, 2000). It focusses on a cohort of women that has been in the organisation for an extended period of time and is familiar with the organisational culture within policing.

Moreover, the study spans two different countries where there are different political, historical, legal and social impacts on respondents. How they perceive the social phenomena adds complexity to the qualitative inquiry which is grounded in people's understanding of their lived experience (Leitch et al., 2010). Qualitative research uses a naturalistic setting (Vrasidas, 2001). Contextually, that is important in this study, in seeking to understand the comparison of different social settings of respondents in Australia and the United States.

The researcher anticipates that insight will result from descriptions during the interview process, when the respondents relate important events and situations that impact on their decision-making. Furthermore, persons within this population would be best suited to answer the research questions, and the researcher is able to identify a sample from the population to contribute to the study. For this reason, it was important to select relevant respondents for the study; selection to be achieved by purposive sampling. The main aim of purposive sampling is to focus on particular features of a population that are of interest both to the respondent and researcher (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Selection of respondents is a critical element in deriving data that are relevant to the study; a random selection of respondents would have

been inappropriate in the study because specific, relevant information may not have been evinced.

3.4 Unit of Analysis

Four groups of women comprising a total of 40 from state and federal jurisdictions participated in the sample from which data were collected. Ten women occupying middle-level and senior-level leadership positions in both Australia and the U.S.A. were selected from state and federal jurisdictions; viz.

1. The Western Australia Police (WAPOL),
2. The Australian Federal Police (AFP),
3. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) including Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), Amtrak Police (quasi) and USA Marshal, and
4. St Paul's Police Department and Washington Metropolitan Police Department.

3.5 Reliability, Validity and Generalisability

For a research project to be considered worthwhile, it must have reliability, validity and generalisability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Reliability and validity form an integral part of a research methodology (Riege, 2003). A high degree of reliability and validity in a study gives confidence that the study is adding to the body of research and is not a fictional narrative (Riege, 2003). It is important for the researcher to be immersed substantially in the environment to demonstrate the validity and reliability of the data (Guba & Lincoln 1998). Similarly, it requires a set of specific criteria to ensure rigour (Morse et al., 2002). Rigour is an overarching criterion that ensures the research is, and remains, reliable, valid and transferable (Prion & Adamson, 2013). Researchers have various opinions on validity and reliability on the subject matter (Whittemore et al., 2001); opinions range from importance of topic completeness, relevance, recurring themes, saturation and transferability as important validity measures.

3.5.1 Reliability

Reliability refers to the methods used in the research that can be used by other researchers and which will achieve similar findings (Riege, 2003). Reliability is concerned with

consistency in the research undertaken; viz., the uniformity of the data collection methods and their dependability (Cho & Trent, 2006; Cody & Ballan, 2010). Reliability also ensures that the research is accurate and credible so that it is useful to individuals beyond the respondents (Priest, 2002).

Ways of increasing reliability include using alternate forms of questioning the respondents about the subject matter to ensure that the responses are dependable; e.g., cross checking data and remaining close to experiential data (Franklin et al., 2010). Building on this, Miles and Huberman (1994) noted that appropriate methods of research design, collecting, interpreting and data analysing add to the reliability of the research.

In the current project, although the primary research is by interviews, secondary data through document analysis is used as support information; Table 3.1, below, demonstrates the sources of data used. Furthermore, the secondary data is used to triangulate with the primary sources as means of clarifying the respondents' phenomena. Participants for interview were selected through purposive sampling and consistency was established through snowballing which extended the range of responses. While reliability is important in a qualitative study, the validity is equally important as the researcher's role is to present clearly the methodical stages of how the credibility of data is ensured (Hammersley, 1992).

Table 3.1: Research Sources

Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
Face-to-Face interviews	Newspapers
Observations	Periodicals
	CNN News, BBC News
	Online newsletters
	Fortune 500
	Annual reports –
	Western Australia Police (2012, 2013),
	Australian Federal Police (2013)

3.5.2 Validity

Validity can be referred to in research as to findings being accurate and truthful (Miles & Huberman, 1995). Creswell (2007) indicates that data collection and forms of data collected

validate the research design and how it is approached in the inquiry. Validity is concerned with the thoroughness of the process of the whole research. Creswell and Miller (2000) consider that the validity process is directed by two perspectives: namely, the theoretical framework that the researcher uses for the research and the paradigm assumptions which underpin the study. There are several ways of increasing validity through “making explicit presuppositions and acknowledging subjective judgements” (Priest, 2002, p.5).

Another measure to increase validity in the current research is snowball sampling; when collecting the data during the interviewing of respondents, the researcher asked for names of other middle-level or senior-level policewomen. The researcher was given names of very senior policewomen who otherwise may not have been accessible through use of purposive sampling alone. The researcher was also given contacts of other jurisdictions and the ensuing interviews provided rich data. Hence, the population validity is the extent to which the sample taken is representative of the population (Creswell, 2011).

Because the initial collection of data challenged some existing perceptions in policing, validity of the data collection process was tested by presenting preliminary research findings at the British Academy of Management and Irish Academy of Management in 2014. The collection process was discussed with experts in the field of women and leadership in gendered organisations; the discussions confirmed the process as being rigorous. Rigour is the means by which the researcher demonstrates integrity and competence, a way of demonstrating legitimacy in the research process (Aroni, Goeman, Stewart, Sawyer, Abramson & Thein, 1999). To ensure rigour in research validity, respondents were encouraged to review their interviews and edit if necessary, as recommended by Johnson (1997) and Patton (2000). At the end of each interview, respondents were asked if they would like to review the draft material before publication, their response comments would be noted and acted upon accordingly. Another form of validity in a study can be through using verbatim reports. Using actual quotes from respondents provides an authenticity and richness to the data. This matter is addressed later in this chapter in the data analysis section.

3.5.3 Triangulation

Triangulation is a term first used by Denzin (1989) to describe the use of several data sources to provide balance and minimize room for error. It also ensures that the research is sound and can be used for further investigation. The process applies more than one data analysis theory to the same data, and includes validating the data with other sources of data collection for the same phenomenon (Golafshani, 2003; Kiskey & Kendall, 2011).

Triangulation is an important methodological instrument in qualitative studies for controlling bias and “establishing valid propositions, because traditional scientific techniques are incompatible with this alternate epistemology” (Mathison, 1988, p. 13). Similarly, Patton (2001) encourages the use of triangulation to strengthen the use of several combined methods within a single paradigm. Triangulation is also advocated by Sandelowski (1995) in that it avoids researcher bias and the deficiency of a single theory and method, thereby increasing the validity of the findings.

The triangulation process corroborates other data sources in regard to accuracy and ethical purposes, and Stake (1996) and Yin (1995) stress the importance of including triangulation in case study methodology for reliability and validity. However, triangulation should not be seen as a strategy or tool of validation, but as an alternative to validation (Golafshani, 2003). In a qualitative study, the data presented should be descriptive and rich (Geertz, 1973); the inclusion of verbatim quotes, videos and illustrations authenticates the data and researchers can triangulate the validity and reliability through demographic surveys.

Triangulation is particularly useful as a tool when a single method does not provide sufficient light on a phenomenon. Using several methods ensures a rich, robust and well developed analysis. Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999) identify four types of triangulation: The methods triangulation uses consistency of finding through various data collection methods which could be derived from qualitative and quantitative study. The researcher finds key interest when the data moves in a different direction. The authors (Denzin, 1978 & Patton, 1999) describe the first type of triangulation as providing the qualitative research with deep insights into the study. The second triangulation of sources is through examining the uniformity using a single method with different data sources. The third type of triangulation that the authors purport is the analyst triangulation where several observers and analysts are used to check on key data analysis. This method is useful to give the researcher an added perspective on the study; however it is not to seek consensus but to have a different viewpoint. The fourth type of triangulation is the theory triangulation where several theoretical viewpoints are used to examine the data.

In this study the researcher applied the methods triangulation as being the most appropriate method; by using both a qualitative and quantitative data collection to seek consistency. The secondary data strengthened its validity by providing a wider perspective on the data collected from the respondents, for example there was limited annual reports and other publications from state jurisdictions but sufficient information in federal publications. As

such there was little data to compare between the two jurisdictions. Hence, the researcher applied other sources of data to seek consistency.

The current researcher had to decide the timeframe in which to conduct the interviews overseas and in the home country. As half the respondents lived in America, it was important to establish authenticity of the study; a website of the researcher's university was included for the interest of respondents. Also, the researcher has to take into consideration whether the data was saturated in regard to effective recurring themes. As each respondent had a unique lived experience, the onus was on the researcher to make informed decisions on how to manage the methods process. It was only after collecting all the interviews, transcribing and uploading into the NVIVO 10 that the researcher reached a decision on saturation. The researcher wanted to ensure that the data collected was rich and was able to provide sufficient data for analysis. Glaser and Strauss (1967) state that when the collection of further data does not shed any new insights into the already collected data a principle of saturation is reached.

3.5.4 Generalisability

Generalisability is defined as the "extent ... to which findings can be applied to other similar related cases or settings" (Stokes & Wall, 2014, p. 128). The rationale is that within a qualitative study, instead of forming generalisations that are valid, hypotheses are formed with the intention of transferring the findings to another population (Guba, 1981; Myers, 2000). Hence, the results from the qualitative study are significant in their own right (Adelman, Kemmis & Jenkins, 1980). Subsequently, though the findings from the current study sample are accepted as weaker in a broad generalisable sense than in a quantitative study, comparability of ideas and experiences may be comparable in some degree for other researchers interested in the roles of women in other policing jurisdictions and gendered organisations.

3.6 Data Collection

The process of data collection is a set of methodical steps followed to ensure that the initial stage of design, location, type of sampling, ethical consideration and storage of the data is considered (Creswell, 2007). To prepare for data collection, it is important to identify relevant individuals through sampling the research population, selecting the most effective type of interview, location, recording and interview protocols, and obtaining permission from authorities and the individuals (Creswell, 2007).

Qualitative research relies on data collected through interviews, focus groups or observation; therefore, largely, data analysis is inductive with meanings derived from the data (Kisley & Kendall, 2011). The researcher accepts that the reality as perceived and interpreted by the individual is subjective (Kisley & Kendall, 2011). Consequently, a cross-sectional approach is employed to collect data at a single time (Saunders et al., 2007).

The initial section of the interview schedule was developed using nominal and ordinal scales to measure the women's demographic data. It was designed to elicit information on occupation, education and biographical data to assist in the triangulation process; e.g., questions about the length of service, highest qualifications attained, and age, in order to supplement the later interview data. The demographic data is intended to give a clearer picture of how respondents feel about their age in relation to their work and aspirations for promotion. The data are equally important for organisations if they are to understand the profile of women who may inhibit their motivations when deciding on their future career. Anecdotally, unlike Australian jurisdictions where the mandatory retirement age varies from state to state, the mandatory retirement age in American jurisdictions is 57 years; this, too, is likely to have an impact on decisions regarding career path choices.

Data collection in the study is supplemented by an analysis of a range of documents, including past and current organisational literature, such as promotional material and annual reports (see Table 3.1 earlier). The strength of documentary evidence is its existence prior to the research being conducted and its assurance of impartiality and neutrality. However, the danger is that documentary evidence can be misinterpreted by the researcher, resulting in some cases with indirect data collection or insufficient relevant content to cross-analyse with other sources (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002).

The rationale for using document analysis is twofold. Firstly, document analysis provides the opportunity to obtain critical contextual information through an examination of events and issues in the past (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997; Burns & Bush, 2003). Secondly, relevant to the current study, documents are useful for providing insight into the culture of police organisations. Yin (1994) concurs that documents used in conjunction with other data collection methods provide a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena in question.

3.7 Pre-Context Activities - Site, Access and Sampling

It is salient to prepare for data collection by systematic choices of the research site and accessibility of participants and sampling of the research population. To ensure the best outcome for a field study, it is important for the site and setting to be contextual to the sampling, as the researcher is able to observe and note nuances that otherwise could be missed (Angrosino, 2007; Rapley, 2007).

3.7.1 Site

In a phenomenological study with face-to-face interviews it is important to have a meeting place where the respondents feel familiar and are comfortable in expressing their lived experiences, even though they may not be located all in one area (Creswell, 2007). The current study is located in the U.S.A. and Australia. All interviews were conducted on-site and, due to high national security risks, the researcher had to have national security clearances prior to visiting the sites. The security clearance for the American locations was exhaustive.

The respondents were sampled from policing organisations in Minnesota, Washington DC and Los Angeles, Perth, Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. With the American respondents, the researcher was able to conduct several telephone interviews due to geographical location and accessibility. It was a challenge to seek top-level policewomen for interviews in small cities as recognised by Seklecki and Paynich (2007), albeit they were based across the U.S.A. and senior policewomen were based in the capital city of Washington DC. It was a similar pattern in Australia where the federal law enforcement was based in the capital city, Canberra, with a concentration of top-level policewomen and in other major cities viz., Melbourne and Sydney.

The respondents in this research were office-based policewomen. The work-site of the respondents was chosen as the location for the interviews for two reasons: a) some respondents were in covert positions and being seen at an interview session external to their work place was not feasible; b) to ensure that the office environment was conducive to the respondents for convenience and being in an office environment, there was potential for the researcher to observe and collect secondary data.

3.7.2 Access

An additional challenge for the researcher was establishing contact prior to selecting respondents. Several jurisdictions require extensive personal and security checks to be carried out on the researcher prior to obtaining approval for conducting interviews. Letters of approval from the researcher's employer and university, and in some cases a letter of recommendation from the Australian High Commission assisted in gaining access to the relevant jurisdictions. One jurisdiction, after consideration, refused to allow their staff to participate in the study; while others gave extraordinary permission to allow the interviews to be recorded. One jurisdiction required a legal member to be an observer during the interview process; an offer that the researcher declined as it may have been difficult for the respondent to participate fully. Furthermore, as there are relatively low numbers of policewomen in leadership positions, a number of challenges occurred; among them, access to sufficient respondents, particularly in Australia.

3.7.3 Sampling

In a qualitative inquiry, purposive sampling is preferred to random sampling as the aim is for in-depth, quality data rather than quantity (Bowen, 2005). The objective is to reach saturation of response ideas from a small number of respondents rather than collecting a large number of responses used for generalising findings. Furthermore, sampling size is determined by the research methodology. As the current study is qualitative and seeks to understand the phenomenological paradigm, a small sample size is sufficient to determine depth and detail (Jupp, 2006). By using purposive sampling, an advantage for the researcher is the ability to identify respondents who would be able to contribute to the study (Jupp, 2006).

The advantage of purposeful sampling is the richness that is added to the sample (Morse, 1994). However, Creswell (2005) cautions the researcher to decide carefully on the number of respondents because the collection and analysis of each response is detailed and too many respondents could compromise the authenticity of the study. In the current study, purposive sampling was applied as the population is unique to policing and their experience in a gendered organisation. Furthermore, due to time constraints and geographical distance between the researcher and respondents, it is important that the selection of respondents aligns with characteristics that are necessary for this study; e.g., participants are expected to have some level of leadership development so that they can articulate their perspectives on leadership. Thus, the selection process could be described as purposeful sampling; since the

respondents are selected on the basis of a specific purpose (Creswell, 2005). However, the sample being studied is limited and is not representative of the whole population of women or police. The disadvantage of purposive sampling is that it can be inherently researcher bias. Similarly, the researcher's use of snowball sampling may be viewed as an advantage or disadvantage; depending on the researcher's concern with eliminating potential bias.

Snowball sampling refers to the recommendation by research respondents as to peers in similar situations or with similar experiences who may be able to participate in the research (Groenewald, 2004). In a policing context, potential respondents may be encouraged to participate by a recommendation from their peers. This is particularly unique to policing because of its high level of reactive command and control where respondents can be called away for assignments. The command and control environment within policing may also prevent respondents from expressing an interest in participating in the data collection process, for fear of reprimand. In such circumstances, snowballing is an effective method of recruiting a non-probability sample; particularly in police jurisdictions which are rigid environments within which to conduct research. To add richness to the data, the researcher employed opportunistic sampling as well. Opportunistic sampling allows the researcher to follow new leads and take advantage of the unexpected (Creswell, 2007). In the current study, the researcher took maximum value of opportunities that became available during her visits to jurisdictions.

The researcher contacted the Human Resources department of the various jurisdictions through an existing contact. A copy of the interview questions, participation and consent forms were sent to each jurisdiction. Through email communication, the jurisdiction either chose or declined to participate in the study. Participation in the study was voluntary and an informed decision to participate made by the respondents through the availability of a copy of the interview questions, participation and consent forms sent initially to the jurisdictions.

Selection of respondents was a critical element in deriving data that were relevant to the study. Given the numbers of respondents selected from each of the jurisdictions it was decided that a random selection of respondents would likely not provide the very specific levels of experience and career profiles needed to gather data for this study. In light of this, a targeted sample was used.

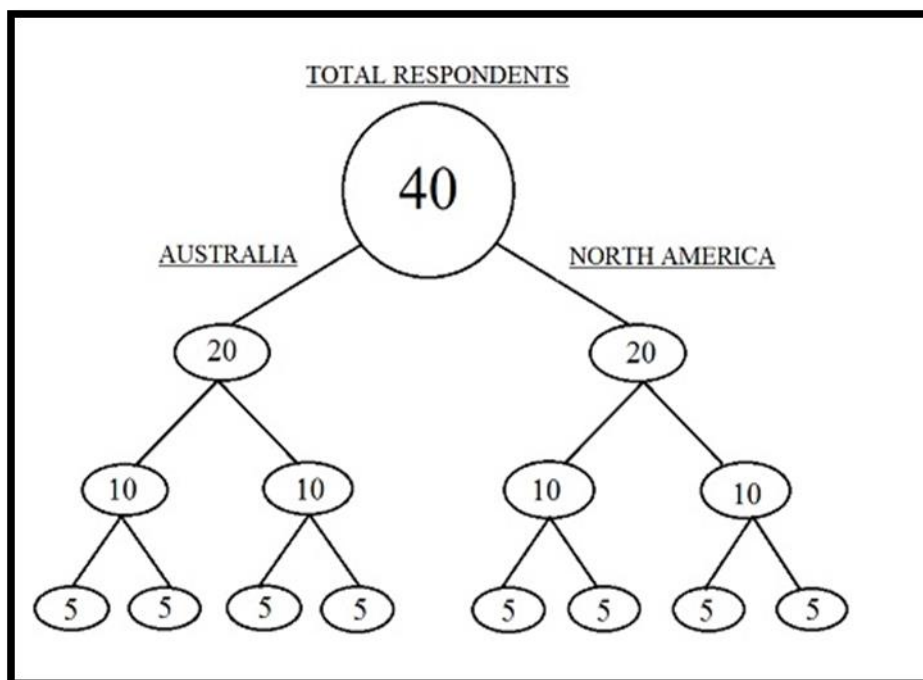
It was indefinite as to how long the permission and clearance would take from the policing systems although it was anticipated that an initial response would take a number of working business days or even weeks. The next step was for the jurisdictions to provide a contact

name for a nominated system person to manage the process. Once approval was given, the next step in the process depended on the availability of the respondents to be interviewed within a given timeframe. The interviews were arranged and checked by the system contact.

To address the need for the anonymity of the personal information, the demographic aspects of the interviews were recorded separately in groups; viz., the jurisdictions into State or Federal, and the same applies to middle-level or top-level management. Demographic details were kept separate from the interviews with each individual. The purpose in the study is to explore the barriers and aspirations of these two groups of women and identifying them as individuals is not within the scope of the research. In addition, the researcher does not know any of the respondents; either in the U.S.A or Australia.

Figure 3.2, below, illustrates the sampling composition of the respondents. A sample size of 40 respondents was considered suitable for the study, with 20 from each country. Each group of 20 was equally divided between State and Federal jurisdictions; i.e., 10 in each. The 10 in each jurisdiction were divided further into two groups of 5; each group representing top-level and middle-level officers respectively. Middle-level officers are referred to as Sample A, and top-level managers as Sample B. Policing as an organisation is divided into State and Federal jurisdictions both in the U.S.A. and Australia. It is anticipated that the study will highlight the differences and similarities that policewomen undergo in their respective organisation.

Figure 3.2 Breakdown of Respondents – Sampling



3.8 Forms of Data – Interviews

In a qualitative study, interviews form an important part of data collection because they capture the social phenomena and generate empirical data of the lived experience of the individual (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Furthermore, interviews provide an insight into the attitudes, feelings and world view of the participant individuals, thereby making the interview data rich in text within a phenomenological paradigm (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Initially, it is anticipated that the interview process will be assisted by commonalities in the policing background of the respondents and the researcher. Later, the researcher takes into consideration such nuances as being part of the individual's phenomena (Key, 1997).

