

2015

Gender and Representative Bureaucracy: The Career Progression of Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations in State Government

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GENDER AND REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY: THE CAREER PROGRESSION OF
WOMEN MANAGERS IN MALE-DOMINATED OCCUPATIONS IN
STATE GOVERNMENT

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

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March, 2015

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Dedicated to my late husband, Kelvin D. Ballard

This dissertation has not been an easy journey by any stretch of the imagination. I have navigated many obstacles in my life, but it was this journey that taught me the real meaning of perseverance. I endured many difficulties, failures, doubts and blows to my confidence during this process. Each time that I considered quitting this daunting endeavor, God would send encouragement my way. My supervisors, friends, family, coworkers, neighbors, acquaintances, and professional colleagues showered me with relentless support and encouragement.

Foremost, I would like to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Susan T. Gooden, for her patience, guidance, encouragement, and expertise. Dr. Gooden provided me with the confidence I needed to guide me back on course whenever I veered or disappeared from the path. I will be forever indebted to you. I thank Dr. Basil I. Gooden for serving as my “positivity coach” and for instilling in me that the “P” in Ph.D. stands for perseverance. I learned so much from Dr. Richard Huff, who counseled me on the process and provided support and reinforcement throughout my matriculation at VCU.

I would like to thank my friend and mentor, Bill Shelton, for providing me with the opportunity of a lifetime. It is not often that one completes this level of education without incurring some financial burden. I am so fortunate to work for someone who believes, supports and invests in me both professionally and financially. The encouragement and support I received

from colleagues, co-workers and staff was amazing. I thank my supervisor, Al Williams, who supported me and gave me all the time I needed to complete this journey.

I would like to thank my father for giving me unconditional love and inspiration. I would also like to thank my family, friends, and neighbors for the encouragement, praise, support, and understanding rendered to me during my journey. Special thanks to my best friend, Ronda Harris, for helping me to focus on the prize and providing me with meaningful outlets when the stress of the journey seemed unbearable. I thank my partner, Nelson Foster, for believing in me and giving me love, encouragement, space, and confidence.

I am grateful to all the amazing women who participated in this study. I am grateful for the opportunity to share their experiences and the sacrifices that they make every day to fulfill their dreams. The courage, dedication, and determination of these women attested their resolve to make a difference in the lives of citizens despite obstacles.

I dedicate this journey to my late husband, Kelvin D. Ballard, who put this idea in my head. I know you are proud of this accomplish. Thank God!

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Abstract

GENDER AND REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY: THE CAREER PROGRESSION OF WOMEN MANAGERS IN MALE-DOMINATED OCCUPATIONS IN STATE GOVERNMENT

By Velma J. Ballard, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2015

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The tenets of representative bureaucracy suggest that the composition of the bureaucracy should mirror the people it serves including women in order to influence the name, scope, and implementation of public policies. Women account for the largest segment of the workforce and have attained more education and advanced education than men. Although there have been steady increases in executive leadership positions, management positions, professional and technical positions in most occupations, women are still underrepresented in mid-to-upper management in male-dominated occupations. When women are under-represented in mid-to-upper levels of management in government, there are implications regarding representative bureaucracy.

Through the use of qualitative methods, this study examined the career progression experiences of women who were successful in reaching mid-to-upper levels of management in

male-dominated occupations in state government. Specifically, the study explored how women perceive various occupational factors including their rates of participation, experiences, gender, roles within the bureaucracy, interactions with their coworkers, leaders and organizational policies, personal influence, and decision-making abilities.

The findings revealed that women experience various barriers to career progression in male-dominated occupations, but find mechanisms to navigate obstacles imposed by the negative consequences of tokenism. The findings indicate that although women have been successful in reaching mid-to-upper level management in male-dominated occupations, they do so in institutions, regional, district, field or offices with fewer overall employees where they have less opportunity to have influence on overall agency-wide policy decisions. The decision-making power is limited to implementation strategies of agency-wide policies within their smaller domains or geographical area of responsibility.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION, BACKGROUND, AND OVERVIEW

Statement of the Problem

The tenets of representative bureaucracy suggest that bureaucracy should look like the people it serves. In that regard, the composition of the bureaucracy should mirror the demographic composition of the population including women and minorities in order to influence the nature, scope, and implementation of public policies. (Dolan, 2002; Kinglsey, 1944; Meier, 1993; Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006; Naff & Crum, 2000; Park & Perry, 2013; Riccucci & Sidel, 1997; Smith & Monaghan, 2013).

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (USBLS) (2011a) reported that 46% of the U.S. labor force consisted of women in 2010 and held steady in 2011. Women's employment in government almost mirrors that of the U.S. labor force. According to the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, the federal government workforce was comprised of 43.6% women in 2011 (see Table 1). In some state government workforces the percentage of women workers is even higher. For example, women represented 54.4% of the Commonwealth of Virginia's workforce in 2011 according to the Virginia Department of Human Resource Management (VDHRM 2011). The states surrounding Virginia had similar percentages of women working in state government, all of which had higher percentages than the federal government. The state of Maryland's Annual Statewide Equal Opportunity Report indicates that in 2011 women represented 56% of its state government workforce. The state of North Carolina

Table 1

Women in Government Workforce

Women in government workforce 2011	Percentage
U.S. federal government	43.60
Commonwealth of Virginia	54.40
State of Maryland	56.00
State of North Carolina* (2010)	49.90
Commonwealth of Kentucky	48.86

Note. Adapted from U.S. Office Personnel Management; Virginia Department of Human Resource Management, 2011; Maryland EEO Report, 2011; Kentucky Semi-annual Report on Females, 2011. *North Carolina statistics from 2010 Performance Report.

was nearly evenly split where women comprised of 49.9% of its government workforce according to the North Carolina Office of State Personnel Performance Report No. 22 (2010). The state of Kentucky Semi-Annual Report on Female and Minority (June 2012) indicates that in 2011 women represented 48.86% of its state government workforce. Women are clearly a large part of the workforce in the United States as a whole and even more so in the public sector. Moreover, women accounted for 52% of all persons employed in management, professional, and related occupations in the United States. This data suggests that women have advanced their careers as they accounted for the majority of workers in the financial, education, and health services occupations (USBLS, 2011b).

Despite the fact that women represent nearly half or more of the U.S. workforce, women's career progression into upper and executive level positions continues to lag behind their male counterparts in both public and private sectors (D'Agostino & Levine, 2010; Fagenson & Jackson, 1993; Oakley, 2000). Although women have made great strides in attaining

managerial positions in many occupations, they are still substantially under-represented in male-dominated occupations. A male-dominated occupation is defined as an occupation where at least 75% of the total workforce is male (Ashraf, 2007; Frome, Alfeld, Eccles, & Barber 2006, 2008).

In 2010, the USBLS reported that 36.4% of women aged 25 to 64 in the labor force held college degrees compared to 33% of men, and another 30.3 % of women had associate degrees or some college with no degree compared to 25% of men. Furthermore, half of the individuals in United States with advanced degrees are women (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). This seems apparent that more women have attained education than men and, like men, should expect to advance in their career progression in their organizations or chosen occupations. Stroh, Brett, and Reilly (1992) suggest that explanations for women's slower career progression such as lesser skills, abilities, and motivations have been ruled out by previous studies as to why there are proportionately fewer women in top leadership positions. For the purpose of this study, career progression is the ability to attain the mid-to-upper levels of the occupation's career ladder or track.

Governmental interventions and legislative actions designed to ensure gender equality such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Title VII and Executive Orders 11375 and 11378, still have not been successful in keeping the pace of women's career progression with that of men's (D'Agostino & Levine, 2010; Fagenson & Jackson, 1993; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Stroh et al., 1992). Furthermore, the women in the public sector are generally regarded as better off than the private sector because the equity programs have been in place for longer periods of time (Hede & Ralston 1993). The equity programs are usually developed and administered by human resource professionals using guidelines of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Clearly, some women are successful in attaining mid-to-upper levels of management in their

occupations throughout government. In most cases, however, the women have some degree of high-level representation and policy influence in “feminine” occupations such as health care, education, children, and families, disability, the environment, social services, and civil rights. This is not the case in “masculine” occupations such as law enforcement, crime, transportation, forestry, engineering, corrections, game, and agriculture (Ricucci & Saidel, 1997; Smith & Monaghan, 2013). While the antidiscrimination and equal employment opportunity legislative efforts have made headway toward leveling the playing field for women to achieve career progression in government, a significant gap is still present with regard to woman achieving career progression in male-dominated occupations in government (Frome et al., 2006, 2008; Guy & Newman, 2004).

Research Questions

In order to understand how women become successful in attaining mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated occupations, this study was guided by the following research questions.

Primary

How do successful women working in predominantly male bureaucracies experience career progression?

Secondary

- a. How are their experiences influenced by their gender and collective work history?
- b. How do they perceive gender as a factor in career progression?
- c. How do these considerations affect their work experiences, personal choices and career development?
- d. How do they perceive their passive and active roles in a representative bureaucracy?

- e. What role do they feel human resources management policies and practices played in their career progression?
- f. What role do they feel mentors or role models, if any, played in their career progression?

Research Propositions and Justification

The purpose of this study was to understand the journey of women who have experienced career progression into mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated occupations in state bureaucracies and how they perceive their rates of participation on their career decisions, personal influence, personal actions and interactions with their coworkers, leaders and organizational policies. The propositions for this study are as follows:

Proposition 1. Women in mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated agencies did not use the traditional career ladder to attain success.

Proposition 2. Women in mid-to-upper level management positions must learn to navigate gender-related obstacles in male-dominated occupations.

Proposition 3. Women in mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated agencies do not have roles that would lead to active and/or passive representative bureaucracy.

Proposition 4. Human resource practices present barriers for women in male-dominated occupations through recruitment, interview and selection processes, training, classification, and socialization activities that serve as successful obstacles to career progression.

Proposition 5. Mentors and/or role models played important roles in the career progression of women in mid-to-upper management positions in male-dominated occupations.

The individuals in this study are all women who have been successful in achieving mid-to-upper level management positions in variety of male-dominated occupations. The literature (Billing & Alvesson, 1989; Fagenson & Jackson, 1993; Haslam & Ryan, 2008; Mavin, 2001;

Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990) is rich with regard to women reaching management status and the fact their paths to the top are not always prescribed. Women in male-dominated worlds are not likely to follow the same steps in reaching management positions. This study seeks to understand their journeys to those positions.

One would assume that certain management position titles, especially those typically associated with policy-making responsibility such as department heads, directors and agency heads, would indicate that policy decisions are made by the incumbent in the position. Is this the case with women in male-dominated occupations? This study sought information from these women about their roles and policy decisions that they may be responsible for making that would lead to representative bureaucracy.

Finally, human resource practices play an integral role in ensuring equal opportunity employment for women. Human resource management is usually tasked with developing policies and practices in training, career development, career ladders, compensation, and promotion. The women in this study can perhaps provide valuable information as to whether human resources is a barrier or support to their success in obtaining mid-to-upper level management.

Significance of Study

This study sought to add to the body of existing literature with regard to how women working in male-dominated occupations achieve career progression into the upper management by generating theory, which is grounded and emerges from the field (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). An overall proposition in this study suggests that women do not move into management in male-dominated occupations and influence policy outcomes because of male-gendered human resource practices, discriminatory, social, and cultural barriers.

In a bureaucracy, responsibilities are derived from two types of distinct representativeness: active and passive (Mosher, 1982; Riccucci & Naff, 2007). Active (or functional) representativeness focuses on the extent administrators seek to provide or allocate benefits to segments of society they represent. Passive (or descriptive) representativeness concerns the specific origin of individuals and the degree to which they mirror the society that is served. In this sense, an examination of the numeric representation and active participation of women is warranted to determine how the levels of their representation influence the policies and practices of government operations in state bureaucracies. Meier (1993) and Thompson (1976) suggest that in order for the passive representativeness of a bureaucracy to produce broadly representative policy outcomes, the administrators in the bureaucracy must have enough discretion or authority to influence the policy decisions. Consequently, if women are not in administrative roles or are in administrative roles but exercise less influence and discretion in their roles, they will not be able to affect policy outcomes to the same degree as men (Dolan, 2004). The result then is less active representation for women.

Smith and Monaghan (2013) argue that men and women advance to top-level positions in different ways. Even when the credentials are relatively equal, whereby men and women have the same level of education, skills, and experience and enter into an occupation at the same rate, women do not advance to upper management in the same way as men (Carter & Silva, 2010; USBLS 2011b). These explanations seem plausible as to why women working in male-dominated fields are under-represented in top levels of management.

