

Breaking the Glass Ceiling— Where are Tomorrow's Women Chiefs?

Presentation/Paper for the Conference on

Recruiting, Retaining, and Promoting Women Police Officers: An
International Comparison of Challenges and Opportunities for
Change

Centre for Research on Security Practices (CRSP)

Wilfrid Laurier University

Brantford, ON, N3T 2J4, Canada

Monday, April 29, 2019

Dorothy M. Schulz, Ph.D.

Professor Emerita

Dept. of Law, Police Studies, and Criminal Justice Administration

John Jay College of Criminal Justice, NYC, USA

In discussing where tomorrow's women chiefs will come from, the most direct answer is probably from this room!

But will there always be women in lower ranks looking to grab the brass ring—or, to stay with our theme, break the brass ceiling?

When we talk about women chiefs yesterday, today, or tomorrow we are really talking about progress. Merriam Webster ([merriam-webster.com](https://www.merriam-webster.com), 2019) defines progress as moving toward a goal; a gradual betterment. Oxford ([oxforddictionaries.com](https://www.oxforddictionaries.com), 2019) defines it as moving towards an improved or more advanced condition.

Beginning as early as 1845, when the Women's Christian Temperance Movement and other women's groups sought to bring women into jails and police lockups to protect drunken and debauched women from their keepers, they defined this as progress. But men suggested many reasons this was not a good idea, among the most prominent was that the women were too small, too weak, and that there was no space for them (Schulz, 1995).

I know the feeling. When I entered policing in the 1970s, there was still no room. My first locker was the property room; I changed amid the recovered stuff, the found stuff, and the old and smelly stuff—including recovered tires that had been stolen from boxcars.

I was lucky, though, women's uniform trousers were available with sufficient pockets to store our gear and not have the crotch reach our knees. Not so our bullet-proof vests, which were made for men until companies made women's vests, basically men's vests with little cups on the upper chest to fit our you-know-whats.

Along the way, agencies reduced height requirements; changed physical agility requirements, and ordered patrol cars with broken bench seats so men no longer complained that their privates (their you-know-whats) were squished when women drove because the seats were too close to the dashboard. All these can be described as progress,

although one wonders why it was so difficult and why it took so long. But we are pleased to have them behind us.

Or are they behind us? Last month, NASA cancelled an all-female spacewalk because there was only one spacesuit small enough for the women on the flight and there was no time to alter a suit to fit the second woman. No time, no space, too small—we've heard it before. This, even though as early as 2009—a decade ago—problems arose over smaller spacesuits for women (Moon, 2019a).

On the very day the spacewalk had been scheduled, NASA promised to consider size in spacesuits even though it had not set out to accommodate people who “did not conform to the historical norm”—i.e., they were not tall men. NASA hopes to accommodate smaller spacesuits by the mid-2020s (Moon, 2019b).

Now that I have gotten that off my non-historically normed chest, I will return to my original text.

Law enforcement is more structured than many of the types of work where women's progress is being measured. For instance, Catalyst (2017) in 2017 estimated that of the S&P 500 companies (the 500 largest companies in the U.S.), 29 (or 5.8 percent) were led by women chief executives. In comparison, I have estimated that between 3 and 4 percent of police departments in the U.S. and Canada have been or are now being led by women. Because more than 75 percent of the 18,000 departments in the U.S. have fewer than 100 officers and many have fewer than 10 officers—including the chief—it is difficult to compare with other industries. And maybe numbers and percentages don't tell us everything we want to know.

PLAYING THE NUMBERS GAME

Since most police leaders come from within policing rather than from other fields, we must look carefully at who is entering law enforcement to learn who will be seeking upward mobility as chiefs a generation or two from now.

The picture is not pretty.

We need to ask why aren't women coming into law enforcement professions, particularly policing? If one reads about the shortages throughout the profession, maybe the question is why isn't anyone coming into policing. Are the recruitment strategies too old-fashioned and tradition-bound? Are physical requirements and the discipline of the police academy turn-offs? Is the job too regimented (you must work when we tell you to, where we tell you to, and it is not possible to work from home)? Is it that policing is too with what young people expect from a job today? For women, does the general absence of pregnancy and family leave policies influence their decisions? Is the relentless negative press surrounding policing more to blame for the vacancies than we care to admit?