Several models describe ways of conducting interviews; they can be unstructured, semi-structured or rarely structured depending on the nature of the interview questions (Barbour, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Fontana & Frey, 1994; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). A semi-structured or unstructured interview, as a tool within a qualitative paradigm, provides an outcome for the researcher who is seeking to have a deeper scope of inquiry (Fontana & Frey, 1994). For the current research a semi-structured interview method was employed, as the nature of the study does entail seeking an in-depth knowledge of the lived experience which, otherwise, may be lost if the individuals were constrained in their responses as a reaction to a structured interview (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). The primary data for this study were drawn largely from semi-structured/in-depth face-to-face interviews. Barbour (2008) noted it is useful to use prompts during the interview as it assists both the researcher and respondent; it allows both individuals to broaden the question and response and acts as a memory mechanism, in case the researcher or respondent have forgotten vital information which could be lost. This research is based on semi-structured interviews with forty female respondents for an in-depth study of the phenomenological and interpretivist paradigm that women experience in organisations.

Interviews are widely used in qualitative research as a means of capturing social reality (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Furthermore, interviews are a form of communication allowing for data to be recorded and, then, systematically analysed and interpreted within an interpretive research paradigm (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The strength of interviewing as a tool lies in its derivation of the unique lived experiences of each individual respondent. It is important for the researcher to avoid any bias by either agreeing or disagreeing with the respondent (Gergen & Gergen, 2000). However, the researcher must ensure that neither the interview process nor the content are allowed to manipulate the

outcomes (Yin, 1994) and must design a set of questions that do not lose track of the key issues.

Creswell (1994) posits that, although the relationship between the researcher and the respondent is where the researcher perceives the social reality of the respondent, the researcher has to be mindful of not letting bias get in the way. The strength of interviewing lies in its derivation of the lived experiences of the respondents with events which are unique to each individual.

It is the researcher's role to manage the power play that takes place between interviewer and respondent by shaping the flow of questions and allowing the respondent to choose the manner in which she responds about the lived phenomenon. In so doing, the researcher is not seeking a factual datum but a phenomenon as seen from the perspective of the respondent. The researcher participates "in the mind of another human being, understanding not only the words as understood and used by the individual and that one must participate in the mind of another human being in order to acquire social knowledge" (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 9).

There is a fine line that the researcher straddles during the direct observation of a face-to-face interview (Creswell, 2007). Also, the onus is on the researcher to follow strict ethical guidelines with regard to every aspect of the research design. Creswell (2007) considers that qualitative questions evolve and are continually refined throughout the interviewing process; the initial set of questions provides a starting point while the refinements increase understanding of the problem. This is reiterated by Agee (2009, p. 432), who claims that "good qualitative questions are usually developed or refined in all stages of a reflexive and interactive inquiry journey". The questions should be sufficiently broad to ensure that adequate data is captured for the study, but not so broad as to compromise the significance of the responses.

The researcher travelled to the United States of America and around Australia to interview the forty selected participants. To have a thorough understanding of the context and environment, the researcher spent a considerable period of time in the U.S.A. as a guest counterpart from her law enforcement position in Australia; employment which pre-dated the field study. During that time, the researcher had built a network of national and international contacts.

All sample respondents are police women in middle-level and senior-level positions. Thus, having had preceding work experience, the participants are able to reflect on their own

ambitions and future career paths in policing, and draw on their lived experiences, particularly in relation to promotional progress within their organisation. Although every story is unique to each individual, common themes running through the policewomen's experiences are identified, and mapped to the theoretical framework for this study. With the prerequisite for research participation being that respondents needed to be in the middle-level or top-level ranks in policing, respondents are at a stage where aspirations and barriers to top-level positions are important and understood. Even so, across the various jurisdictions, some similarities and differences could be expected in recruitment practices, promotional progress and retirement benefits/policies.

Once the Ethics Committee of the researcher's University had approved the field work, an introductory letter (email) was sent to the existing database contacts stating the researcher's intentions in the study and an expression of interest requesting the contacts to be part of the study. After two weeks and a collated list of interested respondents a copy of the approval letter, a letter stating the purpose of the interview, a consent form, and a copy of the interview schedule and questions were forwarded to the contacts. Email and telephone call details are kept for record purposes. Once the quota was filled, another email was sent to individual respondents confirming their interview time and asking whether or not they required any clarifications. For anonymity purposes, no group emails were sent at any stage.

The use of in-depth interviews provides the researcher with dense insight (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2007) explains that the use of narrative research, case study and phenomenology is widely used in qualitative studies; this is supported further by Denzin and Lincoln (2008) who note that through in-depth interviews, examining secondary data such as documents and triangulating findings, the researcher is able to more fully understand the lived experiences as articulated by the respondents. Similarly, within the data analysis, it is the groups of women that are of interest rather than their ranking or jurisdiction.

Qualitative interviews were the primary source of data collection in this study; this was deemed the most effective form of data collection as it is able to generate empirical data by a process of social constructivism capture the lived experiences of participants (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Also, face-to-face interviews allow respondents to go back and forth in the articulation of their experiences, thus giving the researcher an added opportunity to probe initial responses more deeply and obtain further answers (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Also, memory prompts were used to keep the interview sequence focused. The interview question sheet guides the respondent to keep the responses within context and ensures that the same questions are asked of each of the respondents.

The purpose in the interview is to record only the respondent's views, take notes of mitigating circumstances and observe the respondent's reactions. Respondents are asked to share their views on the issues around women in leadership, their own career advancement and aspirations; the effectiveness of the interviews includes observing, how the interview is conducted and the sensitivity of the researcher in being able to manage the process. The conversation-style interviews are audio taped to ensure the respondents' articulation and meaning is fully captured, and to allow the researcher to check and re-check the transcripts later. Interviews take between forty minutes to an hour.

Listening is the most important skill in the conducting of interviews (Siedman, 2005); with three levels of listening to be mindful of when conducting interviews; namely, a) listening to what the respondent is saying - the interviewer must concentrate on the substance; b) listening to the "inner voice" as opposed to the "outer voice", by being aware of the meaning that the respondent is trying to convey; and c) being aware of the respondents' non-verbal cues (Siedman, 2005, p. 63).

Before the interviews, the researcher contacted the coordinator of each jurisdiction who was assigned to manage the respondent's timeframe. Furthermore, the role of the coordinator was to ensure that there was asymmetrical communication between their organisation and the researcher, and check that all formalities required for the interviews to take place were managed. However, by the nature of the work; some respondents were unavailable for the nominated interview time which, then, was rescheduled.

3.8.1 Ethical Issues – Interviews

One ethical issue in qualitative research is its subtlety compared to that in quantitative research (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2000). Another key ethical issue is that of the respondent's anonymity and privacy. Unless the researcher is constantly aware of the ethical issues during an interview, it is difficult to ensure that the lines have not been crossed; this is the case where the researcher is probing for clarity and the privacy of the respondent may be threatened (Allmark, Boote, Chambers, Clarke, McDonnell, Thomson & Tod, 2009). Another threat to the individual's privacy is during the analysis and use of quotes which may indicate the respondent's identity to peers and to the relevant organisations (Allmark et al., 2009). In this study, several strategies were applied to counter ethical issues that potentially could compromise the respondents or the study. The ethical issues were addressed

systematically by dividing the process into three parts: viz., a) pre-interview b) during interview and c) post interview.

3.8.1.1 Pre-Interview – Managing Ethical Issues

Ethics approval Form A was obtained from the Ethics Committee, Curtin University and all conditions were strictly adhered to throughout the research study. Ethical consideration must be shown towards the respondents.

3.8.1.2 During Interview - Managing Ethical Issues

Participants were assured of anonymity in the study and in possible future publications; this was further upheld by the researcher throughout the interview process by showing empathy, understanding and respecting the participants' views (Brickhouse, 1993; Flinders 1992). Before the commencement of each interview the researcher read the consent form to ensure the respondent was clear about the process and willing to participate in the study. The researcher collected the signed consent form and verbally reiterated that respondent could unconditionally withdraw from the interview at any stage without penalty. This method of face-to-face interview is most effective in making respondents feel comfortable and allowing them to revisit questions and seek clarification.

3.8.1.3 Post Interview - Managing Ethical Issues

On completion of the study, a copy of the findings will be provided to participants upon request. The data collected from the research has been, and will continue to be, stored in a manner that meets the guidelines under Section 2 of the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research*, which is available at the NHMRC website: www.nhmrc.gov.au. As the research project is considered short-term by the NHMRC, a 24-month period of retention after completion was deemed sufficient, after which the data will be disposed of by Curtin University. Until then, the university will provide facilities for the safe and secure storage of the data, as well as maintaining records related to its storage. The author holds copies of the research data for her own use and the collected data will remain the intellectual property of the author. Research data will be made available with the consent of the author, and may not be used in breach of ethics, privacy or confidentiality.

After each interview, the researcher gave contact details to the respondents should they, at any stage, want to add, review or withdraw from the interview. This was particularly

important for the American respondents as the researcher was on location for a limited time. The offer was made also to provide opportunity to eliminate any dissonance. Logistically, it was not feasible for the researcher to return to the United States to rebuild, or undertake new, interviews. As some respondents were holding senior positions in their jurisdiction office, at the end of the interview they presented the researcher with corporate gifts. To avoid any conflict of interest, the researcher upon returning to her country posted similar gifts from her organisation to the respondents.

3.9 Forms of Data – Observation

Being an observer involves a degree of social interaction with the participant and the researcher, ultimately, also becomes a participant in the activity (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). The researcher is deemed as the ‘participant-as-observer’ who participates in the activity and is transparent about the intention to observe the activity (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). In the current study, the researcher became an observer and a participant. Observations that were collected in this research were tested by clarifying certain facts with other individuals in law enforcement.

Whilst it is difficult to take notes during the interview activity, depending on the sensitivity of the activity the researcher [observer] can consider self-reflection as salient to participant observation (Brewer, 2000). The researcher when using observation as a tool must maintain neutrality when collecting and analysing data (Backer, 2006). However, the researcher runs the danger of being biased when interpreting the observation (Adler & Adler, 1994). It is important for the researcher to reflect on observations as to what is real as perceived by the respondent and what the researcher would like to interpret (Murray-Thomas, 2009). Hence observation should not be the sole source of data collection, but used as a cross checking mechanism.

The researcher was able to accompany a female and male police officer as a ‘ride-along’ for ten hours. The researcher signed the liability forms and was allowed to accompany officers in a police car in Minnesota. A ‘ride along’ is a non-police officer who observes the police officers in a police vehicle. In this instance the researcher was able to observe the policewoman who was in charge of the shift and any ensuing incidents in the shift.

The researcher was able to observe the phenomena within the concentrated period; i.e., how the policewoman portrayed her leadership skills both within the organisation and with the public. After the shift was completed and during the break times, the researcher was able to

make field notes on the phenomena that were unravelling as the policewoman revealed the multiple identities that evolved. The identity of self (during break times), leader identity (when dealing with the policemen), and the professional identity (towards the public) were observed. The researcher also noted the tone and style of language that the policewoman used in her interaction with others.

As an observer, the researcher noted the way male police officers interacted, took orders in a command control situation and how that was reported. The observation provided a rich text to the data of how policewomen interact, how they perceive themselves as leaders and as an individual. During break times, the observer asked a range of questions about the incidents that took place and the policewoman's perception of her position in a gendered organisation. This can be regarded as opportunistic observation as the policewoman did not make up part of the interviewed respondents; moreover, her responses added to the observation as secondary, rather than primary, data.

The researcher attended a conference where a session was held discussing the role of policewomen as undercover operators. Quintessentially, it was a case of the law enforcement authorities positioning policewomen as 'bait' to criminal activities. The policewomen's experience in adopting another persona and their experiences added an extra dimension to their role as policewomen. The researcher noted that gender was the key in these undercover operatives and that the organisation recognised the inherently female qualities required for outcomes to be successful.

Observation by the researcher of office-based women in senior positions shed light on their leadership styles. These participants are observed during meetings and during the course of interaction with both male and female police officers, in an attempt to study non-verbal nuances that, potentially, can enhance the richness of the data.

3.9.1 Observation as a Support Tool

The aim of less structured observation is to produce "detailed qualitative data on behaviour as part of a rounded description of the culture of a particular group of people" (Sapsford & Jupp, 2011, p. 82). Contextually, observation of the respondents at work was not always possible due to the nature of intelligence work and its classified status. Also, accompanying police on front-line work is not an option for reasons of liability in case of accidents or violence.

3.9.2 Observation Ethics and Concerns

As a secondary-data collection strategy, observation can be the supporting tool in the phenomenological paradigm of a natural setting (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011; Gorman & Clayton, 2005). Various observation techniques can be used to support the primary data either in a natural or controlled setting, with or without participation from the respondents (Chamberlain & Broderick, 2007). Observation for this study was used as a means of triangulation to verify other data sources.

3.10 Secondary Data

3.10.1 Forms of Data – Documents

Use of documentary data is not regarded as an acclaimed sociological method (Platt, 1999). However, secondary data through print and soft media, which can supplement the phenomenological aspect of being contemporary, were collected to validate the primary data. Publications of annual reports circulated for reporting purposes by the organisations and corporate departments, together with periodicals, and newspapers relating to policing both locally and internationally, were collated, analysed and triangulated for validity. However, within the validity and reliability there exists a degree of bias from the authors and publishers of secondary data. Newspapers, when analysed collectively, can provide a social context on how policewomen are viewed in the community; though, unless newsworthy, there is limited information on policewomen. Policing generally evokes media and public attention; therefore it is important for the researcher to be aware of the bias that can be attached to the organisations and their representatives.

Annual reports that are published by most police organisations do not include a breakdown of the gender profile of police; in addition, any available national and international data are often outdated (Lonsway, 2001; Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). Locally, there are limited data on head profile of the gender breakdown; a request by the researcher was declined as being confidential information that is for internal use only. Furthermore, there is no single source such as the United Nations that is available for researchers to access contemporary and/or historical data (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). Secondary data are inexpensive and can be skewed to suit the organisation; generally, they need to be used only as supporting information (Platt, 1999).

Overall, there may be doubts about the authenticity of documents (Platt, 1999). Documents can be falsified and statistics skewed toward a particular political theme. Similarly, print media and events reported can suffer a validity problem when they are reported by another source and not by the individual concerned (Earl et al., 2004; McCarthy, 1999). Therefore, the researcher as the gatherer of data needs to be mindful of potential inconsistencies or bias when information or events can be reported differently. A list of document data used throughout the research is presented in Table 3.2, below.

Table 3.2: Use of Document Data

Document Type	Data Collected
International Police periodicals	Articles relating to policewomen including recruitment and attrition
<i>The Australian</i>	Articles relating to paucity of women in senior positions
<i>The Catalyst</i> (online periodical on senior women)	Contemporary issues on women and career progression
<i>The Glass hammer</i> (weekly online newsletter on senior women in the United States)	Contemporary issues on women and career progression

3.11 From Data Collection to Data Analysis

The current research was influenced by the methods adopted to analyse the data gained through a qualitative methodology (Adams, Khan, Raeside & White, 2007). The data collection in the research provides a comparison between samples of middle-level and top-level women police; also, between state and federal jurisdictions, and between the two countries of Australia and North America. Having a comparison of data in a qualitative study adds to the empirical research of the phenomena (Schriewer, 1992). The merit in comparing the data leads to; a) identifying the gap that exists, b) exploring how the lived experience is manifested, c) exploring the interaction contextually, and d) the impact it has on the respondents (Lewis, 2003). In addition, in the current study the comparative analysis contributes to the existing body of knowledge as this has not been examined in previous studies; it highlights a contemporary issue that, it is hoped, will lead to further research in the field.

3.12 Data Analysis

Basit (2003) contends that data analysis in qualitative research is a difficult, but crucial aspect to a study. Coding allows for the making sense of textual data and is the first step in analysing data (Basit 2003; Bryman 2012; Saldana, 2009). Unlike quantitative analysis, qualitative data is creative and dynamic, since the researcher continuously refines the interpretation throughout the analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher uses the initial experience of settings and document analysis to interpret the data (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Prior to collecting data the researcher must decide how the data will be analysed, to ensure that the data analysis instrument is effective and appropriate for gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study (Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

Mason (2010) discusses the issue of the saturation of data; viz., that in a qualitative inquiry, the frequency of items does not equate to recurring themes. Furthermore, saturation can be reached when the data do not shed any light on new themes; hence it becomes counter-productive. Critics have argued that for a phenomenological study, a minimum of fifteen to twenty-five respondents followed by thirty and forty should be sufficient for data analysis (Creswell, 1998; Morse, 1994). After the purpose and aims of the study are reflected upon, any further analysis beyond the point of saturation can be counterproductive (Creswell, 1998).

3.13 Demographic Coding

Each research respondent is allocated a code that identifies whether they are in a middle-level or top-level position, whether they are in a state or federal jurisdiction and their country of origin. For example, MMSAU is the code used for middle management state Australia, MMFAU is code for middle management federal Australia and TMFAU is code for top management federal Australia (see Table 3.3 for example). A similar code is created for the American cohorts of respondents. A table is created with codes placed against each respondent with their demographic data; it assists as a checking mechanism and triangulation. With the identification, the researcher also is able to check validity and reliability. Furthermore, numerical data can be analysed to generate theory based on the demographics.

Table 3.3: Source Categorisation and Use of Codes for Respondents

Sources: Internals	Externals	Memos	Framework Notices
Internals			
Name		Notes	References
TMFUS1		3	3
MMFAU1		17	17
MMSUS4		51	51
TMSUS5		138	138

3.14 Preparing the Data

As a first step in preparing the data and analysing the kind of data collected, it must be defined (Mayring, 2000). Since qualitative research entails more than one source of data collection, it is logical to organise the data collected into categories, themes and relevance (Creswell, 2013). NVIVO 10 software designed to analyse data transcription is used for this research, as Creswell (2013) advises the use of analytical software to convert the data. He also suggests obtaining a general overview of the different data collected. A careful review of data from each individual respondent should be noted and recorded before any collated data is examined analytically.

Analysis of interview transcripts and secondary data is grounded in an inductive approach where patterns are identified from the data by means of thematic codes (Bowen, 2005). In phenomenological data, analysis is important to transcribe the interviews fully if one is to capture the nuances (Hycner, 1985). Furthermore, in an interpretivist context, the researcher is able to seek clarification from the respondent and build on their responses. As the data are analysed, new questions arise, into which the researcher begins to probe into the phenomenon more deeply (Aronson, 1994).

Researchers need to apply a systematic approach when interpreting transcripts. Contextually the audio-taped interviews were transcribed to text. By transcribing the interviews, it gives the researcher an opportunity to listen, re-examine and re-check for clarity and interpret the data as seen through the eyes of the individual (Cope, 2009), thereby adding to the richness of the data. After transcribing the interviews, analysis of the qualitative data involved reiterative/recursive attention to patterns, convergences, differences and marginal themes, by means of coding and cross-coding (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009).

Coding and recoding when applied to textual data, categorises into a systematic order (Saldana, 2009). When refined the codes form themes, and from themes a picture of the data appears coherently; the researcher then deduces meanings from the data. Each respondent was assigned a code to replace their real identity, and for ethical requirements as outlined by the university, all data will be destroyed after the required period required for maintaining the data in safe storage.

Denzil and Lincoln (2005) emphasize that this process does not replace the researcher's notes about other aspects of the data collected, including notes taken during the interview, observation by the researcher and checking responses with respondents. Also, the researcher is explicitly aware of the importance of the accurate coding of data to ensure that there is no coercion or omission (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

For the current study, interviews were transcribed and converted into NVIVO. To prepare the data for coding, transcriptions were filed under relevant file names, as explained earlier. Subsequently, eight folders were created to maintain the results.

3.14.1 First Cycle Coding

In a qualitative inquiry a code refers to a word or short phrase that identifies a certain important attribute of the data (Saldana, 2009, p. 16). For fear of losing vital data, there is vigorous arguing among qualitative researchers (Lofland et al., 2006; Saldana, 2009) as to the amount of data that has to be coded. However, having a copious amount of data can be challenging for the researcher who is required to code every single datum available. Saldana (2009) posits that a larger portion of qualitative researchers concur that only half or only relevant data needs intensive analysis. 80% of the data was analysed for this research using NVIVO coding and initial coding methods. During the first cycle coding, the researcher summarises the data for meaningful interpretation (Saldana, 2009); i.e., in the NVIVO coding method, the raw data as spoken by the respondents is prioritised without the researcher's comments (Saldana, 2009). It is at the initial coding stage where the researcher explores and determines the direction of the study (Glaser, 1978).