Kingsley (1944) and Levitan (1946) argue that a representative bureaucracy is supposed to make the administrative arm of government responsive to the public it services. Further, Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard (1999) suggest that a diverse government leadership contributes to

the understanding of shared social responsibility. Moreover, a broadly representative public service, especially at the leadership level, suggests an “open service” which is accessible to people and where there is “equality of opportunity” (Mosher, 1982). From this viewpoint, representative bureaucracies that are composed of individuals with various commitments of varied occupations, classes, and group interests should assure that internal bureaucratic struggles should produce policies that are broadly representative (Rehfuss, 1986). The concept is that socially diverse individuals bring different perceptions, attitudes, and priorities to their positions in the bureaucracy. Consequently, if a bureaucracy is broadly representative of the public it serves, the expectation is that it is likely to make policy decisions that benefit the public (Meier et al., 1999; Thielemann & Stewart, 1996). If women are not progressing in the bureaucracy into positions that make policy decisions, the public then relies on what seems to be a male-only perspective for policy decisions. In this sense, if women are under-represented in male-dominated bureaucracies, their interests in areas such as transportation, forestry, and law enforcement, the views of women may not be taken into consideration in policy decisions even though they make up the largest segment of the working population.

What is Career Progression?

In order to understand career progression, the definition of a career must be explored. One of the most widely used definitions of career is the sequence of one’s personal work-related experiences over the course of his/her working life. From the perspective of political science or even government, career can be defined as endeavors taken to maximize self-interest via successful attempts to attain power, status, and/or influence (Adamson, Doherty, & Viney, 1998; Kaufman, 1960). Over the past decade, career has been defined more broadly as the “unfolding sequence of one’s work experience over time” (Arthur, Hall, & Lawrence, 1989, p. 8) with that

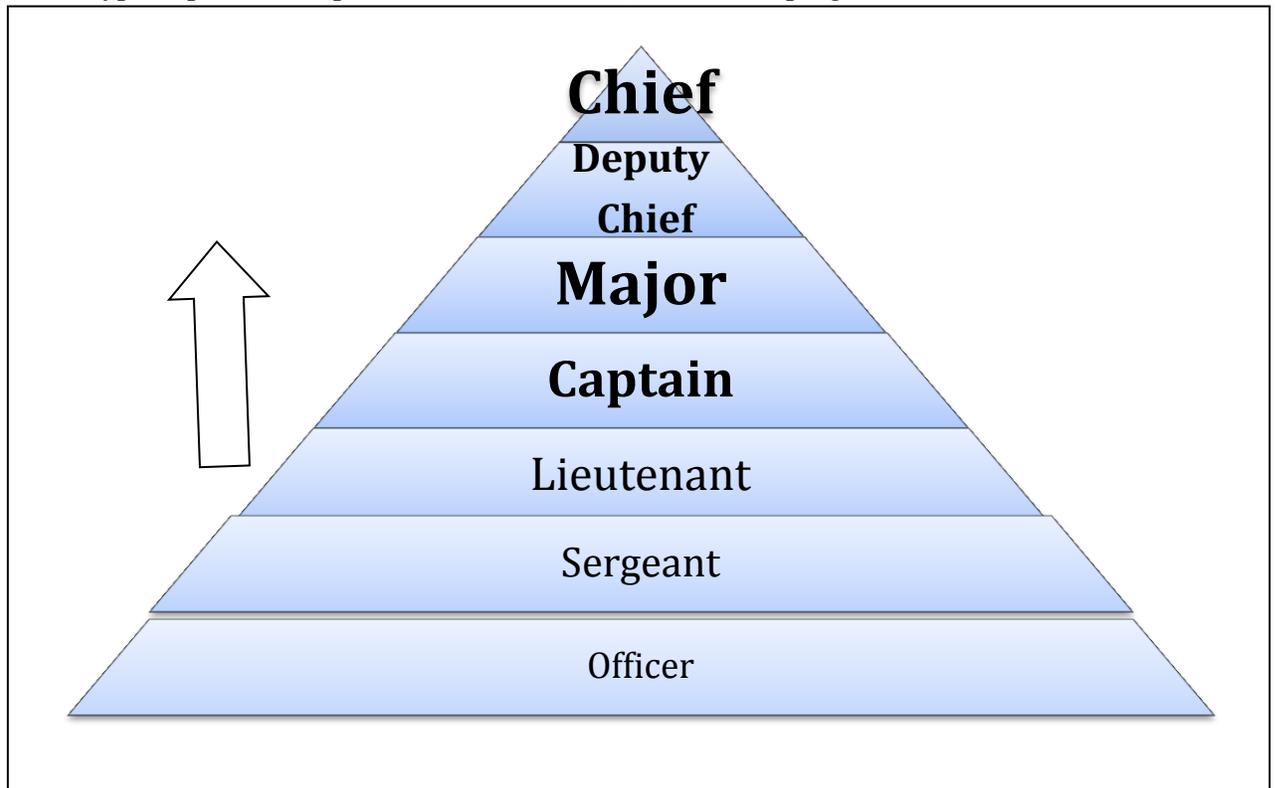
sequence being detailed as the employment-related positions, roles, activities that one encounters (Arnold, 2001; Arthur, Khapova, & Wilderom, 2005; Hoekstra, 2011).

From an organizational perspective, career progression encompasses the notion of hierarchical progression whereby the sequence of work positions is of increasing responsibility and seniority overtime (Arthur et al., 1989; Slocum, 1966). Traditionally, in bureaucracies, this involves linear upward progression from a position of relatively low status and responsibility to a higher position with more responsibilities and higher status within the organization. Driver (1994) and Ismail (2003) suggest that this linear progression is activity that continues throughout one's life as he moves, step by step, up an occupational ladder and that this type of hierarchical progression is common in male-dominated occupations.

A defined occupational ladder, sometimes referred to as career ladder, is usually a prescribed or predefined step-by-step progression method of reaching the top of the organization. Police work, typically considered to be a male-dominated occupation, tends to use such a ladder. The police occupational ladder begins at the bottom with an officer position and shows the different ranks or steps to get to the next level until the officer reaches the top position in the organization. Each step adds more responsibility than the previous step. While that is not to say that every individual will follow those same steps, Figure 1 illustrates a typical type of occupational line ladder as discussed by Ismail (2003) and Driver (1994).

This type of organizational career opportunity structure offers the obvious routes to get to the top of the organization. It is also expected that one puts in time or tenure and acquires advanced skills in each step prior to advancing to the next. The career implication is that the individual is likely to stay in the organization to gather the skills at each level to success at reaching the top of the organization

Figure 1. Typical police occupational career ladder (hierarchical progression).



Note. Adapted from Richmond Police Department 2011 Annual Report

Over the past few decades, the idea of hierarchical career progression in some occupations in many organizations changed due to economic and competitive pressures. The need to reduce budgets and staffs in both private and public sectors caused many middle management jobs to disappear thus altering the former model of a long-term career within a single organization or occupation. Rather, careers evolved through a series of occupations where each lasted for several years and new choices transferred past skills and added new skills. Conversely, career choice was continuous but fields, jobs, and organizations changed over a 1 to 4 year interval. Driver's (1994) career model referred to these concepts as spiral and transitory, respectively, and suggested that the concepts were especially applicable to women due to the start-stop changes women are likely to face during childbearing, marriage, and family.

Successful women rarely take the routine career ladder, but rather they climb the “jungle gym” which allows them more creative movement (Sandberg, 2013; Sellers, 1996, 2014; Shirley, 2013). Further, Sandberg (2103) suggests that the jungle gym approach to career progression is flexible and accounts for the occasional career dips, detours, and even dead ends. The approach also requires women to take risks with their careers (Gunz, Jalland, & Evans, 1998).

Why the Career Progression of Women in Bureaucracies is Important

The careers of women in bureaucracies reflect dynamic relationships within aspects of individuals, organizations, and society. From the individual perspective, women prepare themselves for fulfilling careers as is evidenced by the fact that women make up the largest segment of the workforce and have attained more education and advanced education than men. This implies that women and men have similar career aspirations. Given that, women’s absence from many top levels of management is not due to the lack of career aspirations, values, or socializations that somehow render them inferior candidates for such jobs (Goodman, Fields, & Blum, 2003; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Schein & Mueller, 1992).

Career progression for women is important for a variety of other reasons. The careers women begin and ultimately progress in may be a conduit from which their basic economic needs are satisfied. Such progression for women may provide a sense of social status or social worth in order to continue to live a life from which they had grown accustomed to in their early years or, conversely, better themselves or improve upon less than ideal circumstances in their early years. For example, if one grows up in an upper-middle class environment and attends an Ivy League university, he/she will usually not choose to work at the local diner as a waitress to earn a living. He/she may aspire to own the local diner as a business and perhaps expand the business.

Careers for women may also have deeper meanings as they may either literally or symbolically represent their life's dream that offers them direction, structure, meaning and purpose to their daily activities (Adamson et al., 1998). Moreover, women spend time, effort, money, and energy in developing their individual careers to be able to be successful in performing management duties and making executive decisions in bureaucracies.

From the organizational perspective, past arrangements, practices, and philosophies endeared to power structures, job segregation, and social structures that reserved top management positions for men became "rationalized myths" and were perpetuated over the years. These myths were comprised of the institutional environments and not the demands of the work activities (Goodman et al., 2003; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The perpetuated organizational policies and practices typically favored men's career progression and inhibited women's success and career progression (Kanter, 1977; Nabi, 2001).

Organizations' failure to advance or recognize the career progression efforts of women is a shortsighted strategy in today's bureaucracies (Stroh et al., 1992). Women should be in decision-making positions to a greater extent than they are because of political and social importance. Billing and Alvesson (1989) stated:

The difference between typical male and female orientations is a significant one, and the domination of the former means that the latter are inadequately represented in the way that society and its institutions and working life are functioning at present. (p. 76)

Diversity is often associated with being an indicator of an organization's commitment to equal opportunity and access to power. Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006) suggest that such diversity can serve to legitimize public bureaucracies. Women's career progression in an organization has many other benefits for the bureaucracy. It allows an organization to create structures to move its most valuable people through planned positions, hence offering the

opportunity for development of knowledge and skills from within the organization. Women's career advancement allows the organization to meet its future needs in the context of succession planning (Adamson et al., 1998). If there are women in lower management positions, then the pool from which to fill upper management jobs is an asset to the organization. Goodman et al. (2003) suggest that when organizations promote from within, the more women they have in lower level managerial positions, the more qualified women are available to the organization for top-level managerial positions. Such mechanisms offer the powerful incentive of women developing a sense of loyalty to the organization. When women invest in education and training specific to the work of the bureaucracy, they tend to have a more permanent attachment to the organization and may be less likely to leave (Blau & Ferber, 1987; Stroh et al., 1992). This is a win-win for the both women and organizations.

Career progression of women from a societal point of view is more like a double-edged sword. On one side, social expectations of women with regard to family responsibilities and the conventional ideology of work can be a detriment to women's career progression into the upper leadership ranks (Stivers, 1993; Tower & Alkadry, 2008). On the other side, society has demanded equal opportunity for women in the workforce and through administrative and legislative efforts has provided mechanisms to help level the playing field for women so that they can experience career progression.

Whyte (1956) and Johnson and Duerst-Lahti (1991) suggest that the society's conventional ideology of a successful career is based on the "notion of organization men and family women" (p. 15) where men are devoted to their organization and the women are devoted to their family and household. When women opt for careers in the organization, they face the

double paradox between societal expectations with regard to family responsibilities and being “organization women” (Tower & Alkadry, 2008, p. 145).

The same social construction of women as caregivers with female-friendly attitudes toward a variety of societal issues makes career progression in certain fields more natural for women. When women work in bureaucracies that encounter issues predominantly considered to be women’s issues, they are more likely to be in leadership positions (Dolan, 2000; Smith & Monaghan, 2013). For example, Wilkins and Keiser (2006) found that when more women are in supervisory or managerial roles at child support enforcement agencies, child support collections are higher. In this sense, career progression of women seems to benefit society from both economic and financial aspects. Further, not only do women make up over half of the workforce, they are also decision makers in the purchase of goods and services, both private and public, which represent the fabric of the U.S. economy.