Has the entry of women into law enforcement hit a wall as difficult to surmount as those six- and seven-foot training academy obstacles?

A Canadian Police College researcher found that in 1989 that the RCMP had about 30 women corporals and a few "policewomen" assigned to tactical units or to training at Regina. In Ontario, policewomen (the study's term) made up only 2.7% of the personnel (LeBeuf, 1996).

According to Statistics Canada, in 2010, women were 19.2 percent of all police in Canada; 21.7 percent of the RCMP, and 18 percent of those in Ontario Province (Statistic Canada, 2010). An impressive increase!

But recently, in 2017, the lack of continued progress was obvious. Women accounted for only 21 percent of all sworn officers in Canadian police forces—barely a 2 percent increase over 2010. In Ontario, the percentage of women at all ranks remained

the same from 2015 to 2017 at just under 20 percent and in British Columbia women were about 22 percent (Statistics Canada...2019). According to a recent Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) story, women made up about 21 percent of RCMP officers at all ranks (Tunney, 2018), which seems pretty much identical to the 2010 figures.

In the U.S. the figures are lower—guesstimates are that between 12 and 14 percent of the roughly 900,000 police officers in about 18,000 agencies are women. Because the vast number of agencies and their vastly different sizes, numbers and percentages are inexact and possibly do not tell the whole story.

I found that many of the small-agency chiefs I interviewed were the only or one of very few women in their departments (Schulz, 2004). More recently, three counties in south Florida reported having five women chiefs in various small agencies; were it not for an article in the local paper, it is unlikely anyone would have known about any of them although the naming of women chiefs in larger cities such as Dallas, Oakland, and Honolulu in the same 18 month timeframe did attract more attention (Pesantes, 2017). In addition to the five female Florida chiefs there were also two acting chiefs in South Florida; matching the seven women chiefs in California in 1994—yes, 1994! (Schulz, 1994). Generally, we might consider that women chiefs receiving less media attention is a good thing, since it means they are no longer so unusual that they receive a disproportionate amount of attention. Again, many of the women I know and those I interviewed indicated that they would have been happy with less attention paid to their first woman status than to their credentials for the job.

FEDERAL STATS

Making federal comparisons between the U.S. and Canada is also extremely difficult. It is virtually impossible to make comparisons to the RCMP—I know, I know;

they are incomparable—but here I mean only numerically because of the number of U.S. federal agencies in the US and their very different functions.

And because of the large number of federal police agencies in the U.S. and their very different roles and cultures, it is again difficult to base any discussion solely on numbers. For instance, two of the agencies with percentages of women well below 10 percent, the Border Patrol (USBP), the Drug Enforcement Agency, have been (DEA) or are now led by women. Another agency with a low percentage of women, Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives has also been led by a woman as was the U.S. Secret Service a few years ago.

In a study of women Special Agents in Charge (SACs) I found that the percentages of women in all ranks in federal agencies had remained relatively static since 2000 despite an overall growth in federal law enforcement. Generally, the highest percentages of women (in a few cases over 25 percent) were found in the investigative agencies, primarily the Offices of Inspector General (OIGs), although at that time more than 25 percent of Internal Revenue Service (IRS) special agents were women (Schulz, 2009).

A follow-up study conducted by Helen Yu (2018), who has published extensively on women in federal law enforcement, reinforces that the percentages had not changed very much. By 2012, women comprised 15 percent of all federal law enforcement officers—and one of the major impediments to upward mobility for women continued to be the need to transfer frequently to be considered for higher positions, which relates to the childcare/family issues cited by many women—and an increasing number of men—who eschew promotion at the local, state, and federal levels.

PROMOTION? MEH!

WHY DO SO FEW WANT TO MOVE UP THE RANKS?

Our immediate future is also affected by the lack of enthusiasm by both male and female officers for moving up in rank.

Most U.S. and Canadian studies of promotion have found that moving to supervisory or mid-level ranks is not the goal of either men or women (Whetstone and Wilson, 1999; Whetstone, 2001; Murphy, 2006 [for Canada]).