3.14.2 NVIVO Coding

Literal coding is another term used for NVIVO coding where a short phrase is used to denote meanings derived from the textual data (Strauss, 1987). This is the initial stage of coding and

an example of this is demonstrated below: it is an extract from the interview where the respondent was asked about career prospects in law enforcement.

TMFUS5: *The one thing I have found out females in this male dominated career tend to be harder on other females than their male counterparts, they tend to be more critical on other females and that is one thing with me I don't focus on that I did not want tunnel vision.*

The following was coded In Vivo:

TMFUS5: *The one thing I have found about females in this male dominated career – they tend to be harder on other females than their male counterparts.*

3.14.3 Secondary Data

This example is an extract from an on-line periodical, *The Glass Hammer* (Career Tips, 2014) it refers to women as caregivers and the need for flexibility not necessarily for the women but to be extended to male employees as well.

With shared breadwinning and caregiving responsibilities increasingly crossing over gender lines, it only makes sense to grant the same program offerings, such as paternity leave, to men as to women, especially considering that more and more women are entering the workforce.

The following was coded In Vivo:

Caregiving responsibilities increasingly crossing over gender lines.

3.14.4 Initial Coding

The use of initial coding (see Figure 3.3) allows the researcher to broaden the conceptualisation of the theoretical framework by means of its data (Charmaz, 2006). Applying initial coding allows for breaking down the data into small pieces that can be grouped together and checked for similarities and contrasts (Saldana, 2009). Furthermore, this is useful when there are other sources of data collected for an exploratory examination of the phenomenon. As the process gathers momentum, the researcher is able to identify gaps

that may emerge. An example of initial coding is shown below (on how the researcher interpreted the data):

Figure 3.3: Initial Coding – Breaking Down the Data into Pieces

Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
Questionnaire demographics	0	0	12/03/2015 3:16 PM	A	12/03/2015 3:16 PM	A
Mentoring_Necessary_But_Insufficient_for_Advancement_Final_120610[1]	0	0	14/03/2015 2:43 PM	A	14/03/2015 2:43 PM	A
sponsoring_women_to_success[1]	0	0	14/03/2015 2:43 PM	A	14/03/2015 2:43 PM	A
TMSAU1	12	12	23/07/2014 8:25 PM	A	10/03/2015 12:53 PM	A
TMFAU1	15	15	27/02/2015 6:26 PM	A	10/03/2015 12:53 PM	A
MMFAU1	18	18	13/09/2014 9:01 PM	A	10/03/2015 12:56 PM	A
MMFAU2	25	25	17/07/2014 5:03 PM	A	10/03/2015 12:56 PM	A
MMFUS2	30	30	11/07/2014 8:49 PM	A	10/03/2015 12:57 PM	A
MMFUS1	32	32	11/07/2014 1:20 PM	A	10/03/2015 12:57 PM	A
MMFUS5	34	34	11/07/2014 8:56 PM	A	10/03/2015 1:34 PM	A
TMSAU2	39	39	13/09/2014 8:59 PM	A	10/03/2015 1:01 PM	A
TMSAU5	44	44	13/09/2014 8:59 PM	A	10/03/2015 1:26 PM	A

What are your views on mentoring and networking opportunities for women

I think we all have the responsibility to mentor, I have mentored women outside this agency I think mentoring is important it is a way for a leader or a Commander to give back, at some point we have all had that opportunity and it is important to give back

Do you think that there is a different between mentoring and networking or do they work hand in hand

I think they do, part of it is to connect with people and to introduce to people to the law enforcement community so they know there is a different, I do not think you can separate them in order for it to be effective you need both components

An extract from the interview where the respondent was asked about mentoring and its relevance in law enforcement:

MMUS5: I think it is better to have something structured then you do not lose them in the organisation because those that get higher up the food chain or a more comfortable in the department have been mentored. It makes sense to have something formal then people can choose whether they participate or not I am fortunate I had people who mentored me. If it were not for that I do not think I would be here today, I really don't. I have seen people, an example my former patrol partner saw [sic] she had to be like one of the boys, a big bravado she did not want to have anything to do with the Women's Police organisation in the state because it was taboo she wanted to do it alone.

The following was coded using initial coding:

MMUS5: *Mentoring is important for career progression and with an analogy of a peer officer highlighted the importance of extended support needed for career progression.*

3.14.5 Second Cycle Coding

During the second stage cycle coding, the researcher begins to refine the data from the first stage coding (Saldana, 2009). During the analysis process the shift is away from the raw data as seen through the eyes of the respondent to that of the researcher, who begins to identify themes, conceptualise and theorise (Saldana, 2009). This process is a merging of the categories to fit the data (Morse, 1994). This exploratory paradigm shifts towards pattern coding which, ultimately, begins to develop theoretical frameworks. As part of second cycle coding is theming the data or pattern-coding.

3.14.6 Theming the Data

Theming of the data occurs when a large amount of data is categorised into labels which are then made into sub-sets of themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 69). Similar codes are grouped together for commonalities and, thereby create a pattern. Thematic analysis is defined as a “method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns [themes] within data” (Brawn & Clarke, 2006, p. 45). A qualitative study can be extremely diverse and difficult to analyse and the need for a robust systematic technique in analysing the data is critical (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Thematic analysis reports on experiences, meanings and the reality of the participants. In view of selectivity about the type of data to be collected, it is important for the researcher to maintain unbiased data analysis and to be aware of “the effects of both tacit and formative theory” (LeCompte, 2000, p. 146). LeCompte (2000) further explains the necessity for researchers to ensure they are aware of the bias that exists within theories; namely, the selection of relevant data and discarding of uninteresting data.

Thematic analysis is a generic skill applied by researchers in qualitative methodology (Brawn & Clark, 2006; Holloway & Todres, 2003). Hence, thematic analysis is regarded as a tool rather than a methodology (Boyatzis, 1998). Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 82) explain that a “theme captures something important about data in relation to the research question” and it is the researcher’s responsibility to select themes that are vital to the overall research question.

Thematic analysis reduces large volumes of data into summation without losing the context but while keeping the interpretation (Mills et al., 2010). Thematic analysis also assists in coding, grouping recurring themes, defining emerging themes, checking and re-checking the data and refining the themes to develop a case analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Recurring themes are recorded for further analysis and theory building. Braun and Clarke (2006) agree that thematic analysis offers a plausible way to interpret data. To enable thematic analysis, NVIVO 10 is used to code themes and sub-themes in a convenient data storage and retrieval system.

In the current study, theming codes were created based on the recurring themes linking to the research questions. Hence, from a broad categorisation of the data were carefully analysed and articulated into key themes developed and populated with analysis from the data. In an attempt to ensure that pre-empted constructs were not placed on the data analysis and in keeping very closely to the data (Gioia et al., 2012), key themes were derived from the interviews; certain key words were used by the respondents repeatedly and subsequently sixteen key themes were identified. The researcher mapped out the key themes as shown in Table 3.4, below.

Table 3.4 NVIVO Nodes – Themes

Barriers	Alternative Career Path	Middle-Level Strategies
Police Women	Sponsors – Male v. Female	Agency Needs
Political Landscape	Professional Identity	Top-Level Strategies
Aspirations	Networking	Trust
Leader Identity	Mentoring Others	Self-Identity
	Mentoring	

Contextually, the theming will provide an insight into the issues and positioning of the policewomen in gendered organisations. Under the themes are further breakdowns of smaller codes (sub themes) that are grouped together for similarities and contrast (see Table 3.5, below). It enables the researcher to have a broader spectrum of the theory.

Table 3.5: Sub-Themes

• Because of my kids ...
• I am too old
• We need to break the glass ceiling...

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have only four more years to retire and I am not interested...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I did have a mentor, the same mentor for about twelve years...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I would not want to have the top job...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I had to help myself...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We have women suddenly realising they do not need to be everything...

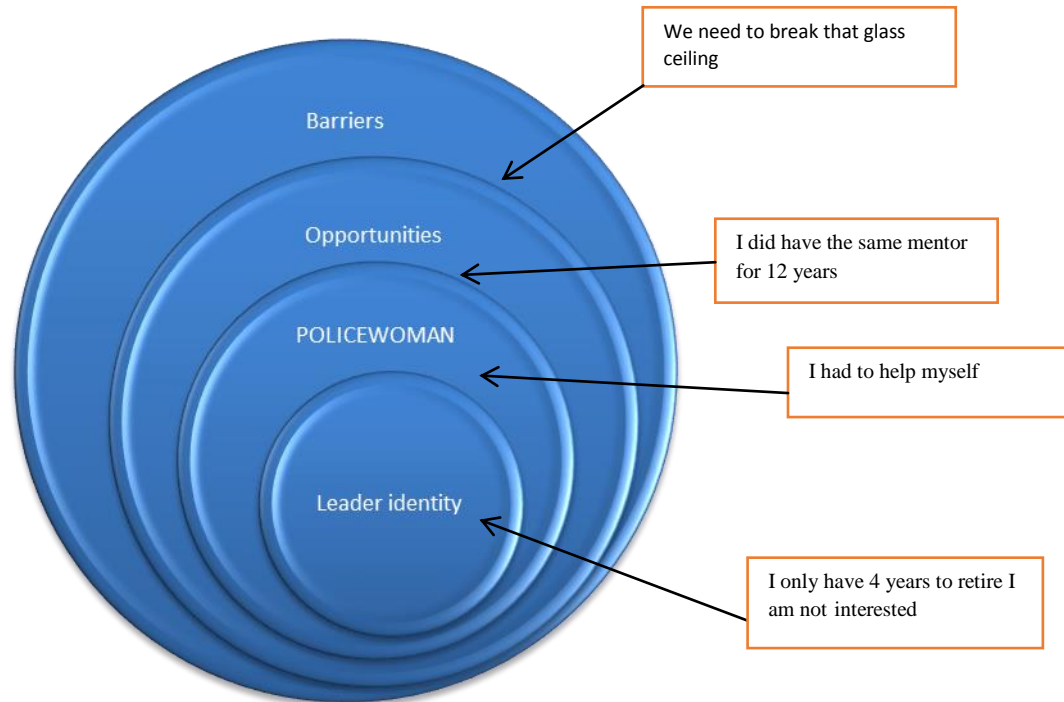
3.14.7 Pattern Coding

Pattern coding, being explanatory by nature, summarises categorised data into smaller themes and sub-themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Saldana, 2009). More than one pattern code can emerge from the qualitative data, each being able to bear a major theme. Contextually, the pattern code of mentoring had several other sub-themes: e.g., male versus female mentors, no mentors, mentoring style. Such pattern coding, creates interrelationships within the data which reflects the theoretical framework (Saldana, 2009).

Pattern coding is designed to identify emerging themes and its coding method summarises bodies of data into smaller number of themes and constructs (Miles & Huberman 1994; Saldana 2009). Furthermore several pattern codes can emerge from second cycle analysis of coding (Saldana, 2009).

The example (Figure 3.4) shows how the emerging conceptual framework is developed. Each layer that is labelled involves a lived experience of the respondents and contributes to pattern coding.

Figure 3.4: Pattern Codes



3.14.8 From Coding to Writing

Once the coding is complete the researcher must decide on the writing structure (Saldana, 2009). The progression from coding to writing occurs when the researcher explains the phenomenon that is under study and the emergent theories. Creswell (2013) describes this transitional period as when the researcher reflects on the data and the decision that the researcher takes in how the data analysis is going to be represented textually to the reader. Findings from qualitative studies can be presented in several ways; through a narrative, themes or the description of the lived experience (Ryan et al., 2007). Also, it can be presented as an interpretative account of the understanding or meaning of the phenomenon (Ryan et al., 2007). Within this phase the researcher is mindful that the data is represented as real and yet is able to conceptualize it; Figure 3.4 above illustrates how the data is kept grounded through a particular phenomenon into a general category.

3.15 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter was commenced with an identification of suitable research methods for the current study. Various options were outlined and the advantages of qualitative and

quantitative methods considered. Use of a qualitative study was deemed most suitable for obtaining results that would convincingly contribute to existing research.

The priori knowledge guided the inductive process but nevertheless the data was not based on priori knowledge because the findings confirm that in the context of self-determination theory the women (respondents) confirm or question that aspect. Furthermore there is no known such study between Australia and the U.S.A. at federal or state level. A wide spread of respondents across different geographical locations within the similarly structured organisation has not been researched directly. By means of comparison in this study, similarities and differences that policewomen experience internationally in a western patriarchal society can be articulated.

Discussions cover the dynamics and limitations of the chosen methodology and provide support from various authors who contend that, despite criticism, there is sufficient empirical evidence to suggest that a qualitative approach is the most suitable tool for the study. A qualitative study was preferred over a quantitative study, because, as aptly stated by Yin (1994), a qualitative study provides intensive, rich data to determine the research conclusions.

The guiding philosophies for the study were an interpretive ontology and a social constructivist epistemology. The grounding philosophies for the research were of a qualitative nature because the researcher was inquiring into the lived experience of the individual. The selected phenomenological interpretivist paradigm allowed for the individuals to create their reality, thus needing an exploratory and explanatory emphasis. The exploratory design provided a deeper insight into the lived experience of the individuals by allowing them to question their identity within the gendered organisation. The researcher became the instrument for investigating the phenomenon through exploratory measures and used explanatory measures to analyse the data.

The research strategy was a phenomenological paradigm as it examined the lived experience of the policewomen in gendered organisations. A select group of respondents through purposive sampling created a population that was unique; who had experienced a certain level of leadership skills, barriers, challenges and aspirations. Their lived experience was the essence, and when analysed provided the conceptual outcomes for the study.

Several data collection methods were employed; the primary data collection consisting of interviews supplemented by secondary data which included observations and document

analysis, hence generating empirical data on social phenomena by capturing the social reality of the individuals (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994).

Finally, to analyse the data, NVIVO 10 was used to allow the researcher to create patterns and themes leading to the development of emerging theory.

Next, in Chapter 4, the results of the research interviews are presented.

CHAPTER 4

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the research methods and methodological stance applied in the study were presented with the data collection procedures illustrated as well as the process in conducting the thematic analysis. In Chapter 4 individual descriptions of the participants involved in the study are presented together with the emerging themes identified during the process of thematic analysis. It is concluded with a conceptual framework that summarises data on how policewomen position themselves in law enforcement careers. The positioning relates closely to how the respondents manage career progression within a gendered organisation. Arguably, then, career progression is a process of overcoming barriers and challenges both personal and institutional.

Chapter 4 also includes own interpretation of the notion of identity derived from the data. The participants have evolved the identity concept within a gendered organisation to arrive at a point in career progression. The concept of leader, as agreed by Day and Harrison (2007), is difficult to define because it is dynamic and the attributes are attached to the individual (see Section 2.7 Leader Identity). Contextually, the data analysis lends itself to a new interpretation of leader as perceived by the respondents.

With the perceived identity, the participant then determines the level at which the individual wants to be; viz., move up the career ladder or remain stationary. Having achieved the informed decision of identity, incremental steps are taken to progress or otherwise their careers. Career development is through the strategies available to the individual (viz., mentoring, networking and/or sponsorship) which are discussed through the report of the data analysis.

This study is exploratory in nature and seeks to answer the research questions on the paucity of women in senior positions. To be able to explore and understand the phenomenon a qualitative inquiry was undertaken through semi-structured interviews. Finlay and Ballinger

(2006) (see Section 3.0 Introduction) discuss the importance of selecting a research methodology. The texts [transcripts] were managed through NVIVO10 to create themes and sub-themes. The researcher's interpretation was linked to the literature review that was undertaken in Chapter 2. By grouping the recurring comments by respondents, emergent themes were validated and used to answer the research questions discussed at length in Chapter 5.

The term 'barrier' used in this thesis reflects a "circumstance or obstacle that keeps people or things apart or progresses" while a 'challenge' is referred to as a "task or situation that tests someone's abilities" (Oxford dictionary). This is an important clarification in this research in order to delineate clearly the difference for a better understanding of the context of the lived experiences of the respondents. Mostly, challenges as set out by the organisation are contextual and interpreted differently by individuals, some of whom may interpret them as a barrier.

Despite the different nuances, aspects of challenges and barriers can be grouped collectively. Challenges are approached as human resource policies they are genderless in that they apply equally to all individuals in the organisation. However, barriers are indicative of personal interpretations by the individuals within the organisations. A conceptual model demonstrating the difference is presented in the chapter.

4.2 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

The study included police women from the United States and Australia. More particularly, forty women were interviewed and, subsequently, categorised into the following groups: 20 women each from middle management and from senior leadership positions, with these groups further broken down into State and Federal jurisdictions. Thus, there was an opportunity to compare between State and Federal jurisdictions and also between the two countries. Participants were selected on the basis that they had prior knowledge of the organisation and career goals and aspirations were directly related to the study, points vital to the revelation of policy making and implementation as designed by the researcher through the research questions. Data appeared to have reached saturation at the 60% point of analysis but the researcher was intent to ensure vital information was not lost; consequently, analysis was executed on the complete data set. The demographics included aspects such as age, education, tenure and experience as captured in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Demographic of participants

Code	General demographic					
Respondent	Age	Education	Tenure (years)	Employment	Previous P/T	Higher opportunities
MMSAU1	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMSAU2	Above 50	PGD	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMSAU3	40-49	PGD	≥10	Full time	Yes	Yes
MMSAU4	Above 50	Grad Cert	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMSAU5	30-39	Masters	≥15	Full time	No	Yes
TMSAU1	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	No
TMSAU2	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	Yes	Yes
TMSAU3	Above 50	PGD	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMSAU4	40-49	PGD	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMSAU5	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMFAU1	40-49	Bachelors	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMFAU2	40-49	Diploma	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMFAU3	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMFAU4	30-39	Bachelors	≥15	Full time	No	Yes
MMFAU5	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFAU1	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFAU2	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFAU3	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFAU4	40-49	Diploma	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFAU5	Above 50	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMSUS1	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMSUS2	40-49	Masters	≥15	Full time	No	No
MMSUS3	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMSUS4	40-49	Bachelors	≥15	Full time	No	No
MMSUS5	40-49	Bachelors	≥10	Full time	No	No
TMSUS1	Above 50	Diploma	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMSUS2	40-49	Bachelors	≥20	Full time	No	Yes

TMSUS3	Above 50	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMSUS4	40-49	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMSUS5	40-49	Bachelors	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMFUS1	Above 50	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
MMFUS2	40-49	Bachelors	≥10	.75	Yes	Yes
MMFUS3	40-49	Bachelors	≥10	Full time	No	Yes
MMFUS4	30-39	Bachelors	≥15	Full time	No	Yes
MMFUS5	40-49	Bachelors	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFUS1	Above 50	Bachelors	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFUS2	Above 50	Bachelors	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFUS3	30-39	Bachelors	≥15	Full time	No	Yes
TMFUS4	Above 50	Diploma	≥20	Full time	No	Yes
TMFUS5	Above 50	Masters	≥20	Full time	No	Yes

Notes:

Diploma: A post-graduate qualification

PGD: Post graduate Diploma

Grad Cert: Graduate Certificate

Table 4.2 Summary of Demographic Profile of Respondents

Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 17 respondents have a Post Graduate qualification • 5 respondents have a Post degree Diploma • 13 respondents have a Bachelor qualification • 1 respondent has a Graduate Certificate • 4 respondents have a Diploma
Policing Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 respondents have more than 20 years' • 6 respondents have more than 15 years' • 4 respondents have more than 10 years' • 3 respondents have worked part time previously • 1 respondent works 0.75 time
Higher Duties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 respondents have not had any higher duties exposure

Acting Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 36 respondents have had higher duties
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25 respondents are aged between 40 – 49 years • 11 respondents are above 50 years • 4 respondents are between 30 -39 years.

Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 complement each other as the latter table is a snapshot of the collated data into categories. The categories build a general profile of a middle-level and top-level policewoman and her position within policing. The breakdown of the respondents' profile shows that, generally, senior policewomen are highly qualified and have extensive policing experience. The majority of participants have more than one tertiary qualification; more than 50% of the respondents are under 50 years of age and have the potential to project their career into senior leadership and avoid the retirement age cap. This fits the research intention to understand the experience of policewomen who position themselves for promotion; and how the organisation can benefit from a new understanding of the phenomenology of the policewomen's lived experiences.