Conversely, career progression in other fields that is more natural for women do not have the same effect when women work in agencies that are male-dominated even though they may be in a leadership position. The human resource profession provides an interesting case where women are more likely to be in a leadership role in even male-dominated agencies. The USBLS (2011a) reports that woman comprise 69.3% of all human resource managers in the United States. The fact that women are in positions of leadership in the human resource profession does not seem to produce outcomes for women with regard to career progression in the male-dominated occupation or a male-dominated agency. Moreover, Goodman et al. (2003) and Maume (1999) suggest that women’s promotional opportunities may be impaired when women completely dominate an occupation because the scarcity of men somehow enhances men’s promotional opportunities. However, the reverse does not seem to be case when men dominate

an occupation. In male-dominated occupations, career progression of women does not appear to be enhanced by their scarcity as revealed by the number of women in leadership positions in male-dominated occupations.

Women in Male-Dominated Professions

Throughout history men and women have done different work. The whole notion of male-dominated occupation derives from socially accepted norms where roles are assigned based on gender. Occupational orientations for women tend to be categorized as homemakers, feminine occupations, and male-dominated occupations. The differences between the occupations are described in numerous ways. Stanley and Soule (1974) suggest that:

There are two major distinctions between ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine careers’ (1) the sex ratio of the occupation, i.e. whether men or women predominate numerically among its workers and (2) the nature of the work role, i.e., whether the usual activities of the vocation are thought to be more compatible with approved feminine or masculine attitudes, skills, and values. In the case of women in a male-dominated field, such classification usually implies restriction of women’s access to the field and of their potential for achievement and recognition in it. (p. 245)

Until recently, women were initially slow to enter occupations that have been traditionally gendered as male-dominated by society. “Feminine” women were certainly not expected to participate or excel in “men’s work” (Lemkau, 1979, p. 222). Legal protections in affirmative action allows a woman in a male-dominated occupation the chance to perform, but it does not alter the perception that she will be less competent than her male counterpart. Kanter (1976) suggests that women encountered barriers that were posed by organizational factors including training, performance evaluations, policies, and job assignments that can and often do shape the biases against women. Even though men and women are evaluated with the same scales, the stereotypes, prejudices, and social conditions bias the evaluation process in favor of

men (Billing & Alvesson, 1989). This suggests that even when women are performing at the same level as men they are judged differently.

Moreover, sociologists argue that other reasons such as discriminatory hiring, harassment from male workers, and socialization processes that teach women to avoid “unfeminine” work actually restrict women from entering into traditionally male occupations. (England, Chassie, & McCormack, 1982; Lewis, 1996). Further, male-dominated occupations tend to offer higher pay and often better benefits than female-dominated occupations such as education, health, or other social services, which would suggest that male-dominated occupations are worth more (Ashraf, 2007; Blau & Kahn, 2000; England et al., 1982; Gustafson, 2008; Lewis, 1996).

Engineering, for example, has been traditionally a male-dominated occupation, but women have been earning engineering degrees since 1892 (Sloan, 1975), but only 12.9% of women were working in the architecture and engineering occupation in 2010 (Jagacinski 1987; USBLS 2011b). Society has perpetuated engineering as man’s work although most engineers expend no more physical effort in their jobs than do teachers or nurses (Sloan, 1975).

Over the past decade, women in the workforce have steadily grown comprising the new workforce. There have been steady increases in executive leadership positions, management positions, professional and technical positions, and other occupations that include jobs that have not been traditionally held by women. The USBLS (2011b) reported that in 2010 the majority of all workers in the financial activities industry, education, and health services were women. Women dominated the education and health services industries, which do not include health services, with 74.7% of workers (see Table 2).

However, women were under-represented relative to their share of the total employment in industries such as mining, construction, transportation, utilities, and agriculture. Women

Table 2

Women Employed in Various Industries in 2010

Industry	Total employed	Women (%)
Financial activities	9,350,000	54.3
Education and health services	32,062,000	74.7
Agriculture	2,206,000	24.5
Mining	731,000	13.8
Construction	9,077,000	8.9
Transportation	7,134,000	22.9
Utilities	1,253,000	21.7

Note. Adapted from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Women in the Workforce: A Datebook," 2011b.

represented only 8.9% of the construction industry and only 13.9% of the mining industry in 2010. While women's representation in agriculture, transportation, and utilities industries was higher at 24.5%, 22.9%, and 21.7%, respectively, they are still under-represented and consist of less than 25%, thus making them male-dominated industries.

The industries shown in Table 2 all have many occupations within the industries. For example, transportation would include air, rail, water, truck, bus transportation occupations as well as postal service, taxi couriers, messengers, scenic and sightseeing occupations. Even with the occupational breakdowns, women's participation in the occupation is relatively low. Some theorists (Ashraf, 2007; Desai & Waite, 1991) have suggested that the reason for such division amongst men and women in occupations is due to self-selection. Women opt for occupations where there are opportunities and fewer penalties for leaving the workforce for childbearing and family responsibilities. When narrowing male-dominated industries based on occupations, a

clearer view of women’s participation can be determined indicating substantial under-representation (see Table 3). Women are represented in 12.9% of overall architecture and engineering fields, 21.4% in protective services, and 4.6% in natural resources, constructions, and maintenance occupations.

Table 3

Women in Male-Dominated Occupations in the United States

Male-dominated occupations	Total employed	Women (%)
Architecture and engineering	2,619,000	12.9
Protective services*	3,289,000	21.4
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance	13,073,000	4.6

*Includes corrections, law enforcement, and firefighters.

Note. Adapted from "Women in the Workforce: A Databook," from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011.

Women in Male-Dominated Occupations in the Public Sector

Legal interventions to promote equality in the public sector workforce have been in place for many years. Male-dominated occupations in the public sector such as corrections, police and law enforcement all have had legal pressures to provide the major impetus for women’s expanding role and access. Litigation or the threat of litigation was successful for women in gaining equal pay and entrance into male institutions and police organizations (Bergen, 1984). These legal pressures were not just affirmative action but conditions within the prisons throughout the United States that prompted prison officials to seek a change in the way the prisons were run. Jurik (1985) suggests that a confluence of factors produced a change in the orientation and philosophy of the way prisons operated. Prison officials attempted to avoid the threat of federal courts seizing and controlling state prisons by shifting correctional philosophy and management from the traditional coercion and control methods to more of a service

philosophy. The introduction of female officers to male prisons was an attempt to “soften” the influence of the institutional environment (Kissel & Katsampes, 1980).

Furthermore, the assignment of women to positions in the male prisons was encouraged directly by new administrative emphasis on equal opportunity practices in that the change in philosophy also placed greater value on an officer’s service capabilities such as communication and counseling skills (Jurik, 1985; Jurik & Hambela, 1984). These skills were perceived by society as feminine qualities. However, women officers’ ability to survive in the male-dominated prisons was even more complicated by the difficulties of dealing with the stereotypes and resentful male coworkers and supervisors. Jurik’s (1985) studies into organizational barriers were compelling. She argued that inadequate institutionalization of organizational reform policies affected the career progression of females at crucial points which included training, work assignments, and performance evaluations. At each of these points in the women’s career, the organization limited the integration and advancement available to female officers.

Steel and Lovrich (1987) attributed the introduction of women in police work as a product of affirmative action as it serves as a rightful correction of past and existing inequalities. They suggest that the complementarities of male and female traits produce a stronger foundation for service than one that is exclusively male dominated. While women have been employed in municipal police departments for over 50 years now, the same was not true for federal law enforcement. Women’s full participation in federal law enforcement was limited due to the federal firearms exception that prohibited them from carrying firearms until 1971 when the Civil Services Commission removed the ban. The U.S. Secret Service and the U.S. Postal Inspection Service were the first federal agencies to swear women in as special agents (Schultz, 2009). Like

women in other male-dominated occupations, some women in federal law enforcement were forced to file lawsuits to establish their rights of employment or to reach management positions.

Forestry work is a male-dominated occupation within government that is also stereotypically portrayed and described using constructs of rugged masculine symbolism. Brandth and Haugen (1998) argue that such description of forestry work may function to discourage and alienate women since the work is now quite mechanized. Thirty-five years ago, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Forest Service tried to discourage women from being foresters by suggesting in its recruitment brochures that there were “stringent demands on an individual” in forestry positions especially those in “actual technology of applied forestry” (Kuhns, Bragg, & Blahna, 2004, p. 11). Much of forest occupational activities actually take place in boardrooms, government offices, computer labs, experimental research, outdoors, and in production plants. Forestry duties may span the full spectrum of natural resources protected by the government including water, soil, air range, fish, recreation, minerals wildlife, wood, and wilderness. There are women who are attracted to these aspects of forestry as well as working outdoors, preservation, and environmental beliefs, and research in forest science. Unfortunately, there are less than 1% of women working in the industry or occupation. Representative data used in the forestry industry may leave the impression that women are not numerically, socially, or economically important to the forestry occupation (Kuhns et al., 2004; Reed, 2008). Moreover, Reed (2008) further argues that any potential contributions women may make to management and planning activities for the sustainability of the forestry industry are simply overlooked.

The implementation of equal opportunity policies in government bureaucracies is the main method of achieving not only demographic but substantive representation in government

(Kelly & Newman, 2001). The President of the United States reiterated the federal government's commitment to equal opportunity, diversity and inclusion and its obligation to lead by example.

The President of the United States issued Executive Order 13583 (2011), which states:

Section 1. *Policy.* Our Nation derives strength from the diversity of its population and from its commitment to equal opportunity for all. We are at our best when we draw on the talents of all parts of our society, and our greatest accomplishments are achieved when diverse perspectives are brought to bear to overcome our greatest challenges.

A commitment to equal opportunity, diversity, and inclusion is critical for the Federal Government as an employer. By law, the Federal Government's recruitment policies should 'endeavor to achieve a work force from all segments of society.' (5 U.S.C. 2301(b) (1)). As the Nation's largest employer, the Federal Government has a special obligation to lead by example. Attaining a diverse, qualified workforce is one of the cornerstones of the merit-based civil service.

... To realize more fully the goal of using the talents of all segments of society, the Federal Government must continue to challenge itself to enhance its ability to recruit, hire, promote, and retain a more diverse workforce. Further, the Federal Government must create a culture that encourages collaboration, flexibility, and fairness to enable individuals to participate to their full potential. (Executive Order No. 13583, 2011)

The charge to help carry out this order starts with human resource professionals. Most of who are predominantly women. One of the roles of public human resource management is to provide equal employment and promotional opportunities to women and other historically disadvantaged groups. Additionally, the human resource management profession is charged with developing a variety of structural interventions to enhance gender equality (Holzer & Neumark, 2000; Konrad & Linnehan, 1995). The structural interventions include systems to identify positions where women are under-represented, targeted recruitment programs to attract qualified female job candidates, and programs to develop the skills of current female employees to prepare them for promotional opportunities (Moore, Parkhouse, & Konrad, 1999).

Despite the policy from the highest level in government, disparities for men and women in male-dominated occupations of law enforcement, corrections, forestry, park rangers, transportation engineers, and game wardens in the public sector are reflective of those in the general population. The lack of women in these male-dominated occupations appears to be contrary to the public policy and appears to have implications regarding the human resource management.

In occupations that are usually found in the public sector, the under-representation of women is more profound (Table 4). While engineers are necessary to carry out a variety of public sector functions including roads, trains, bridges and other mechanisms used by the general public for transportation, building design and safety, women are clearly under-represented overall in the United States as well as in government. Women comprise of 9.7% of civil engineers, 7.2% of electrical engineers, and 6.7% of mechanical engineers. In other male-dominated occupations in the public sector, such as police and sheriff patrol officers, women comprise 13% of the workers. While women seem to have broken the barriers with regard to bailiffs, corrections officers, and jailers with 26.1%, that figure is misleading since women typically comprise the majority of workers in female prisons, but that is not the case in male prisons. However, women are represented in less than 1% of public sector occupations like environmental engineers, fish and game wardens, forest and conservation, and transportation inspectors.

The explanations rendered in previous paragraphs offers some sense as to why women working in male-dominated occupations are under-represented in middle and top levels of management. Table 5 shows that women in the male occupations are under-represented in occupations in this study. Of all engineering managers, there are 7.7% of women in the mid-to-

Table 4

Employment in Typical Male-Dominated Occupations in Public Sector

Occupation	Total employed	Women (%)
Civil engineers	318,000	9.7
Mechanical engineers	293,000	6.7
Environmental engineers	35,000	<1
Electrical and electronic engineers	307,000	7.2
Bailiffs, corrections officers, jailers	465,000	26.1
Police and sheriff patrol officers	714,000	13
Fish and game wardens	6,000	<1
Forest and conservation	14,000	<1
Transportation inspectors	46,000	<1

Note. Adapted from "Women in the Workforce: A Databook," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011b.