Why do men and women reject opportunities for promotion? Studies not focused solely on dilemmas facing women, have found that men and women voice similar reasons for avoiding upward mobility. In one department, for instance, where 91 percent of those eligible for promotion were men, most said the extra salary would not compensate for the loss of overtime pay, or the loss of greater flexibility in hours and assignment (Scarborough, van Tudbergen, Gaines & Whitlow, 1999). Nor did they consider promotion prestigious or ego-enhancing, or, using Abraham Maslow's classic terms (1943), as fulfilling their needs for esteem or self-actualization.

Additional studies, including in Canada, reinforce that men's and women's reasons for declining promotion are quite similar. In a department where women were 16 percent of total sworn personnel, for men and women eligible for promotion who declined to participate in the process, the primary reasons were preference for current assignment/shift, reduction in pay, no interest, unhappiness with the current administration, and childcare/family relations (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999, p. 135).

The childcare/family relations concern was higher for women than for men but both ranked it as the second most important reason for not participating in the promotion process. In addition, women were more likely to report preference for their current shift assignment (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999), which is likely to reflect childcare/family concerns.

This was a major theme in many of my interviews; the women chiefs often found that their first promotion was the hardest because they were often giving up a schedule that worked for their families for one that would involve travelling to a more distant reporting station and changing shifts. This was, obviously, when both they and their children were young and their spouses often growing their own professions. Although some reported that their partners were actively involved in helping with these arrangements, the well-choreographed schedules would be disrupted by either of them making professional changes. Even today, in almost any field, when you hear women describe their paths to the top, childcare arrangements are prominent parts of their presentations. While men today may be taking more responsibility for this, I have never heard a male chief talk about how his promotions caused disruption to his responsibilities as a parent.

The women's concerns often lead to what have been called glass walls (Wirth, 2001), assignments like communications, human resources, training, or other often-feminized areas of an organization that generally guarantee daytime working hours with regular days off. Although these are particularly attractive to those with child-care responsibilities, they are not the areas from which high-level executives are selected. These support positions hamper upward mobility in many fields (Tharenou, 2005).

Although we think of law enforcement as unique because only line positions may be deemed "real policing," there are other professions where certain assignments are seen as more important than others. But it can be difficult to plot a perfect career path. In a study of U.S. policing, Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez (2011) found that women are rarely assigned to SWAT or other tactical units. In a recent study of female corrections officers in one Canadian jurisdiction, Melissa Kakuk (2019) found that women were rarely

included on tactical teams and that those on all-female teams reported more positive experiences than those on integrated teams.

While there is value in studying women's participation in all areas of policing and corrections, it is important to consider that there are no studies to that indicate that these are routes to promotion and in an era of kinder, gentler policing women may be fortunate to be overlooked for these assignments.

In another Canadian study, described only as in a "large... police force," officers' primary motivation for entering executive ranks was to enhance financial security, defined as the enhanced pension benefits that high rank provides. Second was a belief that they could achieve something as executives. As in the U.S. studies, both men and women—but a much higher percentage of women—pointed to life/work balance, with child-rearing and elder care responsibilities, and the loss of paid overtime as reasons not to seek promotion. Other concerns included the negative perceptions of executives, anticipated workloads, and the lack of mentoring within the agency (Murphy, 2006a, p. 232).

Although women were more likely than men to cite life/work balance, particularly childcare, as a dis-incentive to promotion, men who had spouses who worked outside the home also were concerned about the complications a promotion would entail (Murphy, 2006a). Family concerns were most acute among women whose spouses were also members of the department (Murphy, 2006b, p. 260).

This differs from the careers of many of the chiefs in my study, a number of whom were half of a police couple. For those who made it to the top, the couple decided that the woman had a better chance at upward mobility and they arranged their career moves accordingly, with one opting for assignments that were more family-friendly or less associated with moving up the ranks. In many cases, the "backseat" partner was

older and close to retirement age, allowing greater professional freedom for the woman, including relocating to accept a position in a different part of the country (Schulz, 2004).

Keep in mind that this is different from a first promotion, when both partners and the children are much younger. Yet, without the first promotion, there will not be subsequent promotions!

