

Negotiating Identity:
Who Does She Think She Is?

by
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ABSTRACT

The occupation of policing has long been associated with masculinity. Resistance to the integration of women into the law enforcement profession stemmed from widely held beliefs that women were incapable of performing the police function. Although much has changed in policing, female officers are bombarded with masculine symbols depicting mostly the agentic characteristics associated with the law enforcement profession. Or, they are offered socially and culturally constructed definitions of who they are supposed to be as women as well as what is lacking in them as officers. This study explores the disparity between how female police officers are viewed, what they experience, and how they are represented. The perspective of the female officer was captured, and presented through visual images obtained by participants. Descriptive coding and thematic analysis converted photographs and written narratives into participant generated themes and stories. Female officers in this study resisted stereotypic portraits of women in policing and sought expanded boundaries of inclusion within their profession. Participants produced some understanding of how women construct their personal and professional identities relative to gender, as well as the larger roles of women in society.

DEDICATION

June of 2012 found me facing down the ‘B’ I knew was coming on one of my assignments. My daughter sent a text asking if I was on my way home. It was getting late. “No,” I replied. I would finish my patrol shift and then my homework before making the long drive home. Adjusting to school had been hard and I admitted to her that I was struggling. True to form, she responded with grace and told me, “I believe in you. You can do this.” I was humbled hearing how much confidence she had in me. She was 18 at the time.

I finally made it home after a long night. I felt exhausted, and defeated as I entered a darkened home and made my way to my bedroom. When I turned on my bathroom light, I found inspirational quotes written on the mirror in my daughter’s hand. There was one about chasing dreams and another about success being something you do, not something you have. My favorite quote read, “Sometimes you have to be brave with your own life so that others can be brave with theirs.” I was dissolved to tears by the wisdom and kindness my daughter extended to me in my moment of need. Perspective. That’s what she gave to me in the gentle gift of her words scribbled on the bathroom mirror.

This work is for my daughter Peyton. Everyone needs a left tackle and she is mine. Thank you for throwing the block repeatedly, and protecting my blind side without question. You are fierce, relentless, and wildly loyal. Of all the wise advice I could write on a piece of paper for a little girl to fold up and stick into the cargo pocket of “toughy pants,” I would pick, be who you are. You are my person. Say Hallelujah.

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Stories are a fundamental part of human experience. We preserve our history through chronicles and use narratives to learn about ourselves and others. When coupled with photographs, stories become part of our collective consciousness and help us see differently. That was the convention I aspired to follow in authoring this text.

Before I begin this story, I humbly express my eternal gratitude to those who have helped me along the way. I wish to acknowledge first Commander Chris Crockett, Director Frank Milstead, and Ms. Debra Slagle for believing in me and serving as references when I applied to the doctoral program at Arizona State University. At various times over the last 20 years each of you has lead, mentored, taught, and inspired me. I am the benefactor of your example, your patience (I know I'm not easily managed), and your unyielding encouragement.

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man who reads this and wonders if I am writing to, about, or for him, I am. You know who you are and remain anonymous.

No story told about any group can be everyone's story. This particular narrative is that of my participants, and could never have been told without the generosity of the pseudonymous Andee, Chloe, Faith, Frankie, Grace, Kim, and Marie. These women allowed me into their lives and let me stay beyond the context of my research. They gave me numerous hours of their time, and shared themselves with me in vulnerable and courageous ways. Thank you for trusting me with your story. I hope I got it right. I meant to do so.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

More than 25 years have passed since Hymowitz and Schellhardt (1986) first coined the term “glass ceiling” in a *Wall Street Journal* article (p. 1). The metaphor depicted the invisible barriers preventing the advancement of women in corporate America and stemmed from the rarity of women in powerful positions, despite equality of the sexes on many other indicators (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The term captured the frustrations experienced among women confronted with deeply entrenched professional cultures that placed men in positions of authority, and made women unable to achieve this same level of accomplishment. While the “glass ceiling” implied a single barrier prohibiting advancement beyond a specific point, what confronts women today is more of a “labyrinth,” defined as a complex passage in which it would be easy to become lost (Eagly & Carli, 2007; “Labyrinth,” 2010).

The labyrinth described by Eagly and Carli (2007) is found in a wide array of research and professions (Goldberg, 1968; Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham & Handelsman, 2012). While tangible matters such as comparative wages continue to concern women in the workplace, the labyrinth analogy suggests less obvious obstacles that women face professionally and which gather over time, imperceptible hurdles more difficult to navigate (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Catalyst, 2003; Eagly & Carli, 2007). The significant absence of women across a wider context of professions suggests that the cumulative effect of gender discrimination is not merely a single obstacle but rather a series of bias practices and attitudes which may result in a professional maze for women. The research in this field indicates that there may be compounding forces potentially suppressing opportunities for women,

specifically in male congenial fields (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fiske, Bersoff, Borgida, Deaux & Heilman, 1991; Heilman & Haynes, 2005; Sutton & Moore, 1985; Swim & Sanna, 1996; Porter, Geis & Jennings, 1983). Understanding gender could offer some explanation for how the social and professional roles of women and men are defined.

Gender roles and expectations are pervasive throughout society, and sex is the strongest basis by which people are categorized, even beyond race and age (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Bigg, 1987). Gender roles frame the shared beliefs that society has about the attributes of women and men. The roles of women and men are then assigned in accordance with these beliefs, which define preferred qualities or behaviors for each sex (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Bigg, 1987). Specifically, society has stereotyped expectations about how women and men ought to behave (prescriptive definition) and the characteristics women and men should possess (descriptive definition) to be consistent with gender norms (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001). Gender stereotypes label men as aggressive, forceful, and decisive (Heilman, 2001). These attributes are socially valued in men and desired in the workplace. In contrast, women are characterized as kind, helpful, and nurturing (Heilman, 2001). Although these characteristics are desirable in women, they are not recognized as marketable occupational skills (Heilman, 2001). The process of defining gender roles in society has resulted in many gendered organizations and occupations where traits most associated with success are considered masculine (Garcia, 2003).

Occupational roles are social in nature, and work is closely associated with all aspects of life (Martin, 1990). Social norm expectations of women often conflict with

norms associated with certain professions, in this case, law enforcement (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). There is a persistent tendency for the public, and law enforcement culture, to associate policing with masculinity, using terms of aggression, strength, and solidarity as descriptors (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Considerable empirical evidence points to the lingering belief that police work is unsuitable for women (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Morash & Haarr, 2012). Observing a woman as the occupant of a traditionally male position places expectations based on gender in conflict with expectations based on the job (Eagly & Karau, 2002). When a woman becomes conjoined with an incongruent professional role, such as that of a police officer, the inconsistency between her social role and professional position results in a lowered assessment of the woman in that specific role and of her personally (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Bigg, 1987). Further, women in policing who do not adapt to the cultural and social expectations placed on them may be sanctioned for deviating from occupational norms (Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990). Isolation, harassment, and lack of acceptance follow those who challenge their assigned positions (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Survival in a “chest-thumping boys club” requires careful navigation of the labyrinth.

Institutional beliefs within law enforcement organizations and society manufacture views of women, the nature of policing, and the roles most appropriate for female and male officers (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). Much of what is believed about policing is anchored in historic stereotypes propagated through media depictions of what policing looks like. Police organizations embrace the masculine image of policing and imply that masculinity is an essential component of practice (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Recruiting and professional literature distributed by police departments often reflect

images of male officers engaged in traditional crime fighting activities such as those portrayed in Figure 1. Although these pictures communicate what is valued by the institution, they do not accurately reflect the reality of police work, which often involves social service or duties often described as “women’s work” (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Missing from these photographs and from the occupational discourse is the female voice. This absence of voice may contribute to the lack of representativeness of women in policing and may illuminate the presence of institutional barriers negatively affecting female officers.



Figure 1. Tactical response unit forms an entry team.

Context

The History of Police Women

The evolving identity of the modern female police officer is better understood in the context of history and culture of police institutions. Law enforcement in the United States has long been viewed as a traditionally male occupation with emphasis placed on masculine traits of aggression and strength (Garcia, 2003; Horne, 2006; Warner, Steel & Lovrich, 1989). Organizational practices historically positioned female officers in assignments aligned with gender. Based on the belief that women possess certain feminine skills, female matrons were initially hired into law enforcement agencies filling the stereotypical role of addressing the special needs of women and juveniles (Belknap, 2001). The matron role depicted in Figure 2 starkly contrasted with the role played by male officers, whose duties included punitive and arrest authority (Belknap, 2001). The female matron's purpose was not to usurp the functional role of the male police officer, but to act as his assistant (Garcia, 2003). This established the standard of difference between women and men in police organizations and subsequently perpetuated the cultural norm negating the value of feminine orientation as useful in an enforcement capacity (Garcia, 2003).



Figure 2. Matrons. The Police Matron Mrs. Condon and some of her prisoners in the Women's Dept. of the City Prison, S.F. [San Francisco], 1917. Photograph courtesy of UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library. Permission in Appendix G.

Debates surrounding the competency of female officers to perform the patrol and enforcement responsibilities of policing began as women sought to expand their duties within the law enforcement profession (Belknap, 2001). Although women served as matrons in prisons and police agencies as early as 1840, it was not until 1910 that the first woman was issued a badge and granted the title of policewoman (Garcia, 2003; Gold, 1999; Horne, 2006; Schulz, 2003). Much of the resistance to the integration of women into the patrol function centered on (1) male officer perception of the inability of females to perform the job; (2) societal views that women were incapable of enforcing laws; (3) the physical differences related to strength and command presence; and (4) lack of women who find policing compatible with raising a family (Belknap, 2001). With the

enactment of the Title VII amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, female police officers were granted broader opportunities to assume enforcement positions within law enforcement agencies (Belknap, 2001).



Figure 3. Police women 1960s. Police women wearing Class A uniforms at the Los Angeles Police Academy's gym in the 1960s. Photograph courtesy of the Los Angeles Police Historical Society. Permission in Appendix G.

While women have made great strides in public safety, the hiring and retention of female officers has stalled. In 1972, women accounted for 2% of the sworn officer positions across the country (Hickman & Reeves, 2006). Three decades later, women still only comprise 11.3% of all sworn law enforcement officers in the United States (U.S.) (Hickman & Reeves, 2006). More than half of all U. S. police agencies report no women in high level positions within the organization and nearly half of small and rural police

departments across the country report no female applicants when police officer jobs are advertised (Jordan, Fridell, Faggiani, & Kubu, 2009). Despite the lack of female representation, only one in five law enforcement agencies incorporate specific recruitment strategies aimed at women (Jordan et al., 2009). These employment patterns produce a “leaking pipeline” channeling women out of male dominated professions and illuminating the position of women in policing (White, 2004). Lack of female representation and voice are typical in police culture.

Although much has changed in public safety since its inception, there continue to be deeply entrenched biases and ongoing challenges for women pursuing a law enforcement career (Gold, 1999; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schulz, 2003). Many of these biases are located in the informal culture and practices of police institutions. The difficulty for women in law enforcement not adhering to the cultural norms of the profession is what the research refers to as the behavioral double bind (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002). If a female officer attempts to satisfy the professional image of “crime-fighter,” she may be negatively labeled as too “butch.” However, no attempt to meet the norms expected of policing puts women at risk of being defined as weak (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Neither label provides space for legitimacy or acceptance as a “cop” (Martin, 1990).

Problem

Gender oppression is rarely recognized among the multitude of established factors undermining the advancement of women in policing. Many suppose that gender differences, as well as institutional practices, stymie female progress. These approaches, while sensible, are narrow in scope. The importance of difference exists, “in the question of use to which differences are put in defending unequal power arrangements” (Collins,

1995, p. 494). Viewing gender difference as a byproduct of institutionalized gendered oppression requires organizational change. It demands acknowledgement of the possibility that law enforcement has not taken account of gender bias and the harmful effects on women in policing. There is no discussion about how constant interaction with male peers and male supervisors might affect female officers. Perhaps because gender issues are not discussed openly, or without penalty, many believe there is no problem. Yet, gender stratification lacks sustainability separated from individual, structural, and institutionalized gender oppression (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). The status and experience of female officers may be better understood from the female officer account.

Women in policing rarely see themselves reflected in the images of what a “real cop” looks like. Instead they are bombarded with institutional symbols depicting mostly the masculine characteristics associated with the law enforcement profession. Or, they are offered socially and culturally constructed definitions of who they are supposed to be as women as well as what is lacking in them as officers. Female officers are not often asked about how they are portrayed within the public safety realm or how they experience gender within a male dominant context. The lone voice of law enforcement is that of male officers, who subsequently produce and reify the stereotypic police persona, which excludes women. Hyper masculinized images (exaggeration of male stereotype) and lack of representation make female officers professionally invisible.

At the intersection of policing and gender, female officers work toward integrating the societal and institutional expectations of their work, their gender, and their identities (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). This integrative process occurs against the backdrop of hegemonic masculinity found in police institutions where unequal power arrangements

reside. Female officers may not merely replicate female-male stereotypes and might instead construct complex, occupational identities that serve as a resource for navigating the gendered institution of law enforcement.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore how a select group of female police officers perceive and experience identity in relation to their occupation. The goal is not to criticize women, men, or law enforcement institutions. Instead, this work seeks to expand the ways of knowing which compel an acknowledgement of gender oppression and stereotypes living in male controlled institutions. To accomplish this, there is a need to include voices of women in discussion of experiential reality. If women police officers are invited to explicitly name what they have experienced, their stories may reveal that gender in law enforcement is worth further exploration.

This study contributes to the limited body of literature examining the ways female police officers' interactions with others, identity (or identities), and larger occupational expectations are shaped by overlapping intersections. Examining the manner in which these intersections influence female officers is important because it furthers the understanding of how female and male police officers negotiate gender in a male dominant profession, which is highly resistant to change. It may also help explain how interaction, identity, and structuralisms are linked. Much of the research on female officer identity presumes a dichotomy of gender or occupation in how women in law enforcement define themselves. This ignores the possibility of the multiple strategies female police officers may consider and employ as they negotiate identity/ies in the workplace. Lastly, this effort uses the female voice, in correspondence with feminist

research, to examine the lived experience of women in policing and to offer potential options for women struggling to answer, “Who does she think she is?”

Intervention: Photovoice

A chasm exists between the fictitious public representation of women and the daily, private actuality of how women know their lives to be (Solomon, 1995). To explore how identity is reified, navigated, and experienced among female police officers, a process is necessary to capture the manner in which women in law enforcement describe and define themselves. Although research presumes the approach and practice of identity representation, the literature is lacking relative to women’s divergent accounts of their identities, roles, and collective image (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Presser, 2005). This study endeavored not only to understand the identities of female police officers, but to also establish how women working in law enforcement might express, reflect, and communicate their everyday lives in a way that outsider researchers have not (Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang, 1999).

Wang and Burris (1997) developed photovoice as a process for directly involving marginalized people as active participants in the political arena surrounding issues relevant to their specific contexts. This participant directed research process places cameras in the hands of people who are often silenced in their communities. Participants represent their everyday lives through photographs and narrate their experiences using their own voices. For this study, a select group of female police officers photographed their experiences as law enforcement practitioners and as women.

Visual representation is critical for this type of research because images can teach, shape, and influence concepts of what is real and what is normal (Wang, 1999). Pictures

ignite questions surrounding what is known about the social world and how it is known (Stanczak, 2007). In this way, photographs communicate and serve as instruments for public discourse. The power of visual images to influence policy, prompt critical group dialogue addressing the needs of participants, and the collective stories emergent from this dialogue are used as catalyst for raising awareness and bringing about change. With the intent of reaching policy makers, photovoice is a potentially empowering participatory research process intent on improving the situation of the participant community.

CHAPTER 2 – CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Gender is constructed through interaction and performance of behaviors consistent with being male or female. Gender is not conceived as an individual characteristic, but rather a property surfacing in social encounters. For example, being a man requires acting in a manner equated with masculinity, while being ladylike implies conduct associated with femininity. These mannerisms are what West and Zimmerman (2009) describe as “doing gender,” performing behaviors through social interaction which express manly or womanly “nature.” Beyond social interaction gender frames institutional structures, such as those found in the work place. Law enforcement was conceived as a masculine enterprise in the United States, and only within the last 40 years have women gained the opportunity of pursuing policing as a career. Because policing is conceptualized and built by men, police organizations are sites for hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity posits that men dominate women (Connell, 1995). This notion allows for differentiation between females and males distinguishing masculinity as superior to femininity. As feminine or masculine characteristics are valued and appraised within an institution, bias and privilege follow and may result in gendered organizations (Acker, 1990). The historical context of policing suggests that the institution of law enforcement may be gendered in nature and that non-masculine attributes violate police culture. Women officers negotiate the roles connecting their work and gender against a backdrop of hegemonic masculinity which emphasizes the supremacy of men collectively and culturally (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

Gendered Organizations

Cultural expectations within institutions factor heavily in defining and reifying common understandings required for interaction (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Through interaction, gender divisions are produced (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organization argues that organizations are not gender-neutral systems influenced by the seeds of employee gender (or sexuality or race or class) identities, but are environments in which these characteristics are presumed and replicated. Describing or defining an organization or social system as inherently gendered suggests that the system is conceptualized and ordered in terms of a distinction between femininity and masculinity (Britton, 2000). Acker's theory establishes four gendered processes perpetuating opposition to women working in male-dominated professions: (1) the legitimizing of hegemonic masculinity, (2) control and segregation of women, (3 and 4) interaction through "doing gender" and the construction of gendered personas through establishment of difference in organizational setting. This structure predictably reproduces gendered difference (Britton, 2000). As gender attributes are preferably valued and appraised, inequalities in status and position emerge (Britton, 2000). Law enforcement is narrowly allied with masculine qualities of power and strength (Garcia, 2003; Horne, 2006; Warner et al., 1989). Feminine characteristics, such as caretaking and kindness, are devalued in policing (Martin, 1980). Therefore, masculine behavior is preferred above feminine behavior in policing. These processes preserve inequitable gendered practices creating difficulty for women in adapting and advancing in gendered institutions (Acker, 1990).

An alternative perspective of gendered organizations posits that occupations become gendered because gender “rubs off” on the jobs people do. Jobs, in turn, have a gender character that “rubs off” on the people who do them (Cockburn, 1988). This perspective assumes that occupations are gendered to the degree that they are female or male controlled. Described differently, work can be viewed as gendered if more women or men perform a particular work function. However, there is a distinction between the sex composition and the gender category of particular professions (Roos & McDaniel, 1996). Britton (2000) explains that sex composition describes the representation of women and men within a specific occupation. Gender typing describes the manner in which occupations become viewed as masculine or feminine (Britton, 2000). Law enforcement institutions are largely controlled by men with female officers only accounting for approximately 11% of the police population nationally (Hickman & Reeves, 2006). The job of policing is masculine by social construction, as law enforcement is commonly linked with aggression, physical power, and solidarity (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Conceiving of policing as masculine may influence how officers perform gender within law enforcement as a mechanism for aligning with law enforcement cultural norms.

Different Ways of Doing Gender

“Doing gender” is the socially constructed performance of behaviors which surface in everyday human interaction, rather than innate qualities belonging to an individual (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The accountability structure judges actors in terms of their ability to meet gendered societal expectations (West & Zimmerman, 1987). For example, women manufacture emphasized femininity among others who hold them

accountable for behavior consistent with being female (West & Zimmerman, 2009). Acting “like a lady” requires displays of attributes associated with femininity, such as being kind, nurturing, and soft spoken. The same is true for men and the construction of masculinity (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Gender displaying actions are illustrations of the actor’s ability to produce culturally prescribed stereotypes, which appear stronger in male-dominated institutions such as policing (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). The more masculine attributes an officer displays the greater the status of that officer within policing.

Role theory addresses the social construction of gender roles and explains how they are learned and operationalized (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Roles function as situated identities, maintained and discarded as circumstance require, rather than master identities, which remain constant and consistent across contexts (West & Zimmerman, 1987). For example, the role of a police officer hosts specific meanings for and about the occupant of that role within the context of the law enforcement arena. Gender, in contrast, hosts no specific site or fixed location. It is a constant, unless one shifts to another sex category. Gender, therefore, provides an ever present resource for manufacturing gender bias amidst a wide array of circumstances and environments (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Of interest is the gender marking of many roles, such as male nurse or female officer, suggesting exceptions to the rule based on how the role is gendered (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Organizational culture frames the gendering of some professions causing women and men to adapt their behaviors to the norms of the work environment.

Police Sub-Culture and Hegemonic Masculinity

Gender is social construction replicated through action and interaction (Morash & Haarr, 2012). The workplace is a key site for gender reproduction (Acker, 1990).

Theories of gendered organizations suggest that institutional processes embed gendered assumptions and practices into the landscape of the work (Acker, 1990). Policing is no exception. The police are a separate group, distinguishable from the general population by an “us/them” mentality and whose conduct is significantly structured by informal as well as formal rules (Herbert, 1998). Law enforcement subculture remains highly associated with being “man enough” for the job. From the first day of the academy, officers are indoctrinated into the hegemonic masculinity of policing, a central tenet of law enforcement in the United States (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Hegemonic masculinity is the alignment of gender practice which represents the existing established response to the problem of legitimacy in patriarchy (Connell, 1995; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). This standpoint secures the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.

Consistent with organization and gender theory, the workplace is an environment where cultural images of gender are conceived and replicated (Acker, 1990). Evidence of law enforcement subscription to hegemonic masculinity is found in the organizational emphasis on aggression, physical strength, and the “good ole boys club.” Most law enforcement agencies are dominated by men and the most powerful positions within those agencies are also largely occupied by men. The image of the “crime fighting street-monster,” present in many police departments, manufactures a highly masculinized occupational ideology (Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1999). Introduced through professional socialization and media depictions, male police officers embrace the macho illustration of

the “hard charging cop” because it establishes the relationship between police work and extreme masculinity (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Terms such as “meat eater” and “vegetarian” are used to advance manly characteristics while demeaning many police duties associated with femininity, such as dealing with women and children. The cultural image personifies the nature of those who “fit in” and those who are “other,” establishing the foundation of sameness and difference. This is problematic for women because both sameness and difference use men as the referent category (MacKinnon, 1991). The presence of women and their competent performance in the male domain of policing threatens the association between policing and masculinity. Because of this, the presence of female officers continues to be resisted.