Table 5

Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations in 2010

Occupation	Total employed	Women (%)
Engineering managers	113,000	7.7
Corrections managers	44,000	<1
Police/detective managers	103,000	15.4
Fish and game	6,000	<1

Note. Adapted from "Women in the Workforce: A Databook," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011b.

upper levels of leadership in the occupation. Women occupy about 15.4% of the police and detective management positions. Women comprise less than 1% of managers in corrections and fish and game occupations.

The same is true for the public sector since the pool for managers typically is derived from those working in the occupations. The representation of women in male-dominated occupations is quite disturbing since it shows that occupational segregation is pervasive within public sector. Women are overwhelmingly employed in female-dominated occupations and manage mostly those activities within government agencies. The growth of government bureaucracies in the federal, state, and local levels has created the opportunity structure to increase representation of women. Bowling, Kelleher, Jones, and Wright (2006) suggest that newer agencies may be more amenable to facilitating increased representation of women in the upper echelons of management. This does not appear to be the case in established male-dominated occupations. In this sense, if women are under-represented in male-dominated bureaucracies, their interests in areas such as transportation, forestry, corrections, and law enforcement may not be taken into consideration in policy decisions even though they make up the largest segment of the working population overall. This study seeks to understand the journey of women who have been successful in navigating the perils mentioned and have experienced career progression in the corrections, law enforcement, transportation, marine resources, forestry, conservation and recreation, and game and inland fisheries bureaucracies in one state government.

Virginia Agencies With Male-Dominated Occupations Included in the Study

The Commonwealth of Virginia has a rich history of the male-dominated fields of government and politics that makes it an appropriate state to study how women achieve career

progression (“Virginia Women,” 2010). Historical accounts of Virginia virtually excluded all other venues of achievements especially by women. Like the President’s of the United States Executive Order, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia also reiterates his commitment to equal opportunity in Executive Order #1 in which he states:

I hereby declare that it is the firm and unwavering policy of the Commonwealth of Virginia to assure equal opportunity in all facets of state government. . . .to emphasize the recruitment of qualified minorities, veterans, women, disabled persons, and older Virginians to serve at all levels of state government. (Executive Order No. 1, 2014)

The experiences of women who have been successful in achieving mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated agencies or agencies with male-dominated occupations may have been very different depending on the agency’s organizational structures, policies, and cultures. The recruitment, selection, and promotional processes are similar for all of the agencies under the Virginia Personnel Act, which provides authority to the VDHRM. The Governor relies on this agency to ensure Executive Order #1 is followed.

The VDHRM is the central human resource agency for the Commonwealth of Virginia. The agency seeks to provide a culture of leadership that cultivates a talented and proficient public workforce for the citizens of Virginia. VDHRM designs and delivers the framework for human resource programs through a system of centralized programs and operational services for state government and their stakeholders, including employee information, online learning systems, salary administration, occupational data and compensation, human resource policy, human resources shared services, equal employment services, state employees workers’ compensation services, state and local government health benefits programs, wellness, and workplace giving (VDHRM, n.d.). One of the agencies, Capital Police, is part of the legislative branch and not subjected to the Virginia Personnel Act or its provisions administered by VDHRM; however, most of the policies tend to mirror those of VDHRM.

Table 6 represents the agencies selected for the study and the percentage of women in mid-to upper levels of management. All of the agencies have occupations that meet the definition of male-dominated occupations, which is defined as agencies whereby women comprise less than 25% of the occupational workforce. To further understand the journey of the women in this study, the agencies are described to have a better understanding of the context of the male-dominated occupation in each agency as well as its functions, governing structure, and length of time the agency has been functioning in one form or another.

Virginia Department of Corrections. The Virginia Department of Corrections' (VDOC) roots began shortly after the Revolutionary War when it was suggested that the state build a "penitentiary house" to confine and reform criminals as was the practice in Europe. In 1800, the world's first panopticon was built in Richmond and began taking prisoners and was known for years as the Virginia State Penitentiary (VDOC, n.d., para. 2).

Although prior to the Civil War, penitentiary managers were committed to implementing imprisonment using a humane work model rather than corporal punishment, after the Civil War, Virginia began exploiting convict labor (Keve, 1986). The prison system expanded beyond the penitentiary with the addition of penal farms, field units for highway construction, probation and parole services, juvenile facilities, other correctional facilities and a myriad of prison alternative programs.

The Department of Corrections as it is known today was created in 1974. The department oversees the operations of about 50 correctional institutions statewide. It has about 31,000 inmates and has over 13,000 employees (VDOC, n.d., para. 4). The director of the

Table 6

Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations in Virginia Agencies

Virginia agencies	Mid-upper level managers	Women (%)
Department of Corrections	176	12
Department of State Police	339	3
Department of Transportation	245	11
Department of Forestry	51	3
Department of Conservation and Recreation	39	10
Department of Motor Vehicles	21	4
Department of Game and Inland Fisheries	10	0
Marine Resources Commission	3	0
Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control	22	13
Division of Capitol Police	10	10
Total	916	7

Note. Adapted from personal communication from Virginia Department of Corrections and "Richmond Times Dispatch" database.

Department of Corrections is appointed by the Governor. The director oversees all affairs of the department. The Board of Corrections is a nine-member board appointed by the Governor with powers as granted by the Code of Virginia §53.1-5 (2012) to:

. . .develop and establish operational and fiscal standards governing the operation of local, regional and community correctional facilities. . . make, adopt and promulgate such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title and other laws of the Commonwealth pertaining to local, regional and community correctional facilities.

The Board of Corrections currently has two women members, one of whom is the Vice-Chairman of the Board. In 1942, the Virginia Parole Board was moved to the department.

Board members, also appointed by the Governor, are compensated and have authority by the General Assembly to grant, deny, parole, or revoke parole of inmates and they have the authority to detain parole violators (Code of Virginia §53.1-136, 2013). The Parole Board has five members of which two are women.

The Department of Corrections was chosen for inclusion in the study because women have had about 35 years experience working in male prisons. While they have gained access to the field, they are not well represented in mid-to-upper management levels thus calling into question whether representative bureaucracy is alive in the occupation.

Virginia Department of State Police. The increasing use of automobiles became the catalyst for the creation of the Virginia State Police (VSP) as it was conceived in 1919 with the passing of the Automobile Acts including the Motor Vehicle Act, which created the first title laws for automobile owners. Initially, the state police was part of the Division of Motor Vehicles. In 1938, the title of state trooper was officially adopted to identify specific members of the Division of Motor Vehicles performing the roles of inspector and motorcycle deputy. The General Assembly created the Department of State Police and established a superintendent position to head the agency (VSP, n.d.).

The VSP now has three divisions: Administrative and Support Services, Bureau of Criminal Investigations, and Bureau of Field Operations. The department provides comprehensive investigations of all criminal matters mandated by statute and established department policy through the Bureau of Criminal Investigation. The bureau is mandated to investigate any matter referred by the Governor. It conducts investigation of elected officials when directed by the Governor, Attorney General, or grand juries. The bureau handles criminal

intelligence, high-tech crimes drug enforcement, general investigation, and counterterrorism and criminal interdiction.

The Bureau of Field Operations patrols over 64,000 miles of state roadways and interstate highways throughout Virginia. Uniformed state police personnel provide both traffic enforcement and criminal law enforcement. The bureau also is responsible for managing the enforcement of motor carrier and commercial vehicle safety regulations, and the aviation unit that provides aerial support for law enforcement activities and emergency medical evacuations. The bureau's uniformed police services are statewide and divided into seven field divisions. These divisions are further subdivided into 48 state police areas that consist of one or more cities and/or counties. The Bureau of Administrative and Support Services handles typical administrative operations, although highly technical, such as communications, criminal justice information services, information technology, personnel, property and finance, and training (VSP, n.d.).

The VSP was chosen for inclusion in the study because police work has been considered a male-dominated occupation that excluded women for many years because of exclusionary rules such the firearms exception until 1971. While the VSP has had women in the department for over 35 years, they have not progressed through the ranks in large numbers as evidenced by the fact they only 3% of mid-to-upper level managers are women.

Virginia Department of Transportation. The Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) is the state agency responsible for building, maintaining, and operating the state's roads, bridges, and tunnels and has the third largest state-maintained highway system in the United States (VDOT, 2013a). Through the Commonwealth Transportation Board, VDOT provides

funding for other forms of transportation including rail, airports, seaports, and public transportation.

Established by the Virginia General Assembly in 1906 under Chapter 73, Acts of the Assembly, the State Highway Commission was established to

define its powers and duties; the term of office, salary and qualifications of the commissioner, to authorize the commissioner to call into consultation the professors of engineering in certain state institutions, and appropriating money to carry the provisions of this act into effect.

The Governor of Virginia appoints the commissioner for the State Highway Commission and its members.

Since 1906, the State Highway Commission and the transportation agency have had several names and format changes. While initially the agency's main focus was highways, roads, tunnels and bridges, subsequently rail and public transportation, airports, and seaports were added to its jurisdiction. In 1987, the General Assembly expanded the number of commissioners serving to 15, changed its name to the Commonwealth Transportation Board, and renamed the transportation agency to Virginia Department of Transportation.

The Commonwealth Transportation Board guides VDOT's work in a similar manner of a board of directors. According Commonwealth Transportation Board website (VDOT, 2013b), it appears the first woman to serve as a board member did not occur until the mid-1980s. The current board is not much different as the only female on the board is the nonvoting member that serves as the Director of Rail and Public Transportation.

VDOT was chosen for inclusion in the study as the top echelon of transportation in Virginia is male-dominated and has been for nearly a century. It should be noted that the first woman (Elizabeth Bragg Cumming) in the United States to even receive an engineering degree did not occur until 1877 at the University of California Berkley (U.S. Department of

Transportation, 2014). In addition, VDOT was chosen because the agency employs over 60% of all engineering managers in state government and contains all the aspects of being a male-dominated occupation. The number of women in mid-upper level management is consistent with the national average, and supports the literature that indicates that women are not well represented, and may have implications for representative bureaucracy in transportation.

Virginia Department of Forestry. The Virginia Department of Forestry (VDOF) was established in 1914 to prevent and suppress forest fires and to reforest Virginia's bare lands (VDOF, 2014). The agency is responsible for protecting forest resources from fire, preventing injury or loss of human life, minimizing property damage, and protecting resources. VDOF provides technical assistance to private landowners in managing their forest land for forest products, protection of threatened and endangered species, wildlife habitat, historic resources, and water quality. In addition, the VDOF is responsible for managing the forest resource of 19 state forest properties in Virginia as well as state nurseries to produce seedlings to be used to establish timber stands, Christmas tree populations, wildlife habitat, stream bank stabilization, urban forests, biodiversity and improvement of watersheds. These duties are mandated by the Code of Virginia §10.1-114.

The VDOF is headed by the state forester who is appointed by the Governor. The purpose and duties of the department are best understood in the duties of state forester as described in the Code of Virginia §10.1-1105, which states:

The State Forester shall supervise and direct all forest interests and all matters pertaining to forestry within the Commonwealth. He shall have charge of all forest wardens and shall appoint, direct and supervise persons he employs to perform labor in the forest reservations or the nurseries provided for herein, and he is authorized to employ temporary forest wardens to extinguish forest fires in the Commonwealth. He shall take such action as is authorized by law to prevent and extinguish forest fires; develop a program to promote the use of prescribed burning for community protection and ecological, silvicultural, and wildlife management; enforce all laws pertaining to forest

and woodlands; prosecute any violation of such laws; develop silvicultural best management practices, including reforestation, prevention of erosion and sedimentation, and maintenance of buffers for water quality, pursuant to Article 12 (§ 10.1-1181.1 et seq.) of this chapter; collect information relative to forest destruction and conditions; direct the protection and improvement of all forest reservations; and, as far as his duties as State Forester will permit, conduct an educational course on forestry at the University of Virginia for credit toward a degree, at farmers' institutes and at similar meetings within the Commonwealth. He shall provide for the protection of state waters from pollution by sediment deposition resulting from silvicultural activities as provided in Article 12 (§ 10.1-1181.1 et seq.) of this chapter. In addition, the State Forester shall cooperate with counties, municipalities, corporations and individuals in preparing plans and providing technical assistance, based on generally accepted scientific forestry principles, for the protection, management and replacement of trees, wood lots and timber tracts and the establishment and preservation of urban forests, under an agreement that the parties obtaining such assistance shall pay the field and traveling expenses of the person employed in preparing such plans.