Whatever the pitfalls of promotion represent to women and to families, a study of the 58 police departments in Ontario province, including the Ontario Provincial Police, found that from the years 2000-2007, for both the sergeant and staff sergeant ranks, women sought promotion in proportions that exceed the historic and weighted seniority requirements associated with police promotions that previously required pre-determined time in the pipeline. And that their participation percentages for sergeant surpassed the actual proportions of women in policing for the corresponding study years (Shea, 2008, pp. 55-56).

It would be nice to assume that many of the women who were promoted continued their upwardly mobile paths, because without first moving into the lower supervisory ranks, there will cease to be candidates for continued upward mobility.

The truth may be that we don't know as much about women's career aspirations as we would like to. For instance, one survey of 8,000 U.S. police officers who work in departments of at least 100 officers was conducted for the Pew Research Center by the National Police Research Platform, described by Pew as a "consortium of academics at universities around the country who have specialized in doing impartial and nonpartisan research focused on police and police departments" (Gramlich, 2017). While it seems questionable that a research group would have to describe itself as impartial and non-partisan, the researchers found that about 40 percent of the women believed that male officers in their departments were treated better than they were when it came to

assignments and promotions. Countering this, though, about 33 percent of the male officers said women were treated better than they were. Possibly the best take-away was that about half the women and two-thirds of the men felt that women and men were treated about the same (Stepler, 2017). Why wasn't that the lead of the story?

A smaller study that looked at women in a number of practitioner and academic criminal justice fields (Helfgott, Gunnison, Murtagh and Navejary, 2018) found women with different views. Here “female law enforcement personnel...were more likely to agree that being a woman had not been an obstacle to their career. They said that being a woman was an asset despite the male-dominated history of law enforcement.”

One of the few positives we can take from officers' lack of interest in promotion is that because of the typical pyramid structure of police agencies, there are few positions at the top. Most will never get beyond the entry-level or first-line supervisor rank. Yet, if the best and the brightest hold management is held in such low regard, this is likely to have a negative impact not only on upward mobility but also on the initial decision to become a police officer.

TWISTS AND TURNS OF TOKENISM

Another area we really do not know much about is the current effects of tokenism on women's levels of confidence and how this affects career decisions. Too many studies to mention here have found that women are far more likely than men to question their own competence and to believe that their departments did not want to promote them.

But tokenism can work in strange ways. A study Carol Archbold and I conducted found that women in one department were turning down promotional opportunities because they felt the agency was so eager to have women in rank that their competencies meant less than their plumbing (Archbold & Schulz, 2008).

Yet to me this says these women are wired somewhat differently than their male peers. I often wonder: how many of you work with men who would turn down a promotion whether they thought they deserved it or not? And an even sillier question: what man would believe he was being offered a promotion he did not totally deserve?

But more seriously, for those too young to remember, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) theorized that skewed sex ratios were critical to shaping group dynamics. She defined skewed groups as those with a ratio of about 85 of the dominant group—to 15 percent of the minority—as the tokens.

Tokens, by virtue of their small number, always stand out, are isolated, and face assimilation and performance pressure. When they do poorly, they fulfill the view that they are not up to the tasks. When they do well, rather than change the overall perspective, they are exceptions to the expectation of inadequacy. Kanter said, these pressures force women into stereotypical roles: bitches, aggressive temptresses, mothers, or pets.

Susan Martin (1979) applied this to the first women on patrol in Washington, DC. Weak women (she called them policeWOMEN because that was their dominant identity) were seen as representative of all women, incapable of performing at the level of men. The women able to perform (POLICEwomen) were seen as exceptional—not real women—which allows men to continue to believe the majority of women are not competent. Which group do you think the men preferred? The policeWOMEN.

Why? They did not challenge stereotypes and they presented no competition to the few ambitious ones. Women who performed competently were threats; they did not allow the men to comfortably retain their sense of superiority.

But numbers and percentages do not tell the complete story. Researchers I call the Kanter contrarians have compared token men in female-dominated professions such as

nursing, social work, librarianship, and teaching below the college-level and found the men were advantaged rather than disadvantaged. They believed this could be attributed to men having higher status because they are men (Ott, 1989; Yoder, 1991) or to sexism in the workplace (Zimmer, 1988).