The demographics also demonstrate that the policewomen are competitive externally. During the term of the tenure, it is evident that the respondents have been proactive in gaining experience through self-development confirming an element of ambition. Despite family commitments, 97.5% of the respondents are full time police officers indicating a commitment to career as less than 2.5% worked in part- time positions.

4.2.1 Age

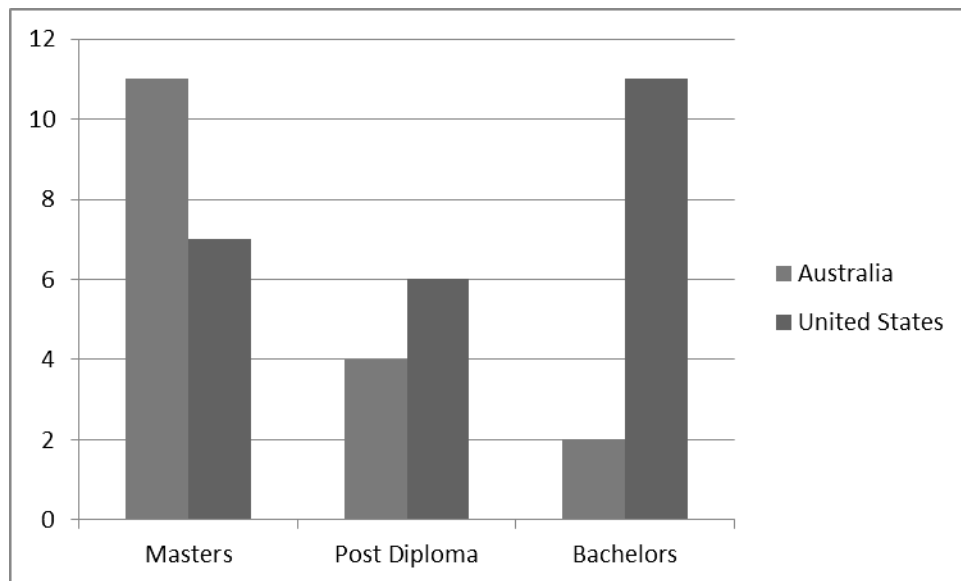
The demographics show that the majority of responding policewomen are in the 40 - 49 years age bracket and that this cohort of women is in the mid-level group with post graduate studies. Between the number of tenure years that the policewomen have and retirement age cap, it is at this point in the career development where the individual self determines career paths as a long term strategy.

4.3 Cross-Demographic Data Analysis

This study's purpose includes a comparative study between Australian and American policewomen. A general demographic profile (Table 4.1) of the forty respondents was created and Table 4.2 was created to highlight key similarities and contrasts of cohorts of respondents, viz., education, tenure, age and exposure to higher duties. This is salient to the

support of career progression of policewomen and adds to the study in supporting the findings of the lived experience of the respondents. Also, it ensures reliability and validity of the data; hence, a rigour by adding specific dimensions to the study. Figure 4.1, below, shows the qualifications attained by the American and Australian policewomen. The qualifications have been grouped into three categories, between a first qualification (Bachelors), intermediate (Post Graduate Diploma/Certificate) and the last (Masters) attained. The purpose is to show the qualifications that the policewomen have progressively acquired during their career.

Figure 4.1 Educational level between American and Australian Policewomen



Australian policewomen have more Masters Qualifications than American counterparts as one respondent stated about her organisation’s view on higher qualifications;

MMFUS2: It does not recognise any other qualifications so we stop tertiary qualifications in the US.

With a lack of support from their organisation, USA policewomen have not been motivated to continue postgraduate studies; hence the low numbers by comparison with those in Australia. The rationale as to why organisations do not encourage individuals to pursue other educational streams besides law enforcement is that traditionally the professional qualifications necessary for police service align to law enforcement and security courses. The undertaking of business studies, for example is seen as irrelevant to the organisation, as that service is relevant to other individuals who are non- police professionals in the area.

The police entry qualification level in the United States is a Bachelor's degree, while that is not necessary in the Australian context. However, American policewomen are not encouraged to pursue further tertiary qualifications, which is contrary to Australian law enforcement. Nevertheless, American policewomen do agree, on the value of qualifications to policing

MMSUS1: *Education has to be a part of it.*

While all respondents have had only one career, that is in law enforcement, the American policewomen actively develop a career path outside of law enforcement after the retirement age or after twenty-two years of service. At this stage of the career path, the individual decides whether it is a challenge or a barrier to develop a policing career. A protean career develops while they are still policewomen, with career development in the form of higher qualifications and a different stream from law enforcement.

At the middle-level management, policewomen are learning additional skills and building a new career outside law enforcement. As middle-level policewomen build institutional capital through qualifications, simultaneously they create social and economic capital outside law enforcement. However, it is a binary lifestyle when they do not seek career progression organically. Many American respondents prefer to build qualifications in preparation for a career outside law enforcement. The obvious brain drain should be of some concern for the organisation. From an individual perspective, a relatively high position in an organisation equates to better social capital. However, it was observed that largely each respondent was satisfied in being at their current role [social capital] adding to the perception that the participants are proud of their position. Also, this can relate to the fact that at middle-level management participants do have a certain level of recognition within the organisation.

The age factor, coupled with qualifications, creates a pool of highly talented women that is not utilised effectively by the organisation because of the mandatory retirement age in the United States of America, and yet that does not appear to be a foreboding issue with other non para-military organisations.

4.4 Strategies for Career Progression

In addressing the research question of the attributes that the policewomen use when applying for senior positions, the respondents indicated they have strategies for assisting their career progression; primarily, mentoring, networking and sponsorship strategies. Respondents that have not been mentored very clearly have articulated the subsequent impact on career progression. Similarly, those respondents who have been mentored were keen to articulate their personal experiences.

Strategies that policewomen apply are incremental: even at entry level, the policewomen are exposed to mentors who are usually the individual's line managers. For example, a respondent stated,

MMSUS5: I have worked with ... [others] ... directly and indirectly and I suppose the relationships I have developed with my supervisors and their support of me through mentoring

The success or failure of mentoring takes the individual to the next stage which is networking. Another respondent admitted an evident influence by mentors on protégés.

MMSAU2: I suppose I have been kind of influenced by mentors

4.4.1 Mentoring at Middle-level (Negative Perception)

Findings from this study highlight that the core elements of mentoring differ (see Section 2.7.1) widely between the middle and top-level policewomen. Furthermore, mentoring was seen as having a positive or negative impact on the careers of the policewomen. Some middle-level respondents were experiencing mentoring for the first time and were aware of peer pressure impacting on the mentoring activity. Mentoring was perceived as more negative amongst middle management than top-level policewomen.

Women who refused to be mentored or were not given the opportunity to be mentored were aware that they struggled with exposure to other positions within the organisation. They also perceived that career stagnation was a function of lack of mentoring. Three middle-level respondents who did not have a mentor claim that they were not given higher duties exposure as the demographic survey revealed (see Table 4.1). Subsequently this hampered skills development. One respondent stated,

MMSUS6: *I do not have any mentoring, I have not actively sought it out just because here in the Police Department you take a test to be a Police Sergeant and if you pass the test you become a Sergeant. And then those who want to become Commanders they actively, I have other co-workers who came on with me at the same time that are going to be Commanders like Commander XXX and they have actively sought out mentoring opportunities and they have actively sought out positions that will help them become Commander and sought out leadership opportunities.*

When the researcher probed further to clarify if mentoring had an impact on career progression, the respondent stated,

MMSUS6: *Oh yeah, absolutely and that is why I am still a Sergeant, and that is fine and this is all I want to be. It has helped them because they not only have the different type of positions and volunteer opportunities and they have signed up for things in the department you know leading other especially with the cultural organisation and things like that. They get those opportunities from those relationships in the department; I do not know whom I would go to, to be mentored here.*

This respondent has self-determined her career progression (see Section 2.6.1) to remain static at a middle-level management. To make sense of this, the respondent does not coerce her peers or the organisation in relation to her decision. Conversely, the individual has lived through the experience that mentoring as a strategy can assist in career progression; she has noted other policewomen have used that strategy to advantage.

Most respondents are aware that unless they are put forward for any promotion, they need exposure to other areas of work; the latter being possible through mentoring. This is critical for career progression as without the wider experiences the policewomen would not be as competitive and the result is career stagnation. It is at this point in time when the policewomen make decisions of the career paths. Unlike other industries, there are very limited protean careers in policing which, often, is viewed as a vocation rather than a career to be progressed. The respondent views mentoring as engaging with other individuals or volunteer work which essentially is outside work hours.

Some respondents were not keen to mentor other police officers; one respondent who had the potential to be a mentor said there is a lack of collegiality among policewomen.

MMSUS4: *I really do not know because I am not involved in the mentoring of women I feel like when I am here, I am here; when I am gone, I have gone, you close the door. I have a personal life where some people are so attached to police, police, police, so when I leave here I do not do a lot of mentoring I do not know what the opportunities are.*

This respondent appeared concerned with her immediate surroundings and was looking at the organisation as a restricted and finite means to her career progression. When queried about the police association for policewomen, one respondent stated,

MMSUS1: *I do not think our mentoring is good for women.*

While another respondent, stated

MMSUS2: *I think Officers who want to network, do the sporting events, they sign up for the off duty opportunities they develop networks off duty.*

There are several themes running through these responses, indicating that policewomen do not wish to align to an exclusive association set up for them and so are not available to network after work hours. The link between mentoring and networking has a flow-on affect; both strategies have the potential to be negative and limiting to career progression.

Participants who experienced negative feelings about mentoring (see Section 2.7.1.3) also shared personal disillusionment regarding their organisation. This can be attributed to the shift from an institutional to an embodied social capital, where the respondents exercised a level of autonomy in the individual's decision to mentor and be mentored. The respondents were confident in their informed decision as to whether or not mentoring was a strategy important to career progression. One participant's response to poor mentoring perceptions in the organisation and the lack of collegiality noted:

MMSUS5: *No way – this department is not like that. We do not go seeking help; I have never in my 17 years. I was a really good investigator and I had a lot of high profile cases, I did a lot of good work, I have never had a woman or a man, say, mentor me teach me. I do not think that this*

department has the mentality where we want to learn from other people it is every man or woman for themselves.

Another respondent observed a racial difference between white and black female special agents,

MMFAU1: *The black female agents seem to be in a tight knit group even in management ... they always mentor, develop and are always there for you. I don't know what it is but the white female agents don't want to hang around even with the male agents because you will be seen as being one of the boys.*

There are several themes running through this comment. Firstly, the respondent has distinguished her peers by race and recognised the closeness of interaction and mentoring based on race. Similarity in race and gender in one instance is positive while not in the other and comparative comments on how they manage as a group implies the same. Secondly, the respondent made an observation of the gender differences and subsequent peer pressure. The observation can have an impact organisationally as being perceived and real. Incrementally, the perceptions can become real and contribute to the inherently gendered organisation whereby diversity is marginalised and the negative aspects of mentoring and its demands are enhanced.

4.4.2 Mentoring at Middle-level (Positive Perceptions)

The lived experience of some respondents regarding mentoring differed from that of other peers. More than seventy percent of respondents perceived mentoring as positive and important in career progression; a respondent commented,

MMFUS6: *Let's say we talk about a crystal ball; if more women undertook mentoring and networking seriously they would get as far as men would.*

The respondent acknowledges the importance of mentoring and networking for policewomen and the impact it can have on career progression. Similarly her comparison with the male police officers as an analogy is to affirm the idea that policewomen have the capability and capacity to be as competitive as the male police officers through mentoring. Thus it is a common perception among middle-level respondents that mentoring is an important strategy for career progression (see Section 2.7.1).

Some respondents are mentors and mentees at the same time; one respondent states,

MMFAU2: *I do not officially have mentor but I do have several people I go to for assistance as an unofficial mentor. Several of those are coordinators I have had in my career. I still contact them now and we catch up for coffee, I look at how they do the role. I may not like how they go about it but I note that and not use it for my own progression. I also have several PSO recruits that have come from the college; they contact me now, and they have asked me if I will be their unofficial mentor and we catch up by email or get together for coffee, they map out their career and say what do you think?*

Several themes can be identified by this response from respondent MMFAU2. Firstly, the organisation does not have official mentoring programs for individuals. Secondly, the onus is on the individual to search proactively for mentors. Thirdly, the respondent has a continuing relationship with her past mentors, hence a positive continuing relationship which is asymmetrical between the mentor and the mentee. Fourthly, the respondent makes informed decision to adopt or reject the leadership traits for her leader identity. Literature on mentoring which states that women tend to follow male leader identity traits if mentored by a male is in binary opposition in this instance (refer to 2.8.1 Mentoring) needs to be interpreted carefully. A theme which is identified is that during mentoring sessions, career mapping is left to the mentor and protégé to map a career for the individual (refer to 2.8.1.2 Mentoring in a gendered organisation).

An aspect of mentoring for minority groups is highlighted when respondent stated:

MMFUS6: *I think it probably is very important but I would also suggest for women in the minority, as it is important to have mentors that are men; to look for people they can respect. Who can help them along with their career and not limit their options to a woman. To get the insight if you are in a predominately-male oriented organisation to get the psyche of men to see how they view things and things you would need to do to get to the next level. While it is good to be supportive of other women if you are in an organisation where you are in the minority and you stick to that you need to see what works for the men to help translate that for yourself of how to move forward in an organisation.*

From an organisational perspective another theme that is running through is the subtleties of a gendered organisation where Scott's three pillars are evident and how the policewomen manoeuvre by adopting male traits. A sense of collaboration with male and female police officers is also evident (refer to 2.3 Institutional theory).

Middle-level respondents appeared to have mixed reactions to mentoring through, the majority of policewomen tended to look at mentoring more analytically. It is at this middle-level where mentoring is crucial and the cohorts of policewomen make informed decisions on whether to progress or limit mentoring. As one respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *You need to choose your mentor carefully.*

4.4.3 Mentoring at Top-level (Negative Perception)

No respondents spoke about negative mentoring. At top-level management, many respondents did not believe they were being mentored in the true sense effects from of a mentor being a protégé. The majority of respondents interchanged the words 'mentor' and 'sponsor'. When the researcher asked for clarification, the majority of respondents admitted that they tend to use the words loosely, but are aware of the difference between a mentor and a sponsor, as one respondent stated,

TMFAU1: *I think that they are two different things but they can overlap, but I think you need to both be a complete package and be effective.*

Another respondent stated:

TMFUS2: *I had some really good mentors through my career... I had the opportunity to have mentors who are in higher roles, yes.*

The top-level women generally reported that they used mentoring as a strategy to assist them in career progression. One respondent stated:

TMSUS3: *There is always an opportunity for someone at another level say Director to mentor his Deputy Director.*

Contextually, there appear to be opportunities at all levels for mentoring.

4.4.4 Gendered Mentoring

When asked by the researcher who makes a preferred mentor, one respondent immediately referred to “the men”. When probed further, her response was:

MMSUS2: *I said that because there are fewer women mentors but I think upon reflection there are fewer women in middle and upper management so I think that probably has more to do with it. It looks like there is nine but there is really so few.*

Another respondent stated that it was better to have a male mentor, as she had experienced the value in her career progression,

TMSUS1: *He and I seem to have the same interest, values and principles. He recognised that, and he asked me to be his Assistant Chief.*

4.4.5 Mentoring at Top-level (Positive Perception)

For top-level policewomen mentoring is valued at the strategic level; respondents appear to look at mentoring not at a personal level but at a macro level. One respondent stated:

TMSUS3: *Also help the men out ... the men, the young officers who were male would be taken under the wing of the officers. They help the younger males to survive and get through. They have paved the path for us. I have had the male mentor for so long so I am sure though that they are the same.*

Mentoring in this instance is mentoring for both male and female officers without bias. Furthermore, the respondent’s relationship between mentor and protégé appears to have been longstanding.

Mentoring at the senior level provides the trajectory that the women are seeking; one top-level respondent stated:

TMFUS2: *It was basically how to move up as a woman in government. I have been getting calls from Chief of Police from all different towns and cities wanting to know how we recruit, retain and promote more women.*

Another respondent indicated that:

TMFUS4: *I did have access to all the other women in the agency that I considered to be very successful.*

4.4.6 Summative Perspective on Mentoring

Both middle-level and top-level sets of women had similar views on mentoring, with middle-level policewomen struggling to find an effective mentor. Middle-level respondents showed a tendency to select a mentor; most often, a line manager. An observation by the researcher was that the women at this stage of their career were meandering within the gendered organisation and the individual's position within a middle-level management structure. It appears that it is at this stage that the individual begins to either embrace or reject the institutionalisation [Scott's three pillars] of the organisation and develop leadership skills.

Top-level women however made better choices of mentors, most likely because of the network base from which the participants were able to select a mentor. Progression from middle-level to top-level leadership roles requires the acquisition of broader leadership skill; and the ability to direct and control one's career progression. During mentorship, top-level women were able to negotiate for a sponsor to plan and progress their careers. Hence, top-level have begun to promote the institutionalisation of the gendered organisation; particularly where a sponsor affiliated to the organisation is used.

Overall, the respondents have a clear perception of the benefits of mentoring (and networking) as a means of career progression. Middle-level respondents tend to use mentoring more than top-level policewomen. Also mentoring is top down where top-level women mentor the middle-level individuals; however, there is a gap where the middle-level policewomen prefer mentoring by male police officers. This can indicate that the middle-level policewomen lack confidence in the top-level policewomen having the ability to progress their careers. Unknowingly, the middle-level policewomen are perpetuating an inherently gendered leadership. They are accepting and developing the male traits of leadership during the mentoring process. From mentoring, the policewomen begin the networking and, once again, it is a male populated networking environment to which the policewomen gravitate.

4.5 Networking

Networking is the next step in career progression for policewomen within the organisation. Having taken the initial step of mentoring, pending its success or failure the individual may choose to expand their network base. Data analysis on networking is similar to mentoring where the respondents have both negative and positive perceptions. Again, the perceptions are different between the middle-level and top-level participants. Unlike mentoring where the communication between mentor and protégé is direct and focussed, on a one- to - one basis for the protégé's professional development, networking can involve a large group of individuals with similar interests. The results in the study (see Section 2.7.3) indicated that with all the respondents, similarities appeared career oriented rather than cultural; for example middle-level policewomen in the United States and Australia had similar views and biases towards networking.

4.5.1 Networking at Middle-level

Networking for middle-level respondents varies from that of top-level respondents. At the middle-level, participants perceived networking as a 'boys club'. A majority of the respondents shared the same perception with one respondent who stated:

MMSUS3: A lot of the mentoring stuff takes place on the golf course or at the bar or places ... think the men go to the meetings and drink beers and they do networking that way

Middle-level policewomen perceive that networking and mentoring are interlinked with social norms and gender characteristics and is exclusive for men; as one respondent summarised the perception of networking being linked to promotion,

MMSUS2: As I do see sports as a means for men to bond to help each other move up.

Another respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *I am not a pub type of person ... if I did not attend a certain event or had a gathering at a bowling centre or bar and I did not go, I do not think that would stop me from progressing.*

Another respondent stated:

MMFUS1: *Where I am able to connect with people less about the golfing.*

Several themes interconnect where women have linked gender traits with promotion. There is evidence that, although the women are aware of the situation, some are prepared to distance themselves to break through the network. As one respondent stated:

TMFUS3: *I know that there is one Commander who plays golf with a lot of big wigs and she moved up a lot quicker than me.*

The women struggle with other responsibilities and networking but are aware that networking provides the basis for career progression. Promotion has become dependent on networking (Williams et al., 2012). One respondent stated:

MMSAU2: *Those that really want to aspire to the top need to do a lot of networking, a number of opportunities out of hours which is a challenge in itself and an important part in our promotions ... it comes back to arbitrary decision you could network, I could network, if there is promotion opportunity it is up to those people.*

Another respondent stated:

MMFAU3: *You want to move where you want to go that is where networking comes in.*

4.5.2 Networking at Top-Level

Top-level respondents understood the importance of networking, how it progresses careers, and continues to assist in the individual's current position. These women use networking as a strategy to maintain a position. A respondent articulated:

TMSUS3: *Once you are at a level, networking is massive ... it is networking that is going to get you to the position you want to be ... the Chief will have to demonstrate to others this is what I have done.*

Another respondent concurred,

TMSAU3: *Because of networking it is easier to move to that next level.*

Another respondent claimed that networking assisted her in career progression:

TMSAU2: *They did work for me, as I say I am higher up than I thought; I would never ever be or even thought of being a Commander but networking, mentoring and education got me there.*

Top-level policewomen use several strategies for career progression, including higher education.