Female officers are also acculturated into the hyper-masculine ideology of policing through the academy and field training experiences, which signal to women that law enforcement is not a “fit” for them (Morash & Haarr, 1995; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). “Policewomen’s identities are situated in the context of the institution and culture of policing, which has historically been sharply divided according to gender and sex,” (Rabe-Hemp, 2009, p.115). A pioneering study of female police officers reported that the struggle between gender roles and occupational roles lead women to assume either a “POLICEwoman” identity, emphasizing characteristics of conformity and masculinity mandated by police subculture, or the “policeWOMAN” identity, which underscores stereotypical feminine roles (Martin, 1979). Doing gender through emphasized femininity, however, may tax female officers by suggesting they are limited in terms of how they perform the law enforcement function. If a female officers acts too feminine, she is criticized as unsuitable for the job; however, if she assumes a masculine nature, she

is criticized for not behaving like a woman (Garcia, 2003). In this way, gender biases the manner in which one enacts the role of officer. Negative social encounters may govern individual willingness and means to construct new forms of femininity among women (Connell, 1985). With no voice in the representative female image or identity, women police officers may assist the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity by performing “female police officer” and verifying attributes associated with prescribed definitions of what it means to be a woman in law enforcement (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Opposing requirements of workplace semblance and femininity force women to choose between career persona and gender roles.

Gender Construction

Separating gender into distinct categories of male and female roles may overgeneralize the various ways in which female police officers negotiate gender and identity in the workplace (Connell, 1987; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Women may enact various gender identity solutions within the hegemonic framework of policing (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Theory supports this claim. Feminist theorists assert that gender is not a fixed role or identity but a social construction which reproduces or challenges shared beliefs about the nature of being female or male (Connell, 1995; West & Fenstermaker, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987; Morash & Harr, 2012). Ridgeway and Correll (2004) expand the understanding of gender as a social relational context that is institutionalized and operationalized through the culture of the organization. Although gender is accomplished through social construction, it is also a mechanism through which social structure is reproduced (West & Fenstermaker, 1995).

Organizational culture, stereotypes, and identity contribute behaviors and identities assumed by all.

The ability to navigate the existing system of law enforcement, while retaining female identity and a sense of self is worth further exploration. Although context and status may differ among women in policing and girls living in rough neighborhoods, literature related to girls from distressed communities provides meaningful illustrations of various identity solutions involving redoing gender (i.e., non-stereotypical constructions) within the messy intersection of systems of oppression (Jones, 2009; Morash & Haarr, 2012). Jones (2004) found girls living in high crime areas conjoined feminine attributes with those more closely aligned with masculinity to accomplish gender through methods other than emphasized femininity. Jones' (2004) study revealed the accounts of girls strategically choosing from a variety of gender displays depending on the circumstance, the public identity they invested in crafting, and in service to survival within the context of the neighborhood. Oppositional femininity manifested among female gang members revealed characteristics of bravery and fighting ability, while other young women less devoted to a fighter reputation utilized negotiation to escape violent encounters (Jones, 2004). Both strategies function as social resources operationalized to negotiate the environment.

Integration into the culture of policing hosts some common problems among all new officers. However, female officers face conflicting expectations of role performance from organizational expectations, co-workers, citizens and supervisors which may not be shared by male colleagues (Acker, 1990; Eagly & Karau, 2002). These additional obstacles pose conflict for women as they shift between gender and professional

identities in an effort to satisfy the many expectations placed upon them. Not all female police officers navigate this labyrinth in the same way. Women may enact various gender identity solutions within the hegemonic framework of policing (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). However, understanding the effects of shifting identities among female police officers and the manner by which some navigate institutional hurdles may help explain the persistent under-representation of women in policing and offer potential solutions for how to assist women in addressing these issues with a collective voice.

Emphasizing only interactional achievements of categorical identity restricts the prospect of illuminating the recursive relationship between female officer interactions with others, their identity (identities) and larger overshadowing forces shaped by various overlapping intersections-isms (Jones, 2009). The theoretical approaches of “gendered institutions” and “doing gender” are not tested in this study but, instead, these frames are used to illustrate the complicated and contradictory ways in which contextualized interactions correlate with structural circumstances (Jones, 2009).

Policing is a site for hegemonic masculinity. Both the organizational structure and the interfaces among officers maintain this concept. Images, interactions, and organizational behavior limit the power of female officers primarily because of the conflicting nature of femininity and hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculine traits prohibit connection with femininity, causing the common belief that women cannot perform in masculine scenarios, such as those faced in policing. Doing gender in police organizations demands the display of masculinity in distinctive ways. Because policing has established the difference between women and men, women in policing have the opportunity to acknowledge, reify (confirm), or challenge the expectations placed on

them as officers. Social expectations of women as caring, nurturing, and the like may not provide a complete description of how female officers function within their roles as police. Any attempt by women officers to define themselves as similar rather than different from their male colleagues may provide an opportunity for women to challenge the norms associated with identity, gender, and policing.

Morash and Haarr (2012) found that several women officers identified unique aspects of “being a woman” and key qualities of effective policing as unrelated or not associated at all with sex or gender. “Women had identities as women in general, wives, mothers, police officers, and co-workers that collided and merged in different ways” (Morash & Haarr, 2012, p. 18). The women in this study did not abandon their gender, but found the sex divisions and supposed differences between women and men inconsequential to their work as officers (Morash & Haar, 2012).

Research Questions

This study will explore the experiences of female officers using a 10 week photovoice project to answer the primary research question, *Who does she think she is?*, and three subquestions:

- How do female police officers experience gender?
- How are gender and work done concurrently?
- How are identities given meaning as female officers function as officers and as women?

These questions framed the direction of the study, but were subject to change as the study progressed. Participants identified supplemental questions, problems, and issues and addressed those matters through this project. The topic focused the study, but was

broad enough to allow the emergence of other questions from group discussion and/or other data. Qualitative research questions evolve and change as findings materialize.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODS

Introduction

This study explored the disparity between how female police officers are viewed, what they experience, and how they are represented. The perspective of the female officer was captured and presented through visual images obtained by participants using the photovoice process described in Chapter 1. These images and stories matter because of the very fundamental way that the representation of people helps to determine who they become (Solomon, 1995).

Timeframe

There were two phases of implementation for this study. Phase 1 occurred in May, 2014 and consisted of the identification and invitation of participants to orientation meetings where the intervention was defined and informed consent was provided. Formal data collection began in Phase 2 when participants were introduced to the intervention. Phase 2 initiated in June, 2014 and concluded in August, 2014.

Participants

Consistent with the tenets of participatory action research, I was a practitioner-researcher embedded within the context of the investigation gathering and reporting data for the improvement of the professional setting and practice with the goal of influencing others within the field (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2010). One of the police departments where this study was situated is my workplace, and I hold the rank of lieutenant in this agency. This was significant due to the value placed on rank within the context of a law enforcement setting (Hughes, 2010). This threat to validity (researcher rank) was

acknowledged and discussed with participants at the start of the research process (Presser, 2005; Smith & Glass, 1987).

Wang and Burris (1997) suggest the use of seven to 10 participants in Photovoice projects to support extensive group discussion. I sent an email invitation to female officers known to me in four police departments located in the southwest United States. This email introduced me as a research student and police officer conducting a study of women in law enforcement. The email invited potential participants to attend one of three informational meetings to learn more about my study and also asked email recipients to invite other women in law enforcement to the informational meetings. Attempts to diversify the participant sample with women from various positions, ranks, tenures, ages, race/ethnicities, and marital status to reflect the study setting were pursued through email invitation.

Seven female police officers from the snowball sampling participated in this study. Seven was a suitable number of participants for group dialogue. The seven women were from two municipal police departments and represented the ranks of officer through commander. Six of the participants were white females, and one was a black female. Four of the participants were married. Five of the participants were parents. Two of the participants were gay with long term partners, and one participant had an undisclosed status. The participants were introduced to the innovation and the data collection instruments throughout the course of the study. Table 1 displays participant information by pseudonym.

Table 1

Participant Index

Pseudonym	Age	Race	Rank	Marital Status	Children	Tenure
Andee	32	Black	Officer	Married	2	6
Cleo	48	White	Sergeant	Married	5	21
Frankie	33	White	Officer	Partner	0	8
Grace	44	White	Officer	Partner	0	15
Kim	51	White	Commander	Partner	2	18
Marie	50	White	Lieutenant	Married	2	20
Faith	49	White	Officer	Married	5	18

Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality

A pseudonym was assigned replacing the real name of each participant. A pseudonym was assigned to the police department where participants were employed. All collected data was void of individual names and agency identification. Participant-gathered photographs were returned to participants unless written consent was obtained from the subject of the photograph and the participant. Data, including audio files, transcripts, field notes/observations, and researcher reflective journal were stored in a secure, password protected folder within my personal computer. Photographs gathered by participants were stored on individual flash drives provided to the participants by me. Participant flash drives and photo logs were collected by me at the end of Day 9 and stored in a locked storage file. Flash drives were returned to participants, and audio

recordings of sessions were destroyed at the conclusion of the study. I was the only one with access to all of the data. All transcribed documents were coded using participant pseudonyms and agency pseudonym. Identifying characteristics captured in photographs were blurred by the researcher using Skitch and Evernote software when necessary. I sought authorization via email from identifiable publications when participants took pictures of photographs published by others. Photographs of prisoners, crime victims, or crime scenes with any identifying characteristics were prohibited from this study. Signed photo release and consent forms were stored in a locked storage file and later shredded.

Instruments

Data Collection Inventory

Table 2 references how data were collected for this study. The data source, instruments, data type (qualitative), and timeline for data gathering and analyzing were included in this inventory. A description of each instrument and how it was used in the study follows.

Table 2

Data Collection Inventory

Data Source/Instrument	Type	Use	Analysis Phase	How Analyzed
Session Recordings	Qualitative	Days 2-9	Conclusion	Open Code
Researcher Field Notes/Observations	Qualitative	Throughout	As collected	Open Code
Researcher Reflective Journal	Qualitative	Throughout	As collected	Open Code
Participant Photographs Photo Log	Qualitative	Days 5-9	Sessions 5-9	SHOWed

Data Collection Instrument Description

Session recordings. A commonly used instrument within the framework of participatory action research is the focus group. The customary focus group process includes the formation of a group of research participants. Participants are provided a safe environment for discussing aspects of the research project. This open dialogue becomes the entry point for participatory research initiative (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). For this study, each session served as a focus group, and I digitally audio recorded each meeting. Session recordings were later transcribed through an online transcription service. I checked all typewritten transcription against the audio recorded session for accuracy. Participant voices were designated with an assigned pseudonym, and I made every effort to identify individual voices in the recordings. When the voice could not be identified, the utterance was described as unknown participant (UP).

Researcher field notes/observations. As a researcher embedded within the study, I kept a field journal capturing the emergent topics from each session. Field notes and observations were handwritten and often informed the discussion for the following session. A weekly preliminary analysis of the participant identified themes as well as the connections I made between meetings were documented in field notes and assisted as discussion prompts for sessions. Field notes and observations were later typewritten by me.

Researcher reflective journal. The reflective journal served as documentation of my experience as a rooted participant within the study. It was a tool for critical and analytical review of the work in progress. I was conscious of the possibility of changes within my understanding of this topic as both a practitioner and a researcher. Because of this, I maintained this journal throughout the research project. Entries were informal, handwritten, and assisted with providing connections in thoughts across sessions and environments. I recorded my thoughts at the conclusion of each research meeting and on other occasions as the project progressed. The reflective journal was later typewritten by me.

Participant photographs and log. Participants used their personally owned digital cameras (or iPhones, smartphones, etc...) to take photographs for this study. I provided each participant a flash drive for use during this study as part of Day 4. Participants uploaded their individually collected photographs to the flash drive provided by me. Photographs were shared among participants as part of Days 5 through 9. Participants submitted their flash drives to me at the conclusion of day nine. All photographs containing images of people included written consent from the subject of the

photograph for inclusion in publication and/or presentation, or the photograph was returned to the participant. I further sought consent for use of pictures taken of published photographs when the source of the image was identifiable. The photo release form found in Appendix C was retained by the researcher. Identifying characteristics were blurred by the researcher using Skitch and Evernote software when necessary. This was done as a measure of protection for participants and subjects. Each participant maintained a photograph log for documenting when, where, and why each photograph was taken. Participants used this log for noting the meaning and thoughts surrounding the photograph. These logs were submitted by the participants to me at the conclusion of the photovoice project. A copy of this document is found in Appendix D.

Procedure

The procedure and documents for this study were adapted from the photovoice project “Snapshot to Civic Action” and were implemented here with permission from the authors, noting “As with all forms included in this manual, you are welcome to use them as examples, and/or modify them to fit your study’s needs” (Powers, Feedman, & Pitner, 2012, p. 17).

Table 3 displays the topic for each day of the study and the timeline for the research process.

Table 3

Estimated Timeline for Procedure

Day	Topic	Time
Day 1	Orientation: Overview of timeline, length of study, voluntariness, photographs, informed consent, questions	2 hours
Day 2	Welcome: Introductions of participants, icebreaker, review of photovoice project, group norms	2 hours
Day 3	Photography: review group norms from day two, icebreaker activity, review photovoice project theme, discuss photography power, ethics, and legal issues, conduct camera 101 training, and questions and answers.	2 hours
Day 4	SHOWeD: review group norms from day two revisit project theme/what matters to me, execute process for organizing and storing photos and photograph log, review ethical considerations, timeframe for photographing, and number of photographs per participant, questions and answers.	2 hours
PHOTOGRAPHING - 2 WEEKS		
Day 5-9	Coding: review group norms from day two, photograph review using SHOWeD, select photos for evaluation, discuss and analyze photos with group, write titles and captions for photos, discuss thematic data analysis, select an audience, questions and answers	2 hours
Day 10	Extra time built into study	2 hours
Day 11	Exhibit: Photovoice project presented to broader audience at discretion of participants.	2 hours

Day 1: Orientation

I hosted three informational sessions for potential participants. These informational meetings were hosted at a space not affiliated with any identified police agency and was selected as a comfortable setting for participants to ensure privacy for interaction. Additionally, the selection of this space ensured necessary technology was available for presentations. I provided an overview of the timeline for the study to participants. The participants would meet as a group on a weekly basis at the location previously identified by the researcher. Each research session would last approximately two hours in length and would be digitally audio recorded by me to assist with retention of emerging ideas. Ten weeks was established as the initial length of the study, with the possibility of extending beyond this time period at the request of the group. There was agreement to keep the content of the group confidential, and everyone was reminded that participation in this study was voluntary. They were free to leave at any time.

I explained that this study included the gathering of photographs collected by participants. Participants would be asked to share their chosen images with the group for discussion. Permission would be sought from participants for use of images they produced as part of the study (the photographs they take) in publications and other potential forms of distribution. This provided participants control of their images and voice in deciding which images were accessible to me for dissemination (Appendix A and C). Finally, I explained that the cameras used for this project were those individually owned by the participants. Digital images would eventually be uploaded by participants to a flash drive provided by me for each participant. The flash drives containing

participant collected photographs would be gathered by me for data analysis and securely stored.

Participants were provided an “Adult Consent Form” for their consideration along with details for subsequent informational meeting dates and times (Appendix A). As part of this consent, each participant was asked for her permission to allow me to digitally audio record the research process when it began. Day 1 was not recorded and was treated as an orientation to allow potential participants opportunity to make an informed decision regarding participation in this study.

Day 2: Introduce Photovoice Methodology to Participants

The participants were asked for their “Adult Consent Forms” provided on Day 1, the orientation meeting. (Appendix A, pages 5-7) The objectives for Day 1 were to: 1) conduct an icebreaker activity; 2) describe the photovoice concept; 3) review goals of this photovoice project; 4) articulate participant roles for this study; 5) develop a contract for group norms; and 6) define tasks for next session. I gave participants the photovoice manual for this project. This document contained all of the handouts and activities used for the duration of the study (Appendix A through E).

Icebreaker activity. Printed copies of photographs (local landmarks, nature, animals, current events) were placed at the center of a table. Each participant chose a photograph to use as part of her introduction to the group. Going around the room, participants introduced themselves and explained why she chose the photograph she was holding. This activity allowed participants to share something about themselves with the group. It further introduced the concept of how photographs assist in the telling of stories. The connection between photography and participant voice was introduced and the idea

that conceptual imagery can represent intangible ideas was explained through this activity.

Describe photovoice. I showed the video “One Photo a Day” and “Snap Decisions: Photovoice Project Puts Focus on Environmental Justice” from You Tube as an incendiary for discussing how photographs affect participants (One Photo a Day, 2013; UM News Service, 2007).

Next, participants viewed two past photovoice projects from the photovoice website (<http://www.photovoice.org>). There are 50 photovoice projects located for viewing on the website. These projects illustrate how to capture concepts through the use of photographs. Labeling of photographs was discussed to help participants understand how context builds understanding relative to visual representation. Further discussion included focusing participants as photographers documenting their experiences as an avenue of influence with others. This activity allowed participants to ask questions and visualize how the end product could look and envision potential outcomes for this project.

Goals of photovoice project. The identity of female police officers, and the manner in which they navigate their identity/identities within a male congenial profession, was presented as the focus for this study. I shared with the group that identity is subjective and layered with aspects of role, group membership, and professed characteristics, among other things. I used pictures of me as a lieutenant, a mother, and a student to illustrate the many, various identities I encompass. Participants were asked how they defined themselves, their profession, and their identity/identities within the context of policing. I asked the group how working as a police officer affects their

perceived identities as officers and as women. Identity was the broad canopy for this study. Sub-topics of gender and institutions were discussed as possibilities for exploring the concept of identity. I asked participants to think about how they might like to capture and share their stories as an avenue for knowledge building about being a female in policing.

To further illustrate the idea of using photographs to answer a question, I shared with the participants a series of pictures taken by my daughter and my fiancé in their effort to answer the question, What does it mean to be a girl in the United States? I showed each picture taken by my daughter and my fiancé and explained the relevance of the photograph as reported by the photographer. I used this activity to illustrate contrasting perspectives of gender and identity as well as how pictures relay a message.

Articulate participant roles. I explained the participant role for this project was: 1) to record and reflect what it means to be a female police officer; 2) share personal and professional issues through group discussions of photographs within the group and with others; and 3) inform the development of strategies for improving our workplace as part of the research process.

Contract for group norms. Establishing clear group norms among participants facilitated better communication within each activity. I facilitated a group norm activity using the “Developing a Contract for Group Norms” outline found in Appendix B.

Define tasks for next session. Participants were asked to think about what they would photograph as part of this project.

Questions and answers. There was time at the conclusion of this day for any questions participants had regarding this process and next steps.

Day 3: Photography

The objectives for Day 3 consisted of the following items: 1) review group norms from Day 2; 2) icebreaker activity; 3) review photovoice project theme; 4) discuss photography power, ethics, and legal issues; 5) conduct camera 101 training; and 6) questions and answers.

Review of group norms. I reviewed with participants the norms established by the group during Day 2. I asked if there were any additional norms they wished to add and made note of these revisions.

Icebreaker activity. I shared the following vignette with participants. Margo Frazier was the first female and first openly gay sheriff elected in Travis County, Texas. She is the mother of an adopted daughter, who spent most of her childhood surrounded by strong women who primarily worked in the field of law enforcement. In the summer of 1997, Margo took her young daughter to a charity event where female police officers were playing softball against female firefighters. This was an annual competition well attended by the public safety community. While at the game, a uniformed officer, who happened to be male, approached Margo and her daughter to say hello. Following the brief exchange, Margo's daughter turned to her mother and said, "I didn't know boys were allowed to be police officers." It occurred to the sheriff that her daughter had never seen a male police officer and found the concept foreign. What is your response to this story? Why is this story interesting? I offered each participant a response opportunity.

Review photovoice project theme. I asked participants to briefly share any ideas they had regarding how they might wish to capture and share the experience of being a

female police officer. I asked participants to begin to imagine their photovoice project presentation and explained the possibilities of gallery walks, exhibit, slide show, and any ideas offered by the group.

Photography power, ethics, and legal issues. Using the “Ethics and Safety Guidelines Handout” found in Appendix C, I initiated a discussion regarding the power, ethical, and legal considerations for photographing people, places, and things. Next, participants were directed to the photography “Power, Ethics, and Legal Issues Activity” handout found in Appendix C in their manuals. Using the scenarios described, I facilitated a group discussion regarding the importance of consent, ethics in photography, and personal safety. I explained the importance of confidentiality and protecting the identity of participants as well as the images captured of people. I asked the Ethical Consideration questions from Table 4. Participants were referred to the “Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form” found in Appendix C. This form was used every time a participant sought to photograph any person. I reminded participants of the importance of protecting their own identities as part of the research process and asked them to discuss how to do this. Photographs of prisoners, crime victims, or crime scenes with any identifying characteristics were prohibited from this study. Lastly, participants reviewed the “Photovoice Ethics Agreement” form found in Appendix C and were asked to sign this document. I collected this document and retained it in the research file.

Table 4

Ethical Considerations: Questions for Ethics in Photography

What is an acceptable way to approach someone to take his or her picture?

Should someone take pictures of others without their knowledge?

To whom would you give photographs and what are the potential implications?

When would you not want to have your picture taken?

Note: Wang (1999)

Conduct camera 101 training. Using the “Photography 101” and “Seeing Like a Photographer” handout found in Appendix C, guidelines for photographic composition were discussed with emphasis placed on light, attention to background, subject focus, and keeping photographs simple. I used photographs from my personal scrapbooks illustrating this point. I presented posed photographs and candid shots, and again discussed the importance of ethics in photographing people.

Questions and answers. There was time at the conclusion of this day for any questions participants had regarding this process and next steps.

Day 4: Meet to Discuss Photographs Using SHOWeD

The objectives for Day 4 consisted of the following items: 1) review group norms from Day 2; 2) revisit project theme/what matters to me; 3) execute process for organizing and storing photos and photograph log; 4) review ethical considerations, timeframe for photographing, and number of photographs per participant; and 5) questions and answers.

Review of group norms. I reviewed with participants the norms established by the group during Day 2. I asked if there were any additional norms they wished to add and made note of these revisions.

Revisit project theme. I asked participants what the identity of a female police officer might look like to them. I facilitated this discussion. I then asked participants to complete the “What Matters to Me” handout found in Appendix D. I asked participants to share the responses they had offered in the handout. This helped participants identify important factors in their community, and how these concepts might be captured using photography was discussed. I asked participants to generate ideas as they began their role as photographers.

Execute process for organizing and storing photos. I provided each participant with a flash drive. I asked all participants if they knew how to upload photographs from their personal cameras to the flash drive they were given. All participants were comfortable with the uploading process. I facilitated a discussion about labeling folders on the flash drives for storage and organization of their photos. I reminded participants to store flash drives in a secure location in order to keep their photographs safe. The “Take 10” photograph log found in Appendix D was used by participants to document the images they captured. Table 5 illustrates the root-cause questioning developed by Wang and Burris (1999) known as SHOWeD. The SHOWeD questions were incorporated into the “Take Ten” photograph log. Participants were asked to reflect upon the questions in the log for each picture taken and asked to connect the image/s to the larger topic of identity.

Table 5

SHOWeD: Description of Acronym

What do you **S**ee here?

What is really **H**appening here?

How does this relate to **O**ur lives?

Why does this problem or strength exist?