In a specific comparison of female police officers and male nurses in the Netherlands, E. Marlies Ott (1989) found that men resisted women entering their occupations but women did not resist men entering women-dominated fields. She attributed to this to men's higher overall status in society, leading to women viewing the presence of men in their workplaces positively rather than negatively.

Janice D. Yoder, in a review of men in what she termed "gender-inappropriate occupations" did not experience performance pressures, isolation, and role encapsulation" similar to Kanter's findings about women (1991, p. 183), concluding that Kanter's focus on proportionality may have failed to pay sufficient attention to what was "really the effect of intrusion of lower-status workers into a formerly all-dominant-status work group and the competitive threat" that would lead to negative consequences for all workers as the numbers of lower-status workers increase (1991, pp. 185-186).

A similar conclusion was drawn by Lynn Zimmer's (1986; 1988) in studies of women working in men's prisons; she found tokenism of limited value in explaining the experiences of either men or women in a society where gender remains important and she observed that the focus on tokenism may hinder women's progress because it detracts from sexism in the workplace and in the larger society (1988, p. 64).

Reinforcing the need to look beyond a specific workplace, Christine L. Williams looked at men's under-representation in four female-dominated professions—nursing, librarianship, elementary school teaching, and social work. Not only did men not suffer the negative effects of tokenism, they advanced so quickly in their fields that she

described their advantages as similar to a glass escalator (1992, p. 153). The men received preference in hiring and were generally provided with career advancement opportunities that women were not offered.

Contrary to the women in our study (Archbold & Schulz, 2008) male tokens in women-dominated professions viewed being singled out a plus and they took advantage of the opportunities offered to them. The only areas in which they reported problems were when clients or outsiders made assumptions about their sexuality, thinking that even if they were not homosexual, they must be passive, wimpy, or asexual (1992, p. 261). Williams' findings support Zimmer's belief that Kanter's focus solely on the proportions of men and women in the workplace neglects men's privileged position society that follows them into any profession (1992, p. 261).

The studies that considered men's privileged position did not mention race at all; it would be of interest to see whether minority men in women's professionals also benefit from the glass escalator and whether white women as readily accept minority men as adding to the prestige of their positions as they did white men in Williams' study.

More recently the U.S. Department of Labor's Women's Bureau defined a non-traditional occupation as one where less than 25 percent of the workforce is women (2014), which ups the ante on Kanter and which also means that the vast majority of law enforcement agencies can be defined as non-traditional.

FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

While I certainly do not have a crystal ball, I do have some final thoughts and some are offered with deference to my sister panelists, who I know feel differently about some of these issues.

LET'S RETIRE THE BOYS' CLUB ANALOGIES

Despite the leveling off of women joining up, women are now about 1/5 of law enforcement personnel in Canada and Australia and about 1/7 in the U.S. In Great Britain (primarily England and Wales), women are somewhere between one-fourth to one-third of law enforcement personnel. Based on those numbers, I strongly advocate that we stop referring to policing as the “boys’ club.”

First, it really is no longer true.

Second, we may be contributing to the very leveling off that we are concerned about. If we keep telling people they are not wanted and will be treated horribly, or only somewhat less horribly than they were a decade ago, some of them—most likely the best and the brightest—might listen and go somewhere else.

Not that we have to listen to Bing Crosby sing “accentuate the positive”—which originated in a World War II movie entitled *Here Come the WAVES*, about two sisters who leave their careers to join the Waves. But we should not be hand-wringers and we need to push back against the outside negative sources. For instance, *Politico*—not known for criminal justice expertise—writing about the gender gap in U.S. federal law enforcement noted that in 1996 women held about 14 percent of the jobs and that 10 years later the needle had moved to just 15 percent. Smugly, the author stated, “at this rate, it will be 700 years before women hold half these jobs” and “that on a percentage basis there are now more female members of Congress than female officers in the Drug Enforcement Administration” (Ripley, 2017).

My answer is, who cares? Maybe more women want to be in Congress than in the DEA; it pays better and it’s a lot safer. Why doesn’t anyone ask when will women hold half the jobs in Congress or in journalism or in high-tech, or when will men fill half the jobs in social work or nursing?