While those activities seem appropriate for a department charged with maintaining the state's forests, it is also mandated under the Code of Virginia §10.1 -1101 that the agency

undertake evaluation and testing of products and technologies relating to replacement of petroleum-based lubricants and hydraulic fluids with lubricants and hydraulic fluids made or derived from vegetables or vegetable oil, and promote the use of such products and technologies found to be beneficial in preserving and enhancing environmental quality; and Undertake evaluation and testing of products and technologies relating to replacement of petroleum-based lubricants and hydraulic fluids with lubricants and hydraulic fluids made or derived from vegetables or vegetable oil, and promote the use of such products and technologies found to be beneficial in preserving and enhancing environmental quality.

Although the state forester directs the agency, he also serves as the executive officer of the Board of Forestry whose main function is to advise the Governor on the state of the forest resources and the management of the forest resources in the state. The board is comprised of 13 members appointed by the Governor. Currently, there are three women serving on the Board. The agency was selected as part of this study because it epitomizes a male-dominated occupation. The work is portrayed as masculine although there are many aspects to the occupation as indicated by the agency's reason for existence and because the number of women to reach mid-upper levels of management is very low at about 3%.

Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation. The Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (VDCR) is a multifaceted agency created by the General Assembly in 1926 as the State Commission on Conservation and Development to manage the conservation of the state's natural resources. The agency's responsibilities now include management of state parks, management of water and soil resources, nonpoint pollutions control, flood protection, land conservation, recreational trails, storm water management, and dam safety. The director of the department is appointed by the Governor. The Board of Conservation and Recreation is a policy board consisting of 12 members appointed by the Governor as prescribed by the Code of Virginia, §10.1-105. Two women are currently serving on the board.

The history of the agency, however, centers on the state parks system. The state parks system was created in 1936, and opened as a system with six state parks. State parks have been a vital part of recreation for citizens and visitors since then, although Blacks were not allowed to use all of the facilities until 1964 after passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (VDCR, 2014).

The Virginia State Park system now includes 35 state parks and four undeveloped parks. These parks are managed and protected by state park rangers. Park rangers are somewhat different than other law enforcement positions. Managers of state parks not only work in the parks, they also live in them. While not all park rangers have law enforcement responsibilities, the park managers manage all activities of state parks. The agency was selected for inclusion in the study because of the nature of the position whereby park managers must live in the parks they manage and the fact that the job duties are typically male-dominated. The proportion of women in mid-upper level positions is very low considering the number of positions. As women become more independent, it appears that the low numbers of women in management positions could have implications for representative democracy.

Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles. The Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles (VDMV) is a complex agency that was established around 1950 by the General Assembly. The Code of Virginia §46.2-200 states the agency is responsible

. . .for the administration of the motor vehicle license, registration and title laws; the issuance, suspension, and revocation of driver's licenses; the examination of applicants for and holders of driver's licenses; the administration, training, disciplining, and assignment of examiners of applicants for driver's licenses; the administration of the safety responsibility laws, fuel tax laws, the provisions of this title relating to transportation safety, and dealer licensing laws; the registration of carriers of passengers or property and vehicles that may be required to be registered under the International Registration Plan or pay road tax as described under Chapter 27 [§ 58.1-2700 et seq.] of Title 58.1 under the International Fuel Tax Agreement; the audit of carriers of passengers or property for compliance with registration and road tax requirements; proof of financial responsibility; and any other services that may be required to create a single point of contact for motor carriers operating within and without the Commonwealth, including the operation of permanent and mobile motor carrier service centers.

The VDMV is managed by a commissioner appointed by the Governor. The agency has a Medical Advisory Board made up of physicians. The Medical Advisory Board has the authority to review an individual's ability to drive safely. Based on its assessment, the board can restrict, revoke, or take no action regarding the individual's driver's license (VDMV, 2014).

The Law Enforcement Services (LES) Division of the VDMV is comprised of sworn law enforcement officers with full arrest powers. They enforce and administer the laws of the Commonwealth, with special emphasis on VDMV-related matters. The LES investigates all complaints alleging a violation of criminal law. LES investigates driver license and title fraud, odometer fraud, misuse of dealer plates and temporary tags, curbstoning, sales and use tax evasion, and motor vehicle theft. In addition, agents regulate all of the dealers licensed by VDMV to ensure continued compliance with applicable laws and regulations, including conducting routine inspections of business locations and records

While all of the DMV as an agency is not considered to be male-dominated, it was chosen for inclusion in this study due to its male-dominated LES Division with sworn police officers with similar duties as those in the aforementioned agencies. It is clearly male-dominated as only 4% of women are in mid-to-upper level management positions within its ranks. The tenets of representative democracy are called into question in this agency.

Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries. The Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries (VDGIF), authorized by Virginia General Assembly in 1916, is responsible for the management of inland fisheries, wildlife, and recreational boating for the commonwealth. The Code of Virginia, §29.1-109 states that the department exists to

enforce or cause to be enforced all laws for the protection, propagation and preservation of game birds and game animals of the Commonwealth and all fish in the inland waters thereof. Inland waters shall include all waters above tidewater and the brackish and freshwater streams, creeks, bays, including Back Bay, inlets, and ponds in the tidewater counties and cities. Initiate prosecution of all persons who violate such laws, and seize and confiscate wild birds, wild animals and fish that have been illegally killed, caught, transported or shipped.

The Board of Game and Inland Fisheries is a supervisory board that is responsible for agency operations including approval of appropriation requests. It has broad authority to set the rules and regulations in exercising powers for the purpose of conserving, protecting, replenishing, propagating, and increasing the supply of game birds, game animals, fish and other wildlife (Code of Virginia, §2.2-2100; VGIF, 2012). The Board consists of 11 members, one member from each district in Virginia, and members are appointed by the Governor. Presently no women serve on the board.

Unlike the boards of the other agencies, the Board of Game and Inland Fisheries appoints the director of the agency. The director has the authority to appoint regular and special conservation police officers as he may deem necessary to enforce the game and inland fish laws

and to issue a certificate of appointment to each conservation police officer. All appointments to sworn law-enforcement positions above the rank of conservation police officer within the department are made by the director of the department from among the sworn conservation police officers (Code of Virginia §29.1-200).

The Department of Game and Inland Fisheries was selected for this study because it, too, is a male-dominated occupation as evidenced by the rates of participation in both the public and private sectors. In this agency, a woman's only chance to become a supervisor or manager is through selection from within the organization. There is no apparent indication that representative democracy occurs within this male bureaucracy, as there are no women in mid-to-upper level management.

Virginia Marine Resources Commission. The Virginia Marine Resources Commission (VMRC) is one of the oldest agencies in the Commonwealth. It was established in 1875 as the Fish Commission, which mainly dealt with saltwater and fresh water fisheries. Subsequently, the agency was given the jurisdiction over shellfish and finfish issues statewide. In 1968, the Virginia General Assembly renamed the agency to Virginia Marine Resources Commission and over several decades its scope of responsibility has grown to manage the Virginia Wetlands Act and the Coastal Primary Sand Dune Protection Act (VMRC, 2014). The agency is governed by a commissioner who is appointed by the Governor. The commissioner also serves as chairman of the commission board. In addition to the commissioner, there are eight other board members serving on the Marine Commission Board. There is currently one women serving on the commission board.

The Virginia Marine Police is the largest division within the VMRC. The marine police are the defenders of Virginia tidal natural resources. The division was formed in 1875 when the

agency came into existence and was known as the Oyster Navy. The marine police enforce state and federal commercial and recreational fishery laws and regulations and have full arrest powers throughout the state. More specifically, they enforce boating safety laws, investigate boating accidents and criminal activities, and inspect commercial fishermen for compliance using a variety of different vessels, vehicles, and air support. Through a cooperative law enforcement agreement with the National Marine Fisheries Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services, and U.S. Coast Guard, the Virginia Marine Police enforce federal fish, wildlife laws, and federally designated safety and security zones (VMRC, 2014).

The Virginia Marine Police was selected because typically its work meets the criteria for a male-dominated occupation. Unfortunately, women do not appear to have achieved any management positions in the police ranks and are represented only marginally in the lower ranks. There is no apparent indication that representative democracy occurs within this male bureaucracy as there are no women in mid-to-upper level management of the agency.

Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control. The Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (VABC) was created by the General Assembly in 1934 after the ratification of the 21st Amendment repealing the prohibition of alcohol. It was created to control the sale of alcohol via a combination monopoly and license system whereby the agency sells all packaged hard liquors with lighter beverages being dispensed by licensees. The agency has a chief operating officer and a chief financial officer (VABC, 2012). Unlike most agencies, the ABC is managed by a three-person board called the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board with powers to enforce liquor control in the state (VABC, 2014a). The board consists of a chairman and two commissioners and all are compensated. There is one woman currently serving on the board.

The ABC's Bureau of Law Enforcement was created in 1936 with the General Assembly granting it full police powers statewide and greater responsibility for enforcing the laws against bootlegging and moonshining, which is the manufacture and sale of illegal liquor. The Bureau's duties have expanded to include investigations into underage drinking, illegal drugs, money laundering, tax embezzlement, gambling, counterfeiting, and other alcohol-related crimes (VABC, 2014b, para 1).

This agency was selected for inclusion in this study because of its law enforcement activity, which has been identified as an occupation that is still male-dominated. The number of women in mid-to upper level management positions is consistent with the definition with nearly 13% women serving in mid-to-upper levels of management. It was over 50 years after the creation of ABC before the first woman was appointed as a commissioner on the board in 1985.

Commonwealth of Virginia, Division of Capitol Police. The Division of Capitol Police is intriguingly tied to Virginia's State Capitol in scope and in location. It is the legislative agency responsible for general law enforcement for the Capitol Square complex and most downtown Richmond state agencies or properties. They provide protective services for the Governor and the first family while they are in the executive mansion residence. In addition, the capitol police provide protective services and perform details for the Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, the Justices of Virginia's Supreme Court, and members of the Virginia legislature.

Recognized as the first organized policing agency in the nation, the capitol police's roots trace back to the first permanent English settlement in Jamestown. In 1618, known as the Guard, 10 men were formed to protect the Governor from hostile Indians (Division of Capitol Police, 2008, para. 3). They grew to a force of 20 men to protect not only the Governor but also the

Council and the Colonial Assembly. In 1884, The Virginia General Assembly used the term “capitol police” for the first time in providing for its appointment. The Code of Virginia, §30-34.2:1 specifies its unique powers, duties and boundaries as follows:

The Capitol Police may exercise within the limits of the Capitol Square, when assigned to any other property owned, leased, or controlled by the Commonwealth or any agency, department, institution or commission thereof, and ...all the powers, duties and functions which are exercised by the police of the city, or the police or sheriff of the county within which said property is located. The jurisdiction of the Capitol Police shall further extend 300 feet beyond the boundary of any property they are required to protect, such jurisdiction to be concurrent with that of other law-enforcement officers of the locality in which such property is located. Additionally, the Capitol Police shall have concurrent jurisdiction with law-enforcement officers of the City of Richmond and of any county contiguous thereto in any case involving the theft or misappropriation of the personal property of any member or employee of the General Assembly. Members of the Capitol Police, when assigned to accompany the Governor, members of the Governor's family, the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General, members of the General Assembly, or members of the Virginia Supreme Court, or when directed to serve a summons issued by the Clerk of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Delegates, a joint committee or commission thereof or any committee of either house shall be vested with all the powers and authority of a law-enforcement officer of any city or county in which they are required to be...

The inclusion of the capitol police was based on the fact that they are sworn police officers in the state and have the same rank structure as most of the other agencies. Protecting the Governor and other state leadership has long been a male-dominated occupation. While there are women now working in the lower ranks of this organization, the notion of representative democracy is quite important since this organization protects the very people who are elected to ensure a representative democracy.

Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter I is the introduction to the study. The introduction presents the statement of the problem, the research questions and propositions, defines male-dominated occupations, discusses the research, and provides data on women working in certain male-dominated occupations, and presents Virginia as the study state and the

agencies to be included in the study. Chapter II provides the theoretical framework for this study that focuses on theories surrounding representative bureaucracy, feminism, leadership, and the influences of human resource management as mechanisms for understanding how women achieve success in career progression in male-dominated occupations. Next, Chapter III includes the methodology, research design strategies, and data collection protocols and data analysis plan. Chapter IV presents the findings along with discussion of the findings. Lastly, Chapter V presents conclusions derived from findings of the study and details policy implications.