How could this image **E**ducate the community or policy makers?

What can we **D**o about it?

Note. Wang & Burris, 1997

Review ethical considerations. Using the “Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form” found in Appendix C, I reviewed with participants the need for consent when photographing human subjects. As a group, consent form was reviewed, and each participant was asked to contribute 10 photographs to this project. The group was advised that the next two weeks would be dedicated to taking pictures answering the question, What does it mean to be a female police officer? Extra paper copies of the “Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form” found in Appendix C, were distributed. The next meeting date was scheduled and participants were advised to bring flash drives with 10 uploaded photographs for discussion to the next meeting date.

Questions and answers. There was time at the conclusion of this day for any questions participants had regarding this process and next steps.

I communicated through email and in person with participants during the two week photograph gathering process. I reminded participants to bring flash drives with 10 uploaded photographs to the next meeting date.

Day 5-8: Coding

The objectives for Day 5 through 8 consisted of the following items: 1) review group norms from Day , 2) photograph review using SHOWed, 3) select photos for evaluation; 4) write titles and captions for photos 5) discuss and analyze photos with group 6) discuss thematic data analysis, 7) select an audience, and 8) questions and answers.

Review group norms. I welcomed the participants and reviewed the norms established prior to the photography hiatus.

Photograph review using SHOWed. Participants presented their 10 photographs and offered context during a facilitated discussion using root-cause questioning developed by Wang and Burris (1997) known as SHOWed described in Table 5. Photographs were shared on a large screen at the front of the room so that all members could see and hear the explanation of each photograph. Participants were asked to connect the image/s to the larger topic of identity. I asked the participants if any themes emerged in the group's photos? If so, how could we focus on these themes? Elaboration or follow-up questions from the group were discussed as each participant presented her photographs.

Select photographs for evaluation. Next, participants selected from the shared photographs which pictures they would use in their photovoice project. As noted in the "Adult Consent Form" found in Appendix A, the participants own their photographs, and

they only shared photographs they considered appropriate. They also had the right to determine which photographs they would allow for group discussions and public display, provided consent was obtained.

Write titles and captions. Using the “Reflection Documentation Worksheet,” found in Appendix E, to facilitate this process, I asked participants to work together to create titles and captions for the selected photographs agreed upon by the group. These captions conveyed a specific message related to what the participants saw and why they selected the photo for the project. Two participants acted as the scribe for the group as they worked collectively scripting and titling the selected photographs for presentation.

Discuss and analyze photos. Using the “Theme Activity Worksheet” found in Appendix E, participants were asked to codify the issues, themes, or theories arising from the images (Wang, 1999). The participants examined the photographs and identified common ideas conceptualized within the images. These ideas were given a code. The codes were then grouped into similar concepts. From the established concepts, categories were formed and photographs were placed within these categories.

Following the coding and categorizing process, participants reviewed the photos one final time and ensured the correct title and captions were matched with the correct photograph. Participants edited captions, titles, and themes as necessary. This was done through a challenges/significance listing exercise, followed by a pile sort. The “Theme Activity Worksheet” found in Appendix E, was used for this final review.

Select an audience. Participants were asked how and with whom they might like to share these photographs. I facilitated this discussion and reviewed confidentiality and privacy. The participants had the option to determine if, and how they wished to engage

in this step of the project. Participants agreed there was a need to share their photovoice project outside the confines of the group, but were undecided on how they would identify invited guests. Participants further had the option of presenting their stories and photographs personally or allowing me to serve as the presenter of the project. Previous photovoice projects include gallery walks and slide shows followed by a presentation of the project to invited guests. Group discussion among guests is encouraged. The participants provide the location, invitations, and refreshments. The degree of anonymity and participation in this step of the project was the choice of the participants. Further, the group was given the option not to share this project with a broader group.

Questions and answers. There was time at the conclusion of this day for any questions participants had regarding this process and next steps

Day 9: The Exhibit

If participants chose to display the photovoice project for invited guests, the group would determine the manner in which this event would unfold. Participants elected not to share their findings with a broader audience at this time, however.

Data Analysis

Qualitative research explored complex issues through the collection of text and image data to understand the research problem through the lens of the participant (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2010). This study investigated the lived experience of female police officers through their own views using photographs, thus qualitative study design was appropriately suited. Multiple qualitative data points were gathered and used for triangulation analysis of the examined research questions.

Data were analyzed from the listed qualitative instruments using inductive coding with a grounded theory approach. Data sets were analyzed at varying times throughout the study as noted in Table 2. The data analysis process for each instrument consistently followed the steps for inductive coding recommended by Plano Clark and Creswell (2010) as illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6

Process of Qualitative Data Analysis

4. Use Codes to Build Findings
3. Code the Data for Themes
2. Read Through Data
1. Data Preparation for Analysis

Note. Plano Clark & Creswell, 2010

Analysis of Session Recordings, Field Notes/Observations, Researcher Reflective Journal

Digital audio recordings of each session were transcribed by an online transcription service and later compared by me against the audio recording for accuracy. Field note/observations and the researcher reflective journal were handwritten instruments that I later typed. I read through all of the data numerous times to achieve a conceptual understanding of the collected items. Then, relevant research issues were hand labeled with a code. The codes were then grouped into similar concepts narrowing the number of codes throughout the data set. Next, concepts were refined and organized

through multiple re-readings of the data. Concepts were combined into central themes identified through the corresponding data sets.

I defined each central theme and used data to explain these findings. General assumptions drawn from various data sources explained my learning about the research questions.

Analysis of Photographs by Participants Using SHOWeD

In this study, data were collected in the form of participant-generated photographs. These photographs included visual data and participant-authored descriptive text. Using the photovoice analysis recommended by Wang and Burris (1997), descriptive coding and thematic analysis converted photographs and written narratives into participant generated themes. This was a three step process: (1) Selecting (identifying those photographs from the group that most truthfully reflect the participants' experience); (2) Contextualizing (offering stories regarding the meaning of the images); and (3) Codifying (categorizing issues, themes, or theories that emerge; Wang & Burris, 1997). In each stage of this process, participants lead the way as a collective body guided by the researcher. This process involved using SHOWeD questions found in Table 5 to critically analyze the content of the photographs (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Conclusion

The goal of creating a study promoting the efficacy of female officers in constructing their own findings related to identity guided the theory and method for this project. The study contributed to how female police officers' standpoints inform the gender, identity, and occupation literature. A description of how each of these theories

informed this study is detailed in Chapter 2. The manner in which data for this study was gathered and analyzed facilitated a meaningful answer to the research questions.

CHAPTER 4 - INTERPRETATION

I met with seven women police officers over a period of 10 weeks. We completed the activities described in Chapter 3 and learned how we perceived ourselves, and how others perceived us, individually and collectively. Through exercises, the participants helped me understand their meanings using discussions of pictures and experiences. I share their voices, ideas, and understandings, acknowledging my role as narrator seeking responses to my initial research question, “Who does she think she is?” This was their story, and I was their scribe. I hope I have sufficiently integrated their voices in telling the story as they would like it told.

That Girl Power Meeting

Finding women police officer participants for academic research was not easy. They were a reluctant group and a suspicious population. For them, involvement in anything female gender specific was dicey because it was reportedly perceived by women and men as threatening the status quo. This belief was an early challenge for the research. A seemingly widely held belief that women and men in law enforcement were treated “equally” and their opportunities, challenges, and needs were “the same” surfaced in my observations of discussions among women and men in policing. Publicly and overtly stating otherwise appeared taboo for women and unheard of for men, according to some officers. Yet, left out of the conversations about how women and men in policing adapt to fit in with the dominant culture was the topic of gender. There was the tendency for those in policing to describe an assortment of familiar causes deterring the success of women without also naming gender as a mutual impediment to achievement and

acceptance. At least this was how things appeared on the surface at the initial stages of this journey.

Research specifically focused on women police officers was met with wariness among attendees at the informational meetings as well as the eventual participants in this study. They were guarded, cautious, and reticent. Their hesitation reportedly stemmed from concern about being labeled as “flag wavers” or “rocking the boat.” For some, there was no need for a study of women in law enforcement despite the meager representation of women in the field. Participation in “that girl power group” was viewed as, “...making ourselves stand out and we’re speaking up when we shouldn’t be. We should just not make a big deal out of things and stay with the norms and not have things just for us” (07/30/14). Beneath the veneer of “we are all equal” were participants who wanted to fit in with the culture of policing while also retaining what made them different from the status quo. They were willing to rock the boat, but looked for ways to stay in it. Perhaps, this was how they survived and thrived in an unwelcoming field.

Hesitancy regarding sharing inside and outside of the research group was expressed over the course of the 10 week process. Sometimes the reluctance was verbal, and sometimes it was quiet. The research meetings were labeled “that girl group” or “that girl power thing” by some in and out of law enforcement who learned about a faction of women police officers participating in a doctoral study on gender, identity, and policing. It was unclear if “girl power” was used favorably or as a reductive title. Women and men used these labels in conversation with participants when talking about the research group. The epithets were cavalier but hosted an insidious tone. Participants received such commentary as dismissive and belittling of their effort. Support was reported by some

members, but supportive words did not positively affect the group to the same degree “that girl power thing” troubled them. They described the encouraging exchanges as passive, sometimes met with a pregnant pause preceding the “Well, that’s cool” endorsement, and followed by an awkward not knowing what to say (07/30/14). But, the contrary comments seemed hostile. Grace described her interaction with a female leader in her chain of command with whom she shared her interest in participating in this research process.

And I did have one particular female who lost her mind when I told her what I was doing. She lost her mind. She was like, “I don’t even want to hear about it. I don’t even want to hear about it.” It was about her being of the belief that women like us who believe in things that we believe or see things the way that we see them, she sees us as flag wavers. She sees us as rocking the boat. And she just wants to, you know, everyone, we’re all the same and it’s not something, it’s like a big ugly secret we’re not going to talk about it. She was very annoyed when I told her what I was doing and what it was about. (07/30/14)

Initially, women police officers were reluctant to talk about gender. During the informational meetings and later among research participants, female officers disclosed that gender discussions made those in law enforcement extraordinarily uncomfortable. Participants described gender as a challenging, polarizing, and reportedly risky issue for exploration. I observed that the subject was steeped in fear and emotion among participants and female officers who attended the informational sessions. It was personal because unlike many other statuses, gender followed everyone home. So, gender was largely avoided in conversation. It was initially unclear if women even distinguished themselves as women and not just officers. So, discussing women in the context of law enforcement was unfamiliar terrain met with a palatable distrust between participants and of others, female and male alike. Participants reported that they were cautioned about being branded feminist for their involvement in this study. I shared with the participants

that I was regularly offered unsolicited advice from well-meaning colleagues who suggested that I temper conversations about gender when people inquired about my research. Self-advocacy for women was discouraged. This advice was mostly offered by men with whom I worked and the participants disclosed similar experiences. Most women police officers do not share outwardly a sense of being marginalized nor do they openly discuss discrimination. No woman officer wants to be thought a complainer, flag waver, or feminist, I learned. From the start, research members selectively shared their involvement in the research process with those outside the group, but quickly adjusted their responses to questions surrounding the study. Although interested in forming community among women in law enforcement, participants described feeling judged by people who disagreed with the purpose of the study and told of conversations with others who thought women police officers should not segregate themselves from male officers for any reason. Some participants were told they were making things worse by establishing a “women officer only” group, although that was not the intention of the research. Rather than debate with others, participants discovered with whom it was safe to share their stories and also learned the importance of how their stories might alter understandings. Andee explained, “I’m very choosy about, even this morning which I know Josh knows that we’re coming to this, I guess, but I still ... I just edited it. ‘Where are you going?’ ‘I’m going downtown,’” alluding to the weekly research location (08/06/14). Faith stated,

When you tell people that you’re coming to this group, that’s exactly what they do, “Yeah, the woman power meeting.” It makes you feel almost like okay, “I’m just going to a meeting today.” You don’t say what you’re going to do. That’s where yeah you’re proud of what you’re doing, but everybody else looks at it like

(she shrugs and shakes her head “no”) because there’s only maybe a few. We’re the only two women that are coming from [their assigned station]. (08/27/14)

Another added, “Yeah, my husband said, ‘Oh you’re going to your girl power meeting.’ Or, he’ll say that, and then, ‘oh is it a man-bashing?’” (08/06/14). Instead of engaging in conversation about the research, the women silenced themselves in avoidance of being labeled or demeaned. Yet, they continually attended the research meetings and accommodated the presence of all members by adjusting their schedules. In this way, participants quietly resisted pressures to conform to the mainstream police culture which critiqued the investigation of gender as a subject of interest within policing. All members were retained for the duration of the 10 week study.

There was also perceived potential retribution associated with membership in any group where women appeared to separate themselves from the male population or vocalize a differing perspective from the accepted norm of male dominance. Marie shared an encounter she had with a male police supervisor regarding her attendance at a national conference for women in law enforcement.

I went to go pick up my travel check on the 4th floor, there’s a Commander, shorter than me, not that that matters ... so, he sees me and he goes, “Oh, I know where you’re going.” He wanted to say something, and I said, “Say it Bill. What have you got? Bring it on.” “Nothing,” and I’m like, “Where am I going?” “A bunch of you...” and he stopped, because I must have had that look like, “Say it.” I grabbed my check, and I grabbed my stuff, and I go downstairs. I stop in and talk to one of my administrators from records. I’m standing by the door, and he walks past me. I turned around and I go, “It’s just you and me buddy. Say it. Say whatever you had to say.” He’s like, “Uh...” I go, “What, you don’t have the guts to say it?” He said, “Maybe I should go there and pick up girls.” I go, “Yeah. Good luck with that,” and I just walked (away). He wanted to slam it, but when I called him on it he ... “What are you going to say?” (08/27/14)

In Marie’s story, she was addressing a superior officer regarding her perception that he was dismissive of the women in law enforcement conference. She confronted him about

his comment, “I know where you’re going,” the tone of which she found reductive.

Editing of voice and overt challenging of others represented a range of responses used by participants who regularly navigated the tension between the desire and need to fit in and the will to act on personal values that often set them apart from the dominant culture of policing. Some members never discovered a method to support this balance and instead reported disempowering experiences of being “outsiders.” They told stories of lesser battles and the steady push against conventions which created subtle changes within their organizations. Their experiences were akin to operating on a fault line. They described walking the tight rope between acceptance and preservation of identity. They wanted to change things but were also careful not to compromise their organizational credibility.

When asked who was not comfortable having her name associated with the research,

Frankie offered,

It would depend on the audience, for me, talk about career killer. If, for example, our unsupportive chain of command with this situation or with this meeting ... maybe not career ... but there are people who are going to be very opposed to this, and “Oh, that doesn’t exist,” and just not open to it. That’s my hesitation, having (many) years left.... (08/13/14)

Participants used a gamut of approaches in negotiating the tension between difference and fit. Some never saw a way to balance the two and felt disempowered and hopeless.

They responded to pressures to conform their identity to match departmental ways that sometimes harmed them as women. They expressed the benefit of fitting in with norms as self-preserving and silently accepted that male dominance was a taken for granted “way things are.”

Group Norms

Participants established a social contract with each other and with me as part of the process of establishing trust and confidentiality within the group. They wrote anonymously what they hoped to accomplish and gain from participation in the study. They shared what was important in terms of group communication, as well as their concerns about research involvement. The group norms established acceptance from each other regarding ideas offered within the confines of the study. The contract stated the value of honesty and authentic interaction with each other. They guarded against pretense and judgment, and understood the vulnerability each expected and offered by the collective body. They did not wish to waste each other's time with superficial responses and only wanted truth, with no hidden agenda. They asked each member to be real and they collectively wanted to be heard. These protections were formed to ensure the integrity of the study and the group. Their ideas were offered after I committed confidentiality within the research sessions.

Among the group concerns were anonymity, vulnerability, and being misunderstood both inside the "circle of trust," as they eventually referred to the research sessions, as well as beyond the protection of the research environment. They were especially interested in the goal of the study and Kim was hopeful that, "the study is read by others and they take something productive from it" (07/02/14). They wanted their stories to matter. They wanted to make a difference for women, and gradually acknowledged their awareness of the "taken for granted way things are" in policing and how little had changed for women over the years. Marie shared:

I don't think I realized how frustrated I was about so many things throughout my career. You just take it as that's how it is. Then you hear everyone else and

you're, "What the fuck? This isn't right." It's almost like when you have a problem with a teenager, and you're like, "Why are they doing this?" Then you hear other people and you're like, "Okay. Well, it's normal." Well, it's still not normal. It's just accepted. I really would like to pave a way so other females don't have to go through this. I'm at the tail end. I'm out in less than two [retiring in two years], and what I'm seeing right now is something that, really, in 25 years, hasn't changed that much. (08/13/14)

As the group contemplated their purpose for this study, what they wanted to change for others and for themselves, they considered the issue of trust and empowerment. "I know we're in the cone of trust here, but how many of us here even trust each other?" Faith asked the group (08/06/14). There was a lengthy silence and glances between them. They agreed it would be hurtful hearing someone outside of the group discuss the content of the research sessions in terms of things spoken in confidence or disclosures of opinions that could damage them individually. Although all stated they wanted to make a difference for other women and they wanted to raise awareness within the profession, they expressed reluctance and were fearful of their faces or voices being attached with the findings of the study. Chloe suggested,

It's one thing to show pictures and be represented, but it's clearly another thing to stand up in front of people and put your face out there. You don't know what questions they're going to ask, and we're not going there to be torn up, but that might happen. They may make you feel bad or something. (08/13/14)

The benefit of fitting in with the majority, at times, outweighed the personal costs associated with going against the grain. Survival was often accomplished through conformity. However, they recognized how the burden of adapting restricted the possibility of broader learning and change for themselves and others. There was tension between trust and empowerment, silence and voice.

Collectively and individually, they were conflicted by the desire to be heard and the potential professional harm speaking about gender may cause them. They had been

warned about being labeled. As the women later shared photographs, the matter of trust surfaced in an image captured by Faith. Faith was an unassuming and soft-spoken woman who had served her police department for more than 18 years. She was described by the group as introspective, and she often guarded her comments. However, she challenged the group through questions. “How many of us here even trust each other?” was Faith’s way of identifying and confronting what was left unsaid among participants. And she was the first to name trust as a potential obstacle. Faith shared the image in Figure 4 as an illumination of some of the feelings of disempowerment and distrust among women in policing. It also illustrated the desire of the group to create “circles of trust” unifying women.

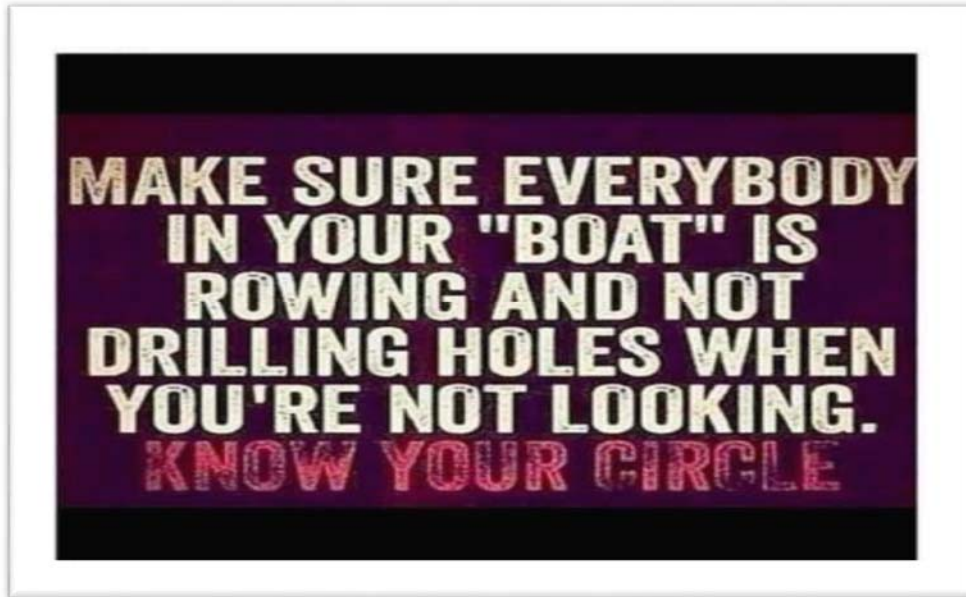


Figure 4. Trust and sabotage.

I think it's (trust) definitely grown over the weeks. When this first started, I was, pretty much, not really comfortable opening my mouth, and not comfortable with, like you said, who knows who, and who's going to repeat what, and what's safe to say. I would say that maybe everyone else's willingness to share has helped, but I definitely feel a lot more comfortable with the group than I did when it first started. (Grace, 08/13/14)

Faith was not alone in her concern about trusting each other and others. Nor was she the only one who expressed feeling undermined by women and men within her organization.

Marie explained:

When we leave, we don't see a lot of other women willing to step up and really take a leadership role and have a voice. It's a little frustrating that we're not going to have a lot of women that, I don't know, want to have a voice for others. There's no mentoring. I can share some pretty good stories about our previous interim chief, that I never thought was true, until I was alone with her in a room and she was a different woman and I'm like, okay, I got your number, sister. She kind of went at Kim and I and she wanted her name on everything. But what she did is she pushed us back and like [Marie thought], "I'm a threat to you." Well, she came in as an outsider, too, and a lot of times you see that with women, if they come in as an outsider, they have to push other women down, rather than pull them up. (07/30/14)

Trust was a salient issue for the women in the group and was defined by Andee as “having those people in your workplace who have your back” (08/27/14). Trust was reportedly developed from shared experiences and/or being vulnerable with others. However, participants collectively agreed that trust did not come easily and that there was risk involved in developing relationships within the profession. The topic of trust repeatedly surfaced among the women as they moved through the research process. Participants identified sub-categories of trust as loyalty, opportunity, support, camaraderie, and proving. The women perceived that male officers had the built in benefit of all of these themes by sheer biology of being male. Although women officers proved themselves through a series of informal tests in order to gain a degree of acceptance, they retained a sense of never fully fitting in. As women, they were not immediately trusted or embraced by others within police culture. At various times, individual participants expressed sensing the lack of support and relationship. As the weeks progressed, the group grew more vocal with each other. At the end of the study, I asked them if they had developed trust over the course of the 10 weeks. Chloe stated, “With *this* group,” and there was a knowing laughter following her statement. Kim added, “This is the circle of trust.” Both Grace and Faith said, “Just in the room” (08/27/14).