I want to know whether the women in law enforcement have equal opportunity to succeed. We should not be corralling women—or men—into careers to fulfill someone's idea of equality. If all the women who want law enforcement careers feel they can have them, then women are not under-represented; they are represented in the percentages that reflect their interest and life goals.

I admit that at one point I seemed to be in the small minority about this, but I detect a recent movement to stop simply counting women as a way to measure parity. Not only does it not answer any questions, it continues to foster a sense of tokenism, and it is demeaning to women to be seen just as numbers rather than as individuals (Mangu-War, 2019).

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Similarly, in a world where half of the world's largest companies do not pay women equally to men (Morgan, 2019) and Hollywood stars and other entertainers have publicized that they are not paid equally with male co-stars, maybe we should brag that male and female officers have equal pay and that salaries are publicized. It may not seem like much, but one of the historic benefits of government service for women and minorities is that pay is determined by grade or rank and that promotions—at least theoretically—are equally open to all.

REDEFINE SUCCESS TO INCLUDE MORE THAN HIGHER RANK

We need to redefine success to include job satisfaction and lateral entry into high status assignments. A number of the studies that indicated men and women lacked interest in promotion, found they were interested in detective positions, especially women, who saw this as upward mobility. Are we at fault for presuming women haven't made progress solely by counting the numbers in higher ranks?

In one study (Wertsch, 1998) in which women perceived their chances at upward mobility as high (75 said good, another 12 percent said very good), the majority of those (69 percent) eligible for promotion to either sergeant or lieutenant did not see themselves competing for those positions.

They did see themselves, though, as detectives, which they considered upward mobility. To the public, police officers—male or female—are most visible because they are in uniform and respond to calls. The job is highly associated with stereotypically male traits of strength and heroism even if many of the calls for service require neither.

The status of a detective is unique to policing. It conveys prestige within the agency because while less visible to the public, it offers the opportunity to work out of uniform, and provides greater flexibility in work schedules, including often the freedom to set hours and days off. It may also simply signify the influence of the media in people's career decisions, where hero detectives far outnumber hero sergeants, lieutenants, or deputy chiefs...or even chiefs.

Other positions also carry prestige unrelated to rank. At a conference in Australia, a young woman lamented to me that when she described to others her pride at being the first female firearms trainer in her agency, she was met with questions about when she planned to take a promotion exam, which she interpreted as belittling her efforts to achieve what to her was her dream job!

What factors influence decisions about where to seek employment and what assignments to work towards once employed? Do the U.S. investigative federal agencies have higher percentages of women because women feel more comfortable doing tax investigations and audits rather than “doing doors” at DEA or ATF or do those agencies recruit differently? Does the presence of a sizable number of women bring more women

or is it more the nature of the work than applicants' concerns about token status? We really do not know the answers to many of these questions.

I am reminded, though, of two cartoons that touch on why or how people select jobs or how to achieve success within the job. In one of the cartoons, as male officers are preparing a battering ram to break open a door (commonly referred to as “doing doors”) the female officer walks to the door and opens it by turning the handle. The other is about upper-body strength, and whether it is best to have it between the shoulders or above the shoulders between the ears!

More seriously, we need to ask questions about why people pick certain agencies and certain jobs within those agencies and why some positions are seen as desirable and how desirability might change over time. Some positions might be desirable based on the age of the applicant; whether the applicant has a life partner or children or elder-care issues; whether the assignment require a physical move rather than just added travel time, or whether the applicant is attending college or playing in a band. In other words, these decisions may be based on many things other than the sex of the applicant. We need to look at many variables before decreeing that only promotion represents success.

THE BURDENS OF BEING A HEALER

A number of the women chiefs who participated in my research had been selected as “healers,” often after a department had been through a crisis, generally involving brutality or corruption.

While this presented cities with an opportunity to change the “face” of the department to the public, the women were often known as disciplinarians and demanding bosses, (Schulz, 2004, p. 168)—a combination of factors that may have made their jobs harder.