CHAPTER II. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

Women's participation in male-dominated occupations presents many challenges for women, organizational bureaucracies, the human resources profession, and society. The career progression of women in male-dominated occupations in the public sector is best understood through a variety of theoretical lenses. It could be argued that women face a double-edged sword when attempting to progress in male-dominated occupations, not only from personal and societal perspectives but also from certain theoretical perspectives such as representative bureaucracy, feminist and gender theory, women and leadership, and the influences of human resource theory and practice.

In order to understand women's career progression in male-dominated occupations, a brief historical context with regard to women's entry into various male-dominated occupations set the stage for a discussion of the concepts imbedded in the theoretical influences of representative bureaucracy, feminist and gender theory, women and leadership, human resources practices and the impact of public policy. The chapter concludes with a review of the main theoretical model guiding this dissertation.

Male-Dominated Occupations

Until recently, women were initially slow to enter occupations that traditionally have been gendered as male-dominated by society as those occupations were attached to a social context uncomfortable to women. Women who dared to seek entrance into those

occupations were regarded as deviants and were subjected to social sanctions (Epstein, 1970). Feminine women were certainly not expected to participate or excel in “men’s work” (Lemkau, 1979).

While legal protections in affirmative action allow a woman in a male-dominated occupation the chance to perform, it does not necessarily alter the perception that she will be less competent than her male counterparts. Some research studies (Aranya, Kushnir, & Valency, 1986; Cech, Rubineau, Sibley, & Seron, 2011; Frome et al., 2006, 2008; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) suggest that women exclude themselves from male-dominated occupations because they perceive they are not smart enough, have a low self-assessment of their own abilities, or simply accept the images and perceptions that men have about women’s abilities and qualities to be successful in the male-dominated occupations. Other empirical research (England, Farkas, Kilbourne, & Dou, 1988; Gardiner & Tiggemann, 1999; Lewis, 1996) support the notion that discriminatory hiring and promotional practices, harassment from male coworkers, and societal expectations that women avoid “unfeminine” work likely restrict women’s entry into male-dominated occupations. Epstein (1970) noted that when women entered male-dominated occupations, they are often blocked from the opportunity structure.

No relevant research regarding women working in male-dominated occupations was found prior to 1960. Empirical literature began appearing in 1970s referencing male-dominated or nontraditional fields (Epstein, 1970; Lemkau, 1979; Sloan, 1975; Stanley & Soule, 1974; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975). However, in the 1970s and 1980s, researchers (Jurik, 1985; Kanter, 1976, 1977; Kissel & Katsampes, 1980; Zupan, 1986) began documenting the introduction and impact that female officers have in the functioning of male correctional institutions. Many of the

articles regarding the subject centered on the potential beneficial effects that female officers could provide for the institutional environment and the profession as a whole.

During the 1970s, legal pressures provided a major impetus for women's expanding role in male-dominated occupations in the public sector such as corrections and police and law enforcement. Litigation or the threat of litigation was successful for women in gaining equal pay and entrance into male institutions and police organizations (Bergen, 1984). These legal pressures were not just affirmative action or equal opportunity gains, but conditions in the prisons throughout the United States that prompted prison officials to seek a change in the way the prisons were run. Jurik (1985) suggests that a confluence of factors produced a change in the orientation and philosophy of the way prisons operated. Prison officials attempted to avoid the threat of federal courts seizing and controlling state prisons by shifting correctional philosophy and management from the traditional coercion and control methods to more of a service philosophy. The introduction of female officers to male prisons was an attempt to "soften" the influence of the institutional environment (Kissel & Katsampes, 1980). Furthermore, the assignment of women to positions in the male prisons was encouraged directly by new administrative emphasis on equal opportunity practices in that the change in philosophy also placed greater value on an officer's service capabilities such as communication and counseling skills (Jurik, 1985; Jurik & Hambela, 1984). These skills were perceived by society as feminine qualities.

When studying the issue of assimilation of women in male-dominated roles, researchers tended to take two major directions in their studies. One direction examined the barriers that women encountered that were posed by institutionalized rules and organizational factors including training, performance evaluations, policies and job assignments that can and often do

shape the biases against women (Kanter, 1976; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Further, Billing and Alvesson (1989) suggest that even though men and women are evaluated with the same scales, the stereotypes, prejudices, and social conditions bias the evaluation process in favor of men.

The second direction focused on the individual and his or her ability to survive in the nontraditional work setting. As Jurik (1985) and Zupan (1986) pointed out, the survival of women officers was even more complicated by the difficulties of dealing with the stereotypes and resentful male coworkers and supervisors. Jurik's (1985, 1988) studies into organizational barriers were compelling. She found that inadequate institutionalization of organizational reform policies affected the career progression of females at crucial points, which included training, work assignments, and performance evaluations. At each of these points in the women's career, the organization limited the integration and advancement available to female officers.

Steel and Lovrich (1987) attributed the introduction of women into police work as a product of affirmative action as it served as a rightful correction of past and existing inequalities. They suggest that the male and female traits complement each other and produce a stronger foundation for service than one that is exclusively male-dominated. Like prisons, police were under pressure to develop better communications skills and needed those feminine qualities to address harsh criticisms. The fact that women had been introduced into police work did not mean that they were assigned the same work. Women were assigned to peripheral jobs within the male-dominated occupations as bureaucratic practices, customs, and ideas of fairness systematically led to the undervaluation of women's work in the occupation (Ashraf, 2007; Ferber & Spaeth, 1984; Lewis, 1997). Even though women were required to be competent to be in corrections or police work, there were contradictory pressures for them to be feminine first (Lemkau, 1979).

While the research conducted by early researchers was extremely relevant, the passage of time and the influx of women into male prisons and law enforcement organizations over the past 35 years may have contributed to the more recent findings suggesting a reversal of many of earlier findings. For example, Lawrence and Mahan (1998) and Lutze and Murphy (1999) found that after 20 years of female corrections staff working in male prisons a giant step up has been taken in regard to integrating the gender mix of the staff. Yet, according to Hemmens, Stohr, Schoeler, and Miller (2002), two steps back are likely to occur when old attitudes about women's capabilities or the presence of a few traditional males are allowed to taint the perceptions of what women can actually do in corrections and law enforcement. Similarly, Poteyeva and Sun (2009) suggest that integration and socialization attempts are still not smooth processes for women in law enforcement occupations and tokenism still exists. This seems even more evident in federal service where women employed as special agents in the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service still consist of a single digit percentage (Schulz, 2009). Although in recent years women have made tremendous gains in education and entering in male-dominated positions such as corrections and law enforcement, they are still under-represented. Women receive more college degrees than men but they seem to still be avoiding male-dominated occupations such as engineering and forestry (Frome et al., 2006).

Forestry work is stereotypically portrayed and described using constructs of rugged masculine symbolism. It is often described as one of the most masculine rural occupations. Brandth and Haugen (1998) argue that this description of forestry work may function to discourage and alienate women since the work is now quite mechanized. Kuhns et al. (2004) pointed out that 35 years ago, even the USDA Forest Service sought to discourage women from being foresters by accentuating stringent physical demands on the individual. Yet, women have

centuries of participation in planting and cultivating, and have a history of making the most of using resources found in the wild such as mushrooms, berries, wild creasy salad, and other natural plants found in woods (Brandth & Haugen, 1998). The forest industry activities actually take place in boardrooms, government offices, computer labs, experimental research, outdoors, and in production plants. There are women who are attracted to these aspects of forestry as well as working outdoors, preservation and environmental beliefs, and research in forest science. Other studies (Reed, 2008; Sarker & Das, 2002) suggest that representative data used in the forestry industry may leave the impression that women are not numerically, socially, or economically important to forestry. Moreover, Reed (2008) argues that any potential contributions women may make to management and planning activities for the sustainability of the forestry industry are simply overlooked.

Like corrections and law enforcement, the engineering field has experienced a large number of women entering the field over the past three decades. Despite the increase in the proportion of women in engineering, it remains distinctly male-dominated. Studies (Hanson & Murakami, 2010; Jagacinski, 1987; Miller, 2002) suggest that although top levels leaders in the engineering industry are willing to hire women engineers, they are not promoted to leadership positions at the same rate as men. This is especially true with regard to transportation engineers. In 2010, women comprised only 9.7% of all the civil engineers in the United States (USBLS 2011b). More recent studies (Cech et al., 2011; Faulkner, 2009) suggest that women engineers have to navigate a grueling and emotionally charged professional socialization process and engineering's displays of masculine culture that often leave them questioning their own confidence, self-esteem, and credentials. Cech et al. (2011) suggests that most engineering role

competencies are gendered male within the culture and women have the burden of proving that they are skilled despite gendered expectations.

Engineers are needed for transportation and since women make up more than 46% of the United States labor force, the under-representation of women in the field is disturbing. Hanson and Murakami (2001) argue that regardless of whether the worker is engineer, planner, or skilled construction laborer, jobs in transportation are disproportionately held by men. Consequently, the gender gap has implications for representative democracy. The gender imbalances limit women's opportunities and deprive the transportation field as an important talent resource (Hanson & Murakami, 2010; Miller, 2002).

The preceding paragraphs offer a brief historical glimpse of women's entry into male-dominated occupations especially those occupations that are used primarily in the public sector. Fennell, Bachas, Cohen, McMahon, and Hildebrand (1978) and Goodman et al. (2003) noted that success in reaching management levels for women in male-dominated occupations has not been proportionate to the numbers of women entering them. The fact that women are under-represented in management in occupations that serve the public such as police, corrections, transportation, engineering, and others has implications for representative bureaucracy.

Representative Bureaucracy

The Constitution of the United States implies that the country was established as a representative democracy, which requires popular sovereignty and a representative bureaucracy responsible for the affairs of government. "A public service, and more importantly the leadership personnel of that service, which is broadly representative of all categories of the population in these respects," satisfies the prescription of government "by the people" (Mosher, 1982, p. 15).

The issue of representative bureaucracy has been debated by scholars since J. Donald Kingsley's (1944) work in analyzing the English Civil Service where he suggested that the bureaucracy should represent the dominant class in society and at the same time expressed concern that the working class was left out. Kingsley (1944) also argued against the exclusion of women from public service and suggested it was "antipathetic to any political democracy" (p. 283). Subramaniam (1967) asserts that Kingsley injected ambiguity into the meaning of representative bureaucracy leaving an interpretation that would mean that a civil service would have every economic class, religion, caste or religion represented in the exact proportions to the population of those groups.

Kingsley (1944) in discussing the case for representation for all groups stated:

The democratic State cannot afford to exclude any considerable body of its citizens from full participation in its affairs. It requires at every point that superior insight and wisdom which is the peculiar product of the pooling of diverse streams and experience. In this lies strength of representative government. Upon it depends the superiority of the democratic Civil Service over its totalitarian rivals. In a democracy competence alone is not enough. The public service must also be representative if the State is to liberate rather than enslave. (p. 166)

In analyzing Kingsley's view of bureaucracy, Meier (1975) concluded that Kingsley was not suggesting the need for it to be broadly representative of society but rather bureaucracy represented the dominant class in society since its administrative arrangement reflected the character of the social structure of the nation. During Kingsley's era, bureaucracy was merely representative of the most powerful in society.

Further, Van Riper (1958) suggests that the bureaucracy had served the democracy and that

...to be representative, a bureaucracy must (1) consist of a reasonable cross-section of the body politic in terms of occupation, class, geography, and the like and (2) must be in general tune with the ethos and attitudes of society of which it is part. (p. 552)

Van Riper (1958) interjected that values and social characteristics were important thereby promoting upward mobility for women and minorities thus symbolizing aspects of democracy.

In a comprehensive analysis of representative bureaucracy, Mosher (1968) contends that the whole society should be represented. He is also credited for differentiating between passive and active representation. Passive representation is where the appointee is expected to press for issues, desires, and interests of a particular segment of the populous, and active representation is concerned with the source or origin of the individual and the degree they mirror society (Mosher, 1968, 1982). In other words, while passive representation suggests that perspectives that are diverse are considered when administrators carry out the work of the bureaucracy, it does not guarantee active representation which is also the source of discourse among researchers. The disagreement among scholars seems to be whether representativeness should be passive thereby representing symbolic commitment to equal access to power (Krantz, 1976; Meier & Nigro, 1976).