Isolation

The women in this study were not all cut from the same cloth. They varied in age, rank, ethnicity, tenure, sexuality, family status, and job assignment. They also differed in reasons for joining the law enforcement profession. For Faith, the job offered financial stability for raising a family, for Frankie policing was a childhood dream, and Andee

thought the work would be a fun challenge. Most of the participants entered law enforcement after careers in teaching, the military, and private industry. Reflecting on the circumstances that brought them to “the job,” they sounded like police officers, all speaking a common language shared among people familiar with each other or from the same family. When introducing themselves they provided their names, departments, ranks, and current job assignments. They talked about years of service and used radio codes in passing conversation. Some of their stories and experiences could have been voiced by any police officer anywhere. Chaotic crime scenes, calls for service, difficult interrogations, internal investigations, and the endless number of citizens who greeted officers with, “I didn’t do it” as though this joke had never been told before, all resonated in the group as common experiences shared among them. Each woman, however, had additional stories fitting the specific way that women police officers viewed themselves, their work, and their institutions.

The individual stories derived from the desire to fit in with police culture without relinquishing what made them different. They were women who did not wish to act like men in a male dominated institution. And, many of them had quietly and separately navigated between commitments to legitimacy within the mainstream of the profession while simultaneously initiating change by acting as themselves. What they learned through navigation and compliance, they learned well, and it was functional for survival in the law enforcement culture. The price they paid was what they suppressed, what they left unspoken, what they set aside, and what they could not enjoy. Isolation and exclusion were familiar feelings as most of the members had been the only woman on a squad, shift, or in a specific assignment at some point in their careers. The work environment

unintentionally segregated women from one another. This separation prevented interaction among women officers, because they rarely saw each other. Over time, the absence of connection with other women promoted a sense of aloneness. Marie described the desire for conversations that women have with each other:

Most of us in this room, we have a lot of guy friends and that's fine, but we also like to be around other women because sometimes talking about man stuff just gets old. You know, I really don't care that you're checking out this girl and I don't care who you shagged last night and I don't care about hunting. I don't care about that. You listen and you just play dumb. It would be great if you could also actually talk to other girls that you have things in common with. (07/30/14)

They sought expanded boundaries of inclusion and also wanted to speak their truth in hopes of making a difference across the profession. Most of them were unaware that other women were experiencing similar feelings of solitude until they shared their stories with each other through this research process.

The photograph displayed in Figure 5 was used as an example image during the Day 2 activities discussed in Chapter 3. Participants reviewed other Photovoice projects, viewed this image, and discussed how to conceptualize the experiences of women in policing. The picture was taken of the women's locker room at a police department. The lockers were empty and the participants described a similar feeling of seclusion. Within the structure of a large police facility, the women's locker room was scarcely populated and the photograph was selected as a metaphor illustrating the starkness and lack of representation of women in policing.

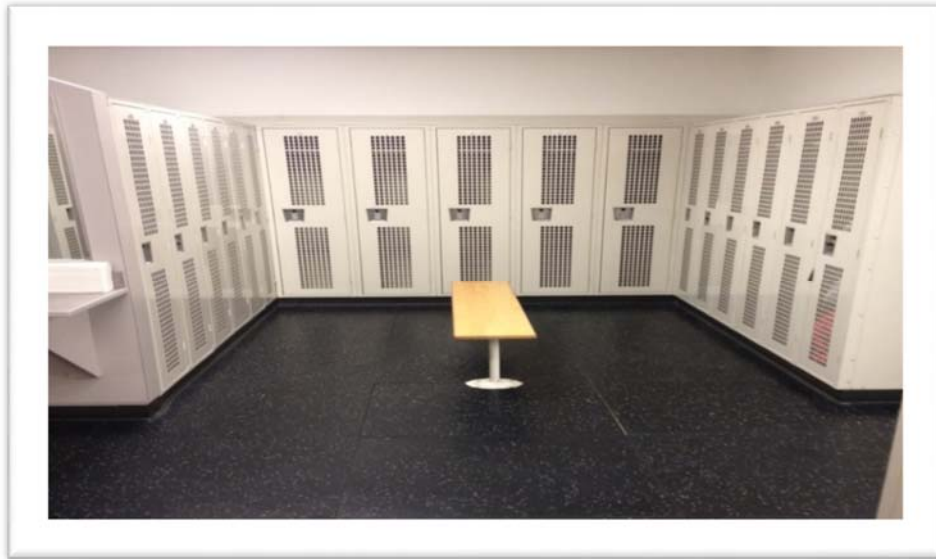


Figure 5. Empty.

I feel like sometimes in this job, you feel like that. You feel like you're the only one. You're on a squad with eight other guys and this is going to get really personal, but you can't come to work and say, "Last night I was up all night. I was nursing the baby. I didn't get any sleep." There's no one to say that to. Even if you have a fantastic partner, you may have a great working relationship, but it's just not the same. It's just not. You edit. (Andee 08/06/14)

As the group looked for images depicting identity of women in law enforcement and discussed the expanded boundaries of inclusion within their departments, they were regularly met with stereotypes. Much of the imagery of women in policing, as well as in other roles, portrayed woman as sexualized, subordinate, or sidelined. Andee shared the image displayed as Figure 6.



Figure 6. We exist.

You don't see...I don't know. I feel like a majority of any police department is always depicted by a man, and I just thought that this was really cool because the main reason, because it depicted a female. Then the female also did the mural and what it says about a man who donated money to have this done. I just thought it was really, really neat. (Andee 08/06/14)

Andee appreciated this image because it was displayed in a prominent location in a large city and a woman officer was the subject of the photograph. Its location and depiction of a woman officer contradicted the familiar trope: masculine images of male officers with women in the background. There were numerous discussions of the prevalence of male images used in representing law enforcement. The women believed masculine images placed limitations on inclusion and furthered misconceptions about policing. Chloe, who at one time worked in recruiting stated, "Because it's everywhere, whenever you see [police on television or in communities]." She went on to say that only

about 12% of police officers in each agency were women, which meant that 88% of police officers were male; therefore, the common portrait of law enforcement centered on masculinity (07/02/14). Participants saw this as problematic for and excluding of women officers.

The group spoke of how limited representation contributed to misinformation regarding the roles women play in policing and how imagery conveys a powerful message about people. One of the ways to help people think differently about something was to alter the visuals around it. The typical message about women in policing was misleading. They sought to shift perceptions and open conversations through the use of authentic images of woman officers as a means of challenging the conventional paradigm. The institution of policing often forgot that women officers were simultaneously women and police. Society appeared to forget this too. Television portrayed women officers as “Chicks and spikes” according to Grace (07/02/14). She alluded to women police officers on television programs always dressing in high heels and being presented as “sexy.” This was a restrictive portrayal. Women in high heels and skirts were unsafe as their clothing would inhibit the performance of the police function. Yet, the image persisted. Andee added, “It’s almost like a protective mechanism for men. ‘Well, they [women] can’t really be cops so they can be this.’” referring to the media portrayal of women officers in high heels and skirts (07/02/14).

Outside the Norm

The group wanted alternative representations of women in the field of law enforcement. Few images existed of women performing tactical or operational aspects of the job. As a countermeasure, the group sought portraits of women in policing

performing job duties not traditionally associated with women. A specific area of law enforcement where women were noticeably absent and often expected to fail was firearms. Figure 7 pictured a woman officer using a rifle in firearms training. The photograph was offered as a tool for expanding perspectives of how women officers work in all positions across the profession of policing.



Figure 7. Watch your target. Photograph courtesy of Women’s Tactical Association. Permission in Appendix G.

It’s like when we were at the range shooting. [The range master says] “Girls are shooting better than the guys.” Yeah, well, no shit. What the hell does shooting have to do with gender? (Frankie 07/30/14)

Participants offered stories of annual handgun qualifications where they or other women were publicly identified as “the girl who can shoot” (07/30/14). Implied in the statement was the inference of difference, as well as comparison with male officers. The suggestion was that girls cannot shoot and that gender somehow accounted for this lack of performance. Frankie contemplated why women who performed well in firearms were

singled out as an exception, but when a woman officer failed to qualify with her handgun then, “It’s oh, ‘they’re just a girl,’” Marie said (07/30/14). “Do you carry a gun, do you have a partner and are you scared” were questions asked of several participants when they disclosed their profession to others outside of law enforcement. The women wondered if male officers fielded these same questions. It struck participants as odd that people thought women officers were not armed and trained in the same manner as their male counterparts (08/27/14). Participants excused the questions as misguided and uninformed, but also questioned the biased nature of what was implied.

While participants recognized that others might struggle picturing them as officers when they were out of uniform, they were puzzled when the public posed curious questions and comments to research participants in uniform and on-duty. While ensconced in this study, I stopped at a local business to buy a cup of coffee. I was in uniform waiting for my order when a man passed me and said “good morning.” He was taller than I and thinly built. A few moments later, the same man approached me. With a smile and a warm tone he said, “Seriously, have you ever had to wrestle someone to the ground? You’re so lean and thin.” I answered, “Yes sir, I have,” and smiled back at him. He said, “Now I’m really scared,” and walked away. Although his comment appeared focused on my thin stature, I now wondered if his concern was my gender (06/04/14). There were plenty of male officers in my own department built very much like me. Research members discussed this story and offered examples of other comments they received such as, “You don’t look like a cop.” The meaning of such commentary was largely unclear to research participants, and they questioned what a “real cop” looked

like. Again, research members searched for explanations for this type of commentary directed at them, but found no acceptable rational.

Air support was an assignment, among many others, where women were rarely represented. Kim always wanted to fly. She joined the military in hopes of becoming a fighter pilot, but learned too late that “Women couldn’t be fighter pilots” (08/13/14). She never flew in the military, but obtained her private pilot’s license after joining the Air Unit for her police department. Kim was not discouraged by social limitation placed on women in or out of her police agency. She shared the photograph displayed as Figure 8 and explained:

You think about our career field, and it’s so male-oriented. Here you have Marie [pseudonym] and I, two people that are supervising the male-dominated field. We had one female that worked for us as a part-timer, and every last one of them (points to men in photo) were these very super high-ego men that work for two women. That’s the unit, and you can see there’s the three women, plus admin [civilian secretary] over there. (Kim 08/13/14)



Figure 8. Flying high.

You have to make opportunities for yourself. Two women were supervising a very male dominated unit within the police department. The men in this unit have strong egos, but the two female supervisors [seen center] were serving alongside of them as pilots, and tactical flight observers. Do not do something or avoid something because of your sex. (Kim 08/13/14)

Kim talked about women working in male dominated fields and obstacles faced by women who assumed positions often associated with masculinity. She asserted that women were judged more harshly than men when they made mistakes. She spoke of how the spotlight was hotter for a woman in a “man’s job” and she spoke from experience. Everyone was watching and a woman was highly identifiable if she was the only woman in the group. Kim’s story furthered the conversation regarding women singled out as “other” and the challenges realized by women who dared enter professions reserved for men. She explained it this way:

She will be judged harder when she makes a mistake. It's like that NASCAR driver Danica Patrick. If she wrecks, there are people that are like, "Women drivers. She can't drive, yada, yada, yada." But, Tweedy Stuart can run somebody over and kill him, and no one comments on his gender or his ability to drive.
(08/13/14)

Kim offered the photograph in Figure 9 as part of her collection of images of women defying professional norms. The group designated this photograph as symbolic and correlated it to their shared experiences in policing. The woman in the image wears a uniform, mitigates feminine expression, and was surrounded by men. Yet, she followed her passion despite potential adversity. This image was consistent with how Kim described and defined herself as a woman pursuing her own passion for flying despite the lack of other women in the field of policing. When the group was asked about what the woman in Figure 9 could expect, there was a long silence before Chloe said, "Men are going to look down on her," because they [men] "don't know what to do with [her]."
(08/13/14) Chloe described feeling unwanted and an awkwardness that followed women who entered male domains. She empathized and expressed concern for the woman in the image and for all women who were alone in their preferred occupations.

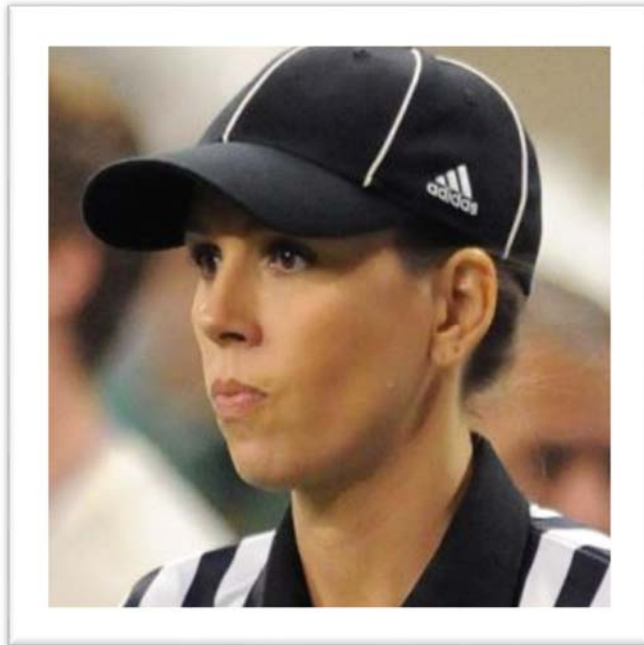


Figure 9. Challenge flag. [Photograph of Sarah Thomas] . (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.biography.com/people/sarah-thomas-21303055>

I think the male gender, in a way, is very delicate. I think it's very threatening to their manliness to have women right here, doing what they do. It's a challenge to them. It's just the way society is and I don't fault men for it. I don't think they know any better. It takes things like this and conversations with people like us, or just exposure to people like us, for them to learn. We just want the same opportunities because we very often enjoy the same things. But, I worry about her. She is going to have a lot of obstacles. (Grace 07/30/14)

The mood of the room shifted to heaviness when I asked the group if overt or covert bias was harder to navigate. Frankie said, “[They] don't have to be overt about it. It's there in decisions. It's there in actions that aren't necessarily in front of you but get back around to you” (08/13/14). They were surrounded by men and often felt invisible. Men talked at and around them, but not always to them. Their presence was treated as other and they sometimes felt obscure. Frankie offered the photograph in Figure 10 as an example of this phenomenon and explained the circumstances surrounding the image. Frankie said that the woman detective pictured had a case involving an aggressive male suspect. The

detective advised those in her work unit that she was meeting with the family of the victim in this case. She arranged for another woman detective, Andee, to go with her because it was possible that the suspect might show up with the family for this meeting. However, a male sergeant asked two male detectives to accompany the case agent to the meeting knowing that the woman investigator in the photograph had already arranged her own back up for this transaction. Frankie described this as “Typical, you know, let’s just exclude the girls from it and make sure the boys are ready to handle the situation. And Andee comes over and she’s like, ‘Was I not at my desk just now?’ It speaks volumes” (07/30/14).



Figure 10. Muscle.

So what you see is her [woman detective] needing two men to come and be her muscle, just in case the bad guy showed up, so they could handle it for her, as if she couldn't handle it herself. That isn't the true picture, but that's what you see because the male supervisor interfered. (Frankie 07/30/14)

Andee, who was a competitive body builder at one time, was excluded from contact with a suspect in exchange for two male detectives. This decision was made by a male sergeant. Frankie was not suggesting that all scenarios were manageable by women alone; her point was that assumptions were made based on gender rather than ability. Andee was discounted or perhaps never considered as part of the team contacting the suspect. Frankie titled the photograph "Muscle" as a nod to Andee's strength and as a satirical commentary on what she observed. The undertone of bias against women was the "elephant in the room." It was thick. It was felt in the silence when a woman offered a

suggestion. It was witnessed when women were excluded or when men were selected over women for jobs that either could perform such as the example offered by Frankie. I asked the group what it felt like when these scenarios played out in the workplace and Frankie said, “Ten billion pounds” (08/13/14).

Proof

Credibility and legitimacy within law enforcement culture was granted through informal process. All officers, female and male, were tested for demonstrated evidence of “fit.” The culture of policing hosted rituals and protocols for new officers that usually included humiliation, shunning, and bullying. There was uncertainty embedded in the practice of becoming accepted among police officers. The rules for approval were not written but often implied and sometimes plainly stated. As the group reflected on the early days of their careers, Faith shared:

When I got on [the job] I was told by a man, you’re going to have to prove yourself to us. I don’t think it’s in the same vein of thinking; does a man have to prove himself to another man on this job? Why would somebody come up to me and tell me I have to prove myself on the street to be able to do this job? I sat there, I was like, I don’t. I was 32 [years old] when I got on the street and I had a family. I was thinking, I’ve already proven to myself I can do it, and made it through the academy. Only person I have to prove it to is to myself that I can do this, but yet you still have to, as a female, prove yourself to a man. (07/02/14)

As Faith spoke, several members nodded in agreement and exchanged knowing smiles. These women believed the criterion for proving oneself was different for women than for men. Grace said, “Proving yourself to most men is they want to see you in a physical altercation or a physical fight. They want to see you; I think even if you don’t win, they want to see you hold your own in some kind of fight” (07/02/14). And some women provoked fights in an effort to satisfy expectation and gain the coveted acceptance of

male officers. Grace continued, “You’ve all seen the women who go out and they start doing this to suspects [pointing a finger] and they’re getting in someone’s face and they’re not being attacked and not being safe. And you see people [male officers] just say, ‘well let’s just step back and see what happens’” (07/02/14). But, the woman officer in the described scenario was performing aggressively for the sake of proving herself to the male officers who were present. Lack of self-confidence and lack of maturity were noted characteristics of women officers who “get in this guy’s face first to prove that I’m tough then everybody will see that,” Kim said (07/02/14). Although there was distinct resentment of having to prove oneself to others, there was an acceptance of this rule that all of the women in this study had complied with and faced. Proving oneself was a rite of passage and means of acceptance into the mainstream. They doubted that male officers were ever confronted with the same kind of “prove yourself to us” expectation, and they described feeling the added pressure because poor performance by a woman in any aspect of the job reflected negatively on all women.

The matter of proving oneself was captured in a picture taken by Frankie displayed here as Figure 11. Frankie served in the military before becoming a police officer and drew many parallels between the two cultures. There was laughter when Frankie shared this image with the group, and there was agreement among the members that there was some truth in this satire. Several of the research participants felt pushed to quit and leave law enforcement at different seasons of their careers. Marie recalled nearing the end of her academy as the only woman recruit in her class:

They thought they were going to be able to get rid of me. They thought that they could drill me down enough to make me quit. They pushed me so hard, I showed up the next morning carrying my stuff and I had two or three guys stopped me in

the parking lot. They're like, "I can't believe you're here. I would have quit." I said, "I want this job. It's just going to take a hell of a lot more than this to make me quit. You're not going to see me cry. I cried last night. You're not going to see me cry today." You know? Nobody saw that. I wouldn't quit. They couldn't get me to quit. (07/02/14)

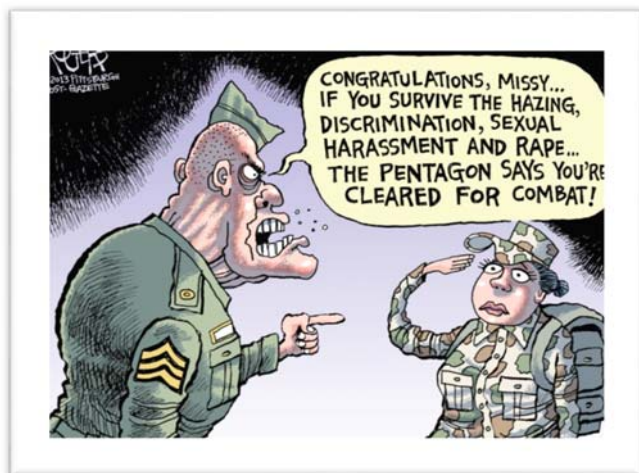


Figure 11. You're accepted. Image source © 2013 Rob Rogers/Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Reprinted with permission.

When I see recruits now, I'm so different towards them. I try to be so encouraging because I'm thinking, I don't want people to feel that. I don't have that attitude. You made me feel bad every day like I wasn't worth anything. I want recruits to be excited about this career. (Marie 07/02/14)

As each woman evolved and grew comfortable in her own identity, the need to satisfy male standards of performance diminished. Participants realized over time that proving themselves was more about personal confidence than it was about gaining male acceptance. They were self-reliant. They grew in certainty and trusted in their own abilities and worth. But this took some maturing, some time, and experience. Grace explained:

When I started, I was extremely hard core. Extremely hard on myself. My expectations of myself were ridiculous. And I was damned if I was not gonna be the best and better than the boys and you know, fit in with the boys and all that. And, uh, I'd say I beat myself up pretty good over the years. And I think one day, I was like, you know what, [smiles] what am I doing this for? It was exhausting.

I was tired of it. And so I was like [laughing] I'm good enough without trying to be way up here. So, I just kinda calmed down and I just do my thing and I don't think as much about "oh my god am I being perfect for that guy or that guy?" As far as position wise, I do a good job. I'm a good employee. (07/09/14)

Throughout her life Frankie had regularly challenged the suggestion that a woman could not perform the same functions as a man with the same or greater degree of competency. She had grown competitive with men as a result of the constant contrast and she took great satisfaction in beating or out-performing men in any activity, whether it was an actual competition or not. She was the only woman in her military unit and recalled competing with a male soldier for a promotion to a rank for which there was only room for one. The deciding factor for who won this promotion was a physical test. Frankie smiled as she reported, "I kicked his ass and got the promotion" (07/30/14). The women applauded this and the conversation turned toward why women felt they had to perform better than men. Grace stated, "I think that, with what she's saying, that's a perfect example of what society has brought us to because I do feel like that we want to beat a man at something. And that makes us feel better about ourselves" (07/30/14). But this was a doubled edged sword. Male officers were not always pleased at being bested by a woman, particularly in areas reserved for men, such as the military and policing. Frankie suggested that male officers felt threatened by women officers who performed the same job function as men. Marie believed the presence of women in male dominant professions, like policing, jeopardized the illusion of the masculinity some men believed was necessary for law enforcement. Male officers sometimes overtly questioned or passively challenged the women's presence in the policing profession. Marie shared:

I was dealing a lot with guys over in the fleet area and this guy says, "Oh Marie, I was just curious, how'd a woman like you get a job like this?" And I said, "Why

wouldn't I want a good paying job, with a career opportunity and a pension?" And so we were talking cars and he was like "but as I talk it's like you actually understand this." I said, "You know, here's the deal, I got a background in aeronautical engineering both gas and turban engine." I said, "My husband buys and sells cars. I can change a fuel pump and an alternator. I have to help and I get my hands dirty. So, I know exactly what you're talking about." And he said, "Yeah you do, but this really isn't a place for a woman." And I go, "Why isn't it?" And we went back and forth. And I leave there and I'm trying to be professional and I am livid. So I go back and tell one of the Chiefs [of her department]. And I said, "Yeah I'm working with Joe [pseudonym]." [Chief says] "Yeah he's a pretty good guy." And I laid it out and explained the conversation and I said, "I think it's inappropriate." [Chief says] "Oh Marie, that's just Joe." And I go, "Really? So, I'm supposed to do this project with him." And he says, "Oh let it go you're not going to make a big deal out of it are you?" I said, "Well clearly not," but it was acceptable for him to ask why I'm doing this and why I have knowledge base. He has since moved on. (07/30/14)

Although Frankie was frequently quiet during group discussion, when she spoke of performance and about the photograph displayed as Figure 12 she was animated, assertive, and direct.