Michelle K. Ryan and S. Alexander Haslam (2005) have termed this the glass cliff—where women are likely to achieve leadership positions during periods of crisis or downturn, when the chance of failure is highest. While I did note this as having played a role in the selection of a number of the women chiefs I interviewed (Schulz, 2004) since in the U.S. a change at the top of a police department is very often caused by a scandal or change in city administration rather than simply retirement of the incumbent chief, it may be harder than in other industries to determine the degree to which women are appointed disproportionately in glass cliff situations.

THE BURDENS OF BEING A CHANGE AGENT

A somewhat different version of this is woman as change agent—a situation that women may have brought upon themselves by stressing their softer, gentler, more compassionate natures than men and their token status in the field. Unwittingly—or maybe wittingly—this has led many outsiders to believe that women will somehow change policing, particularly as they move up the career ladder. But this is an extraordinary burden to place on someone who will need to overcome her token status and what may have been considerable hoopla over her appointment. On the other side of the coin, some might ask, why would a chief turn her back on an environment she has successfully learned to negotiate?

CONCLUSION

We have had lots of glass/brass analogies—walls, ceilings, and cliffs. I credit Alison Halford, the first Assistant Chief Constable in Great Britain who gave us a different phrase, the greasy pole (1993) to describe her nine failed attempts to reach the rank of Chief Constable.

Yet today, women in law enforcement—women like you—have integrated the boy's club. You have the capacity to avoid the walls and cliffs, and break the brass ceiling, or climb the greasy pole.

WORKS CITED

- Archbold, C.A. & D.M. Schulz. (2008). The Lingering Effects of Tokenism on Female Police Officers' Promotion Aspirations, *Police Quarterly* 11, no. 1, pp. 50-73.
- Ballard, S. (2009). Region 12 Report, *Women Police*, Summer, n.p.
- Catalyst (2017). Knowledge Center: Women CEOs of the S & P 500. Catalyst, <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-ceos-sp-500>, accessed on April 17, 2017.
- Dodge, M., L. Valcore, & F. Gomez. (2011). Women on SWAT Teams: Separate but Equal? *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 34, No. 4, pp. 699-712.
- Gramlich, J. (2011). Q & A: How Pew Research Center Surveyed Nearly 8,000 Police Officers, January 11, <https://www.pewresarch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/11/police-report-q-and-a/>, accessed on February 20, 2017.
- LeBeuf, M-E. (1996) Three Decades of Women in Policing: A Literature Review. Paper prepared for the Canadian Police Executive Institute, Canadian Police College.
- Halford, A. (1993) *No Way Up the Greasy Pole*. London: Constable & Co.
- Helfgott, J.B., E. Gunnison, A. Murtagh & B. Navejar (2018): BADASSES: The Rise of Women in Criminal Justice, *Women & Criminal Justice*, published online July 25.
- Kakuk, M. (2019). Female Tactical Members in Correctional Services: “No Room for Women.” *Women & Criminal Justice*, published online April 7.
- Mangu-Ward, K. (2019). Stop Counting Women. *The New York Times Sunday Review*, February 24, pp.1, 7.
- Martin, S.E. (1979) *Policewomen and Policewomen: Occupational Role Dilemmas and Choices of Female Officers*. *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 7, no. 3, pp. 314-322.
- Maslow, A. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation, *Psychological Review* 50, no. 4, pp. 370-396.
- Merriam Webster (<https://merriam-webster.com>) (accessed online).