4.5.3 Summative View of Networking

All the respondents had clear views on networking. As with mentoring the negative comments made about networking referred to the individual's perception that it was a 'boys club' and they had other responsibilities outside work. The views on networking mirrored that of mentoring even though networking was on a broader scale and did not include developing skills for the individual. Those participants who had mentors held positive views on networking. The consensus was that mentoring and networking worked in tandem.

Some middle-level policewomen struggled with the concept of networking whereas top-level policewomen were aware that networking was a key step toward further career progression. Moreover, the individual can extend the networking base beyond that of law enforcement organisations to include other professional groups. It was noted that those individuals who networked with political groups were looking for a sponsor or a political position. This was a similar pattern with the top-level women in both countries.

4.6 Sponsorship

Sponsorship is the next step after networking where an individual who is influential within or external to the organisation decides to take on a sponsee to promulgate that person's career (see 2.8.2 Sponsorship). The processes of mentoring, networking and sponsorship have a funnel effect when an individual gets through to the final stage of having a sponsor. There are only a select few who are taken on as sponsees, and the individual is exposed to networks which are political to some degree. Sponsees, in some ways are 'anointed' to take on a relatively highly exposed position in the future.

A respondent gave an interpretation:

MMFUS1: *The word sponsor is purely a term that people are using when they notice a particular officer may be moving through the ranks quickly.*

Another respondent's perception of sponsorship was:

MMSAU3: *You generally hear people say they have a sponsor, they are a senior officer, and they are looking out for them. They are being given opportunities so to me the word 'sponsor', I have not seen a sponsorship form you fill in. I have never been on a course that talks about how you will be sponsored. It is a term that people are using that is used cynically; you know to say Harry Smith gets on with Fred Brown you know Harry Smith gets picked up every time, he may be an idiot but because his face is known so then comes golden haired child. It is all under that umbrella then I get confused it cannot be our system is fair so we all throw our hats in the ring.*

Respondents perceived there is a difficulty in assessing a sponsor as another respondent stated:

MMFUS1: *I do think through the process of networking you get to know these people if you get to speak to them on the appropriate level to get the networking to happen. Sometimes the people in the commissioned officer rank are quite aloof to speak to; I do not believe it gets you the sponsor. It may get your name known and when you are doing something they may think, yeah I know that person is a good operator. I think it would get you a*

mentoring thing, getting to know people and bearing in mind a lot of these senior people are not on the front foot and saying you need to get a mentor, I see a lot on the horizon for you I have never had anyone say that to me.

Another participant echoed similar perception:

MMSAU4: *I have had higher levels speaking to me saying you are a great leader and good performer, and it has gone nowhere. I have said do you mind if we do some informal mentoring so they are not under pressure and they say sure, but it never turns into anything but I have never had anyone say they will sponsor me.*

Contrary to this perception was a top-level participant who stated:

TMFUS2: *For me to get to where I wanted to get I had the sponsorship.*

Another respondent concurred:

TMSAU1: *Sponsoring that person to get to a point where they are communicating and putting their name or face forward.*

Some middle-level participants expressed thoughts on the impact of sponsors, with one participant stating:

MMFUS2: *If you perform poorly in interview surely the golden haired child or the sponsored is not going to get through based on that I do not want to believe that is what the process is, unfair is, or am I really that naïve?*

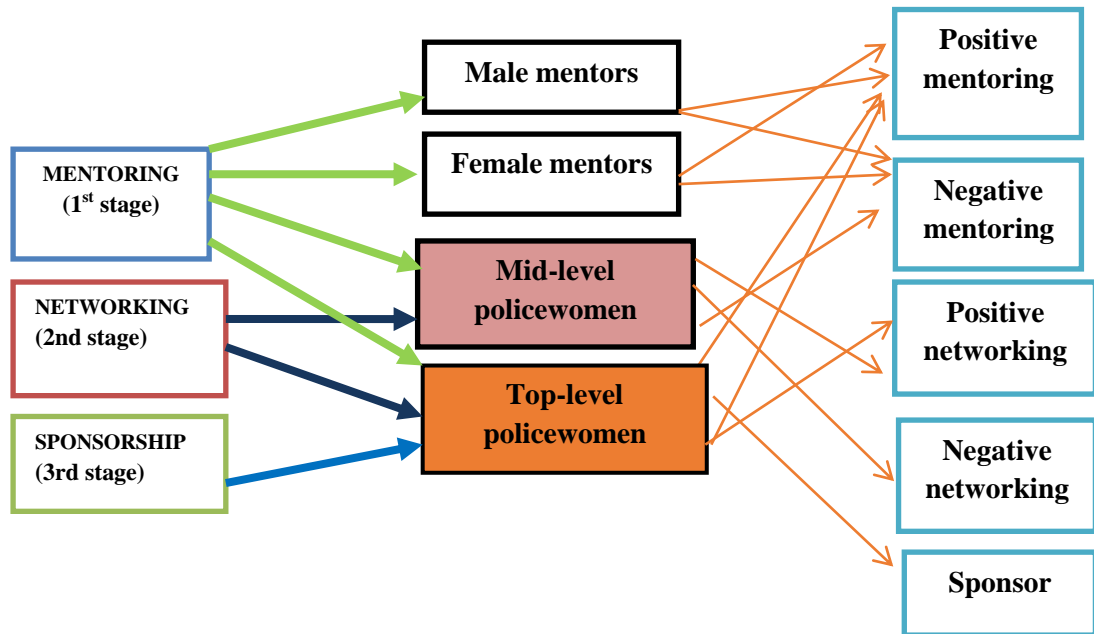
The positive perception of sponsorship remains with top-level respondents as the individuals have had experience of a sponsor aligned to career progression. Furthermore, middle-level participants interchange the words sponsor and mentor when referring to a sponsor; however top-level participants are clear on the difference between the two terms. A top-level participant stated,

TMFAU3: *Particularly, if you are not a loud person but a quiet achiever you fall off the radar, the sponsor who then helps them, mapping out a future.*

Figure 4.2 is conceptualised to show how policewomen strategically use mentoring, networking and sponsorship to plan and promote career progression. The diagram also highlights the perceptions [positive/negative] of the participants at each stage of the strategic move with mentoring being the first stage, followed by networking and, finally, by sponsorship. This study's findings dispels the notion that policewomen who previously were perceived as being unable to progress in their careers because of gendered leadership shows that the policewomen are able to methodically pursue their career progression through various strategies. Moreover the findings have moved to show that career progression is a personal choice where the individual begins to develop by using available strategies.

The figure also highlights the positive and negative perception that the middle-level and top-level policewomen have of mentoring, networking and sponsorship. The middle-level policewomen tend to perceive mentoring and networking as being negative for some of the respondents while the top-level policewomen view mentoring and networking more positively. Hence the different perception held by the participants tends to reflect in their career progression.

Figure 4.2 Career path strategies



4.7 Organisational Support

As discussed in Chapter 2, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) discuss institutional theory, how it influences gendered organisations and the expectations employees have of their organisation. In the current study it was evident that the policing organisation does not focus on gender to create additional support for women.

One respondent stated that there needs to be a support system for policewomen:

MMSAU2: At the very early stage you don't really know, but after a couple of years or 5 years to really to have a hold of the women and give them direction.

In viewing career prospects, respondents observed:

TMFUS1: Anecdotally, there does not appear to be any more women in management say in the last 10 or 20 years. It just seems to be fairly static.

However, there is an increase in women at middle-level. Another participant stated:

MMSFUS1: *The numbers have increased. I remember over the years when I was a Detective I was the only female for the south side.*

On the other hand, another stated:

TMFAU1: *I think we have seen a decline of women in active roles as Supervisors.*

Thus, it may be stated that the increase in the numbers of policewomen is at middle-level only and stagnated has not been changed. The respondents' perception that there should be a large increase in women at middle-level appears to be unrealistic.

4.7.1 Stigma and Gender

Stigma within a gendered organisation and its leadership group may be identified as gender bias (see Section 2.1.2). Stigma in an organisation is fluid and unstructured; however, it becomes a barrier for some participants in regards to their career progression, whereas others see it as an opportunity to optimise their position in the organisation, and incrementally progress their career. All the current participants articulated their perception of stigma and gender, as related to the positioning of the woman within a gendered organisation. Within those parameters, all participants voiced the opinion that stigma was a gender bias that occurred at some stage of each individual's career. For the middle-level respondents, perception of bias ranged from lack of promotion to limited acting positions and to marginalisation.

As one top-level respondent stated:

TMFUS1: *You always get stigma from male counterparts, that the man should be the dominant force, which leads to discrimination.*

Another respondent in linking gender bias to physical appearance, stated:

MMSUS4: *There is a part of me that I get that, if I am sitting here you do serve as an example to other women. I think even minorities to an extent really anyone who does not fit the 6ft 2, 240lbs, blonde hair, blue eyes, buff shoulders.*

A participant linked stigma and gender to societal values:

MMSUS1: *When we grew up, young boys went out shooting with their dads and girls stayed at home cooking cupcakes with their mothers, so by and large boys would have been exposed to this nature than women.*

Another respondent stated:

MMSUS2: *The one thing I have found out, females in this male dominated career tend to be harder on other females than the male counterparts.*

The research participants presented differing views of stigma; some experienced stigma by the women themselves, while others felt stigmatised by men. Thus, stigma can be indicative of male bias, but also of female bias against other female officers. In addition, some respondents viewed stigma and gender bias as a barrier for them while others perceived them as a challenge imposed by the organisation.

Some respondents reported having used gender bias as a strategy; as one respondent stated:

MMSUS4: *We kinda all know we are getting ourselves into a male dominated career and we know what our hardships were ... I have been one of the guys since college.*

The pattern that is emerging from the data analysis is that there are two sets of views held by middle-level and top-level policewomen. Both sets of women acknowledge that they are working in a male dominated organisation which is unique, and there is a certain level of acceptance of Scott's three pillars embedded within the organisation. However, one set of views held by the women is that the male traits are to be accepted while the other set tends to resist the inherently gendered traits of the organisation.

Nevertheless, some policewomen have used the stigma issue to strategize career progression. One respondent stated:

MMSAU3: *If you focus about people discriminating against you will get lost ... I tend not to focus on discrimination or something that will hold me back then ... men would open more doors.*

Both groups of American and Australian policewomen had similar views on the concept and experience of stigma; contextually, there was very little difference. This can be attributed to the similar socio-economic context of the two countries.

On the topic of gender bias, one participant stated:

MMFUS2: *You know what, there is not in my mind a glass ceiling I could not break.*

Another participant stated that, in regard to gender bias:

MMSAU3: *Focus for women seems to have dropped away.*

Hence, gender bias may be seen as fluid rather than structural in the gendered organisation; as a respondent observed:

MMSAU1: *I think women say that is because they do not complain they do the best job they can do.*

All respondents viewed stigma in a similar pattern. The middle-level participants' perception of stigma was similar for counterparts in both countries, while top-level participants from both countries shared similar views. The negative and positive views are attributed to the socio-economic factors that both countries share. The inherently gendered organisational structure is shared by all participants with limited influence from socio-economic factors. However, the challenges in the form of stigma do continue to exist.

4.8 Aspiration (Promotion)

Aspiration was one of the key topics that most respondents were keen to discuss. Respondents felt they were in positions that carried a degree of uncertainty. One person reported:

MMFUS3: *I was happy to be a Special Agent with no aspiration to move up.*

Another respondent stated:

MMSUS4: *I want to progress and be driven and be motivated.*

To support further the aspirational drive, a respondent stated:

MMSAU3: *We have to be pro-active in taking that path.*

Another respondent stated:

MMSAU2: *We need to be mature enough to look at our own career path.*

The majority of respondents had a clear direction on career progression; at least as to whether the individual was keen to progress their career development, or remain in their current position. One respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *What I have found is, it is about the individual making it happen.*

This was supported by another respondent:

MMSUS2: *If you are not aspiring to the next level there is nothing wrong and I think that is something that women are learning.*

Another stated:

MMFUS3: *I think for a long time we were not aspiring to be something advanced.*

Other respondents shared the consensus views. All participants had similar patterns in their perception of aspiration. An observation that career progress is not necessarily a goal for some of the women was made by one respondent stated:

MMFAU1: *Even up to eight years in I had no career aspiration.*

However, her views changed after she had exposure to management tasks; viz.,

MMFAU1: *Then I started acting in higher duties and running teams and I decided I liked leadership.*

Another viewpoint was that:

MMFAU2: *If you do not really like change there is less and less opportunity to get skills and promoted.*

Aspiration regarding career progression is linked to financial benefits and this is a common denominator for the policewomen. One respondent stated:

TMFUS1: *To continually hear that you have to have your motivation comes from obviously from within as there are not a lot of financial rewards.*

Another respondent stated:

MMFUS2: *In the Government in the US there is a cap and you cannot make any more money and for a long time I have made the cap.*

Another respondent shares the same views on monetary benefits linked to career progression:

TMFUS2: *I have topped out as far as the money goes there is no monetary incentive to go far as promotion goes.*

MMFUS3: *I have been capped out for so many years I do not want that responsibility. It does not make it more enticing you really have to weigh if you want the extra burden for no reward.*

Lack of monetary incentives appears to be a factor in the aspirational drive for the American policewomen, while the Australian policewomen did not link aspiration to financial benefits. Australian policewomen are geared towards status benefits; e.g., one respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *I suppose what drives me is a focus on what I wanted to do, at the time there was no other female Officer In Charge in a region so I was the first female OIC.*

Another respondent stated similar views,

MMFAU1: *But it was just something that I wanted to have passion about.*

For other respondents an element of risk averseness is an issue, as one respondent stated:

MMFUS4: *I think motivation can only last so long. You can only fall off the chair so many times and you become demotivated.*

Another respondent voiced a similar perception,

MMFUS3: *I am not going to apply for jobs just to get the title.*

On the other hand, another respondent stated:

MMFAU2: *Commendations going to many women, I feel they are doing it progressing and promoting them.*

The recurring theme in aspirations of policewomen is that of self-determination; i.e. when the individual takes responsibility for their own career progress. However, some respondents have an expectation that the organisation is responsible for the individual's career development. A participant articulated the sense of self-determination,

MMSUS1: *I loved being a Detective but I made that choice about Monday to Friday 8 to 4. A low profile job a job where I would not get noticed.*

An observation of the researcher was that the American respondents link financial gains to promotion while the Australian counterparts link status to promotion.

4.9 Family Responsibilities

Another major emerging theme from the data analysis was family responsibilities that the respondents categorised as barriers to career progression. More than 80% of respondents have had experience with family responsibilities (see discussions by Willets-Bloom & Nock, 1994; Marks & MacDermid, 1996 under 2.5.1 Gender imbalance in workplace engagement). Middle-level participants found that family responsibilities were a barrier to career progression; most participants had at some stage in their career, compromised career aspirations for raising a young family. This is due largely to the middle-level participants being at the age group for raising young families. One participant stated:

MMFUS1: *They will not move your family for 18 months.*

This is in reference to individuals moving to headquarters for leadership training or for experience in another field. Other participants shared the perception as well,

MMFUS3: *They will offer some compensation to come back and visit your family or do things in the household here.*

The common view shared by participants is that the opportunity provided by the organisation was limited and did not meet the individual's needs, particularly when they were primary carers.

Other respondents believed that there was support from the organisation, as one respondent stated:

MMFAU1: *If you are married to a significant other they will find your partner a position whether it is in (sic) a near the Washington field office.*

Another stated:

MMFUS4: *If you decide to take a permanent transfer, they will move your spouse.*

This situation however is only relevant when both partners work for the same organisation. Respondents even so find it challenging to move when they have dependants, with one respondent stating:

MMFUS2: *I have moved so many times to help me advance but because if I did not have my daughter ... I think that the biggest barrier ... please understand I do not look at it – I chose to have my daughter. I am choosing my path I am going, if I were speaking to someone who is coming on that without help it is almost impossible to do this job as a parent and do this job as effectively as I feel it needs to be done. That is my barrier I did not go further up the ladder.*

This respondent, like many other respondents, perceives barriers between career and family responsibilities. A top-level policewoman gave an insight into other issues of being the primary carer; issues that are gender related:

TMFAU1: *If you are asking me to expand on that career wise, it is fine. It is just as good for men and women. But for women typically, women have*

more expectations at home ... I talk to a male counterpart that has moved. They have got someone at home getting the house unpacked, the kids taken care of, they are off and running. I have spoken to women and for a woman it is impossible as they have too much responsibility. No matter how much you love the job and what you are doing, the cold hard facts when you are looking after the family, you may have the bigger money but it will be tough. I was in that position with my ex-husband I made the more money. It was a strain on the marriage. It is quite different I have seen it both on others and myself.

The explanation given by this respondent denotes underlying issues that the policewomen face; many making decisions on career progression based on family commitments. Top-level respondents' perceptions of family tensions and challenges were similar as the individuals have experienced those issues or decided to forego family responsibilities for career progression. One top-level respondent stated:

TMSAU1: *There are a lot of us at this point in our career who have kids at home. I am not going to put my children in a place they do not want to be, where I keep moving around the country so I can move up. It is more important for me for it to happen organically. That is for me, I cannot speak for anyone else, there have been opportunities out there I just have not jumped at all of them because it is not something I want to put my family.*

All respondents have experienced, or have known peers who have experienced, challenges with careers due to family responsibilities. Both top and middle-level respondents had similarities in socio-economic spheres, where the culture is patriarchal and western democratic. The differences and similarities for the participants of the United States of America and Australia have little to contrast being based on similar belief-systems.

4.10 Mobility

The majority of respondents perceived that it is conducive for male police officers to move for career progression. One respondent stated:

MMSAU4: *I think that men are a lot more willing to go up.*

Another participant stated this to be the case even though:

MMSUS3: *That would mean putting the family out.*

Thus, women are aware that mobility equates to career progression. As one respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *It is definitely men getting the promotions ... I do not think there is anything for women.*

The theme running through the statements by the different respondents is that family is a priority and mobility appears to be a barrier and a challenge for policewomen to sacrifice responsibilities. Several respondents on the issue of mobility stated:

MMSUS2: *I do not want to yank my kids round the country.*

MMFUS2: *If you are willing to move and I do not know of many women I can only count one that has done a lot of moving.*

MMFUS5: *As it would require me to move again, I have had seven or eight moves and I would have to be gone at night.*

Participants see mobility as both a barrier and a challenge though several participants have taken the opportunity to move for career progression,

MMSAU2: *I do feel there is opportunity to go up in the organisation if you want.*

Analysis of the research the data has identified that the key reason the women do not take up mobility for career progression is embedded in their family responsibilities. Juxtaposed to this perception are views on mobility. Through data analysis it is apparent that both male and female individuals face challenges and barriers to their career path.

MMFUS1: *No he would not put in for anything without discussing with me first just as I would him.*

MMFAU2: *I do not know if it is as important to him but he would never put in for.*

Women are also aware that without transfer to other work areas in order to develop and extend skills would be limiting their future career progression. As a participant acknowledged:

TMFAU2: *When you get into that level of management they get moved a lot more and I think men would move more than women would.*

Like all police officers, the respondents signed a contract that they would have a few years' tenure and then transfer to other areas. This organisational practice is relatively uniform across international law enforcement. Even though policewomen accept the practice, they are not keen to transfer for career progression into leadership development. There are several reasons why they hesitate to move. Firstly, moving to headquarters for leadership roles appears to be an aspirational or motivational driver. Secondly, some women do move when it is contractually required; hence, the women decide for themselves that they would rather move for work purposes but not for career progression. An internal conflict exists for the respondents when making personal choices for themselves. Consequently, a challenge turns into a barrier when there is a lack of a personal interpretation and/or choice.

All respondents perceived mobility as a barrier and a challenge to career progression. There was little contrast with the individual's views which illustrates the similarity in value systems of the two countries.

4.11 Policewoman (Self -Identity)

The respondents viewed themselves as policewomen and expressed views on how they are positioned in the organisation. There is a level of acceptance of them being in a gendered organisation with inherently gendered roles and identities. The identity of 'self' in a gendered organisation is articulated clearly as most of the respondents agree,

MMSUS1: *My former patrol partner saw she had to be like one of the boys.*

Another stated:

MMSUS1: *A big bravado she did not want to have anything to do with the Women's Police organisation in the state because it was taboo she wanted to do it alone.*

Women feel empowered in the policing vocation,

MMSAU5: *It is more empowering to know that women wanted to come into the job.*

One participant stated:

MMSUS2: *I do not know, I hope that I present to others regardless of my gender a good example and the type of cop someone would want to be like.*

This statement aligns directly to professional identity and only indirectly to gender. Another participant stated:

MMSAU2: *I hate to categorise men or women into groups.*

Thus, it is clear that the women in policing do not want to be categorised primarily by gender, but by their individual professional identity.