Figure 12. Proof.

I don't remember why or what happened that made my little brain go here, but I just think it's fitting because sometimes I think well, society thinks, that women can't do the things that men can do, or they can't do it as well. So anything you can do, I can do better. I think that's fitting for me if you know my personality. Give me a challenge and I'll do it better than you. Anyway, that's all. Because I've always been compared (with boys) my whole life, I think. I'm not one to settle." (Frankie 07/30/14)

Profiles

Some of the women entered the law enforcement profession and learned only after the fact that gender matters. They saw themselves as dissimilar from the traditional police population and described how their stories differed in some ways from those of men. At the early stages of their careers, they observed and were blind-sided by expectations placed on women police officers that appeared inconsistent with expectations they observed for men. The double standard felt unfair; yet, they believed there was no resisting it if they wished to survive and fit in with the status quo. They incrementally realized they had entered a culture where women were viewed a certain way. Grace, Faith, Kim, and Chloe were all told, by women and men alike, "There are three types of women on this department, bitch, slut, lesbian. That's it. Those are your

options” (07/02/14). Those “options” were limiting and insulting, but were reported as commonly used labels associated with the reputations of women in policing. Marie noted there was no male equivalent for these same options. “That girl” was also used among participants describing two other categories of women: those who reported sexual harassment in the workplace and those who utilized sexuality as a tool for gaining acceptance among men. Both reputations were difficult to overcome, and the group separated themselves from women associated with either profile. Although the group acknowledged the presence of sexual harassment in the workplace and most had experienced it, they resisted reporting such incidents and at times were harsh critics of women who filed or did not file harassment reports. Chloe stated:

Everyone has their stories about men and what they said to them and things. I certainly have my share. There are times when I see women and they truly have a reason why they should be upset and angry. There are times when they just don't. What ticks me off more than anything is when they make a big deal out of something that's not a big deal. Had a particular gal who felt that she was being discriminated against. It was like, well, you know, I wanted to go to my son's this and I want to do that, and I think I should be able to work these hours, and I should be able to do this and this and my sergeant won't let me, so I'm going to go file a complaint. I said, all these things that you're telling me are not that bad. You need to get over it. I told her that you need to stop and you need to get over it because it's not discrimination. It's the way that it is and you need to follow the rules and you get over yourself. Do the damn job that you're hired to do. It made me angry because again, I'm thinking, here we go again. This one is going to go down and file these complaints and that's going to be it. (07/02/14)

They perceived that some women manufactured sexual harassment or discrimination reports. They were frustrated by this and believed such reporting made all women “look bad.” At the same time, some were perplexed by women who did not report incidents of harassment and discrimination. Andee shared the following story:

She was telling a story about her, her boss harassing her and the things that she was telling me were very....um, some of the things were illegal so it sort of took

me aback, but some of the other stuff was... But she was telling me, "yeah, but I don't want to be labeled 'that girl' in the office." I don't want to be 'that girl' that, you know, isn't ok with it or is gonna [file a complaint]." I was so taken aback because this is a very strong female and I was very shocked at how... I mean in our police culture I know that that's very dominant I'd say that's a dominant feeling. Just not wanting to be separate, you want to be part of our culture. Not wanting to be labeled as the flag waver. "That girl." It was interesting. I'm paying attention to it at work, but also outside of work. It's like wow... this is just a very. It's an issue that people kind of just sweep under the rug. I was, what was, there's, people give off-handed comments all the time, some people take offense to it and some people don't. But when it continues and crosses over into other things that are potentially very hurtful and very demeaning. I was surprised that she was ok with that and still wanting to kind of sweep it under the rug. I mean comments I think are one thing. I mean when those comments and actions or lead to other things then it's not ok. And when it's someone with such a strong personality it's like wow, wow. (07/09/14)

When asked what happens to women in policing who file sexual harassment complaints, the group responded with cynicism citing that women were often transferred, ostracized, and labeled as a problem. The alternative option to reporting was acceptance of the situation, and there was debate surrounding the personal cost to reputation when involved in a sexual harassment complaint.

Participants initially tip toed around the issue of women in policing using their sexuality as a tool to "fit in" with male officers. They talked about women officers who dated, flirted, wore revealing clothing (when in plain clothes) as a way of gaining attention and inclusion with male colleagues. They described the police environment as a "shark tank" for women entering the profession and labeled women who joined the profession to find husbands as "badge bunnies" (07/30/14). Faith stated, "I think there's a certain category of women who feel worthwhile when they have the men surrounding them. That makes them feel validated" (07/30/14). The group expressed disdain for women who behaved this way. Several members of the group detailed conversations with

new female officers explaining to them why flirting or sexual contact with squad mates was bad for all women in policing. Women police officers who used sex to gain favor made it harder for women in the field. Grace thought, “It’s about being a girl instead of being a cop” (07/02/14). Several members of this group established professional boundaries with male officers in an effort to maintain their credibility and minimized the unwanted advances of their male peers. However, five of the seven participants had married or romantically partnered with police officers from their identified agencies.

Gender, sex, fit, and stereotypes were routine topics presented in photographs and conversation. Penises and vaginas distinguished who was accepted; appropriate roles and behavior, and photographs illustrated the rules. While images like Figures 7 and 8 were scarce, images like Figure 13 were common. This kind of portrait facilitated double standard thinking undermining women as strong, capable, and empowered. The picture was chosen as an illustration of the overt difference between how women and men were portrayed socially. Images sent messages about women and men. The message in this photograph reflected a clear contrast between how women and men were represented. The title of each photograph, as well as the caption for each of the images, on the magazine cover within Figure 13 was expository. Each “Man of the Year” was displayed in tuxedo. One of the men depicted was encircled by the hands of women. In contrast, the “Woman of the Year” for this magazine was nude. This picture along with others taken later in the study offered some perspective of how women were routinely portrayed by media. The groups’ awareness of these illustrations surfaced early on in discussion and this image offered a visualization of what the group noticed.



Figure 13. “Woman of the Year.” *GQ* Men of the year 2012 [cover]. (2012 October). Retrieved from <http://www.gq.com>

Because I feel like I can express myself about societal norms all day long, and it goes unheard, because the general population, and mostly men, this is what they want to see. (Grace 07/30/14)

As the group searched for images capturing a balanced portrait of women in general and of women police officers specifically, they were confronted with limitations. Grace explained her frustration with photographs like Figure 13 this way:

I’d be watching TV or something and a commercial comes on, and this is what you see on TV, this is what you see on the commercials to sell things and it just annoys me. It annoys me. It’s great to look good and it’s great to be all those things. I mean, she is a beautiful woman, but I just don’t think ... I think that is going to be, I see that being an endless battle for people like us. (07/30/14)

Stereotypes

The group suggested that almost every identified theme fit under the category of stereotype as the coding and sorting of images started. Stereotype was defined as opinion based on perception rather than fact. They were aware of the social and professional labels associated with female officers and with women in general. They described how they moved and shifted within the roles prescribed to them depending on the context. The shifting was unconscious and natural because it was required in every aspect of life, not just police work. Although they saw themselves as women, mothers, officers and many other things, they nevertheless were stereotyped and sometimes taxed for not fitting a specific definition of what a woman “should be” or what a woman “should look like.”

Participants believed that much of what society requires of women was based on appearance. Two images submitted by Grace illustrating an alternative definition of beauty contrasted with social expectations of physical appearance were selected to represent stereotype. Introducing Figure 14, Grace said,

So, when I saw that magazine cover, it just struck me, obviously, and I took a picture of it. I liked it because from society’s perspective, she doesn’t look how society wants her to. And in that picture, I see her saying, “F-you, I like how I look.” She’s confident. She’s just sassy and I just really like that. Maybe she does inside worry about societal norms, but you can see that she’s just, “Screw you.”
(07/30/14)



Figure 14. Confidence. The notation in Grace’s photo log for this image reads, “Is this how we should all feel? Fearless, fierce and funny” (08/27/14). Copyright © Rolling Stone LLC 2014. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission. (Appendix G).

Grace spoke of how social norms and female sexuality used as a marketing tool “annoys me.” The group discussed how beauty was often associated with weight and how intelligence in women was rarely reflected as attractive. Women were expected to be thin, fit, “have big boobs” and “sexy hair” (07/30/14). But, what Grace saw in the image presented in Figure 14 was,

She’s extremely successful and she doesn’t look that way [thin, fit]. So, I really appreciate that, because I just don’t, I don’t like it. I mean, I realize that women are, yeah, ok, people like to look at us. People like to see the female body and what-not. But, that shouldn’t be what we’re about. That is just a piece. One piece [of who we are]. (07/30/14)

Contrasting the image titled “Confidence” displayed in Figure 14, the group selected Grace’s second photograph titled “Expectations” to reflect what society wants from women. The original photograph submitted by Grace was also of a magazine cover and the women noted the messages communicated through this image. The magazine was sold as a fitness publication. Frankie and Chloe pointed out that the story titles surrounding the woman in the picture alluded to “sexy hair,” “bikini body,” and weight loss (07/30/14). They also speculated that the model in the image was Photoshopped to make her nearer perfection. Figure 15 reflects an image similar to the one submitted by Grace.

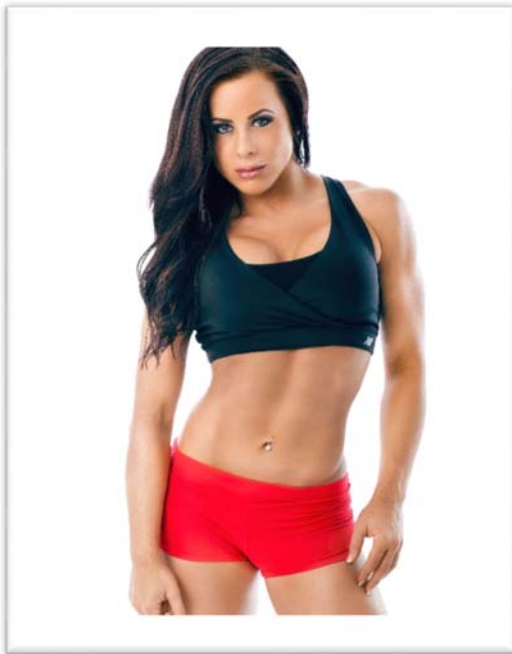


Figure 15. Expectations. The notation in Grace’s photo log for this image reads, “Is this how we should all look?” (08/27/14). Image by Cedward Brice (Scottsdale, AZ), reproduced under CC 2.0 attribution general license. Retrieved from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AMotivate_%28Fitness_model%29.jpg

Grace explained:

Obviously, I feel that that's what society expects us to look like. And some people do look that way and that's great, and obviously it's a magazine cover, so you never really know how she really looks, which is another annoying thing about what we do to ourselves. Maybe you take a picture of a woman who maybe looks perfectly fine, but they still feel the need to touch it up and make her like blow away. But that is what I feel society expects from us, to be fit and little clothing and big boobs and look beautiful and that's what people expect us to be and it's all about the surface. (07/30/14)

When Grace was offering the two images displayed here as Figures 14 and 15, she shifted in her seat, was wringing her hands, and appeared agitated. Of interest to me was the similarity in appearance between the woman in Figure 15 and Grace. Grace was an attractive, physically fit woman, with long brown hair who had worked in policing for 15 years. When I suggested to her that she was physically similar to the woman in the image,

Grace responded:

I feel like I have, I mean, I have really worked, that has been one of the things I have worked at in my life, is to not be an object and to not be ... that image [points to image displayed as Figure 15] to not be what attracts people to me. I've worked very hard. And on the department, I would say that I've been successful at that, I'm not one of those women who gets picked up on by other officers, I'm not ... I mean, it was like the day I walked in the door, people knew, okay, she might look a certain way, but ... Yeah, that is not me, I am not one of the women who has gotten on the department because I'm a badge bunny and I want to make my rounds. That's just not me. (07/30/14)

Grace talked about the importance of depth of character and her frustration with being judged by her appearance. She described setting firm boundaries with others within her police department as a means of preserving her professional reputation. Her boundaries were impenetrable walls established through a serious demeanor, impossible self-imposed expectation of performance, and an unforgiving work ethic. She was successful at her job, and she protected her softer side which she rarely shared with others.

As the group digested the contrasting images and how appearance contributed to the ideas people manufactured about others, Andee shared her story of how her appearance had changed over time and how it had affected her.

I have a photo like that, and it's one of my proudest moments, as a young woman because I competed in a body building competition and it was a goal that I had set. It was just a proud moment. I felt good about myself. I was young and it wasn't, I don't know, it was something I don't think I can do now. But it's always a place that I'm striving to get back to. So yes, at one time, I think I was probably perceived strong and now I don't, in some areas of my life, yes. But in our little pool of life, or work, I don't think so. I think now I'm more [perceived] like that mom, that motherly mother hen. It's weird. (07/30/14)

When asked if she shared that part of her life with those around her, she said:

No, because it's hurtful to me. It's hurtful to myself. Like I want to be back there and I know I'm not there. So it's more I don't like to bring it up, because of my own kind of self, I don't want to call it a failure, it's just kind of like where I'm at in life, it's just not [I'm not built that way anymore]. (07/30/14)

Initially, Andee did not offer the picture of herself she described in her story as part of the research. Later, she provided the image displayed as Figure 16. She said she was conflicted by how vulnerable she felt producing the image in a public way. Perhaps Andee had grown in trust and willingness to be vulnerable through this process. I was honored to have her permission to share this image in this study.

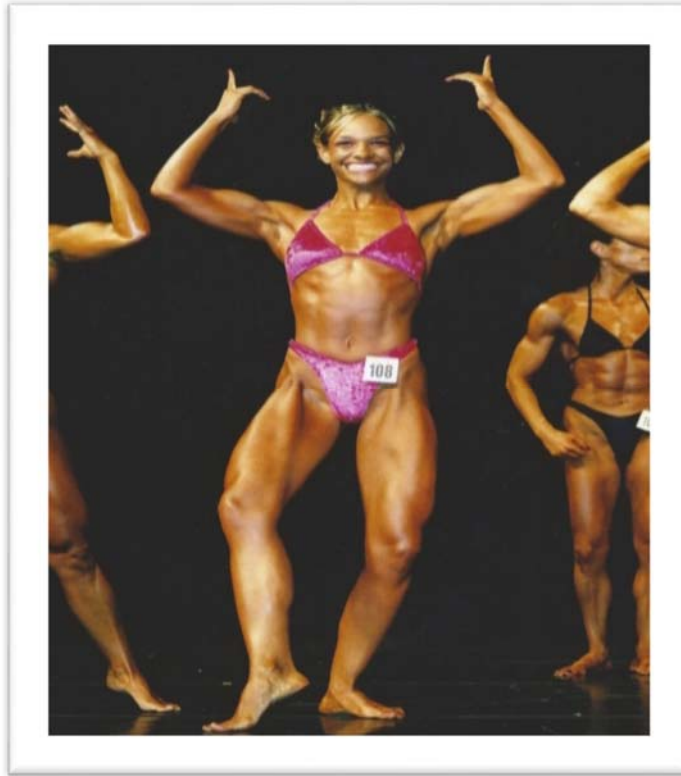


Figure 16. Show picture.

Frankie said (of Figure 16), “Andee is like the strongest person on earth. No joke” (07/30/14).

The group talked about how appearances changed over the course of life and how personal priorities changed also. Chloe reminded us that how a woman views herself and the way others view her may not align, and there comes a time when, “We just need to give ourselves a friggin’ break” (07/30/14). Pressure to be thin, fit, sexy, beautiful, and perform with perfection created undue burden for women. Society demanded women look a certain way and the price of this demand was judgment. Grace said, “We are judged by our appearance, good or bad. We are judged by our appearance, not our depth” (07/30/14). This, she explained, was why the contrasting images presented in Figures 14 and 15 beg the question, “Who sets the standard?” (07/30/14).

Men

It was impossible to discuss women in policing without also discussing men. Male officers played important roles in the professional lives of the women in this study. The relationships forged between women officers and their male partners were sometimes complex and yet necessary. All offered stories of men who had assisted, discriminated, stereotyped, and supported them. They were sometimes angered, sometimes impressed, and often forgiving of the men with whom they worked long hours and countless shifts. Mostly, these women wanted equal treatment from their male colleagues. They did not expect differential treatment or favoritism and resisted being viewed as weaker because of their gender. Grace said,

I think we want to be recognized and accepted as women and noticed as women and treated as women, but not like a girl. Don't treat me like a girl. Notice that I'm a woman, that's okay, but don't treat me like a girl. Or a weaker person, as the weaker sex or gender. Don't treat me as a weaker, which girl infers to me. (08/06/14)

They sought partnership with their male colleagues but grew tired of being routinely asked to accept that "boys will be boys." They described themselves as silent witnesses to male behavior. Andee illustrated this point using the image displayed as Figure 17. She titled the photograph "Society" and explained how the image captured the ever-present subtext of female and male interaction.



Figure 17. Society.

I just remember third shift. I'd never worked third shift. I've always worked days. I took the initiative, which everyone talked about how dreaded third shift is, and yes it was, but I remember. "Okay, guys, we're out of briefing, okay, let's go line up across the street." So they can watch the club goers. It was just so ... when I saw this image it's just so prevalent and relevant. Looking back on it, we're talking about guys who are married with kids that are great at their job, but yet deep down there's always this this going on, whether it's inward or outward. (Andee 08/06/14)

Group members laughed when Chloe suggested that the police officer in the picture was a "stripper," because the men they worked around did not look that good. They discussed how women "throw themselves" at "the uniform" not the man in it, and how male officers welcomed the attention not realizing it was a "uniform draw." The women noted and laughed at how the uniform improved the appearance of most men they worked with and acknowledge that men in uniform appealed to a wide array of women. Clothing counted for men too and male officers used the uniform as an avenue to gain female attention. Andee explained:

On this one it happened to be very outward. You see it especially being a female or a woman on a squad because I feel like you are in the background because there's so much male dominance going on. You see the hostess or the waitress come up and get all googly-eyed at the guys in the uniform and take the order and, "Oh, wait, I forgot yours," or just really ... nothing ever intentional, nothing ... but just it's out there. (08/06/14)

In the background, on the sideline, they quietly watched the men around them and learned who these men were by how they interacted with the women they encountered and how they treated women officers as well. They all agreed that male officers probably believed that there was no disparity between women and men, socially or professionally. And, they did not blame men for blindly accepting the status quo. It benefitted men, after all; so, what was the problem? Grace stated:

I think that a lot of men think that they feel that women and men are equal, but I think that you could ask a man if he believes just a simple basic question: are men and women equal they would absolutely think that they are. But in their actions and their words they show that they aren't because I don't think they understand what that means. Because I've had, I've had ... I've had people say, men say that they treat women the same as they do men but then you observe that they don't. In their own head they are. They don't realize, because the way their brain has been trained all these years, that they really don't treat us the same good, bad, or indifferent. They just, they just don't. (07/09/14)

Grace said it would surprise her if a man admitted that inequity between the sexes existed. It seemed to the group that most men were either oblivious to disparate treatment between women and men or defended their position of "we're all the same and treated the same" (07/09/14).

While women may not overtly state that gender mattered, it mattered. Grace explained, "All of us have a lot of men around us, and I think that each of us can teach these men, even if it's over time without their knowledge how to treat us. What's expected of them, just by how we present ourselves and deal with our daily lives"

(08/27/14). They hoped to raise the awareness of the women and men in their workplaces. The group believed that increased awareness of gender stereotypes and bias would strengthen their departments and improve opportunities for women officers. But, these women needed men to be open to the conversation and they also needed each other.

Kim stated:

[From this study] We recognized our challenges. We recognized the significance of this research and it raises the importance, the impact, that we could have on other women in the field and going on, helping women professionally develop at work. And, when they're doing what probably isn't the most appropriate thing, to try pulling them back into the fold in just a network and build the community and what not, to try to affect the change and address some of these challenges, bit by bit. It's a bigger issue than just us but we can certainly have some sort of impact on our little world and a couple of other people. If I bring one person into the fold and each of us does that, next thing the group is bigger and bigger. (08/27/14)

Participants contemplated how they might empower other female officers and spoke of the benefits of support systems, much like the research group. They expressed a sense of collective responsibility to use this experience and their own voices as a mechanism for initiating professional change. It occurred to me that they were moving beyond the fear they previously expressed about speaking up and being identified as “flag wavers.” They were stronger together and comfortable with the idea that they could be feminine as well as many other things.

Feminine

Although femininity was not listed by participants as a theme, while coding photographs a separate pile of pictures was created and labeled “Feminine.” Appearance assisted in preserving aspects of feminine identity in a male profession and there was some discussion of grooming standards in policing. Grace suggested:

But I think from my perspective it's not about not letting us be girls when we're on duty. It's about the fact that we are professionals. And, really when the image of a police officer and I mean we all have an image of a police officer when we think about it in our heads and I know we all just had a man in uniform just pop into our heads, I realize that. But I think that we're kind of in a sense as cops, we're kind of generic. Just like someone in the military, you're generic. You're a uniform. (07/09/14)

Faith agreed:

See, I agree with you but can you do, perform the job, the job that you chose to do as a police officer in six inch high heels and a skirt? Can you tackle and run down and chase down somebody that's required for your job that we all chose to do, can you do it in that [skirt and heels]? And I think that's why the policy was set because you can't do it. And then, what if, as a woman, you were in those heels and that skirt and you were asked to perform the job duties of a patrol officer let's say and you couldn't do it or you got injured because you were wearing something that was out of policy. (07/09/14)

Participants believed uniform and grooming standards established by police departments promoted a generic appearance for officers and limited feminine gender display.

According to participants, grooming restrictions were established as a safety measure and Grace argued that, "You can be feminine and dress like you should be dressed on duty to do your job" (07/09/14). Faith contended that femininity was about more than clothing, although clothing helped women feel more feminine. Grace stated, "You're a uniform. And I don't have, I think that we should still look like girls and express ourselves in our femininity and whatever. I think we should wear make-up. But, we are cops" (07/09/14).