Representative bureaucracy theory presumes that when bureaucracies employ individuals with commitments to a variety of group interests, classes, and occupations or a cross-section of American society, the policies and outcomes will reflect the needs and interest of all groups (Meier, 1993; Meier & Nigro, 1976; Selden, 1997; Selden, Brudney, & Kellough, 1998; Thompson, 1976). Meier (1975) suggests that if the bureaucracy as a whole had the same values as the American people, then decisions would still be different because the bureaucracy has access to more information than the public and thus has greater expertise in solving problems. Furthermore, the bureaucracy must possess the authority or discretion to influence government decisions (Meier, 1993). When applying the theory to women administrators, Dolan (2002) argues that their individual decisions take into consideration their life experiences thus leaving

the expectation that they will use their administrative discretion to produce positive outcomes for women in the population.

Several studies (Ricucci & Saidel, 1997; Sigelman, 1976) have concluded that women have achieved representativeness in local and state governments but not in upper-level executive positions. Further research (Dolan, 2004; Kelly & Newman, 2001; Newman, 1994; Ripley & Franklin, 1991) suggests that women are often at a disadvantage because they are employed in agencies that allow them the least discretion. For example, Kelly et al. (1991) found that in state and local governments, the majority of women work in redistributive agencies that have substantially less decision-making power, and the majority of men work in distributive agencies that afford them more involvement in policy making resulting in women being disadvantaged because they work in agencies where they have the least discretion. This phenomenon is considered horizontal segregation or “glass walls” as it refers to the distribution of men and women across various types of agencies and occupations (Guy & Newman, 2004; Smith & Monaghan, 2013).

Feminists argue that bureaucracy is a masculine institution, and that when women do advance to managerial and top-level positions they are often in areas that are stereotypically feminine and in less powerful positions than males, which results in women having fewer opportunities to shape policy or government decisions (Dolan, 2004; Guy & Duerst-Lahti, 1992; Stivers, 1993). Kelly et al. (1991) suggest that equal opportunity to influence results of government actions is undermined when the leadership ranks are dominated by an advantaged group while the traditionally disadvantaged groups occupy the lower ranks.

Dolan (2004) further argues that when it comes to gender, comparable positions in the public sector do not necessarily lead to equal power and responsibility. Additionally, she

suggests that women's entry into male-dominated ranks does not guarantee them the same or similar respect and influence. Nonetheless, the findings of her 2004 study of the federal Senior Executive Service suggest that women and men at the top levels have fairly equal opportunities to influence the implementation of policies and equal access to the levers of policy.

Other research studies (Hindera, 1993; Keiser, Wilkins, Meier, & Holland, 2002; Meier & Stewart, 1992; Selden, 1997; Wilkins & Keiser, 2004) examined whether an increase in passive representative bureaucracy led to active representation with regard to policy benefits. Some researchers (Hindera, 1993; Meier & Stewart, 1992; Selden, 1997) found a link and impact with regard to race. Hindera (1993) and Selden (1997) reported null findings with regard to sex. Keiser et al. (2002) and Wilkins & Keiser (2004) suggested that a link between passive and active representation could exist with respect to gender and the benefits of diversity go beyond just providing equal opportunity. Wilkins and Keiser (2004) highlighted the importance of discretion and that the link only exists when the policy distributional consequences directly benefit women as a class.

Feminist Theory Influences

Gender has complicated the issue of bureaucracy as it has been predominantly the "male prerogative" in the public (political and military) and corporate sectors of society (Eagly & Karau, 2002). When the United States was formed, there was no real thought of the role women would play in government. America's democratic principles were developed and based on the needs of White men. Women and all people of color occupied an inferior legal status. As a result, institutions and policies were made for and on the behalf of White men. From a historical standpoint, management has been a male-dominated domain and breaking into that domain has not been easy for women. One reason is linked to differing gender roles.

The structural arrangements of society have not only divided the differences between men and women based on biological aspects, but also in the division of labor, feminine and masculine attitudes, and behavior. West and Zimmerman (1987) suggest that gender is an “achieved” status that is psychologically, culturally, and socially constructed to be appropriate for one’s sex category. In other words, gender is something that people “do.” Gender roles and gender identity are taught, learned, and reinforced through the socialization process of a society and are consensual beliefs and expectations regarding the attributes of and behaviors of men and women (Chugh & Sahgal, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Gender stereotyping is typically described in the literature (Chugh & Sahgal, 2007; Kanter, 1977) as common beliefs throughout a culture about how men and women differ in characteristics and personal qualities. Terborg and Ilgen (1975) and Aranya et al. (1985) suggest that men with stereotypical attitudes often perceive women in male-dominated professions as lacking in qualities that are essential for a successful career. Several studies (Chugh & Sahgal, 2007; Dennis & Kunkel, 2004; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Oakley, 2000) have found that men are stereotyped to be competitive, strong, ambitious, logical, independent, aggressive, responsible, and rational and with masculine attributes. On the other hand, stereotypes of women include characteristics such as gentle, emotional, intuitive, sensitive, passive, nurturing, warm, accommodating, and dependent with feminine attributes. Given cultural gender roles, society has perpetuated those roles assigning the feminine roles as somehow less powerful roles than men.

Feminists have challenged the concept of gender as it imposes socially constructed limitations derived from “ascriptive” characteristics with regard to biological maleness or femaleness yet even those differ across cultures, social classes, and historical eras (Keiser et al.,

2002). Saidel and Loscocco (2005) suggest that from a representative democracy standpoint, gender is vital as it shapes the cultural and social contexts that people bring to work. Thus gender is embedded in public sector jobs, departments, divisions as well as organizational activities just as power is embedded in gender via male dominance and female subordination (Martin, 1992; Oakley, 2000).

The theory of liberalism works on the assumption that all individuals maintain and possess equal abilities, that there is no discernible difference between the genders in terms of capacity to perform, contribute, learn, and teach. Liberal feminism is a direct outgrowth of the equal rights movement of the 1960s and argues against the traditional gender roles established by a patriarchal society in which men possess and maintain positions of status and power over women.

From a public sector or public administration perspective, feminist theorists have used various approaches to address issues related to inequality and gender difference. For example, radical feminism draws central attention to gender oppression and calls for restructured social institutions. Although radical feminists acknowledge that classism and racism intersect with sexism, they believe that the systematic marginalization of women is the basic form of inequality (Campbell & Wasco, 2000).

From the liberal feminism perspective, the importance of sex-based differences is simply denied. Feminists (Burnier, 2003; Hutchinson & Mann, 2004) argue that regardless of whether perceived sex differences are biological or social, those perceptions do not provide a justification for denying women the rights and privileges afforded to men. Liberal feminists have forced the recognition of gender inequities by exposing the social, political, and economic inequalities women experience and by challenging the traditional sex roles. Their argument that bureaucratic

organizations are gendered male or masculine has been essential in viewing gender as a component of organizational structures that in essence mitigate against gender-neutral bureaucratic responsibilities (Britton, 2000; Dolan, 2004; Duerst-Lahti & Kelly, 1995; Newman, 1994; Stivers, 1993). Other research (Hale, 1996; O’Neil, Hopkins, & Bilimoria, 2008) concludes that even in the 21st century, male-dominated organizations, organizational structures and processes are still not gender neutral.

Women and Leadership

Organizations, both in public and private sectors, historically have been led by men. Researchers (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kanter, 1976; Schein & Mueller, 1992) have concluded that there is an underlying belief that women are less qualified than men for leadership positions because men possess traits such as aggression, assertiveness, power, risk taking, decisiveness, competitiveness, etc. Studies (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Dennis & Kunkel, 2004; Oakley, 2000; Sabharwal, 2013) indicate there is widespread belief that these traits are more desirable than female traits that include accommodation, passiveness, sensitivity as well as nurturing, empathetic, kind, and affectionate. Additionally, female leaders tend to be relationship-oriented and more democratic thereby allowing subordinates to participate in decision making (Eagly & Carli, 2003). On the other hand male leaders are seen as tasked-oriented and more autocratic and less likely to encourage subordinates to participate in decision making (Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). Today’s modern organizations are complex in that they are multisocial, multigendered, and multinational environments. In order to be successful, leaders need to exhibit an androgynous leadership style which is a blend of both male and female leadership traits (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). Tully (2007) suggest that successful leaders have “an androgynous balance of traits that include gregariousness, positive

initiative and assertion, social skills, intelligence, conscientiousness, integrity, trustworthiness, and the ability to persuade, inspire and motivate others” (p. 3). Furthermore, Ridgeway and Correll (2000) report that the presumption of men’s superior competence is the main component of status beliefs that is most problematic for gender equality.

Over the past three decades, research findings (Eagly, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2007; Lemkau, 1979) are consistent in finding that both men and women describe a leader as possessing predominantly masculine characteristics. Kanter (1977) and Powell (2011) conclude that as long as men remain the majority in the top levels of management, the masculine leader stereotype is likely to be the norm and women are expected to behave as men, thereby inhibiting expressions of femininity in top positions. Bierema (2001) suggests that success for women typically means that they accept and/or emulate the male-dominated organizational culture. Conversely, other scholars (Billing & Alvesson, 1989; Marshall, 1987; Vanderbroeck, 2010) argue that women entering male-dominated management sphere should act with their own needs without trying to adapt to the dominating values and standards so that they can perhaps achieve a radical change.

Despite stereotypical barriers, women have gained access to leadership positions but mostly in middle-management positions (Stroh et al., 1992). Women continue to lag behind men in their appointments to senior leadership or executive positions. There is abundant research (Crampton & Mishra, 1999; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Hale, 1996; Jurik, 1985; Kanter, 1975; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990) regarding barriers and inequalities that women face in their quest to climb the corporate ladder.

Historically, the impediments to women’s advancement includes the glass ceiling, which is described as an invisible barrier preventing career advancement into the leadership ranks

(Furst & Reeves, 2008; Goodman et al., 2003; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Goodman et al. (2003) argue that this barrier holds women back from top-level jobs not because of their lack of education, experience or job-related skills, but simply because they are women. Powell and Butterfield (1994) suggested that the demographics of the decision-making departments affected a woman's chances for advancement in that the decisions were often made by existing top managers' perceived fit of the candidates rather than measurable job qualifications like knowledge, skills, and abilities. Further, Elacqua, Beehr, Hansen, and Webster (2009) and Smith, Crittenden, and Caputi (2012) argue that women in organizations where the "ol' boy" networks exist may not be visible to the decision makers in the organization thus presenting a barrier to women's promotions.

Moreover, Eagly (2007) reported that women must travel an uneven path to achieve upward progression. She used the term "labyrinth" to describe the trajectory of diverse challenges and indirect forays that women must endure to get to the top of the organization. It is recognized that men may also be faced with a series of challenges in their quest to reach top-leadership positions, but women are typically more isolated without a network of support or access to mentors (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010).

Kanter's (1977) tokenism theory suggests that women in top-level leadership positions are usually in a token position making them subject to more isolation, on-the-job scrutiny, and performance pressures. The notion here is that if women in leadership represent such a token minority, there is increased visibility attracting undue attention, scrutiny by constantly being observed by others. These pressures often lead to women being isolated from the main male group and lacking both formal and informal support (Budig, 2002; Gardiner & Tiggemann, 1999; Gustafson, 2008). As a definition or theoretical benchmark, Kanter (1977) labeled tokens

as those who comprised 15% or less in the occupational work group with 85% or more labeled as dominants. Kanter (1977) further argues that scarcity of tokens beckons a series of social processes that induce more stress, isolation, and barriers to career advancement and mobility for women. Laws (1975) added another dimension to the tokenism theory by suggesting the importance of social context. She suggested that by merely being a female, the token is actually assigned primary deviant status and the female becomes a double deviant by a virtue of her occupational pursuits into those of the dominant class (Laws, 1975; Yoder, 1994). In response to females being the double deviant, Yoder (1991) argues that the intrusiveness theory predicts the dominant class will respond to the threat of the intrusion with more discriminatory behavior that minimizes power gains via harassment, inequities in wages, and thwarting opportunities for advancement.

Recent empirical research suggests that men and women are appointed to top-level leadership under different circumstances. Haslam and Ryan (2008) argue that women are more likely than men to be placed on a “glass cliff.” That is, they are given promotions to deal with high-risk situations that potentially set them up for failure. Lyness and Thompson (2000) argue even when women reach the executive ranks of the organization, they face more barriers than their male counterparts.

The presence of women on corporate boards in some cases may initially seem to contradict the aforementioned. A 1992 study conducted by Korn/Ferry International found that 60% of Fortune 1,000 companies had women as members of their board of directors. The contradiction seems to stop there. The majority of the boards had only one token woman serving on the board. A small portion of the boards contained three or more women. Given that the average size of the corporate boards is 13, the presence as well as voting power is miniscule in

relation to men (Fagenson & Jackson, 1993; Korn/Ferry, 1992). Dolan (2004) argues that if women are advancing to top leadership positions only as tokens without real decision-making power then their advancement is for illusionary purposes rather than reality.