4.11.1 Professional Identity

Respondents in the study identify themselves as ‘policewomen’ and not as ‘women police’. Characteristically, by placing the professional identity before gender they are providing an indication as to their self-identity. One participant stated:

MMSUS1: *In the US when women pair with men in a police car, wearing the same uniforms and working the streets so I started looking as a policewoman, as they earned twice as much money.*

Another respondent stated,

MMSUS3: *I just wanted to be a police officer; I did not have a strategy for probably the first 15 years of my career probably longer.*

Another perception of policewomen strongly wanting to maintain their professional identity is that:

MMSUS1: *A lot of times too there are a lot of women who do not want to promote because they love their job.*

While another participant stated:

MMSAU3: *I loved being a Detective.*

A theme that is emerging contextually is Scott's three pillars where identity melds with the profession through institutionalisation. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Another theme relates to professional identity links to monetary gains. As one respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *You should do this job cause you want to not because of the money.*

Another respondent stated:

MMSUS3: *A lot of people move on for financial reasons.*

Another respondent stated an interest in promotion:

MMSUS4: *Not necessarily the position of a manager, but financial gain.*

In addition, respondents were aware that monetary gain does not equate to being successful or effective in their professional identity, e.g. a respondent stated:

MMFUS1: *But they are not going to be a good leader or help the agency.*

Several themes that recur in the professional reflection of a policewoman are that they are aware of the individual identity, known as 'police' collectively and that ranks do not distinguish gender. As one respondent stated:

MMFUS1: *Right now I am an agent and a co-ordinator of a large taskforce where I have 20 officers assigned to me and I like that.*

Another respondent commented that some policewomen did not wish to progress to leadership roles. The individuals do not wish to lose professional identity as a policewoman,

MMFUS2: *I think you are losing. Why would you want to get to management?*

This view is supported by another respondent:

MMFUS3: *A lot of times too there are a lot of women who do not want to promote because they love their job. Most female agents are ok with one or two steps up the ladder but most do not want to lose their identity ... we love what we do now.*

Thus, professional identity appears to be an important identity over leader identity as the respondents believe the individual has already accomplished being a leader when they manage teams.

4.11.2 Leader Identity

The meaning of leader varied between middle and top-level participants. Middle-level participants in both countries believed they were leaders in their own right; one respondent stated:

MMSUS1: *I am a leader in my own right ... I consider myself a Sergeant but it is a leadership position.*

Another respondent stated:

MMSAU1: *Actually you can be in a leadership role at any rank.*

This perception is attributed to the organisational environment of command and control. The individual becomes the 'leader' of the shift where less ranking officers take orders from the Sergeant who technically is a middle-level police officer. For other respondents the definition of leader is more philosophical, as one respondent stated:

MMSUS1: *I feel in some ways we got away from being true leaders ... you have to have the leadership. There appears to be a sense of cynicism in the definition of leader. It is definitely men getting the promotions. It could be that there are a lot more male agents by sheer numbers ... that is going to go for leadership.*

One top-level respondent said it was a metamorphosis into a leadership role. She described her career trajectory:

TMSUS1: *In my first few years, I did not think about becoming a Chief ... but more about that I liked, being good at what I did ... but I wanted to make*

sure I was ready for the next step ... I have always enjoyed change ... I have had a broad spectrum in my back ground.

The majority of middle-level participants prefer to take career progression incrementally with a gradual and conscious attitude towards challenges similar to respondent quoted above. Another analysis of leader identity as articulated by the participants is that individuals prefer to consider and decide for themselves whether or not to develop their professional identity to that of leader identity. The respondents perceive the professional identity to be somewhat similar to that of leader identity. Contextually, being in a command and control environment especially at a middle-level rank, the individual portrays leadership qualities when running a frontline shift. Hence, there is little motivation for the respondents to plan career progression towards leadership roles.

Other respondents are concerned with having to compromise private versus public life. As one respondent stated:

TMSAU1: *You do give your life away and I do value my privacy.*

The respondent perceives that sacrifice whether considered as a challenge or barrier is an expectation of a leadership role.

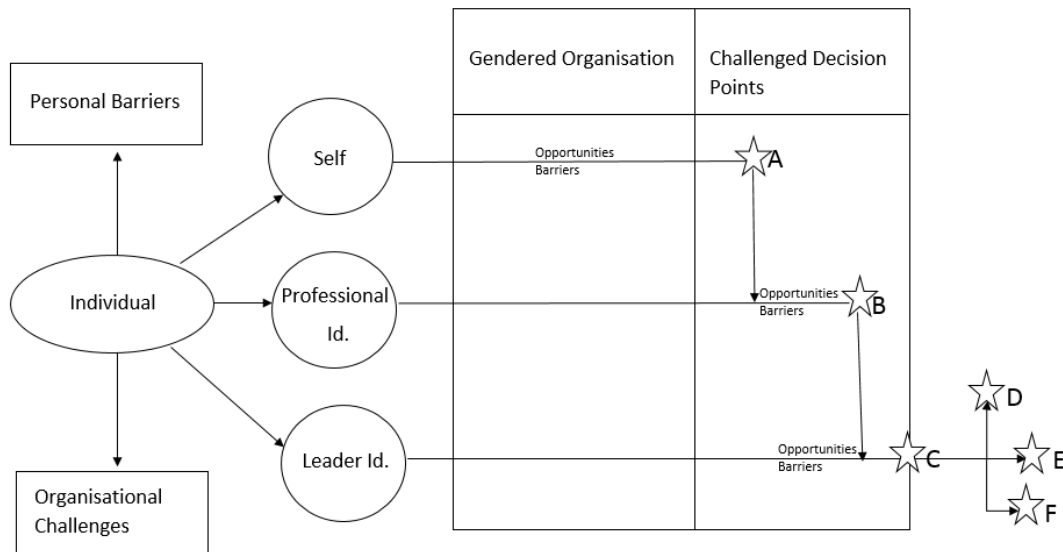
4.11.3 Summative of Identity (Professional, Self and Leader)

All respondents had similar views on what constitutes leader, professional and self-identity (see Section 2.6.1). In particular, focus was on leader identity, where the middle-level participants are potential leaders. There was a clear delineation in the interpretation of leader identity between middle and top-level policewomen from both countries. Middle-level policewomen view their leadership role as transactional, while top-level policewomen view their leadership role as strategic and transformational. Top-level respondents perceive their position as being influential in the sense of being able to make organisational changes, while middle-level respondents view leadership as the ability to lead a small, operational team. Even though middle-level participants have experience of managing and leading, they do not feel the impetus to undertake the process either of these career development into leadership roles.

Figure 4.3 shows a data driven analysis on how the policewoman is managing two fold in the organisation, the woman deals with the perception of self and through the barriers and

opportunities form her identity in the organisation, either as a professional (mid-level) or seek career progression to leadership roles. The opportunities strengthen the 'self' push forward for career progression while the barriers undermine the ability and capacity of the 'self' in not seeking career progression. Figure 4.3 shows how the 'self' is being positioned with evolving identities and the opportunities that the individual embraces which leads to career progression or the barriers that stagnates the identity from 'self' to moving upward.

Figure 4.3 Perception of self and evolving identities



Notes:

A: Accept position in organisation (Leave)

B: Accept Professional Identity (Leave)

C: Accept Leader Identity

D: At Professional Identity level

E: At middle-level management

F: At top-level management

4.12 Retirement

There was only one respondent who remained past retirement age because the individual is the United States of America's President Appointee and remains in the position for the duration of the government. In relation to retiring age, the respondents have on average approximately 15 years of service in law enforcement.

The point of retirement is not optional for police as both American and Australian governments have a stipulated age when the individual must retire; a practice applicable in most para-military organisations globally. Retirement has a larger impact on the American policewomen than their Australian counterparts; because of the United States of America government policies and legislation which are difficult for negotiation at an organisational

level. Hence a number of policewomen strategize for a second career. One respondent explained the retirement policy in the United States:

TMFUS1: *The Federal Law Enforcement does; you have to go at 57 or you can get a waiver. In fact, in my previous job, I did waivers; you can get a waiver for 60. That is granted by the President, but in other law enforcement you can work until you want to ... the Federal Government is the only mandatory retiring age as they think law enforcement is a young and vigour profession that is why they force them out at 57.*

However, in regard to State law enforcement, a top-level respondent stated:

TMFUS1: *My job at the XXX - I had a gentleman working for me and he was 72 years old. Therefore, in some urban and state law enforcement, you may have people there who are 60 years old, they could have 40 years' service, and that is not uncommon depending on the retirement.*

The compulsory retirement age is dependent on different laws in different countries, even though these are along similar job parameters globally. There is limited research in the United States on policy differences between federal and state local law enforcement rules on retirement age. With people living longer, it can be ascertained that retirement age be extended or negotiated beyond the current policy.

Some respondents see retirement policy as a window of opportunity to develop another career: similarly, the individual may see it as a sense of liberation to pursue other interests. Although some respondents welcome the retirement age when they have to retire, most participants are concerned about their financial status, which increases anxiety, as the individual has to begin planning for the future while still being in the organisation. One respondent stated:

MMFUS1: *Men will stay till they are 57; more women will leave before that.*

Another participant observed:

MMFUS3: *I think generally that people want to do some more work.*

An alternative viewpoint was that,

MMSUS1: *Most do not wait for 57.*

The majority of the American respondents admitted they were stressing about having to develop additional skills that would be needed post retirement. This was applicable more so to American federal law enforcement than to state policing. The respondents perceived the economic situation as being the key issue why policewomen cannot retire,

MMSUS1: *Except in this economy, that is why a lot of us are hanging on.
We can retire, but cannot retire.*

The economic reasoning is opposite to the Australian respondents, who prefer to retire because:

MMSAU4: *Women have more interests and know that this job is not their life.*

Another Australian respondent stated:

TMSAU2: *There are other things women want to explore.*

Although Australian law enforcement has encouraged a particular retirement age, Australian respondents are able to work longer and the government encourages later retirement due to the national economic climate. Moreover, the Australian respondents do not experience the demand to develop new skills to seek another career after retirement.

4.12.1 Conceptual models and frameworks

The basic issue derived from the data is the lived experience of the policewomen. Results describe the dimensions of the stagnation of the middle-level policewomen and the paucity of policewomen in senior positions. This lived experience is the phenomenon that is the subject in this research. Through the data analysis, the researcher has drawn a diagram (Figure 4.3) to highlight issues of the research. The policewoman is positioned in law enforcement where she sits between personal barriers and organisational challenges. Early in this chapter definitions were provided to differentiate between ‘challenges’ and ‘barriers’. The definitions allowed for the data analysis to label collectively the challenges and barriers that the policewomen undergo within a policing context. Figure 4.3 show that policewomen face some challenges as opportunities that enable them to strategize their career progression. The lived experience separates the personal barriers and organisational challenges of the individual. The individual as ‘self’ can accept a personal interpretation of ‘success’, aligned

with the position in which the individual chooses to be placed in the organisation. Figure 4.3 also suggests how the organisation has established congruence between the normative, socio-cognitive and regulatory procedures as acceptable organisational behaviour of its activities which, in this instance, is the gendered leadership. Consequently, the roles of policewoman are engulfed within such an environment of the gendered organisation.

In Figure 4.4, it can be seen that through an organisational lens, the barriers on policewomen are self-imposed. The bar across represents the barrier that policewomen experience. The women may employ mentoring and networking to progress their careers. For women who prefer to concentrate on families, their mobility may remain stagnant at decision point B (Figure 4.3). However, those who aspire for career progression may employ mentoring and networking tools in strategizing the career development, make an informed decision and move upward to points C, D, E or F of their organisation (Figure 4.3).

4.13 Conclusion

The purpose in this chapter was to analyse the data, as a response to the research questions. The analysis provides an insight into the lived experience of the policewomen who face the challenges and the barriers to career progression. In response to the paucity of women in senior leadership, the theoretical framework of legitimacy and institutionalisation of gendered organisations gave an insight into the reasons why women tended to stagnate at middle-level positions. Although the focus in this research was the paucity of women in senior leadership, the policewomen themselves revealed new insights to the topic. The participants' views on self, professional and leader identity did not rely on the common myth of gender bias and marginalisation of women in a gendered organisation.

The challenges for policewomen were considered through an organisational lens that is genderless. The approach that the gendered organisation has taken is one that is institutionalised and legitimised. Within such an environment, there is an inconclusive result as to whether police officers view the organisational challenges as barriers. Within this study, the data analysis shows that there are participants who view the challenges as opportunities. The analysis provides another sphere for consideration; that is, in determining where the individual decides to limit their career progression.

Parts of the theoretical framework of legitimacy and institutionalisation of gendered organisations reveal how women are prepared within those parameters. The frameworks explained how individuals accept the norms of the organisation. Those who reject the value systems within the gendered organisation opt for other career paths; namely, developing a protean career outside law enforcement. Those who stagnate at middle-level positions create a gap between themselves and top-level positions. The concept model Figure 4.3 suggests how the position of the policewoman evolves within the organisation through various levels to align itself to the identity choices of the policewoman. Several stages A, B, C, D, and E can be undertaken to enable the individual to reach the desired career point. This conceptual framework elicits discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is focussed on the results of the data analysis (Chapter 4); a discussion is provided regarding the results in conjunction with the literature review (Chapter 2) and methodology (Chapter 3). The limitations of the study are addressed where the researcher found key limitations that can be addressed in future studies. In this study, the researcher explored, by means of a qualitative study, the paucity of policewomen in senior positions. Forty policewomen from two countries, from middle-level management to top-level management volunteered to participate in the research. The use of primary and unstructured data gives qualitative research a descriptive capability. The ability of qualitative data to more fully describe a phenomenon is an important consideration not only from the researcher's perspective, but from the reader's perspective as well (Hoepfl, 1997).

In order to facilitate a comparative study, the focus was on women in American and Australian law enforcement agencies. For rigour and validity, the researcher compared the 'lived experiences' of policewomen in state and federal law enforcement of both countries. The experiences and challenges identified in the research are similar in that they relate to a gendered organisation (policing) that, additionally, has a para-military context. By using a qualitative approach the methodology provided ways to develop deep insight into the lived experiences of the policewomen. The theoretical frameworks that were discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2) and the data from respondents (Chapter 4) melded together into an interpretation to give new meaning to the research questions in this study. Hence, there is additional clarity in the makeup of gendered organisations and the positioning of women within those parameters.

Data on the demographics of female police officers in senior positions in Australia and the United States is limited. Some research surveys have been conducted in jurisdictions where policewomen are part of a larger study, but in others no surveys have been undertaken that specifically identify policewomen; largely, this is due to the small number of female police

officers in senior positions. Research tends to focus on police as a whole and tends not to focus on policewomen. Much of the literature that focusses on women in gendered organisations is largely influenced by feminist theories. There is also a paucity of literature reporting research into ways in which the barriers have shifted for women in gendered organisations in the twenty-first century.

Comparing the findings in this study with those of the literature review represents a fresh view of how policewomen are represented in law enforcement. More often the extant literature points either to a quantitative study based on past data on several law enforcement agencies in the United States or to pockets of general policing where women are disadvantaged because of inherently gendered leadership and organisation. Published data on police organisations does not cover education, family responsibilities, mobility and/or retirement. The current study has covered these aspects of policing, enabling a perspective that encapsulates the whole career of a policewoman in a qualitative study within a phenomenological paradigm.

However, the findings from this study point to a new paradigm where the policewoman that is placed in a gendered organisation makes a shift in her career decision to either remain or move her career forward through upward mobility. In this Chapter, the relevance of the findings is discussed, and the shift from the current literature to add to the body of knowledge is identified.

The lived experience of the participants in a gendered organisation was the topic researched. To make sense of the lived experience of the policewomen, several theoretical frameworks were drawn and applied.

5.1 Research questions

The key aim in this thesis is to explore the paucity of policewomen in senior positions (see Section 1.1). The central question asked in the study relates to understanding the reasons why women are continuously under-represented in senior positions in the police force. Questions are raised as to how, if at all, these women strategize their career path; what challenges and barriers these women face and how they achieve career progression. In order to understand the anomaly of female police officers gaining promotion in a strictly gendered organisation, important questions are raised and asked as to the lived experiences of the respondents. The second aim (see Section 1.1) is to understand the policewomen's perception of leader identity. As an individual [woman] is placed in a gendered organisation, viz., police force, the 'self' takes on another identity. Precise questions were targeted at the respondents

to seek answers to the research aims: These included (see Section 2.8) key questions on how the policewomen seek senior positions and maintain their status; how they identify their roles [professional and leader identity] and the challenges and barriers that they face in progression of their career in law enforcement.

Findings from this study answer the research questions, where both positive and negative perceptions emerged as part of each research question. While the participants' lived experiences had commonalities and contrasts, all participants agreed that policing was a unique vocation. Analysis from the data uncovered the emergence of several key recurring themes. The themes shape the discussion and the research was concluded with new findings that contribute to theory and management policies.

5.1.1 Discussion on 'what are the key requirements that policewomen need in order to apply for senior leadership positions'?

Today, women are using various strategies such as mentoring, higher education, networking and even delaying raising a family, to establish their career trajectories (see Section 2.6), yet they are still hampered in their efforts to attain senior positions. In the situation studied here, men traditionally have held the dominant and senior positions and mostly have seen progression through the ranks as a normal expectation. Although it is clear that the circumstances for women in many workplaces have changed in regard to recognition and promotion, there still appears to be a gap between progression opportunities for men and women in the police force.

Despite arguments that such gender gaps do not exist, there is little evidence in the real world to attest to a collegial approach within the police force. Earlier research into policing and gender imbalance exposed this bias, but did not adequately address the changes that are necessary to make a real impact on organisations (Natarajan, 2009), and there is a greater propensity to maintain the status quo to ensure that policing remains male-centric. Although barriers exist covertly (see Section 2.5.1), the decision to seek higher positions in policing remains a personal decision. It appears that women who have embarked on a career trajectory have a similar demographic profile (viz., education, age, and length of service) and career progress is reliant on a combination of several factors including internal and external influences and the makeup of the individual expressed in an alpha/beta pattern (see Section 2.7.1). The alpha/beta pattern is discussed by Sullivan and Mainiero (2007) who link career patterns to the innate ability of the individual; hence, the decision-making process on embracing the requirements to career progression is a personal decision of the individual.

This became evident where middle-level policewomen, even after a decade of being a police officer, were not convinced that they wanted to move up the career ladder.

5.1.1.1 Tertiary Education

It is a double bind for American policewomen who have tertiary qualifications with an academic stream outside law enforcement; this is reflected in the organisation not being bound to invest in the individual. Logically, it is evident that the organisation is able to procure sundry talents elsewhere, so policewomen are not recognised for having talents or qualifications outside of policing. However, American respondents actively seek to complete tertiary qualifications in a broad range of fields because they require additional skills for a protean career once they retire from law enforcement. There appears to be a gap between the organisational need and the individual's needs where the incompatibility in the skills shortage is apparent when the individual is clearly developing skills for a career outside law enforcement. Once again the onus is on the individual to decide the career path during and after retirement from law enforcement.

Australian respondents, however, do not place the same level of emphasis on education as there is no compulsion to retire and seek alternative employment. Hence, American respondents are relatively more competitive than the Australian respondents in seeking career development. Furthermore, derived from the research data, it is apparent that the Australian respondents view retirement as a leisure time whereby they have the ability to undertake altruistic activities.

Most often, American policewomen start their preparation for a second career at middle management level, where their focus is at that level and the subsequent decision is not to progress, career wise, within policing. Consequently the organisation limits its development of policewomen who are preparing for post career qualifications. Moreover, their career progression is not organic, unlike the case for American policemen who mostly remain until retirement age, and develop or stagnate within law enforcement.

5.1.1.2 Leadership development

A criterion for federal sworn police officers seeking senior leadership development is to attend training at Headquarters (Federal Bureau of Investigations, 2013; Australian Federal Police, 2014); a practice often replicated across other global law enforcement agencies as well. Leadership programs are for a select group of individuals who have proven that they have the ability to be future leaders and, in whom, the organisation is willing to invest.