Looking like a girl and expressing femininity created its own set of challenges. Chloe joined her police department in the early 1990s. At that time, there was no published dress code for new recruits. Chloe was advised by her recruiter to wear "business attire," which for Chloe included dresses and skirts. As she told the story of arriving on the first day of the academy, she laughed at the idea of what might have

happened had she worn a skirt. Thankfully, she had chosen pants, which saved her from embarrassment as she later learned police culture does not welcome feminine attire. She did, however, wear make-up which seemed a natural thing for a woman to do, but was told by a superior officer to remove it. No one explained the expectation for appearance, and she did not understand that she was entering a culture where things were different. Chloe seemed troubled, all these years later, by the assumption that she should know what to wear and what was unacceptable. She did not understand then that the referent category was male, and the expectation for dress and appearance was also male. Later in her career, when Chloe became a recruiter herself, she created a website where she posted information regarding attire and grooming standards to make it easier for everyone not familiar with law enforcement norms. Marie added the following:

You know, when she said that I didn't know what to wear to the pre-academy. We had a two week pre-academy before we came to [Police Agency]. I wore a business suit. I had a jacket and skirt that matched. I used to do [paint] my own nails. I had nails that were painted a respectful color. And I remember the female sergeant came up to me and goes, "seriously?" [referring to the nail polish]. And she just ripped me the way I was dressed, but I didn't know what to wear, you know. So the next day I come in. I had pants on and some kind of blouse, stripped my nails, trimmed them. I was in my 20s when I hired on; so, this was almost 25 years ago. I have yet to paint my nails again. I keep them trimmed and I've never painted them. I have a really nice pedicure with a flower [but that is covered by my shoes]. So, when people say you don't paint your nails, I just say, 'I work for a living.'" To me that was obviously a stigma. I have never had them [fingernails] painted since. (07/09/14)

Make-up, clothing, and hair all contributed to "looking like a girl." And, appearance was said to affect how the women felt about themselves. Appearance seemed to also influence how others viewed women officers both inside policing and in the community. Being "too pretty to be a police officer" or "too lean" subtracted from ability but added to femininity. Andee offered the photograph represented in Figure 18 as one of

the subtle ways she preserved her femininity in the workplace without taxing her credibility.



Figure 18. Lip gloss.

This is one of the first pictures I took because it encompasses me. I'm going to a suspect interview, yet I need my lip gloss. I need to make sure this is done. I need to make sure I'm wearing lip gloss. (Andee 08/06/14)

Andee described how lip gloss made her feel “ready,” but then laughed and asked, “How many guys are worrying about going and making sure their hair’s ok or everything’s (appearance) pulled together?” (08/06/14). Andee’s lip gloss assisted in the preservation of her identity as a woman, but was imperceptible enough to remain undetected as a gender display. Lip gloss allowed Andee to feel “ready” in a manner that was different than her male counterparts. And, she retained credibility in her work environment because her gender presentation was non-threatening to the status quo. Lip gloss was enough for Andee to gently rock the boat without falling out of it.

As I listened to the discussion surrounding the photographs labeled femininity, it occurred to me that the way femininity presented itself was not constant. Femininity did not always look the way it was “supposed” to look. Participants did not necessarily stop being feminine at work despite their surroundings or apparel. Instead, masculine labels were prescribed to the work and then female officers were scrutinized for fit or viewed as unladylike. But, participants did not report feeling any differently on the inside; neither did I for that matter. Participants merely shifted, adjusted, and moved within the boundaries established for them by police institutions which required less insignia of gender. In another photograph offered by Kim, shown here as Figure 19, the group spoke of how “like a girl” was at one time used as a derogatory expression of weakness. Grace suggested that this figure of speech changed as women assumed non-traditional roles in society which “girls weren’t allowed to do before” (07/30/14). Grace stated:

A shift has occurred because there is a percentage of women who are willing to take the fight, and they are willing to stand up for what they believe in and for what’s right. Even down into children in high school, girls, who say, “No, this is what I want to do and I’m going to find a way to do it.” (07/30/14)

Although she did not notice, the women Grace described who were “willing to take the fight” sounded a lot like the women in this group to me.



Figure 19. Like a girl?. Retrieved from <http://www.makers.com>

Imagine the challenges she had to face. Yeah, she was the kicker. Got a look good, as they say. Ponytail in the back. There's a little bit of a dichotomy. She's beautiful. She does have her makeup on, but she's playing the toughest sport that exists, a sport that we recognize as one of the toughest that exists, and she's going to get super dirty and sweaty and stinky. (Kim 08/13/14)

In this particular photograph, it was noted by participants that there was room for the woman pictured to simultaneously wear make-up and participate as a part of a college football team. The player's make-up and ponytail allowed the player to present herself in a manner that was comfortable for her and did not detract from her ability to perform her job as kicker for the team. She could do both. It seemed to me that the challenges women in male dominant professions faced were external and had little to do with anything except gender bias. The women in this study and the woman in Figure 19 were capable and confident in their abilities regardless of their appearance. It was factors outside of them that questioned the congruency between what they looked like and what they could do. And, even in the face of strong evidence of sound performance by women in male fields, bias persisted and stereotypes prevailed.

At the early stages of this study I was asked by a male sergeant, “Why do you hide your femininity at work?” The question stunned me, and I had no way to answer him at the time. Perhaps there was no satisfactory answer, even now. I used this story as a prompt in conversation with participants during Day 4 of the study. Frankie countered the male sergeant’s inquiry by questioning why men displayed their masculinity so prominently in the workplace. This brought laughter from the group, and they considered how acting “like a girl” resulted in penalties for women. They outlined how female officers suppressed parts of their natural selves as a mechanism for remaining under the radar. They avoided unnecessary attention through conformity. Hiding femininity seemed an accurate description of a mechanism used to navigate a system not designed with women in mind.

Family

It was no surprise that many of the photographs taken by the women in the group were not law enforcement related. These women had other priorities in their lives that factored into how they described and identified themselves. Marie explained that at the beginning of a police career there was excitement in being identified as a police officer. But, at some point, this changed into, “Please don’t ask me what I do [for a living] because I’m going to lie to you. I really don’t want to share that, it doesn’t matter,” Marie said (07/09/14). Faith stated that her identity was established before she entered law enforcement, and policing did not define her. Frankie added that six or seven years in policing was adequate time to figure out that law enforcement was a job not a life. Unanimously, the women prioritized the role and identity of family member above every other.

Almost every research session included conversations about family. The women described their households and the people who had helped form who they ultimately would become; mothers, fathers, siblings, spouses, and children all influenced these women in different and important ways. No other people in their lives mattered as much. They spoke of the unique relationships existing between parents and children. Kim traveled to another state to adopt her daughters because her own state prohibited same sex adoption of children. Faith was saddened by an “empty nest” and not being needed by grown children who had moved away. Chloe’s “nest” was overly full with five children in her home, and the women laughed as she offered to give some of her kids to Faith for comfort. Frankie never wanted children because she had parented her siblings, and Andee described the constant battle of never having enough time with her family. Their families drove them crazy, worried them constantly, and loved them fiercely. They expressed humble appreciation for the support afforded them by those they loved most in the world.

Participants offered photographs of their family members and identified family as a theme during the sorting process. Marie talked about separating career from family, which was sometimes a challenge. Both Marie and her spouse were law enforcement officers, but when she was with her kids, she just wanted to be a mother. Marie discouraged social conversations with other parents about her job, particularly at activities involving her children. She and her husband had endured two, lengthy careers in law enforcement, and she was proud that her marriage survived. The image displayed as Figure 20 was selected by the group as representative of the importance of being present with family.



Figure 20. Mother and son.

This picture is actually me. That's my son. This was probably about 2 1/2 years ago. I didn't know this picture was going to be taken. He played football at the time. Clearly he lost this game. Our whole family was there, but we had two separate cars because my husband was helping my daughter on the snack bar. Obviously I don't even really care for football because I don't know the rules that well. I'm more of a baseball/basketball type of person. He was bummed after the game, and I just remember walking out to the car, then one of my friends showed me this like a week later. She goes, "hey I got a picture of you." I'm going, "I don't remember you taking our picture." I looked at it. I'm actually consoling. It's not like beating him up because they lost. I just, I actually blew this up and I have a pretty big picture of this in my office because I liked it so much. (Marie 07/30/14)

As the women spoke of their careers, they named the sacrifices their families made because of the job police officers do. The women had worked holidays and weekends, day shift, and nights. Their work schedules changed routinely as their interests shifted in their careers and as their departments reassigned personnel. All of these

changes affected their families. They counted on family to tuck their babies into bed and get their children off to school. They had missed countless dinners, birthdays, and family gatherings because of the various investigations and duties that called them away from home. There was a sense of remorse for not being able to be there for every important moment. They named important milestones such as a son's first homecoming and a daughter's first day of kindergarten as moments they had missed that they could not retrieve. But, their families understood and forgave their absence. I was unsure if they had forgiven themselves. Loving a police officer came with a price and their families paid time and again.

Andee started her career as a single woman. She said her focus at the onset was "cop, cop, cop." When she met her husband, Andee's focus shifted from the professional to the personal. Starting a family changed how she viewed herself and how she viewed her work. While professional reputation was critical, Andee said, "Being a mom is the most important thing I do. So that has definitely shifted who I am now" (07/09/14).

Andee believed the role of mother also altered how others viewed her outside of the law enforcement community. She offered the image shown here as Figure 21 as tribute to the most precious people in her life and the group chose this image as a tribute to the families behind the badge.



Figure 21. My why

Andee said (of Figure 21), “I titled this picture, ‘My Why.’ I put up with a lot in the job because of them” (08/06/14). Almost all of the photographs Chloe shared came with a story about her family. Chloe’s family was blended and I observed, through our discussions, that the role of mother was prominent in her life. With five children, everyone in her home contributed toward the greater good, “This is what we do as a family to survive together,” Chloe explained, and as the mother of a large brood she was unfailingly prepared for anything at any given time (08/06/14). Chloe’s stories about raising a large family and the mishaps that befall all parents brought laughter and shared understanding among participants. I saw joy in her when she spoke of her partnership with her husband. They were a team and supported each other. It seemed to me that a sense of humor was necessary when surrounded by that many children. Although she rarely allowed herself to be photographed, Chloe’s husband took the picture displayed as

Figure 22. The group chose this photograph because it captured a simple, tender, silly moment between mother and daughter.



Figure 22. Pure bliss.

Chloe said, “I think I am more aware of the labels that we create for women versus men and being a parent of both genders, too, I think, has taught me that along the way” (08/06/14).

The women were also aware of the concern their families had about the inherent dangers embedded in police work. They shared these same concerns because they had experienced loss in the workplace and witnessed the toll this takes on families who loaned their loved ones to the service of community. They had mourned the passing of co-workers killed in the line of duty and watched their own families grieve these losses as their own. The threat of loss was always present but not regularly discussed in their households. It was another, different elephant in the room. I shared with participants

during the research process my daughter's account of what living with a police officer was like. My daughter said that she noticed my disposition changed long before I left the house to go to work. She delineated noticeable alteration in me that emerged the day before I reported for duty. She said my mood grew solemn. I was more serious and stopped smiling as much. She reported that I became the lieutenant and her mother "faded a little into the background" (07/30/14). This story served as a prompt for discussion surrounding the transition between work roles and other roles. Participants echoed feeling or noticing changes in themselves going to work and returning home again. The move from the role of family member to the role of police officer took a little time. My daughter said that while she was always aware of the adjustment in my persona, she did not understand it until she was old enough to fully realize what police officers actually do. She said it scared her, but she learned to put it in the back of her mind. Participants said they developed clear boundaries between work and home. They shielded their loved ones from what they witnessed each day, but shaking off the shift was sometimes a bigger change than the other adjustments they made during the course of their work.

The final family photograph was offered by Kim, whose career was the most diverse of the group. She had worked undercover, worked in aviation, as well as patrol. When she spoke about raising daughters, she emphasized the importance of teaching them healthy living, giving them an appreciation of hard work, and growing in them a strong sense of confidence. Kim had modeled for her girls a diverse identity, and she summarized this concept when talking about the photograph found Figure 23.



Figure 23. Moms.

This is just to show that you can, as a woman, you fill so many roles and do so many things, and you can be so many different things in your life, and you can go out and be hanging on the side of the mountain cliff, but then you're a caregiver, a mother. (Kim 08/13/14)

Sharing such personal aspects of their individual stories seemed bold to me.

Family was sacred, and police officers were exceptionally careful with their own. The group offered their families to one another as part of how they described and defined themselves. They chronicled the transition between being “a uniform” at work and returning to being a woman at home. This was yet another form of identity shifting in relation to environment.

Camaraderie

Participants believed camaraderie to be an important aspect of survival in police culture and an important factor for change. They spoke of unifying women toward the common goal of providing support, working with each other instead of against each

other, and building networks among women officer. They described the lack of woman in leadership as a factor inhibiting the professional development of women in the field of policing. Kim explained:

We maybe have one role model that's a female of high rank in a department of xxx sworn officers. It would be, I think so much easier, if there were more women in the field and then you could look at all the women and say, I like her, I want to be like her. I want to go to her for some advice or some guidance on figuring out how to be a police officer, how to be a woman in this organization. I think we do a lot of floundering around trying to figure out what's right, what's wrong, how do we fit into this? (07/09/14)

And much of this floundering occurred in isolation. The group questioned how disconnection from other women may produce the lack of trust women police officers often felt and displayed toward each other. When Kim offered her photographs to the group, she included the image displayed as Figure 24. The photograph depicted a group of women from her law enforcement agency who "...have a good relationship" (08/13/14). Kim told of how the women in the image mentor, support, and work together and spoke of how they sought advice from one another and discussed things that bothered them. As Kim spoke about this image she said:

I think, first of all, we've known each other for a long time, but I think, most importantly, we're comfortable with who we are, comfortable in our own skin, comfortable with our capabilities. I think we're all very competent. We recognize that we're very competent. We don't need to rise at the expense of other people. We don't ... we truly do want – all of us – do the right thing, and we want to do it for the right reasons. I think that we can all agree that I'm not going to feel better at myself if I step on Kim [pseudonym] to try to get to ... I won't have to bring her down to get where I want to go. I'm going to get there or I'm not going to get there. We've always tried to help each other out. (08/13/14)

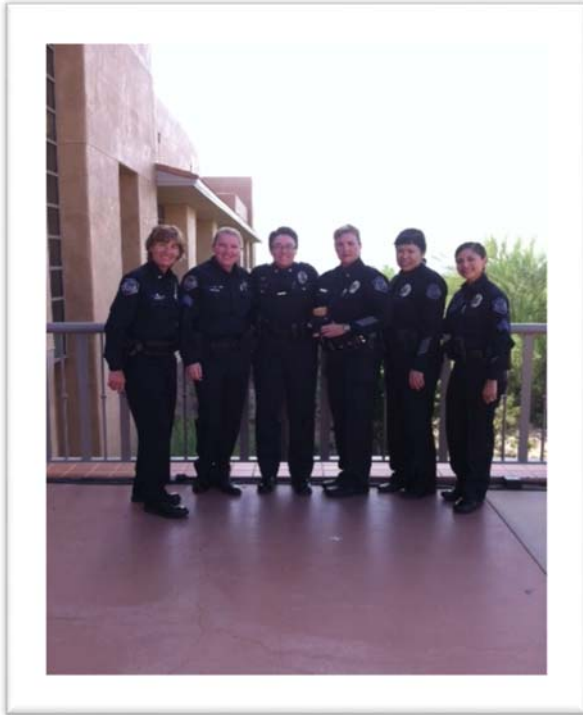


Figure 24. Team.

Not many women promote through ranks in our police department. Sometimes it's a personal choice, often it's a lack of support or mentorship. We want to change that by developing and supporting qualified women. (Kim 08/13 /14)

The women in this study started as strangers, but developed a bond that continued to be displayed beyond the confines of the research environment and well after the research concluded.

Strength

There was one photograph in this study that was discussed longer and in more detail than all of the other photographs taken for this project. It was a favorite of the group, and it was controversial. Andee provided the image shown here as Figure 25, and the group categorized this image as representing strength. Figure 25 illustrated how strength was often depicted differently for men than it was for women in law enforcement. The male image resembled a "Superman" persona. His jaw squared. His

face forward, and the artist placed patrol vehicles in the background. Grace said, "...that's power. That's what the picture is about to me is power" (08/06/14). The female image was softer and angelic. Her jaw rounded. Her face downward and the artist placed wings in the background. Faith said, "The picture of the woman isn't about power. It's about softness to me" (08/06/14). The contrast between these images was decidedly revealing. Participants appreciated the imagery but questioned how changing the background on each image might change the meaning of the photograph. Frankie suggested that the woman could be placed in either foreground, but the man could not. Placing the man in front of the wings conjured thoughts of death but placing the women in front of patrol cars was empowering. For me, the image and the dialogue illustrated all of what these seven female officers had discussed over the course of our 10 weeks together. They were powerful because they shifted between roles, identities, and expectations. They were different from the male culture, but had strategically retained pieces of themselves. They adapted and morphed in beautiful and resilient ways. They were survivors who had successfully navigated unstable terrain with agility. The photograph was titled "Power and Difference," which I saw as a metaphor and appropriate descriptor for my participants. They were both.



Figure 25. Power and difference. Used by Permission. (Appendix G).

Closing

Within the safety of “that girl power meeting” participants established their own “group norms,” which differed from the status quo of the police departments in which they served. In the research environment they were no longer “outside the norm” and could safely name the “isolation” female officers experienced, without fear of recourse. Participants provided “proof” that their “profiles” were far from the “stereotypes” they were assigned. These female officers worked closely with “men” and submerged their “feminine” nature as they assimilated into the profession that often rejected their presence. And although their identities were forever shifting, these women officers had “family” for support and allowed this process to build “camaraderie” between them.

They demonstrated tenacity, and resilience throughout their careers. Their voices, at times, had been silenced but they had clearly stated “we’re still here.” This was, for me, the definition of “strength.”

CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The voices, strengths, and convictions of this collection of women are inspiring. From the research process, participants and I gained a deeper and broader perspective of the pervasive presence of gender as a category for classifying people and their work. Photographs offered the medium through which participant voices surfaced. Women officers shared the meaning of their images in group discussions, wrote captions for their images, and told their stories to each other. Participants reflected their common histories and personal experiences for knowledge building and mutual understanding throughout this process known as photovoice. By allowing women police officers to illustrate their own reality through photographs and storytelling, this study provides an intimate portrait of women in policing and attempts to answer, *Who does she think she is?* via these three subquestions:

- How do female police officers experience gender?
- How are gender and work done concurrently?
- How are identities given meaning as female officers function as officers and as women?

Research Questions

How Do Female Police Officers Experience Gender?

Identifying or suggesting membership in a marginalized or subordinate group was dicey for female officers. The topic of gender made people in law enforcement uncomfortable, and gender was largely avoided in conversation, I learned. Gender was initially introduced in informational meetings for this study. Concerns about confidentiality and association with the research surfaced in discussions with potential

participants and later in research sessions. Female officers appeared reluctant and guarded about being involved with a group exclusive for women in law enforcement, even though the purpose of the group was academic research. They were cautioned by others about segregating themselves from male officers for any reason, and told they were only “making it worse.” “It” was never fully defined, but participants and I were all admonished by men and women alike to be careful about being labeled “flag wavers” or “feminists.” Participants expressed that this kind of label would be detrimental in their careers. I shared with the group that I was advised to temper discussions of my research within the police community. Most of the guidance of this nature was offered by men in law enforcement with whom the research participants and I engaged in conversation about, and while completing, this study. There was a strong sense of distrust among participants and of others when we first began the research process. Garcia’s (2003) research notes that women who test the norms and standards essential in law enforcement culture also shoulder the most risk of opposition, harassment, and isolation. There was a sense that the women and men I encountered were aware of this potential threat. Because of this, women officers have great incentive to maintain the existing gender traditions and stereotypes (Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

Some of the women in the study feared retribution for contributing to the research. Rabe-Hemp’s (2009) research uncovered a similar phenomenon. In her study, female officers were often chastised by policemen for supporting other women in law enforcement. Labels such as the “estrogen mafia” were attached to female officer support networks, and women officers were often further isolated as a result of their socialization with other females in policing. Similarly, in this study participants perceived the label

“that girl power thing” as dismissive and demeaning of their efforts. Rather than engage in discussion about the research, the participants reported that they silenced themselves in avoidance of being labeled or reprimanded. Perhaps these kinds of experiences contributed to the sense of hesitation I observed in female officers at the onset of the research process.

As the study progressed, participants offered more of themselves to each other and conveyed an appreciation for the opportunity to meet with other women who shared common experiences. During the study, all of the research participants reported being the only woman on a shift, squad, or unit at some point in her career. They described a sense of isolation from other women officers by sheer population and often felt like “outsiders” among their male colleagues. Marie and Andee both expressed how they missed interactions with other women during those moments when they were surrounded by men. Many of the women said they floundered in their efforts to figure out how to fit in with the dominant culture of policing without completely relinquishing all aspects of themselves. The women said they learned through trial and error how to survive the “taken for granted way things are,” but had suppressed and edited their voices along the way. Participants in this study expressed the benefit of fitting in with the norms of policing, which were defined as highly masculine, but looked for ways to expand the boundaries of inclusion. Kim explained:

I think in our career field, at least from our department, we don't have a lot of role models that we can look up to and say you know that's how she does it. Or, as women do a very, very poor job of mentoring other women and letting them get comfortable in their skin. Or giving them some advice or saying 'you know what you're doing is fine.' Whereas there's a ton of role models for men. And I think that, personally, I think it would make it so much easier to have a role model you know, to say, you know, I want to be like her. She's the career path I want to take,

or the type of person or type of police officer I want to be. I want to be like her.
(07/09/14)

Part of what the research participants hoped to accomplish from this work was to raise the awareness of others regarding how gender affects and influences perception. They also discussed using the results of this study as an avenue for building community among women officers so that those coming behind them would not endure the same obstacles.

The group decided that appearance contributed to the ideas people manufacture about others. As cops, the women portrayed themselves as generic, and spoke of not “looking like a girl.” Grace explained that she wanted to be recognized as a woman, but not treated “like a girl,” which she said implied weakness. Most of the women in this study believed the uniform assisted in neutralizing the salience of gender in policing. The uniform and grooming standards reportedly minimized the sense of difference among female and male officers. Looking like a girl created challenges, so some of the women removed their make-up and nail polish as a way of conforming to institutional norms. Participants believed the uniform also assisted others in seeing them as officers, but they were still met with commentary about their appearances as women. Several members were told “you don’t look like a cop,” and Grace asserted that “We are judged by our appearance, not our depth” (07/30/14). Research members appeared to combine the social expectations for women and for police. Andee’s use of lip gloss to help her feel “ready” and the description of the uniform as gender neutral illustrated some participants’ effort to simultaneously satisfy social and professional standards for women.

The women in this study all agreed that male officers probably believed that there was no disparity between women and men in policing. And, the women in this study did

not fault men for accepting this idea as true. However, participant accounts of their own lived experiences reflected a different reality. Most of the participants were told by some male officers early on in their careers that women did not belong in policing. Grace, Faith, Kim, and Chloe were all told that there were three types of women within law enforcement, “bitch, slut, or lesbian,” and all of the participants had observed the exclusion of female officers from some job assignments. Rabe-Hemp (2009) explains that one device of hegemonic masculinity in law enforcement institutions was keeping women officers in roles that male officers define as “not real police work.” Additionally, the women described a double standard for proving themselves to male colleagues that was not expected of their male counterparts. Consistent with Rabe-Hemp’s (2009) research, women in this study devoted great effort toward being “twice as good just to be considered average” (p.259).