- Moon, E. (2019a). Why NASA Cancelled the First-All Female Space Walk, *Pacific Standard*, March 27.
- Moon, E. (2019b). NASA Says It Hopes to Accommodate Smaller Sizes in a New Space Suit Planned for the Mid-2020s, *Pacific Standard*, March 29.
- Morgan, R. (2019). Equal Pay Day Moans: Half of Firms Fail Test, *The New York Post*, April 2, p.27.
- Murphy, S.A. (2006a). Executive Motivation: From the Front Lines to the Boardroom? *International Journal of Police Science and Management* 8, no. 3, pp. 232-245.
- Murphy, S.A. (2006b). Executive Development and Succession Planning: Qualitative Evidence, *International Journal of Police Science and Management* 8, no. 4, pp. 253-265.
- Ott, E. M. (1989) Effects of the Male-Female Ratio at Work: Policewomen and Male Nurses, *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 13, 1, pp. 41-57.
- Oxford English Dictionary (<https://www.en.oxforddictionaries.com> (accessed online)).
- Pesantes, E. (2017). 5 Female Police Chiefs in South Florida, Rise Above the ‘Brass Ceiling,’ Mirror National Trend, *The Sun Sentinel*, December 22.
- Police Officers by Rank and Gender, Canada, Provinces and Territories, Statistics Canada, (charts reviewed for Canada, British Columbia, and Ontario), 2019, March 29 (accessed online).
- Ripley, A. (2017). Federal Law Enforcement Has a Woman Problem, *Politico*, November 14 (accessed online).
- Ryan, M.K. & S.A. Haslam. (2005). The Glass Cliff: Evidence that Women are Over-represented in Precarious Leadership Positions, *British Journal of Management* 16, no. 2, pp. 81-90.
- Scarborough, K.E., G.N. van Tubergen, L.K. Gaines & S.S. Whitlow. (1999). An Examination of Police Officers’ Motivation to Participate in the Promotional Process, *Police Quarterly* 2, no. 3, pp. 302-320.
- Schuck, A.M. (2017). Female Officers and Community Policing: Examining the Connection between Gender Diversity and Organizational Change, *Women & Criminal Justice* 27, no. 5, pp. 341-362.
- Schulz, D.M. (2009). Women Special Agents in Charge: The First Generation, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 32, no. 4, pp.675-693.
- Schulz, D.M. (2004). *Breaking the Brass Ceiling: Women Police Chiefs and Their Paths to the Top*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Schulz, D.M. (1995). *From Social Worker to Crimefighter: Women in United States Municipal Policing*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

- Schulz, D.M. (1994) California Dreaming: Leading the Way to Gender-Free Police Management? *CJ the Americas* 7, 3 (June-July), pp. 1, 8-10.
- Shea, T.B. (2008), Female Participation in the Police Promotion Process: Are Women Competing for Promotion In Numbers Proportionate to Their Statistical Representation in Policing? An MPA Research Report Submitted to the Local Government Program Department of Political Science, The University of Western Ontario, December,
- Stempler, R. (2017). Female Police Officers' On-the-Job Experiences Diverge from Those of Male Officers, January 17, Pew Research Center, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank.2017/01/17/female-police-officers-on-the-job.experi...> accessed on February 20, 2017.
- Tharenou, P. (2005). Women's Advancement in Management: What is Known and Future Areas to Address, in R.J. Burke & M.C. Mattis, eds., *Supporting Women's Career Advancement: Challenges and Opportunities*. Cheltenham,UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Tunney, C. (2018). Number of Police Officers Per Canadian Hits 13-Year Low: Nation's Policing Strength Now Lagging Behind Every Other G7 Country, *CBC News*, June 27 (accessed online).
- Wertsch, T.L. (1998). Walking the Thin Blue Line: Policewomen and Tokenism Today, *Women & Criminal Justice* 19, no. 3, pp. 23-61.
- Williams, C.L. (1992) The Glass Escalator: Hidden Advantages for Men in the "Female" Professions, *Social Problems* 39, no. 3, pp. 253-267.
- Wirth, L. (2001). *Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling: Women in Management*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office.
- U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. (2014). *Nontraditional (Male-Dominated) Occupations*. Washington, DC: Department of Labor.
- Yoder, J.D. (1989). Women at West Point: Lessons for Women in Male-Dominated Occupations. In Jo Freedman, ed. *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, 4th ed. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Yoder, J.D. & T.W. McDonald. (1998) Measuring Sexist Discrimination in the Workplace: Support for the Validity of the Schedule of Sexist Events, *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 22, no. 3, pp. 487-491.
- Yu, H.H. (2018). Glass Ceiling in Federal Law Enforcement: An Exploratory Analysis of the Factors Contributing to Women's Career Advancement, *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, published online August 17.
- Zimmer, L. (1988). Tokenism and Women in the Workplace: The Limits of Gender-neutral Theory. *Social Problems* 35, 1 (February), pp. 64-77.
- Zimmer, L. (1986). *Women Guarding Men*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.