Rindicte (2008) and Barrett et al. (2014) discuss the investment that the organisation makes toward the individual in developing leadership qualities.

Through a selection process, the applicant is expected to be based at Headquarters for an extended period of time. Upon return to the home base after completing the training, the incumbent faces the challenge that they must reapply for their original position. Furthermore, there is no guarantee a senior position would be available after successfully completing the course. Although the training and exposure to networking at Headquarters has its merits, coupled with challenges of work-family balance, it represents an added barrier for police women in respect of their interest and/or ability to move their families to a different location solely for the potential advancement of their career.

The dichotomy of whether a situation or circumstance constitutes a barrier or challenge to career progression is centred on the individual, as it applies both to male and female police officers. Hence, barriers become self-imposed by some individuals whereas others perceive the challenges as an opportunity, as evidenced by top-level participants in this study who have all been exposed to training for leadership development at Headquarters.

This is critical for the organisation to invest in the band of middle management policewomen which has not been previously invested through professional development. The organisation invests in the new recruits that have graduated from the Academy. New skills sets are developed for the individual at the entry level and this appears to fall off once the individual moves to the middle management level. The gap remains when the next professional development is applied only to the senior management level. It is at this point of career path when the individual decides on a new course of study that is not law enforcement.

5.1.1.3 Mentoring

Mentoring is available for individuals who seek to use it as a strategy for various reasons within the organisation. Mentoring is largely used for career progression and exposure while some individuals tend to use mentoring to meander within the organisation.

5.1.1.3.1 Critical nature

With accessibility to wider mentoring and networking opportunities at Headquarters, the individual is able to create on-going relationships. More than 80% of the respondents acknowledged that mentoring is important for career progression. Mentoring is a critical aspect of developing skills; it assists in the meandering of women through the gendered

organisation. By and large, mentoring provides the platform for the protégé to be able to maximise all available opportunities. Thus, research participants emphasised that the choice of mentors was very important, a factor raised and discussed by Hagberg and Leider (1998) when identifying types of mentoring.

5.1.1.3.2 Mentoring - Gender

Pampell and Shoemaker (2008) posit that women prefer to have male mentors; largely, this is due to the perception the protégé holds being that male mentors are in a better position to catapult the individual's career. The choice of gender in mentoring is a highlight of Barrett's (2014) study that showed women in policing who mirror the male mentor's worldview tend to be in a better position for career progression, a finding that is supported by other researchers (see Section 2.7.1.3). Furthermore, there are more male mentors than female mentors in the policing organisation and men appeared to be more interested in mentoring protégés than are women. Participants who indicated that they had chosen to have female mentors were seeking a 'like-to-like' analogy as they considered they had more in common with a female mentor; viz., family responsibilities, career path, gender barriers and challenges. Ortiz-Walters et al.'s (2010) research is less definitive in that protégés were found to be satisfied with either gender in mentoring. When the participants choose a female mentor the interaction is skewed toward meandering within a gendered organisation, rather than aggressively seeking career progression. The gender-based career impact of mentoring further strengthens the view that policewomen validate the preferred masculine traits in the policing profession. At this stage of the mentoring process, a primary task for the individual is that of extending the network base.

5.1.1.4 Networking

Networking is another key requirement that the policewomen need to consider in relation to progressing into senior leadership positions. In addition to relevant qualifications and mentoring support it was evident from the data analysis that policewomen needed to have a network base of influential individuals within, or external to, the organisation to advocate the policewomen's skills and readiness for career progression (see Sections 2.7.3 & 4.5). Williams et al. (2012) posit that networking needs to be contemporary and is essential for promotion. However, as with mentoring, the participants in this study perceive networking as being a barrier/challenge due to activities outside of work. Natural expectations [social norms] that the participant would be accountable for family responsibilities can leave the police woman with limited time to build networks.

Participants who view networking as being important for their careers tend to widen the network base to include political and community influence, both of which assist in developing a career trajectory. The individual's prominence and the widening of the network base aid in the individual being profiled and striking for a sponsor to tutelage the individual. High profile policewomen have entered the political arena through the network base and, currently, are in very senior positions both in the United States and Australia. These individuals were assiduous in developing career-progression strategies, designed to enable them to use barriers as opportunities.

In summarising the research question, it is evident that the responding policewomen that strategically have used several overt and covert tools to apply for senior positions, by and large, have been successful. The overt parameters and approaches were higher education, mentoring and networking. However, through inter-textuality participants critically analysed it was the male traits that were more valuable and necessary for career progression and, often, achieved as a result of using male mentors.

In order to progress one's career, individual police women use their abilities to identify potential sponsors to help them effectively manipulate their way through the network of policing systems. As a consequence, the participants recognised that, to assist them in reaching a career in a senior position, policing agencies were expecting evidence of political as well as professional talent, and that creating a broad network was an essential task.

Thus, the individual consciously develops overt skills that are necessary to align with the politically-correct behaviours and, subsequently, community and political profiling through the sponsor propels the individual into an arena of influential individuals. The covert nuance is characterised by risks; if the sponsor falls out of influence then the protégé stands to lose. Hence it remains a high risk strategy for the individual to place their career progression in a single entity as sponsor. It is clear that, in utilising these strategic tools, the individual becomes more involved in a career progression process that may well limit other responsibilities, particularly those in the family. Therefore, seeking promotion becomes a highly personal decision that tends to have long-term effects on the work-life balance.

For some respondents, mentoring and networking appear to be negative influences; the group pressure of its self-serving nature was perceived as not acceptable among women in the peer group. Respondents were acutely aware that if they pursued mentoring and networking there was a risk that the individual could be shunned by others. Some indicated that they made a

conscious effort to be excluded from networking and only accepted mentoring when it was an allocation from the system rather than personal seeking of a mentor to aid in career progression. These cohorts of policewomen tended to remain within the individual's network of shared interests and support system and, predominantly, meandered across the lower or middle management levels rather than seek a senior management role.

5.1.2 Discussion on 'what are the challenges and opportunities that women face when seeking senior leadership positions in police?'

Policing is a high profile, essential service for any society. The organisation is developed to enforce safety for all citizens in the society; hence, it is designed to be a robust and rigid institution within which leadership is critical. Therefore, seeking leadership positions within the organisation is heavily scrutinised and is characterised by public support or distrust. Promoting individuals into key leadership roles is open to public opinion. When the policewomen use various strategies such as mentoring, networking and education to apply for senior positions, there are other underlying challenges and opportunities that the policewomen face. Seeking senior positions has its challenges and barriers for all police officers; however, the added challenge for policewomen relates to societal norms of the woman being the primary carer for the family and home, and the professional positioning of the woman in a gendered organisation.

One dilemma facing policewomen is the uprooting of their families and moving to a new environment (see Section 2.5.2 & 4.10). The lack of support of the workplace to family commitments seems to depend on the individual manager. In addition, with reduced opportunities for skills development and exposure it remains a challenge for the police women to be competitive in the leadership promotion process.

Mobility or relocation expectations for career development appear to be a serious issue for the participants, notwithstanding it being a well understood and contractual requirement for all police. Mobility as a criterion is also imposed within federal agencies when sworn officers are transferred interstate for a few years to gain experience in different areas of work.

Some women prefer to seek tertiary qualifications in a different field as they do not maintain synergy with policing; the result is reflected in the participants' qualifications being in different fields outside law enforcement. Also, there appears to be a gap in the way police agencies and policewomen perceive the level of support available for career development; in

the latter case, it is a lack of support that women report as being contributed through the organisational lens which is seen as marginalising police women rather than being gender neutral.

The policewomen research participants who were keen on career progression tended to perceive the challenges as opportunities; e.g., factors such as a smaller percentage of competition between the women and in some agencies where a gender-based quota worked in the policewomen's favour. There was a greater propensity to move and relocate because of their career and family decisions. There were participants who saw the opportunity to relocate to gain executive experience and build new networks that would assist them in being promoted.

In summarising this research question, it is evident that the policewomen face challenges in their career progression, largely related to their family responsibilities which include relocation to Headquarters for leadership development. Also, the data has demonstrated that the policewomen are prepared to forego their professional aspirations for family commitments. Participants in the middle management level, although strategizing their careers through mentoring and networking, do not go further into senior positions but develop their leader skills organically by remaining at a middle-level management.

5.1.3 Discussion on 'what are the current progression strategies for women to access and maintain higher level positions'?

Within the policing organisation environment, the network bases are different at each level; for example, the network base at the higher level would include executive individuals who have the potential to be sponsors for the policewomen. The participants in the current study admitted that being at Headquarters creates the opportunity to develop key network contacts. It appears that when women have exercised the specific strategic tools of mentoring, networking and higher qualifications, it is the political landscape that assists them in career progression. It is no longer about acquiring skills, as all police officers must be fully qualified in their policing skills. However, developing and managing a powerbase is the key to top-level career progression. Some policewomen at this point, when thinking about their careers, realise that they lack the network base needed for career progression. To add value to the network base, the women also tend to become heavily involved in community engagement which is orchestrated by the network base; this ranges from volunteer work to being in committees.

Social and political activities introduce the individual to different community groups and raise the individual's profile. Furthermore, it accelerates the individual's profile, often pivoting around family ties and roots within the local area. This is particularly relevant to American policewomen as these respondents understand that for them to move to very senior positions they need both the support of the community and political leaders. An individual from another cultural or social background is likely to experience a negative impact on their suitability for a senior position within law enforcement. The perception in the community is a lack of trust and a question around the individual being able to understand the needs of the community.

Consequently, besides having the key professional requirements, policewomen also have to ensure they are the right fit for the community to accept them. In some ways it can be ascertained that the community tends to correlate the individual's profile to that of the organisation [law enforcement]. The imagery of the organisation as perceived by the community is one of robustness and rigidity and to accept a top-level police officer requires a stringent vetting system. This was evident in the data (see Section 4.11.2).

Once they have attained the senior leader positions, the respondents needed to ensure they built social capacity through networks and learnt how to maintain the relationships. This capacity depends in large part on the support and guidance of the sponsor who coaches the individual on the current issues, and shows her how to manoeuvre within the political landscape.

To be able to benefit from the sponsor, a trust factor is established between the sponsor and the individual. The risk factors of sponsorship are equally high, because if the sponsor falls out of favour with the agency's powerbase, the individual also falls out of favour. The respondents in this study were aware of the pitfalls and the damage such an event can do to their careers. As a consequence, participants who attained the very senior positions understood that it was an arduous process to be able to reach that status.

In concluding this research question, the discussion has broadened to include other factors; viz., community and political support in assessing and maintaining the policewomen's senior positions. As supported by the data there is a clearer picture of the position of the policewomen seeking career progression into senior roles. There appears, also, to be an element of lobbying with external stakeholders such as political and community groups; hence, the emphasis on developing strategies to create an identity that aligns with the

organisation and to be widely accepted within those groups in order to maintain and seek senior positions in law enforcement.

5.1.4 Discussion on ‘what challenges, if any, did the women face during the transition from middle level to top level leadership’?

The normative pillar (Scott 2004) applied to a policing career begins at the point of recruitment into the police force. Because of the selection criteria related to entry to initial training for police, and the rigours of the training programme, the group that passes through the Academy is quite a limited one. Moreover, statistics show that more women than men fail the test during this process (Lonsway, 2004). The rigorous testing weeds out those members who cannot withstand the normative, regulatory and cognitive-cultural pillars embedded in policing. The Academy provides all training and dictates the social constructs in the police force. At the time of this study, the evidence suggests a male-dominated culture continues to exist during training and the policing agency. Research by Heilman (2001) found that gender bias is present in the selection process and, often, this creates a discrepancy between the male and female applicants’ entry into the police force.

Being in an office environment and working with non-police staff creates its own set of undercurrents. Being among non-police individuals where the women are not recognised for their professional identity [police women] creates a sub-culture of a ‘them and us’ mentality. The policewomen (i.e., research participants) report being torn between office-based jobs for the purpose of juggling family responsibilities and being frontline officers where there is little flexibility but, arguably, more acceptances amongst male police colleagues.

Particularly, this is the case for lower-level to middle-level policewomen who are in the age bracket of having young family responsibilities. This group is keener to put their focus into a family friendly workplace rather than putting emphasis on their careers. This can be seen as a short term win and gain for policewomen who need those facilities to be provided by the organisation. Hence, their focus is not on career progression per se, and their career does not gain any momentum until the policewomen are in their late thirties and early forties, by which time they may prefer a protean career.

The mandatory retirement policy in the US policing jurisdictions has a serious impact on the way women police officers viewed their career paths. Many indicated that the policy resulted in them having little aspiration to seek further promotion. Relevant research findings show that 90% of the middle managers preferred to take the option of retiring after 20 years of

service to pursue a career outside law enforcement, while men stayed on to complete their service at the mandatory age of 57 (see Table 4.1). From the systems point of view, a pool of expertise is lost to policing because of early retirement; i.e., once the female police officers leave the agency. To replace and train new recruits is a costly exercise in times of austerity, and an area that needs to be looked at by the agencies. Options of re-engaging women and using policewomen in non-operational positions are areas for future consideration are discussed later in the chapter under management policies implication.

For some participants, the stigma associated with being a policewoman does impact on their career decision; viz., in that the individual does not wish to remain in law enforcement and prefers to take the option of early retirement. The stigma impacts on the individual to the point that they decide to seek a protean career which appears to be more attractive; i.e., they can seek senior positions outside law enforcement.

In summarising this research question, the middle-level policewomen face critical decisions regarding whether or not they wish to remain in a middle-level management role or develop skills to progress their career further. At this stage, the policewomen also decide on their identity; their professional identity being a factor related to the gendered organisation whereas leader identity is self-adopted. For either of the identities, there are specific processes that are necessary to be undertaken; for example, should the individual decide to remain at the middle-level management, then it would be pertinent to develop skills for that position. If the individual seeks a further career progression, then there are several strategies that need to be undertaken; viz., mentoring, networking and sponsorship which have been discussed as critical in earlier chapters.

5.1.5 Discussion on ‘how do policewomen in leadership positions identify themselves’?

An interpretation is pursued in this study on the leader identity as the middle-level and top-level policewomen have different perceptions of their leader identity (see Section 2.6 & 4.11.2). It was clear that the participants viewed their positions as ‘leaders’ contextually and that there was an element of fulfilment attached to the middle-management leader identity that prevented the participant from being motivated to seek career progression. Furthermore, the term ‘leader’ is interpreted broadly and contextually in that it reinforces to the participants that they are in a position of responsibility which can be attributed to the paramilitary context; namely, a command and control environment. For some participants, having been leaders contextually involved in career progression, they become motivated to take on challenges of being a leader in a larger context.

Even though male police officers appear to develop leadership skills over time, it can be observed that this is possibly due to the ratio of males in the organisation. Also, this can be attributed to the organisation's lack of promotion and internal support of overall leadership development. The lack of marketing and presentation of leader development in the organisation, however, does not have a serious impact on the participants because, once again, it is their personal decision to overcome the barriers and challenges for career progression. It is widely accepted and known that it is at organisational Headquarters where leadership development is managed, and where the executive team roles are promulgated.

In addition, it was evident in the research that the women understood that they had two separate identities; one as a female (self) in a very male-dominated organisation, and one as a police woman (professional identity). The professional identity, then, was the one which, by choice, could be progressed to that of leader identity. This dichotomy is sometimes a struggle for them individually as being intermittently real or perceived. The big shift in opinion that the women report was their individual decision choice to pursue upward mobility. As such, bias was not just instigated by men but, equally so, by women.

5.1.5.1 Middle-management policewomen

Within the cohorts of policewomen in the middle-management level, women identify themselves as leaders and are comfortable with their professional identity. The leader identity was clearly articulated amongst the middle managers also as they perceived themselves as leaders in team-based units, especially when they had male officers reporting to them. Various researchers (Brown & Gioia 2002; Cox et al. 2003; Day et al. 2004; Gecas 1982; Gergen 1971; Hernandez et al. 2011; Lipman-Blumen, 2000) proved that leader identity is a perception held by the individual. It can be argued, then, that the middle-level policewomen are limiting their potential when the individual indicates being satisfied at the middle-level and identifies themselves as a leader within a team environment. For some participants, having made the choice of being a carer for their families and being a leader (contextually) is equally satisfying, resulting in the individual preferring to remain at the middle-level. However, the strategic influence is different when top-level participants, who previously were in middle-management level positions, report a difference in their leader identity as a result of career progression.

5.1.5.2 Top-management policewomen

The policewomen who reached senior positions appreciate that they are in an influential position and have the ability to make a difference. Once policewomen reach the leader status, they operationally identify themselves as a leader and part of the executive team amongst whom they are working. The purpose of the study did not include examination of whether or not the policewomen adopt male traits of leader identity, and the individuals who participated in this study did not allude to whether they develop their own leader identity or imitate their male peers' style of leadership.

In summarising this research question on how policewomen identify themselves, it is clear that middle-level and top-level policewomen have different perspectives on leader identity. The middle-level management policewomen develop their identity organically by what they are doing, whereas top-level policewomen develop their concept of leader identity according to the positional progress of their career.

5.1.6 Opportunities for higher duties

The demographic profile (Table 4.2) distinguishes between those participants who were mentored and had exposure to other work areas and respondents who were not mentored and did not receive any opportunities for higher duties. While exposure to higher duties creates an impetus for the individual to develop leadership qualities, it also introduces networking on a different level. Hence, it is critical for the individual to embrace exposure to mentoring which leads to other opportunities. Policewomen from both countries had similar work experience, education and age groups; the difference was in the way the women pursued their career progression. The women acknowledge the individuals are in a very male dominated para-military organisation that brings with it a set of unique challenges; an issue addressed later in this chapter.

5.2 Theoretical contribution

As reviewed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.9) there is a scarcity of qualitative studies in the paucity of policewomen in senior leadership. The theoretical framework of legitimisation in a gendered organisation was broadened in this study to capture the parameters within which policewomen manoeuvre, which was also reviewed and discussed in the literature review.

By creating a new interpretation in utilising the theoretical frameworks (viz., legitimisation theory, institutionalisation, self-determination and Scott's three pillars) the researcher has

created two models (Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2 below) to extend the body of knowledge by reducing the research gap as to why there is a paucity of women in senior positions in law enforcement. The meld of the said theories provides an insight into how policewomen are conditioned over time as they immerse themselves in a law enforcement environment. Even though women enter policing, a para-military organisation, the attrition is debateable. The policewomen's viewpoint and how they manage their career has given a new meaning to the glass-ceiling debate and feminist readings.

The conceptual model in Figure 5.1 shows the incremental steps that reflect the decisions that policewomen take in their career path; an incremental model that has evolved through the literature review, and data analysis is drawn. The first stage of attachment to the organisation is when at entry level the policewoman accepts the structures of the gendered organisation. At this stage the individual decides the career path as to whether build on the strategies of mentoring and networking for progression in the organisation or remain static. By choosing Option 1 with retirement as being post policing career, it can be ascertained that the individual lacks aspirations to progress to a higher position.