What participants mostly wanted from their male peers was equal treatment, and they believed this could be accomplished by raising the awareness of women and men in policing regarding the existence of gender stereotypes and bias. Through images and conversation within the research setting, participants’ reported changes in their own thinking relative to these issues, and they thought they could influence others in a similar manner. It seemed to me that they were changing the landscape by merely being a part of it.

How are Gender and Work Done Concurrently?

At first, it was unclear if participants distinguished themselves as women and not just officers. Despite their discussions of how their experiences differed from those of men and their acknowledgement of inequity, research members did not report gender as

pertinent to the performance of their jobs. For these female officers, gender relevance in policing only surfaced when male officers or the public commented or behaved in a manner indicating that gender counted. Connell (1987) supports this notion and states that both the institutional construction and interactions among officers support hegemonic masculinity, the belief that men dominate women which establishes the gender relations between sexes. Rabe-Hemp (2008) and Morash and Harr (2012) explain that the public associates policing with masculinity and struggles to overcome the lingering belief that police work was unsuitable for women. For the most part, the women in this study expected equitable treatment and were prepared to pull their weight as officers. They recognized how they differed from their male peers, and how that placed them outside the expected norm of law enforcement. But, they did not see how being a woman negated the ability to be a police officer. They believed they had demonstrated the necessary skills to effectively perform the job as well as anyone else.

Gender appeared of interest to others in and out of law enforcement, but not to the women themselves, except in interaction with men or the public who doubted or questioned their capacity to perform the police function. Others pointed out to research members that they were women doing “a man’s job,” which participants found amusing but also perplexing. Participants said they felt no disconnect between how they acted as women and how they performed as police, but said they were confronted by citizens and by male officers about their work. Over time these encounters raised the stakes on the relevance of gender for participants, who told stories of how they learned to navigate these obstacles while maintaining institutional credibility. Sometimes the women in the study said they confronted the bias, sometimes they conformed, and often they ignored

the gender specific commentary in order to reduce the tension for themselves and others. While some participants reported disempowering encounters that sometimes hurt them as women, they also reported growing and changing as a result of these experiences. They talked about how growth and change made them stronger and smarter in how they functioned within their profession.

The group reported that they never stopped “being women,” and did not feel “differently” when enacting the role of police officer. As a means of retaining a sense of self, participants recounted individually and collectively resisting negative stereotypes associated with being a woman. Through their shared photographs, members emphasized the strength and resilience of women in general as well as those in policing. They found that society hosted expectations of women that were largely anchored in appearance and believed these expectations unreasonable. The group accepted that they possessed some feminine qualities and did not relinquish these attributes at their worksites. However, they also detailed limiting the display of their femininity as a means of gaining acceptance within the hegemonic framework of policing, and explained this as a useful mechanism for survival. Participants told of how they sometimes combined characteristics associated with femininity and masculinity depending on the context and the moment. They said they recognized when a situation required a “softer” approach and when the scenario demanded greater aggression. Participants verbally rejected traditional gender stereotypes and through photographs revised some of the notions surrounding women in law enforcement as well as women in general.

How are Identities Given Meaning as Female Officers Function as Officers and as Women?

Each of the research participants stated that they had identities as women, partners, sisters, mothers, police officers, and friends that overlapped and merged in different ways. Their individual and collective stories demonstrated their efforts to protect and defend their complicated, robust identities while also highlighting some of the problems they confronted due to intersecting status (Morash & Harr, 2012). They described how context and environment required them to shift among identities, and this shifting was a routine practice that they were accustomed to performing. For example, the transition between the role of family member to the role of officer and back again reportedly took some time for the women. They said they did not always notice the transition occurring until a child, spouse, or friend pointed out the “officer” in the room. And, while those close to them accepted them as officers and as women, others were challenged to see them as both. This corresponds with Eagly and Karau’s (2002) assertion that seeing a woman occupy a traditionally male position, such as a police officer, places beliefs based on gender in conflict with beliefs about particular jobs. While others struggled to reconcile the conjoined identities of female and officer, the women themselves said they integrated both into their routine activities and navigated the intersections of policing and gender through interaction (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Over time, participants grew less concerned about acceptance in policing and placed greater value on their identities away from the police role. Their jobs did not define them and neither did the opinions of others.

In describing and defining women in law enforcement, participants distanced themselves from “other” female officers who they labeled “that girl.” Disassociating from negative stereotypes of women officers who participants believed made “all of us look bad” allowed research members to align with the dominant police culture and build their individual credibility as cops. “That girl” embodied the devalued characteristics of women that plagued female officers, and participants expressed disdain for her presence in their profession. “Other” female officers filed false sexual harassment complaints, were “badge bunnies” (women looking to romantically connect with male officers as a means of acceptance), and “acted cute” according to research members. Simone de Beauvoir (1952) demarks “othering” as defining persons within a marginalized group as both different and inferior to oneself. And, although they distinguished themselves from “those female officers,” participants also told of how they extended themselves to these women. Grace, Kim, Chloe, and Marie routinely offered guidance to female officers in effort to protect and shield them from the potential hazards following women who personify “that girl.”

Implications

The participants of this study shared their beliefs of how this research might change and influence the manner in which women in policing view themselves and how they are viewed by others. They identified common threads in the stories they told and acknowledged how their stories illuminated a lack of female voice within police institutions. Kim voiced how this study and the presentation of their photographs might create an opportunity for a broader discussion of gender, identity, and police work. The group spoke often of wanting to change the experiences of the women who come behind

them, and of raising the awareness of others. Participants told their own stories with rich texture and vivid imagery. They allowed a closer look at their private lives, and professional fears.. They were vulnerable to a research process and availed themselves to scrutiny for the sake of distinctive contribution of participant perspective. Research members offered the possibility of conceiving law enforcement from the standpoint of women whose experiences may differ from those traditionally in control of how policing is perceived.

Beyond adding to the literature surrounding the experiences of female officers, this research offers insight for police departments and the people they serve. The current study informs on the obstacles women experience when joining the law enforcement profession. The need for connection with other women, lack of trust in each other and their male peers, reluctance to discuss gender as part of who they are, as well as an absence of voice in how they are portrayed and received exposes some of how these women navigate identity within the workplace and within their communities. The barriers identified within this research may assist in the discovery of methods for acknowledging and eventually removing these impediments as well as providing space for female officer inclusion. The study lends perspective to the manner in which women experience gender socially and professionally and the potential insidious nature of bias in how women and men are classified.

Photovoice acknowledges that people often possess an expertise and insight into their own communities that researchers and outsiders lack (Wang & Burrs, 1997). Pictures help tell a story and often prompt a response from the observer. As the women in this study gathered photographs, they intentionally sought portraits of female officers

performing job duties not commonly associated with women. They contrasted their lived experiences with stereotypic images of women which were readily available. The result was female perspectives of how these women view the images of themselves produced by others and how these women might represent themselves when given an opportunity.

Images of women in law enforcement regularly reflect female officers as passive subjects of other people's intentions. Women in general, and female officers specifically, are often portrayed by the media and others as sexualized, sidelined, and subordinate. Such images can produce gender essentialism and influence beliefs about the abilities and attributes of women in policing. The unintended, or perhaps intended, consequence could be the reduction of female officers' realities and lives to a one dimensional story that becomes the definitive story in others' minds. The group spoke of how imagery conveys a powerful message about people. For participants, one of the ways to help people think differently about something was to alter the visuals around it. The women in this study sought to shift perceptions and open conversations through the use of authentic images of woman officers as a means of challenging the conventional paradigms.

Lessons Learned

I thought hard throughout this study about how images unconsciously reinforced stereotypes and presented obstacles reducing women to bodies. I considered how images branded people and their institutions. Brands were shorthand for attributes it seemed to me. Brands associated people or things with specific qualities in the minds of others. I reflected on this one day during the research process as I waited to cross the street to my patrol car. As I stood on the sidewalk lost in thought, a man pulled out of the parking lot across the street. He stopped in the roadway and waved for me to cross the street in front

of him. When I got to the doorway of my patrol car, he pulled his vehicle next to where I was standing. Through the lowered passenger door window he said, “Excuse me.” I turned to face him expecting him to ask for directions to some location downtown. He said, “Don’t take this the wrong way, but you’re too pretty to be a police officer.” I paused and said, “Thank you, I think...,” and he drove away (06/19/14). I had been told this many times throughout my career, mainly by male citizens. Although I understood their comments were intended as complimentary, I always wondered if too much of one thing implied not enough of something else. And, I thought now about what being “too pretty” said about gender, identity, and police work. I understood better through this research how women officers integrate their gender into their daily work, and vigorously navigate both roles through interaction (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). But, I also understood how limitations are placed on women functioning in roles traditionally viewed as masculine, and how these limitations may originate from images promoting stereotypes. Limiting the images and narratives of female officers to those produced by others flattens the lived experiences of women, and overlooks the stories that might offer a new narrative. A single story produces stereotypes. The difficulty with stereotypes is not that they are completely false, but they are unfinished, inadequate, and lacking. My eyes opened to a very diverse manner by which women experience the world. Identities are impressionable and vulnerable in the face of an imagery that does not accurately reflect reality or tell a fuller, more complex story.

Limitations

There were challenges in securing a large sample size for this research. Of the woman police officers invited from a snowball sampling to attend three informational

sessions, only seven women officers participated in the study. Although snowball sampling lends an efficient method of accessing hard to reach populations, the small sample cannot be assumed to represent the larger body of female police officers. The snowball sample, sample size, and restriction of sampling to municipal police agencies curbed the applicability of the findings from this study to environments outside of the research context. The limitations applied to studies with small sample size are mitigated, however, by the range of rank represented among participants as well as the two municipal police departments included in the research.

Knowledge produced through the photovoice process was community specific. The highly contextualized nature of this process centers on the needs of the participants. This makes the findings non-generalizable. As participants and their experiences change, so do meanings and interpretations. Replication of this process with different participants would yield different results. Therefore, reliability was inconsequential within the photovoice construct. Further, photovoice relies heavily on interpretive impressions of participants. This presents opportunity for the introduction of participant bias and idiosyncrasies (Smith & Glass, 1987). Although there is no overt stimulus for participants to misrepresent their findings, self-reported data are subjective.

Presser (2005) posits that the research environment underwrites the authenticity manufactured among participants. The context of each photovoice session was within the confines of research interaction. Therefore, discursive control may shape the accounts that participants shared, and may have further prompted participants to respond to the perceived requirements of the research (Presser, 2005). Subsequently, participant observations may not produce collected stories of informants, and may instead present

reified exchanges among participants. The neutrality of observation by the researcher as an embedded participant in the study negates the possibility of eliciting the participants' own constructions of events (Presser, 2005).

Credibility

The scarcity of research on women police officer identity makes this data quite unique. For this study, the seven female police officers created, selected, described, analyzed, and coded their own photographs. These photographs served as the medium through which the participants reflected and represented identity within their local contexts. The process of participant analysis of photographs through open-coding provided a degree of member-check embedded in the research process. Further, session recordings, field notes/observations, and my own reflective journal were analyzed to capture the research process as well as changes in my understanding as a participant researcher. Participant photograph analysis and my analysis of other qualitative data, when compared collectively for converging and diverging themes, strengthened the validity of the study. Qualitative studies equate credibility with validity (Patton, 2002); it is cultivated through member checks. Participants determined the accuracy and integrity of this report as two participants reviewed my data analysis and provided feedback regarding the accuracy of my representation of the photovoice process (Creswell, 1998).

Conclusion

The sharing of participant stories and images has the potential to spark critical conversations surrounding identity and gender in policing. These instruments help people rethink traditional and reified perceptions of what a police officer looks like and may produce new opportunities for female officers in areas of policing not usually associated

with women. Discussion is the first of many steps toward building knowledge, awareness, and understanding of how interaction and imagery shapes perception.

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APPENDIX A

PHOTOVOICE MANUAL: DAY 1 MATERIALS

Who Does She Think She Is?
 General Schedule of Sessions
 Adult Photovoice Project
 Fall 2014

All sessions will be held at the XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX.

Date	Day	Topic
May/June, 2014	1	Orientation
June, 2014	2	Introduce photovoice methodology to participants
	3	Photography
	4	SHOWeD
	5	Coding
	6	Coding
	7	Coding
	8	Coding and Exhibit
	9	Exhibit
October	10	Member Check

This project is in collaboration with research at Arizona State University
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Day 1: Orientation

Time	Minutes	Task	Document
4:00 - 4:15	15	Welcome/Introduction	
	30	Overview of Study/Timeline	Photovoice Project
	5	Break	
	20	Informed Consent	Adult Consent Form
	15	Questions & Answers	

Photovoice Project

Project Title: Who Does She Think She Is?
Project Directors: Paula Veach

What

Help improve your community. Learn about photography, gender, and identity. Take pictures of your community. Engage in conversations about your gender, identity, and policing with others. Share your insights with others.

Benefits:

- Meet with other female officers in your organization.
- Identify the strengths and concerns of your community.
- Help others learn about your community.
- Make new friends.

Commitment:

- Attend 10 photovoice sessions (2 hours/session).
- Participate in photovoice exhibit
- Give feedback about the project.

When and Where will the project take place?

The project will likely take place on Thursdays (4 to 6 pm) unless other days/times are preferred by the majority of participants. Most sessions will take place at the XXXX.

Should I participate?

If you are...

- Eager to share ideas about how to make your community better
- Interested in learning how to use photography
- Enjoy working in groups/collaboratively
- Willing to devote time to the project

Thanks for your time and help!

This project is in collaboration with research at Arizona State University
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Adult Consent Form

Project Title: Who Does She Think She Is?
Project Director: Paula Veach

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Professor Kathleen Puckett of the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College, Division of Educational Leadership and Innovation at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study investigating how women in law enforcement define and identify themselves within the context of policing. In this research project, you and other participants will take pictures and meet to discuss strengths and concerns of your community. This type of project is known as a photovoice project. This is a chance for you to teach others about your life.

This project will also provide participants the opportunity to recognize the importance of their voices and opinions, in addition to bringing greater community awareness to their experiences and needs through their photographs. You are invited to be a part of this project on a voluntary basis only.

The following are some answers to general questions about the project and roles of the participants.

- **What is my role?**

You will initially attend a photography training session to learn about taking photographs for this project. You will be asked to take photographs of what it means to be a female police officer. You will select photographs that you would like to share, and attend a series of group discussions with other female officers (10 sessions over 12 weeks) to talk about your photographs and why you chose to take the pictures, as well as photographs taken by others in the group. The discussion sessions will last approximately 2 hours each. As part of the project, discussion sessions will be audio recorded and notes will be taken. You may also be asked to share your photos with a participant selected audience.

- **What is the purpose of the photographs?**

The photographs will be used to educate others about the issues that you feel limit as well as support your identity and role as a female police officer.

- **How will my photographs be used?**

Your photographs will be used in group sessions to prompt discussion about your experience. Some photographs may be included in a future exhibit, presentation, or publication. You need only share and photograph what you consider appropriate and comfortable. All of the photos that you take as a part of the photovoice project are yours. You have full ownership of the photos and have the right to decide which ones will be

used for public display. With your permission, some of your photographs will be used for this project.

• **How will my name or identifying information be used?**

Your name will be used during group discussions; however, names and identifying information will not be revealed with photographs and narratives included in exhibits, presentations or publications unless you request the use of your first name or pseudonym. It is good to remember that despite efforts of confidentiality, there is always the chance that somebody may recognize you in the photographs.

• **How long will the project last?**

The project will last approximately 10 days, approximately 12 weeks.

• **What are the benefits and risks of participating in this project?**

You will receive a copy of your photographs and may meet others for social support. You will be able to tell your own stories related to your photographs, express your feelings and opinions and ultimately promote change. The main risk is the risk that someone will recognize you in the photographs.

• **Will I be paid for participating in this project?**

You will not be paid for participating in this project. If you decide to stop participating in the project or if you miss two or more photovoice sessions, you will be removed from the project.

• **How will the information be stored?**

Information collected during the meetings and interviews will be stored on password-protected computers, and in files designated for this project. Access will be limited to the researcher. All data stored in computers will have password protection and all paper files will be secured in a locked storage file. Audio recordings of sessions will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study and all photographs on flash drives will be returned to participants.

• **What if I change my mind and do not want to share photographs or participate in group discussion?**

If at a later date, you do not wish to share your photographs with others or participate in discussions, you may contact Paula Veach (623-332-6373). Photographs and all accompanying information will immediately be removed from the project data. You do not have to give any reason for withdrawing. You may also withdraw from the project at any time and there will be no negative consequences.

• **Has this project been approved by an Institutional Review Board?**

Yes, this study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board of Arizona State University. This is a committee that oversees research projects to ensure that the rights of participants are protected. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact (name) Director of the office of Research Compliance, Arizona State University (number).

• **What if I have additional questions about the project or my participation?**

If you have any additional questions about this project, feel free to contact Paula Veach (number).

How do I provide consent for my participation?

If you are interested in participating in this project, please read the following agreement statement carefully, sign, date and return this form. You will receive a copy of the form should you have any questions or concerns at a later date.

Agreement Statement: By signing this consent form, I agree to participate in the study. I also understand and agree that, unless otherwise notified in writing, I am giving the Arizona State University unlimited permission to copyright and use my photograph(s), and accompanying narrative(s) for public exhibits, presentations, publications and/or other educational purposes.

By signing this form, you agree to fully participate in the Photovoice Project by doing the following activities:

- Attend 10 photovoice sessions (Dates: xxxxxx).
- Stay for the full session duration (Time: Thursdays 4:00 pm – 6:00 pm).
- Arrive on time to each session.
- Take pictures of your community.
- Discuss your pictures with others in the group.
- Have your thoughts tape recorded for the project.
- Share your photos with the others at a public exhibits.
- Follow project rules and guidelines.

Remember, your participation is completely voluntary. Signing this paper means that you have read this and that you want to be in the research project. This is your decision! It is OK if you don't sign the paper or if you change your mind later.

Print Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant:

_____ Date: _____

Witness:

_____ Date: _____

This project is in collaboration with research at Arizona State University
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APPENDIX B

PHOTOVOICE MANUAL: DAY 2 MATERIALS

Day 2: Introduce photovoice methodology to participants

Time	Minutes	Task	Document
4:00-4:15	15	Welcome/Introduction/Ice Breaker	
	30	Review details of the project: Describe the photovoice concept	Adult Consent Form- Appendix A Collect
	5	Break	
	30	Review the goals of this project & Participant role in the study	
	15	Contract for group norms	Notecards
	5	Break	
	15	Define tasks for next session	
	5	Questions, answers, handout manuals	Appendix A- Photovoice Manual

This project is in collaboration with research at Arizona State University
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Developing a Contract for Group Norms Activity

Directions: Hand out note cards to each participant. Allow approximately three minutes for them to write. Write these words on note card:

- “hopes” on one side
- “fears” on the other side

On the side that has “hopes,” have participants write a response to the following question:

- What are your hopes for what would have to happen to make the photovoice sessions a positive experience?

On the side that has “fears,” have participants write a response to the following question:

- What are your fears of what could happen that would make the Photovoice sessions a terrible experience?

Do not write your name on note cards

Facilitator: Collect and redistribute cards to each person. Don't worry if they get their own card.

Have them go around in the circle to read the “hopes” listed on card. (Write them on whiteboard). Go around in the circle to read the “fears” listed on card. (Write them on whiteboard)

Examples:

- What are your hopes for what would have to happen to make the photovoice sessions a terrific experience?
 - e.g., people will openly share their thoughts about the photos

- What are your fears of what could happen that would make the photovoice sessions a terrible experience?
 - e.g., I will be misunderstood

Developing Ground Rules

- State that the Goals for Ground Rules are:
 - To build on the positives
 - To avoid the terribles

Possible Ground Rules to discuss:

- Confidentiality – what is said here, stays here
- Punctuality – please be on time
- Attendance – attend all meetings
 - Notify facilitators if you are unable to attend
- Respect
- No disruptive side-bar chatting
- One person talking at a time
- Use respectful language
- Listen respectfully to other's opinions
- Be respectful of differences in opinion
- Cell phones on silence! (Use only if it's an emergency.)
- No texting
- The only stupid question is the one that isn't asked.
- Disputes can be worked out.
- Talk directly to others, not about them when they aren't present
- Others? (Write "other" ground rules on flipchart paper)

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APPENDIX C

PHOTOVOICE MANUAL: DAY 3 MATERIALS

Day 3: Photography

Time	Minutes	Task	Document
4:00-4:15	5	Welcome/Review Ground Rules	
	10	Ice Breaker Activity	
	10	Review photovoice project theme	
	5	Break	
	55	Photography power, ethics & legal issues	Ethics and Safety Guidelines Handout Photography Power, Ethics & Legal Issues Activity Fact Sheet and PhotoRelease Form Photovoice Ethics Agreement Form
	5	Break	
	20	Conduct camera 101 training	Photography 101 Handout Seeing Like a Photographer
	5	Questions and answers	

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Ethics and Safety Guidelines Handout

- Voluntary Participation
 - In what way can I show respect for a person's decision to be photographed?
 - How do I get consent to take their picture?
- Do No Harm
 - What is my purpose for taking this photo?
 - Am I creating and using photos in a manner that will do no harm to persons appearing in the photos?
- Fairness/Justice
 - Am I using photos in a way that fairly represents the real situation, subject identity, or physical location of the image?
 - Am I respectful of the people, places, and things that I am photographing?

Image Ethics

According to Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) there are four distinct but important areas of privacy that must be taken into consideration when participants take photographs during their photovoice experience:

- Intrusion into One's Private Space
- Disclosure of Embarrassing Facts about Individuals
- Being Placed in False Light by Images
- Protection Against the Use of a Person's Likeness for Commercial Benefit

Photographer Safety

- ~ Maintaining your personal safety is of highest priority.
- ~ No photo is worth personal danger.
- Wear name badge
- Be aware of your surroundings
- Buddy system
- Don't do anything you wouldn't usually do
- Don't go anywhere you wouldn't usually go

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Photography Power, Ethics & Legal Issues Activity

This worksheet can be used to generate individual reflection and group discussion when teaching about Photography Power, Ethics & Legal Issues.

Scenario 1: Frank is in his home, eating supper. He happens to look out his window, and sees someone on the sidewalk near his house. The person keeps looking up and down the street nervously. He seems to be looking at Frank's house. Finally this person pulls out a camera, takes a picture of the house, and runs away.

- What seems to be happening here?
- What is going wrong?
- What could be done differently?

Scenario 2: Judy has to work an early morning shift. She didn't sleep well, and hasn't had her coffee yet. She is tired and cranky, having just dragged herself out of bed. She is standing at the bus shelter waiting for her bus. Someone across the street is watching her. This person all of a sudden pulls out a camera and takes her picture.

- What seems to be happening here?
- What is going wrong?
- What could be done differently?

Although these scenarios are not directly related to the topic of this study, they provide important examples of how to demonstrate respect in photographing any person at any time.

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Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form

Project Title: Who Does She Think She Is?
Project Directors: Paula Veach
Arizona State University

Form to be completed anytime photographer takes a picture of a person's face.

What am I being asked to do?

I am asking that you give me your permission to take your picture.

Why are you taking these photographs?

I am taking pictures for the Photovoice project, called Who Does She Think She Is? This photovoice project is being conducted to better understand identity, gender, and policing for female officers.

To reach this goal, female officers like myself are equipped with cameras and asked to go into their community and photograph people, places and things that represent their experience as female officers.

The photographs taken will be used for the purpose of triggering discussion amongst others participating in the project, and to illustrate important ideas. The pictures may also be used in publications and presentations about the project. The names of people who appear in the pictures will not be used or disclosed; however, someone who sees the publications or presentations may recognize the images of people in the pictures.

At the conclusion of the project, the photos will belong to me as the photographer.

Who are the people running this project? How can I call them?

* The co-principal investigator is Paula Veach.
She can be reached at (623-332-6373)

How will you use my picture?

After I have taken a certain number of pictures, I will bring them to a photo-discussion session. At this session I will meet with participants and we will discuss our pictures. There is also the chance that some of the photographs will be included in presentations from this photovoice project.

Will people know that I had my picture taken for your project?

To ensure “confidentiality”, your name or any identifying information will never be mentioned during the discussions we have about our photos. Also, your name will not be revealed if your picture was included in any presentations or displays. Still, there is always the chance that somebody may recognize you. All photographs and information will be maintained in a confidential manner. Data will be stored in computers that are password protected and all data will be secured in a locked storage file.

What will I get out of having my picture taken for your project?

You will have a chance to help the development of this Photovoice project, a project that is aimed at improving the understanding of gender, identity, and policing for female law enforcement officers.

Do I have to allow you to take my picture? Can I withdraw my consent to use my picture if I wish?

You do not have to have your picture taken. Further, if you decide at a later date that you do not want your picture discussed or displayed anywhere, you may contact any of the research investigators whose names and phone numbers are listed above and your picture(s) will be removed immediately from the collection. You do not have to give any reasons for withdrawing your consent.

Remember, your willingness to be photographed is completely voluntary and you may decline at any time.

What if I have any questions about the project or my participation?

If you ever have any questions about this study, please feel free to contact Paula Veach at (623-332-6373).

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Photo Release Form

Revised 4/29/2013

I grant permission to the Arizona Board of Regents, on behalf of Arizona State University and its agents or employees, to copyright and publish all or any part of photographs and/or motion pictures and/or voice recordings and/or written/spoken statements taken of me on the date and at the location listed below for use in the ASU website on Self-Regulated Strategy Development for writing, and any related university publications, including those printed, moving, audio and electronic; and all exhibitions, public displays, publications, commercial art, and advertising purposes in any media without limitation or reservation.

I hereby waive any right to inspect or approve the photographs, publications, or electronic matter that may be used in conjunction with them now or in the future, whether that use is known to me or unknown, and I waive any right to royalties or other compensation arising from or related to the use of the photographs.

I hereby agree to release and hold harmless the Arizona Board of Regents and the developers and managers of the SRSD website, on behalf of Arizona State University, via electronic or media, from and against any claims, damages or liability arising from or related to the use of the photographs, including but not limited to any re-use, distortion, blurring, alteration, optical illusion or use in composite form, either intentionally or otherwise, that may occur or be produced in production of the finished product. It is the discretion of ASU to decide whether to use the image.

I am 18 years of age and I am competent to contract in my own name. I have read this release before signing below, and I fully understand the contents, meaning and impact of this release. I understand that I am free to address any specific questions regarding this release by submitting those questions in writing prior to signing, and I agree that my failure to do so will be interpreted as a free and knowledgeable acceptance of the terms of this release.

For those under the age of 18, this form must be signed by both the child and the parent or guardian. By signing, the parent or guardian attests that he/she is competent to contract in her/his own name; has read this release before signing below; fully understand the contents, meaning and impact of this release; and understands that he/she is free to address any specific questions regarding this release by submitting those questions in writing before signing, and that failure to do so will be interpreted as a free and knowledgeable acceptance of the terms of this release.

Signature: _____
(Individual age 18 or older, granting permission)

For Those Under Age 18:

Signature: _____
(Parent or Guardian if minor)

Name: _____
(Parent or Guardian if minor)

Signature: _____
(Minor under age 18)

Name: _____
(Minor under age 18)

Date: _____

Address: _____

Email: _____

Photovoice Ethics Agreement Form

Participant's Name: _____

In this Photovoice project, you and other participants will take pictures and share stories about what it means to be a female police officer. This is a chance to teach others about your life, your experience, your work.

By signing this ethics agreement form you also agree to follow the ethics of photovoice, which have been taught to you by the Paula Veach for the *Who Does She Think She Is? Photovoice Project*.

Please read the following statements and sign your initials next to each statement to confirm that you have read and understand each ethic of Photovoice.

_____ I will not intrude into an individual's personal space both publicly and privately.

_____ I will not photograph prisoners, crime victims, crime scenes when identifying characteristics are evident.

_____ I will not disclose embarrassing facts about individuals unless they have given me permission to do so.

_____ I will not place individuals in false light with my photographs.

_____ I will respect the confidentiality of the stories that were discussed during the Photovoice reflection sessions.

_____ I will obtain the signature of all individuals represented in my photographs.

_____ I will not reveal the name(s) of any subject(s) in my photographs, and will not use them when discussing or writing about my photographs.

Signing this ethics agreement form means that you have read, understand and respect the ethics and privacy concerns involved in a photovoice project. If you fail to follow these principles you may be asked to leave the project.

Print Your Name Here

Date of Birth

Sign Your Name Here

Today's Date

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Photography 101 Handout

Light ~ Pay careful attention to the light conditions in your photograph

- When trying to avoid harsh shadows, shoot photographs of people in covered shade so the light is more even across your subject(s).
- Try to place the sun at your back when you are shooting your photographs. This will help you avoid backlit subjects with shadowy faces.

Shooting ~ When shooting a photograph, hold the camera steady

- Hold the camera with both hands, with elbows against your body and feet spread apart. This helps to avoid camera shake or vibration which leads to unsharp pictures.

Subject~ Have a strong center of interest in your photograph

- Get as close as you can with your camera to include only what is needed in the frame. Photographs often have extra things in the frame that distract from the center of care.
- Framing~ Pay attention to the background in your photo
- Watch for clutter or for an object like a telephone pole that might appear to be growing out of the subject's head on the final picture.
- Are there elements in your photograph's background that are important for telling the story you want to tell?

Composition ~ Composition is the placement of elements (people, objects, environment) in a photograph within the restriction of the frame of the photograph

- Pay attention to how you arrange the people, objects, and environment in your photograph

Tips:

- Experiment with different lighting. You may need to use the flash even on a sunny day outdoors.
- Keep the sun behind the photographer when outdoors.
- Keep your finger away from the lens and flash

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Seeing Like a Photographer

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.

– Marcel Proust

For me the camera is a sketch book, an instrument of intuition and spontaneity. In order to give meaning to the world, one has to feel oneself involved in what one frames through the viewfinder. This attitude requires concentration, a discipline of mind, sensitivity, and a sense of geometry.

– Henri Cartier-Bresson

A few tips to get you started...

- Be mindful of the surroundings
- Don't rush your shots
- Don't be afraid to play with your camera
- Look beyond the obvious

Guidelines of Photographic Composition

1. Keep it simple
2. Rule of Thirds
3. Subject in Focus
4. Control the background
5. Pay attention to light and shadow
6. Be imaginative and have fun

Developed by Kathleen Robbins, MFA.

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APPENDIX D

PHOTOVOICE MANUAL: DAY 4 MATERIALS

Day 4: Meet to discuss photographs using SHOWeD

Time	Minutes	Task	Document
4:00-4:15	5	Welcome/Review Ground Rules	
	15	Revisit project theme/what matters to me	What matters to me handout
	45	Execute process for organizing and storing photos and photograph log	Handout flash drives Photograph Log
	5	Break	
	45	Review ethical considerations, timeframe for photographing, and number of photographs per participant	Fact Sheet and PhotoRelease Form
	5	Break	
	10		Photography 101 Handout Seeing Like a Photographer
	5	Questions and answers.	

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What Matters to Me

Think about: **WHERE YOU WORK**, and **YOUR IDENTITY...**

How I see me

Inside me:

- o My accomplishments
- o Skills
- o Traits

Close to me:

- My home
- My Squad

Wider community:

- Organizationally
- Citizens

How others see me

Inside me:

- o My accomplishments
- o Skills
- o Traits

Close to me:

- My home
- My Squad
- My Boss

Wider community:

- Organizationally
- Citizens

Things that need to change...

Inside me:

- o Things I can improve
- o Things I want to do better
- o Things I want to stop doing

Close to me:

- My home

Wider community:

- Organizationally

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“Take 10” PHOTO LOG

Your Name: _____

Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____

Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)

Name(s) of person(s): _____

S

What do you See happening here? (Describe what the eye sees)
(write in this space)

H

What is actually Happening here? (What is the unseen story behind the picture? What does the heart see?)

O

What does this photo tell us about life in your cOmmunity?

W

Why are things this way? (Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist?)

e

How could this photo Educate people?

D

What can we Do about it? (How does this photo provide opportunities for us to improve life in your community?)

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APPENDIX E

PHOTOVOICE MANUAL: DAY 5-8 MATERIALS

Days 5-8: Coding

Time	Minutes	Task	Document
4:00 - 4:15	5	Welcome/Review Ground Rules	
	90	Photograph review using SHOWeD	Take 10 Worksheet-Appendix D
		Select photos for evaluation	
	5	Break	
	90	Discuss and analyze photos with group	
	5	Break	
	60	Write titles and captions for photos	Reflection Documentation Worksheet – Appendix E
	5	Discuss thematic data analysis	Theme Activity Worksheet-Appendix E
	30	Select an audience	
	5	Questions and answers	

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Reflection Documentation Worksheet

Session : _____

Now that we have discussed your photos as a group, take a few minutes to decide if you would like to make a title for your photos, and write 3 to 5 sentence description that would hang on a plaque next to your picture, if selected for the exhibit.

Your Name: _____

PHOTO 1:

Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____

Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)

Name(s) of person(s): _____

PHOTO 2:

Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____

Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)

Name(s) of person(s): _____

PHOTO 3:

Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____

Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)

Name(s) of person(s): _____

PHOTO 4:
Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____
Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)
Name(s) of person(s): _____

PHOTO 5:
Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____
Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)
Name(s) of person(s): _____

PHOTO 6:
Title of Photo: _____ Date Taken: _____
Description of Photo: _____

If person(s) in photo: Photo Release Form obtained? ___yes, ___ (number of forms obtained)
Name(s) of person(s): _____

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Theme Activity Worksheet

1. Think about all of the photos you took as well as the photos of others.
2. On a note card – do this quickly. Write the first thoughts that come to mind. (no more than 5 minutes)
 - a. GREEN PAPER: Record 3-5 words or phrases that capture the main
 - b. YELLOW PAPER: Record 3-5 words or phrases that capture the main challenges in the community– things that people want to improve.
3. In groups of 3-4, sort your words into common categories. (15 min)
 - a. After they are sorted, record a title for each group of words.
 - b. Recorder will capture all words and title for each group.
 - c. Present main themes we gathered from discussions so far: (5 min)
5. How do your themes map onto these? (10 min)
 - a. Were there any new themes?
 - b. Any of these that need to be revised?

Group Members:

Recorder:

Theme 1: Words:	Theme 2: Words:	Theme 3: Words:
Theme 4: Words:	Theme 5: Words:	Theme 6: Words:
Theme 7: Words:	Theme 8: Words:	Theme 9: Words:

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APPENDIX F
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Kathleen Puckett
 Division of Teacher Preparation - West
 480/727-5206
 Kathleen.Puckett@asu.edu

Dear Kathleen Puckett:

On 4/24/2014 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Negotiating Identity: Who Does She Think She Is?
Investigator:	Kathleen Puckett
IRB ID:	STUDY00000991
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant Consent Form, Category: Consent Form; • Fact Sheet and Photo Release Form, Category: Consent Form; • Negotiating Identity, Category: IRB Protocol; • PHOTOVOICE MANUAL APPENDIX A-E WITH REVISED CONSENT, Category: IRB Protocol;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 4/24/2014.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Paula Veach
 Paula Veach
 Robert Kleinsasser

APPENDIX G

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE PHOTOGRAPHS

Figure 2

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

BERKELEY · DAVIS · IRVINE · LOS ANGELES · MERCED · RIVERSIDE · SAN DIEGO · SAN FRANCISCO



SANTA BARBARA · SANTA CRUZ

14362

Please complete and return pages 1 and 2. Also submit the photographic services form if images are needed.

PERMISSION FORM

The Bancroft Library
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720-6000

(510) 642-7589 FAX

Name of Applicant: PAULA VEACH

Mailing Address: 8548 WEST MAYA DRIVE

City, State, ZIP: PEORIA, AZ 85383

Telephone: 623-332-6373 Fax:

Email: PVEACH@ASU.EDU/PVEACH1@COX.NET

Description of project (not the description of the material to be used):

Author(s)/creator(s)/curator(s): PAULA VEACH/ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Description or title of your project or publication: DISSERTATION IN FULLFILLMENT OF

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DOCTORATE IN EDUCATION/LEADERSHIP & INNOVATION

Publisher or sponsor: ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Place of publication or project: PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Date of publication or use: MAY, 2015 Number of copies or duration of use: 1

Classification of project:

[] Commercial [X] Non-profit, government, scholarly, small press

Nature of project:

[] Book/e-book [] Worldwide, multi-media [] Article [] Film, Video, Television, CD-ROM

[] Non-editorial (calendars, cards, book covers, ads, etc.) [X] Unpublished report, thesis, dissertation

[] Website [] Exhibition [] Re-use [] Other use - specify:

Veach, Paula

Statement of responsibility: I certify that the information on this form is correct and I accept the conditions of use. I am authorized to enter into this agreement on behalf of the above named organization.

Signature of Applicant: Paula T. G. Veach Date: 02/27/15

The Bancroft Library acknowledges payment in accordance with the conditions specified herein.

Permission is hereby granted to the above for the use described herein.

Approved: [Signature] Date: 3/3/2015

Library Representative - not valid without signature

Amount of payment (Use fees only - do NOT include duplication charges):

Paid by: [] Cash [] Check [] Credit Card number: Exp. date:

CALL NUMBER	TITLE OR DESCRIPTION
IDENTIFIER 145A Jesse Brown Cook Scrapbooks Documenting San Francisco History and Law Enforcement, ca. 1895-1936 BANC PIC 1996.003-fALB	The Police Matron Mrs. Condon and some other prisoners in the Women's Dept. of the City Prisons, S.F. [San Francisco], 1917.

Attach additional sheet(s) if necessary

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Please complete and return pages 1 and 2

Figure 3

Re: permission to use image Page 1 of 1

Re: permission to use image
Glynn Martin [glynnmartin@lapolicemuseum.org]
Sent: Wednesday, February 25, 2015 3:49 PM
To: Veach, Paula

Thanks for the note. Some years ago we stopped releasing digital files of photos due to their misuse, repurposing, lack of protection, etc.

If you are able to download the image from its source, the Museum will authorize its use strictly for the stated purpose.

Best,
Glynn Martin
Executive Director
Los Angeles Police Museum

On Wed, February 25, 2015 10:42 am, paula.veach@phoenix.gov wrote:
> Mr. Martin:
>
>
>
> My name is Paula Veach and I am a doctoral candidate at Arizona State
> University where I study gender issues relative to women working in law
> enforcement. I am also a lieutenant for the City of Phoenix Police
> Department. I am writing to request permission to use a photograph from
> your institution as part of my dissertation. The photograph is titled
> Police women wearing Class A uniforms at the Los Angeles Police Academy's
> gym in the 1960s.
>
>
> I found this image on the following
> website:[http://www.policemag.com/photogallery/photos/17/pioneering-police](http://www.policemag.com/photogallery/photos/17/pioneering-police-women-of-the-lapd/118.aspx)
> [-women-of-the-lapd/118.aspx](http://www.policemag.com/photogallery/photos/17/pioneering-police-women-of-the-lapd/118.aspx)
>
>
>
> This specific image would be used as a part of my published dissertation
> with a caption citing:
>
> Police women wearing Class A uniforms at the Los Angeles Police Academy's
> gym in the 1960s. Photograph courtesy of the Los Angeles Police
> Historical Society.
>
>
> [<http://www.policemag.com/Images/photogallery/policewoman1-web-1.jpg>]
> [http://www.policemag.com/photogallery/photos/17/pioneering-police-women-of-](http://www.policemag.com/photogallery/photos/17/pioneering-police-women-of-the-lapd/118.aspx)
> [the-lapd/118.aspx](http://www.policemag.com/photogallery/photos/17/pioneering-police-women-of-the-lapd/118.aspx)
>
>
>
>
> Please feel free to respond to this email address with permissions or
> refusal. Thank you,
> Paula Veach
> Doctoral Candidat, Arizona State University
>
>

<https://ppdmail.phoenix.gov/owa/?ae=Item&t=IPM.Note&id=RgAAAACiBFu6BAS1TK...> 3/12/2015

Figure 7:

Date: Tuesday, March 3, 2015 6:58 PM
From: WTA <womenstactical@sbcglobal.net>
To: Paula Veach <pveach@asu.edu>
Subject: Re: permission for use of image

Hi Paula - yes you may use the image. Thank you for your service and for studying such an important topic. Best of luck and hopefully I look tough in the pic!

Sent from my iPhone

> On Mar 3, 2015, at 8:56 PM, Paula Veach <pveach@asu.edu> wrote:
>
> Ms. Bartuch:
>
> My name is Paula Veach and I am a doctoral candidate at Arizona State University where I study gender and identity relative to women in law enforcement. I am also a lieutenant with the City of Phoenix Police Department. I am writing to request your permission to use an image of you in my doctoral dissertation. The title of the image is Well Armed Woman and Will Grant is listed as the photographer. This image was discovered on your Women's Tactical Association website by a research participant who offered to my study as representative of women performing divergent roles within law enforcement.
>
> The photograph will only be used for scholastic purpose and I will include an in text citation, such as photograph courtesy of Karen Bartuch and Women's Tactical Association.
>
> Please respond to this email address with your permission or refusal of this request. And, thank you for the contribution you make to women in policing.
>
> Paula Veach
> Doctoral Candidate, Arizona State University
> Lieutenant, Phoenix Police Department

Figure 11

> From: Rob Rogers <rob@robrogers.com>
> Date: Wed, 18 Mar 2015 12:52:14 -0400
> Subject: Re:
> To: Paula Veach <pveach@asu.edu>
>
> Hi Paula,
>
> I'm happy to let you use my Women In Combat cartoon in your
> dissertation. Please
> include a line of text under the cartoon that reads: ©2013 Rob
> Rogers/Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Reprinted with permission. I'm attaching a
> high-res jpg of the cartoon for you to use.
>
> Thanks,
>> Rob
>
>
>
> On Mon, Mar 16, 2015 at 8:43 PM, Paula Veach <pveach@asu.edu> wrote:
>> Hello Mr. Rogers:
>>
>> My name is Paula Veach and I am a doctoral candidate at Arizona State
>> University where I study gender issues relative to women working in law
>> enforcement. I am also a lieutenant for the City of Phoenix Police
>> Department. I am writing to request permission to use one of your cartoons
>> as part of my doctoral dissertation. The cartoon is titled
>> "Congratulations Missy," and features a military sergeant addressing a
>> female enlisted. The image of the cartoon supports a discussion held among
>> research participants in my study regarding the similarities between the
>> military and police organizations in how women are treated. With your
>> permission, it would be used to emphasize the concept of women subjected to
>> harassment within male dominated institutions.
>>
>> A citation for the use of this image would be attached to the photograph
>> of the cartoon within the dissertaion document. The use of this image is
>> for scholarly purpose only. The dissertation is a semi-published document
>> available to students through the ASU library. There are no fees or
>> monetary gains associated with the use of the item.
>>
>> Please feel free to respond to this email address with permissions or
>> refusal. Thank you for your kind consideration of this request.
>>
>> Sincerely,
>> Paula Veach
>> Doctoral Candidate, Arizona State University
>> Lieutenant
>> Phoenix Police Department

Figure 14



Date: March 10, 2015
License #: PP 1052

This Agreement shall outline the terms under which permission is granted for use of Rolling Stone LLC intellectual property:

LICENSEE: ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY (c/o Paula Veach) Mary Lou Fulton Teacher's College,
4701 West Thunderbird Road Glendale, AZ 85306

LICENSOR: ROLLING STONE LLC, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY, 10104

LICENSED MATERIAL: a) Cover: *Rolling Stone*, Issue 1212/1213, July 3-17, 2014

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LICENSE GRANTED TO THE LICENSEE ON THE TERMS SET FORTH ABOVE. ACCEPTED AND AGREED:

PAULA VEACH,

ROLLING STONE LLC,

By: _____

By: 

Danielle Rollins, Licensing Coordinator

Dated: _____

Dated: March 10, 2015

Figure 25

Re: use of images

Page 1 of 1

Re: use of images

Cody Bullard [cody@bullardpublishing.com]

Sent: Thursday, March 12, 2015 1:49 PM

To: Veach, Paula

Hello Paula,

That would be fine for you to use those two images for your dissertation. Thank you for your support of our art work and good luck with your paper.

Please let me know if you have any other questions or need anything else form us.

Cody Bullard, Vice President

Bullard Publishing

(260) 729-7862

On Thu, Mar 12, 2015 at 2:40 PM, <paula.veach@phoenix.gov> wrote:

Hello:

My name is Paula Veach and I am a doctoral candidate at Arizona State University where I study gender issues relative to women working in law enforcement. I am also a lieutenant for the City of Phoenix Police Department. I spoke with you on the phone earlier today.

I am writing to request permission to use a picture of two images created by No Greater Love as part of my dissertation. The images are titled Answering the Call (Police Woman) and Answering the Call (Police). A citation for the images would be attached to the photograph within the dissertaion document. The use of these images is for scholarly purpose only. The dissertation is a semi-published document available to students through the ASU library. There are no fees or monetary gains associated with the use of the item.

Please feel free to respond to this email address with permissions or refusal. Thank you for your kind consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Paula Veach

Doctoral Candidate, Arizona State University

Lieutenant

Phoenix Police Department

--

Cody Bullard

Vice President

Bullard Publishing, LLC

PO Box 1036

Orem, UT 84059