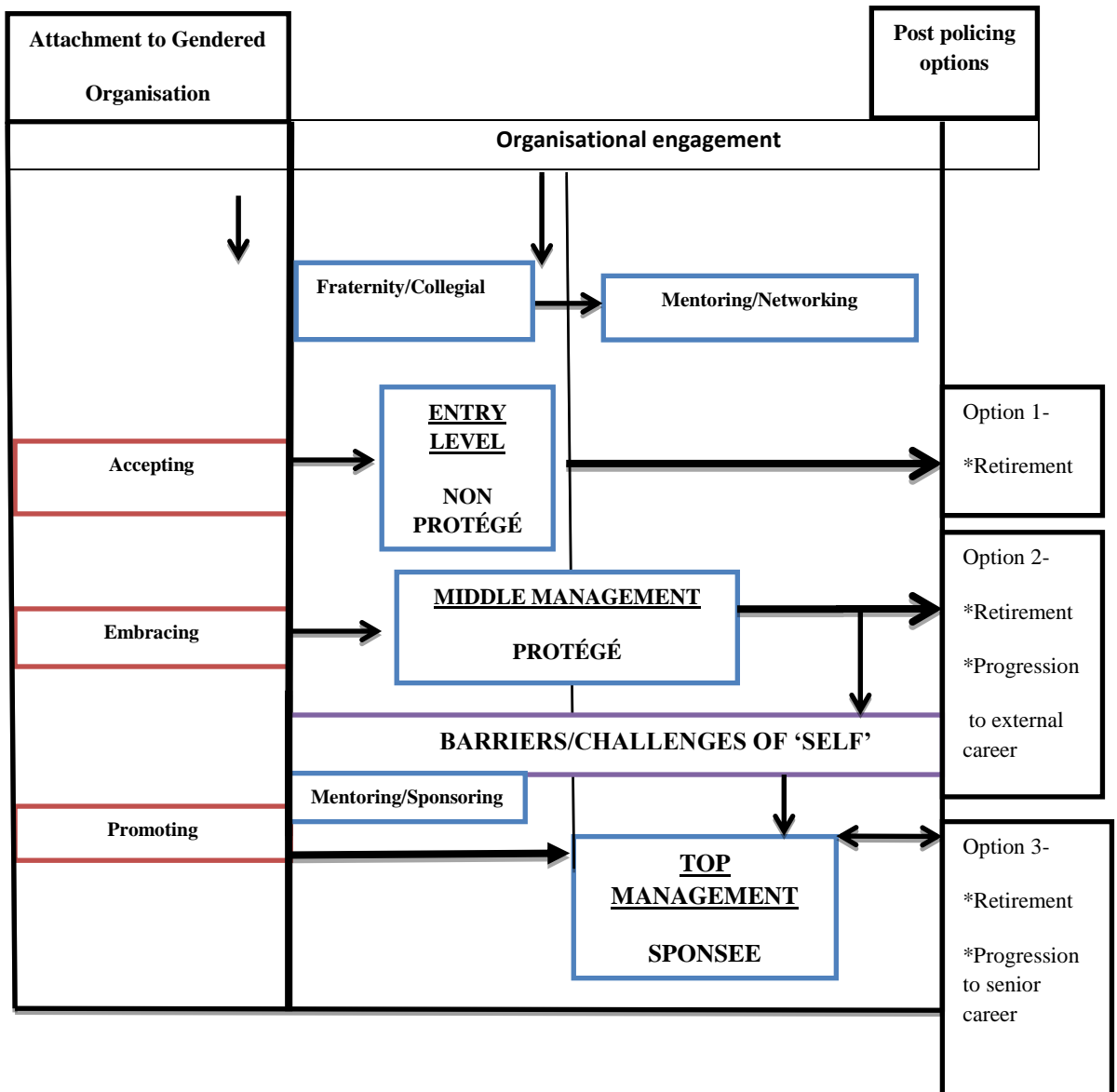
The second stage of attachment is the embracing of the values and structures of the gendered organisation, in doing so the individual demonstrates her willingness and decision to strategize progression of her career. The research questions and data analysis shows that the individual uses mentoring and networking to progress her career. Critically at this juncture appears the barriers/challenges which determine Option 2 where the individual progresses to a protean career or chooses retirement.

The third stage of attachment is the promoting of the values and structures of the gendered organisation. At this point of the individual's career path the organisation decides whether to assist the individual's ambition in senior management roles. Once the decision has been made, the organisation paves the way for a sponsor to undertake the individual and groom the individual into a management role. The Option 3 is when the individual takes on a senior management role or chooses retirement. In all three post-policing Options it is the self-determination of the individual to decide on the career path.

By comparison, Figure 5.2 was developed by applying different parts of institutional theory, Scott's three pillars, legitimisation, gendered organisation and leadership and self-determination theories in order to indicate the research approach to professional and leader identity for the policewomen. Between the professional and leader identity, the policewomen make their strongest personal decision in managing their career path; the strategies that they

adopt in their career progression and managing their family responsibilities compound how the policewomen make career choices in a gendered organisation.

Figure 5.1 Theoretical contribution



Furthermore, this research answered the need for a phenomenological study which, previously, was limited to quantitative research. Throughout this study, it is evidenced that the participants are empowered by their decision-making process and do not, necessarily, blame the organisation because of its legitimacy. Hence the combination of these theoretical frameworks assisted in analysing and understanding the identified research gap.

There is clarity in the makeup of gendered organisations and the positioning of women within them (see Section 2.2.2). The application of institutional and legitimisation of gendered organisations endorses the inherently gendered leadership, and policewomen who create their own barriers and challenges for career progression within law enforcement.

Therefore, this research has laid the foundation to focus future studies on this cohort of policewomen. As few women are currently at the top-level leadership in policing, it remains possible to ask how law enforcement will look in the next several decades; will policemen largely fill senior positions and will current statistics on the percentage of senior policewomen in the service remain with little change?

At an individual level, if the participants are in control of their own decision-making processes, there remains the question of how best policing agencies are able to contribute to, or limit, the career progression of their officers.

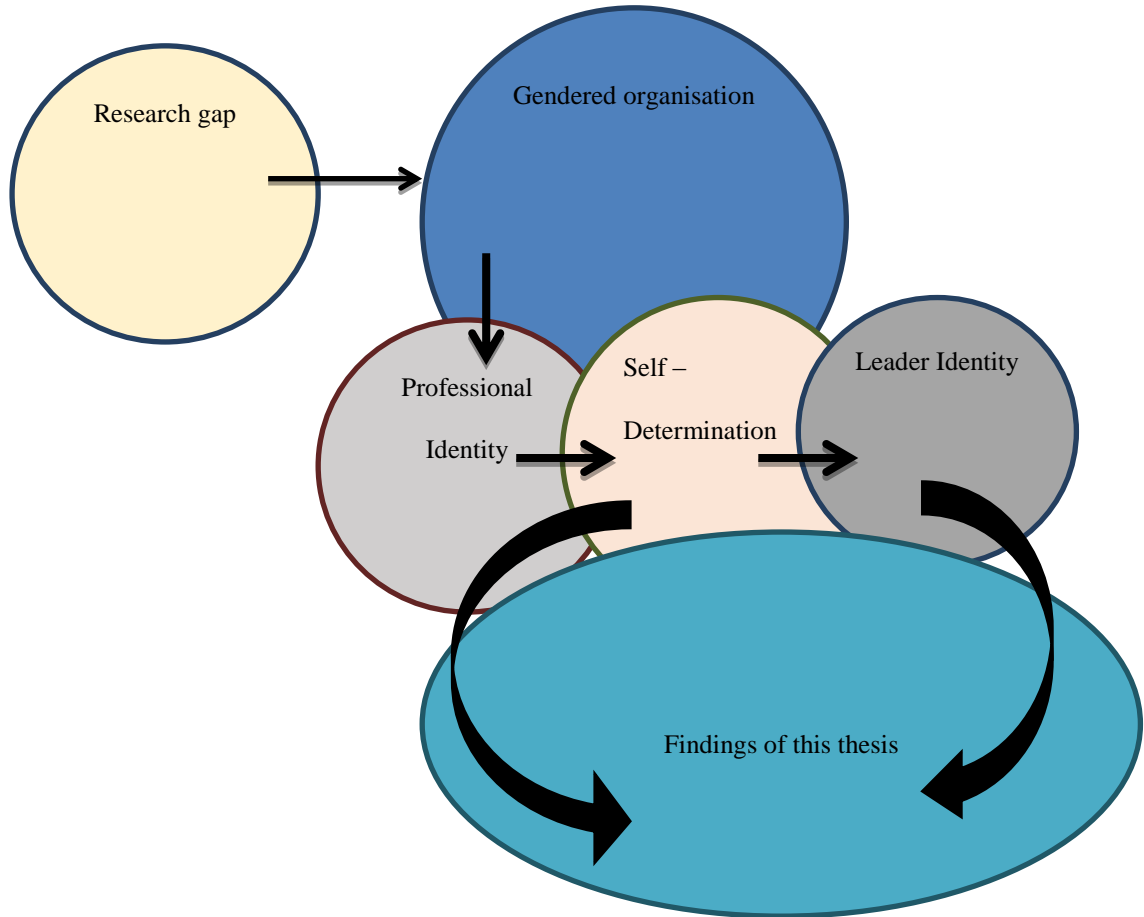
5.3 Organisational contribution

A more proactive approach is needed to address the issue of gender imbalance, thereby progressing the implementation of better working conditions and giving the issue a priority as part of major systems overhaul. Having appropriate recognition of the contribution that women make to policing agencies, and a forthright valuing of their role within an organisation is an important step for women to be encouraged to take on leadership roles and progress their policing career after having a family. Jarrod's (2007) noting of the gender imbalance as one of the main issues in policing due to women being expected to manage work and family commitments cannot simply be a research comment; it needs to be a call for action on the part of policing agencies. Consequently, it is argued that support for women should no longer remain non-mandatory and mediatory and, offers of short-term initiatives with limited opportunities for improved work-life balance can no longer be countenanced.

Furthermore the policewomen do not want to be treated differently from their male counterparts (derived from the data) and believe that their contribution should be assessed equally, and the organisational lens compounds this as being genderless. Therefore women are then positioned in a genderless sphere.

The key research intention in this study was to use a phenomenological method approach to understand the paucity of women in senior positions. The data analysis (see Section 4.11) shows that women make informed decisions on how they position themselves within the organisation. Participants who accept the current environment [gendered organisation] tend to remain static in their basic career position. Those who embrace the policing agency structures seek career progression and move into middle-management level ranks. Policewomen, who are keen to progress further, exercise a range of institutional structures as they meld their professional identity to that of the gendered organisation. Those who do not wish to assimilate beyond embracing the middle-management level take another career path.

Figure 5.2: Theoretical inter-relationships: Professional/Leader and Self Identity



Hence, the model that is developed shows clarity on the position of a woman in a gendered organisation. The professional identity is adopted through the gendered organisation where training and experience condition one to instil various personal values. When the individual decides to adopt the leader identity, which is through self-determination, then policewomen are required to strategize if they are to progress their career to senior positions. The findings of this study hence, add additional knowledge to this thesis.

5.4 Limitations of the study

Limitations are important to understand when conducting a study; how the interpretation of the data, its validity and errors are acknowledged (Ioannidis, 2007). The limitations emerge when the data is analysed and how it is managed by the researcher and inform future recommendations so as to make the current study more transparent and accountable.

The nature of the research is a doctoral study where the researcher is a student who decides the best approach in conducting the study, collection of data and analysis before providing the supervisors with results and discussion. With guidance from the supervisors, the onus remains on the researcher/student to defend the appropriate approach.

This study undertook a phenomenological approach into the paucity of policewomen in senior positions, as being important for law enforcement institutions as gendered organisations. Qualitative studies where data is derived and interpreted by the researcher can contain bias from the participants. The participants may articulate nuances and embellish what they think the researcher wants to hear (Bowen, 2005). Because the respondents were from two different countries, some participants provided a historical and social background to the researcher and that is perceived from the viewpoint of the participant. In such instances, the researcher had to triangulate responses with information from other individuals to establish its reliability.

Another limitation to the study is that it focusses on western, patriarchal societies and does not include or compare with other societies. By relying heavily on western rooted values, this study in no way inadvertently espouses that the similarities and contrasts are across other law enforcement agencies on a global scale. While the USA and Australia were selected, future studies can include societies that are more socially conservative and where the degree of institutionalisation and legitimisation can have a different perspective. The positioning of

a woman in society, the individual's professional and leader identity in a gendered organisation can further add to the body of knowledge.

5.5 Future Research

While this study focusses on policewomen, the data analysis suggests there is emerging evidence that policemen are having similar issues. A qualitative study based on the research questions but focussing on policemen may be able to provide insights on whether or not, and to what degree, males face the same challenges and barriers. Comparisons between genders may contribute further to an understanding and interpretation of a 'gendered' organisation.

There appears to be a paucity of literature based on a qualitative approach utilizing phenomenological interpretivism as a means for examining the lived experience of police women and their challenges in policing. New research grounded on such an approach may bring an alternative perspective to understanding the perceived barriers for women in policing, and mitigate the contemporary barriers faced by police women. Such research will build upon findings by Lonsway (2003) which are based on quantitative data interpretation.

By developing parts of the key theories in this study to align with the decision that policewomen take regarding their career progression, there is potential for a comparison between other countries beyond the United States and Australia. By using these two countries as a starting point in this research, there is impetus to extend the study by examining other law enforcement agencies or para-military organisations. Similarly, this study has the scope to be broadened further into other gendered organisations. It would be interesting to have a study on the organisational lens based on this data.

For future studies, a qualitative inquiry can be adapted to include entry level policewomen who could add to the focus for studying police careers. The rationale being that the organisation should invest in this band of policewomen to address perceived challenges and barriers. Such an approach could result in policewomen having accessibility to career progression information, training and strategies at an earlier stage in their careers rather than relatively closer to the retirement age cap. It is critical that the organisation develops strategies to invest in, and maintain, policewomen in the service instead of allowing a drain of brain and brawn and experience. It is a costly exercise to recruit and train a police officer, and it would be more viable, economically, to invest more substantially in the current human resources activities.

5.6 Conclusion

The current methodology and data collection approach was developed based on the literature review; the data analysis eventually provided the lived experience of the policewomen from middle-level and top-level management which included their opinions and perceptions of themselves and their organisation. The opinions reflect how women view their careers generally and, particularly, within a gendered, para-military organisation. The key issues of mobility and retirement were identified as developing major decision points related to the policewomen's career progression. Consequently, a number of questions arise as to the need for organisations to reconsider their roles and policies in regard to policing.

Despite extensive literature on women in the workforce and the paucity of women in senior positions in a policing context, the findings in this study have indicated there is a need for a new interpretation of the role/s of women in a gendered organisation. Results from the study clarify the reasons why women stagnate at middle-level management and tend not to progress to top-level management. Core reasons included the individual's own decision-making process and the individual's interpretation of the gendered agency as presenting challenges or barriers regarding potential for career progression. Within that landscape there is the role of the organisation and its investment in the individual so as to realise their potential for the benefit of the organisation.

A major finding in this thesis is the paradigm shift from the perception of women in a gendered organisation facing challenges and barriers to a senior position to that of policewomen themselves making a career choice in line with their perceived identity. Some policewomen strategized their careers; others prefer to focus on the family; others prefer a protean career.

The limited number of top-level senior policewomen available to participate in the research indicated they had made an informed decision to progress further in their careers by embracing and promoting the gendered organisation. The strategies that the women used were similar, but the outcome was different. The American policewomen were much more aware of the necessity to develop additional skills as part of a plan to develop another career outside policing.

Another key finding in this study relates to the understanding of the professional identity and leader identity that the policewomen adopt for them. For some policewomen, the concept of leader identity was fluid and considered that they were satisfied in that role and did not feel

the need to seek further career progression. For other policewomen, they were motivated and determined to seek senior roles within law enforcement and strategized effectively to gain senior leadership roles.

Previous studies have not researched into the middle-level management roles of policewomen. However, whereas most extant studies focused on lower-level and top-level policewomen, this study has established critical findings which have added to the body of knowledge in the policing discipline.

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Every reasonable effort has been made to acknowledge the owners of copyright material. I would be pleased to hear from any copyright owner who has been omitted or incorrectly acknowledged.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

Ethics Approval Number: SOM-12-
2013

Approved Date: 29 August 2013



Participant Information Sheet

Women and leadership in a policing context

Hello Participant,

My name is Mary Anthony and I work for Western Australia Police as an Executive Manager and currently enrolled at Curtin University, Western Australia as a PhD candidate.

My research focuses on women and leadership within a policing context. I am conducting research on women in American and Australian police jurisdictions. The research will investigate women in middle and senior level leadership roles and will examine the contexts within which career advancements occur.

The research objectives include:

1. Exploring the strategies that American and Australian police women adopt in attaining senior leadership positions within the police force;
2. Investigating opportunities/ barriers that advance/ limit career progression of women;
3. Identifying the strategies that women in senior leadership adopted to attain their top level positions.

Thank you for taking an interest in this study and for agreeing to participate in this research. The discussion is expected to take approximately forty minutes to an hour. You will be asked to share your views on the issues surrounding women in leadership, career advancement and

your aspirations. You are free to withdraw from the interviews at any stage and you are not obliged to answer any question that you feel uncomfortable about.

This discussion will be recorded. The recording is solely to improve the accuracy and completeness of the data obtained. The recording will be kept in strict confidence and no names will be reported in our write up of the results (rather, the data will be reported using codes). All transcripts of the interviews will be kept under secure storage at Curtin University. My immediate supervisors, Professor Kandy Dayaram, Associate Professor Fay Rola-Rubzen and I will be the only persons to have access to the recordings and interview transcripts.

Any concerns or complaints regarding this project should be directed to the Principle Investigator, SUPERVISOR Professor Kandy Dayaram or Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee. This study was reviewed and approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee, Curtin University [Approval number: School of Management].

Thank you for your time.

<p>Mary Anthony PhD Candidate School of Management Curtin Business School Curtin University GPO Box U1987 Perth WA 6845 AUSTRALIA Tel: 92507413 m.anthony@curtin.edu.au</p>	<p>Human Research Ethics Committee (Secretary) C/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University GPO Box U1987 Perth WA 6845 AUSTRALIA 9266 2784 hrec@curtin.edu.au SUPERVISOR: Professor Kandy Dayaram School of Management Curtin Business School Curtin University GPO Box U1987 Perth WA 6845 AUSTRALIA Tel: 92663084</p>
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Ethics Approval Number: SOM-12-
2013

Approved Date: 29 August 2013

Appendix B: Consent Form

PROJECT TITLE: Women and leadership in a policing context

I (*please print name*) _____ wish to take part in the Project on, “Women and Leadership in a policing context”.

I have read the participants information sheet and the nature and the purpose of the research project has been explained to me.

I have been informed of and understand the purpose of the study.

I agree to participate in the study as outlined to me.

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions.

I understand I can withdraw at any time without prejudice.

The researcher and I have talked about the benefits from helping with this project.

Any information which might potentially identify me will not be used in published material.

Signature of Participant _____ Date: _____

I, Mary Anthony have explained the aims and methods of this project, its risks and inconveniences, and how the results will be shared with participants and with the public. In my opinion she understood my explanation.

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Name of Researcher: (please print name): _____

Address of Researcher: School of Management, Curtin Business School
Curtin University, GPO Box U1987 Perth WA 6845 AUSTRALIA

Name of Supervisor: Professor Kandy Dayaram

Address of Supervisor: School of Management, Curtin Business School
Curtin University, GPO Box U1987 Perth WA 6845 AUSTRALIA

Appendix C: Demographic profile

WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP IN A POLICING CONTEXT

Please answer each question

1. Employment details:

(A). Please state the department in which you work:

(B). Is your Agency a State or Federal jurisdiction?

(C). Is this an American or Australian jurisdiction?

(D). Are you:

Employed: Full - time Part – time

Have you ever worked part time in your current Agency?

Yes No

Have you ever worked part time in a previous Agency?

Yes No

2. Position within your Organisation (*tick which applies*):

Assistant Commissioner Superintendent

Commander Detective

Other (please specify)

3. Educational background (tick the highest qualification you have):

Secondary schooling College/Certificate/Diploma

Bachelor degree Postgraduate Diploma

Masters Doctorate

Other (please specify) _____

4. Work experience in years (tick which applies):

No experience More than 10 years

Less than 1 year More than 15 years

2 to 5 years

5. In the last five years have you had the opportunity for higher duties?

Yes No

If yes, (please specify) _____ (this would include period of acting in the higher position and the number of times the opportunity was presented)

6. Age in years (tick one):

Under 20 20-29

30-39 40-49

Above 50

Thank you for taking the time to fill this questionnaire. All details will remain confidential and no parts of this will be used for any other purpose than for the purpose stated.

Appendix D: Interview questions

Interview questions:

Prompters in italics

SAMPLE A – middle management (OIC – Officer in charge) women police officers

QUESTIONS:

1. Do you plan to remain in the police force over the next 3 to 5 years?
2. In the next five years, what are your career aspirations? *(Does your agency have a career path for women in middle management? If yes, have you had the opportunity to access the availability or have other women accessed and been successful? If no, is there a push for such a career pathway for women in the near future?)*
3. What are your aspirations for furthering your career into leadership roles? *(Did you map out a professional development strategic plan for yourself for example seek out mentors, networking or further your education etc as part of your career expansion?)*
4. Do you have to seek out the opportunities for promotion, if yes, what are the strategies that you would use?

SAMPLE B – senior management women police officers

1. Describe your future plans such as in five years? (*Do you plan to remain in your current role, if yes, why? If no, are you seeking further promotion?*)
2. What were your career aspirations? (*Did you have a deliberate strategy? Were there any particular key aspects for example mentoring, networking or higher education that motivated you?*)
3. How did you advance your career? (*What barriers or opportunities did you face with regards to career advancement?*)
4. What are the strategies that you use to maintain the current top level position?
5. Would you consider mentorship and networking one of the strategies that you used in your career advancement and do you continue to use those strategies in your professional development?