Women should be in these decision-making positions to a greater extent than they are because of political and social importance. Billing and Alvesson (1989) explains that

the difference between typical male and female orientations is a significant one, and the domination of the former means that the latter are inadequately represented in the way that society and its institutions and working life are functioning at present (p.76).

Since women earn more college degrees than men and comprise 46% of the workforce and even more in many public agencies, eliminating the glass ceiling makes good business sense. Powell (1994) argues that continuing the glass ceilings in organization may negatively influence women or men to leave the organization thereby carrying their valuable firm-specific knowledge and skills with them. Furthermore, turnover, unfair treatment, and low morale are counterproductive and can be costly to organizations. People in the organization that perceive that there are glass ceilings are more likely to protest, file lawsuits, or abandon efforts to advance (Elacqua et al., 2009; Stroh et al., 1992) none of which make good business sense.

Socialization Process Barriers

The socialization process in the organization may also present barriers to women in leadership positions. New employees regardless of their gender must be properly socialized if they are to fit in the established functioning or operations of the organization. Socialization is basically the mechanism in which new members learn or gain knowledge in the organization. Clark and Corcoran (1986) suggest that socialization is a two-fold process with two perspectives: group and individual. They assert that the group perspective is the means whereby new members learn the values, norms, knowledge, beliefs, and other skills that facilitate performance and

advance group goals. From the individual perspective, socialization is a “process of learning to participate in social life” (p. 22). As a leader, regardless of whether a woman is promoted from within the organization or hired from outside of the organization, she will face a new environment and must learn to be effective in that organizational culture.

The socialization process takes into account the leader’s initiation to the work group or organizational unit. Women in male-dominated environments often do not experience a “honeymoon” period, which is described as the period when newcomers are treated like guests and go out of their way to be helpful (Jablin, 1984; Miller & Jablin, 1991). Conversely, women in these environments tend to be viewed as a token or solo within the work group and often do not experience the receipt of information or participation in formal or informal conversations, work contacts, or decision-making processes (Budig, 2002; Holder, 1996; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Terborg, 1977).

In male-dominated occupations, success for many women may mean accepting and/or emulating the organizational culture. Some scholars (Aranya et al., 1986; Colwill, 1982; Terborg, 1977) suggest that women in male-dominated professions develop attitudes, needs, and values that are similar to men in the same profession. Bierema (2001) and Gustafson (2008) further argue that even masculine acculturation does not help to eliminate asymmetrical power distribution or systemic discrimination of women. Moreover, acculturation does not balance gender representation among the executive ranks.

Gaining entry into the good ol’ boy network is often very difficult especially in the top echelons as it has a degree of informality in an exclusive club-like context. Epstein (1970) and Kanter (1977) assert that it is difficult for someone not equipped with appropriate statuses to enter the exclusive society or club and participate in the informal interactions and to be included

in the casual exchanges. Further, they suggest that at leadership levels, one must be “in” to really learn the job. Epstein (1970) argues that when women are not included in the collegial male network, they are not only excluded from the social control system they are excluded from situations from which they are able to learn. Moreover, Fagenson and Jackson (1993) suggest that women have to associate themselves with powerful individuals and penetrate themselves into men’s networks to a greater extent if they are to be promoted and successful. This strategy is not always enough for a successful socialization “as doing what the boys do” is not likely to work in the long term (Vanderbroeck, 2010, p. 766).

More recently, scholars (Elacqua et al., 2009; Vanderbroeck, 2010) have used Hillary Clinton to further illustrate these issues. In running for the President of the United States in 2008, Hillary Clinton was on course for breaking the ultimate glass ceiling. In an interview on June 8, 2008 with Audie Cornish of National Public Radio, Clinton said to her supporters, “Although we weren't able to shatter that highest, hardest glass ceiling this time, thanks to you, it's got about 18 million cracks in it.” On the positive side, a woman cracked the highest glass ceiling. Conversely, Vanderbroek (2010) suggested that she lost the job not because she was a woman but rather “she was desperately trying to be too much of a man” (p 766). Even so, women are still generally under-represented in senior management positions and appear to encounter significant problems despite progressing more or less equally with their male colleagues (Doherty, 2004; Walker, Wang, & Redmond, 2008).

Mentoring and Sponsoring

Mentoring or sponsoring relationships have been the focus of various researches over the years and its relevance to women achieving success in leadership positions. Morrison and Von Glinow (1990) found that lack of mentors and role models for women in organizations presented

a systemic barrier for women reaching top-management positions. Mentors are individuals with advanced knowledge and experience who make a commitment to provide support and upward mobility to an individual or protégé (Kram, 1985; Ragins & Cotton, 1999). Typically, mentors are usually higher ranking senior-level employees who are committed to helping lower-level employees and providing support for the employees to experience career progression (Elacqua, et al., 2009; Raabe & Beehr, 2003). The presence of a mentor is associated with positive outcomes such as promotions, satisfaction, and higher incomes (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreyer, 1991). On the other hand, Kram (1985) suggests that mentor relationships may be difficult to manage and have a narrow range of benefits for women.

Sponsors are those who can actually facilitate or open the doors of opportunity and advancement (Allen, Jacobson, & Lomotey, 1995). Many organizations have established formal mentorship programs to help to assimilate women in male-dominated occupations in hopes that the informal mentoring will occur. Conversely, informal mentors are much like sponsors in that they are concerned with the long-term needs of their protégés (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). While formal mentoring relationships focus on the current organization and its mentoring program goals, Arthur and Rousseau (1996) further note that informal mentoring does not necessarily unfold in a single organization but instead a career is “boundaryless” and may span in many different organizational settings.

While there is no underestimating that mentors and sponsors in the socialization process of women in male-dominated occupations are important, recent research suggests that formal mentoring programs may not be as useful for women as they are for men. Bierema (2001) argues that mentoring is an important relationship for helping women’s learning at work, but also

contends that it may reinforce the status quo rather than redistribute power among women in organizations. Allen et al. (1995) found in their study of the importance of mentors and sponsors that mentors were helpful but not essential for women administrators, but relationships with sponsors were most critical for aspirant leaders. This notion was supported in a comparison study of men and women in formal and informal mentoring relationships. Ragins and Cotton (1999) found that male protégés stood to gain the most from formal mentors in terms of coaching, counseling, social aspects, and friendship functions. Female protégés stood to gain less from formal programs. This supports the notion that in order for the socialization process to be successful for women in male-dominated occupations, they must establish successful informal relationships. Many of these relationships are formed in networking situations. Fagenson and Jackson (1993) suggest that networking activities can facilitate finding appropriate mentors and that mentors can help women gain entrance in the ol' boy networks.

Networks

Networks have been a part of human culture since the beginning of time whether the term was used to describe it or not. Networking can be defined as like-minded people who band together for the purposes of contact, support, and friendship (Vinnicombe & Colwill, 1995; Singh, Vinnicombe, & Kumra, 2006a). Similar people often interact with each other because they tend to have likenesses in age, sex, education, social class, education, tenure, and occupation (Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve & Tsai, 2004; Ibarra, 1993). Kanter (1977), Ibarra (1993) and Brass et al. (2004) suggest that interpersonal similarities tend to ease communication, improve behavior predictability, and foster trust in relationships and reciprocity. Further, Marsden (1988), Ibarra (1992), and McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987) describe this type of interaction as homophily, which indicates the degree to which individuals who interact are

similar in affiliation or identity. Networking, in this sense, plays a vital role in organizations, as it is the catalyst for building relationships and providing support for professional and career development. Maack and Passet (1993) and Cross and Armstrong (2008) suggest that networks in an organization help to build a sense of community, stay current with new developments, share information and knowledge, and are a means for learning what is happening in a particular profession. A network is defined by Brass et al. (2004) as “a set of nodes and the set of ties representing some relationship, or lack of relationship, between the nodes” (p. 795). In this context, they refer to the nodes as actors representing individuals, organizations, and work units. The ties are more personally imaginative. Some ties are weak in that people may have many acquaintances, and others ties may be strong suggesting that they are maintained over a sustained period of time forming a pattern of network relationships

In organizational research, Ibarra (1993) distinguishes networks as either prescribed (formal) or emergent (informal). He asserts that formal networks are formally specified relationships between supervisors, subordinates, and functional groups that must interact to accomplish organizational goals and informal networks are those that are more discretionary relationships that may be social, work-related, or both. Network research literature distinguishes between expressive networks ties and instrumental network ties. Instrumental ties involve the job-related resources that would include information, expertise, political access, and professional advice; and expressive ties involve friendship, social support, and higher levels of trust and closeness (Fombrun, 1982; Ibarra, 1993; Kanter, 1983; Kram, 1985).

Furthermore, Singh et al. (2006a) argue that successful networking can be a positive influence on career outcomes to include increased job opportunities, job performance, promotions, income, job satisfaction, visibility, career advice, collaboration, social support,

business leads, and other professional support. In this sense, networking is an important aspect of management behavior and success in one's career. Kanter (1977) and Smeltzer and Fann (1989) found that strong network ties have been viewed as a way of obtaining power that is critical to the success of a manager and the reference of the ol' boys network.

Ibarra (1992) found that there were gender differences in the way networks were used. Men's networks are often characterized by more members and high status individuals than those of women with similar levels of experience and education. Men tend to use more instrumental and informal ties to actively promote their careers while women use their networks for social support. Women tend to use their network to support one another, foster relationships, and share concerns about being disadvantaged instead of using them to further their careers (Chesterman & Ross-Smith, 2006; Cross & Armstrong, 2008; Singh et al., 2006a). Bierma (1996, 1999) suggests that women form a variety of networks for support since it has been well established that they are excluded from men's networks.

Brass et al. (2004) and Ibarra (1993) found that closeness to the dominant coalition in the organization was related to power and promotions, and given that men dominate power in most organizations, especially male-dominated occupations, women are basically forced to bypass homophily preferences in order to build the connections with the dominant coalitions. Friedman (1996) argues that women and minorities have fewer people available to them to make such homophilous contacts since they are typically under-represented and therefore are less likely to reach those who are the powerbrokers in the organizations.

As the aforementioned research suggests, women need networks because they are not well integrated in men's informal networks and they often lack access to top management (Belle, 2002; Cross & Armstrong, 2008). Moreover, Scott (1996) found that even when women had the

same characteristics such as title, experience, age, and work history, men still had more contact with the key leaders and decision makers. Catalyst, Inc. (1999) found in a study of women's corporate networks that such networks were formed to address three main problems:

1. Organizational environments with its built-in assumptions were more burdensome for women than for men;
2. Organizational social structures were often designed in a manner that excluded and isolated women; and
3. Established career paths often excluded women and lacked the benefit of female role models. (p. 3)

For women in male-dominated occupations, network groups may provide an alternative method for reshaping social structures and social relations in organizations. Friedman (1996) suggests such groups generally have several purposes: (a) self-help in providing comfort, support and information among members that allows them to do well in the organization; (b) making the organization a better place for group members by bringing awareness and seeking to eliminate biases; and (c) community involvement or maximizing whatever potential exists for expanded contacts among women and minorities (p. 325).

Mommy Tracks and Work-Life Balance

Work-life balance issues may also be a factor with women in male-dominated occupations. Work-life balance as defined by Pocock (2005) is

people having a measure of control over when, where and how they work. It is achieved when an individual's right to a fulfilled life inside and outside paid work is accepted and respected as the norm to the mutual benefit of the individual, business and society. (p. 201)

For many women, occupational choice or the motivation to attain higher levels of management involves weighing the benefits of family life and the perceived costs. One of the reasons that

women may choose traditionally female professions is that such occupations allow women to combine work and family roles more easily than male-dominated occupations (Eccles, 1994; Frome et al., 2006; Ware & Lee, 1988). Moreover, women tend to go for occupations where there are seemingly fewer penalties for leaving due to childbearing and childrearing responsibilities and typically provide flexibility in work schedules (Ashraf, 2007; Desai & Waite, 1991).

Women in male-dominated occupations may experience conflict trying to balance work and home roles. Work-family conflict is typically experienced when pressures from the family and work roles are mutually incompatible and whereby participation in one role makes it difficult to participate in the other role (Clancy & Tata, 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). For many women, this may mean working a double or even a triple shift when career, children, and aged parents are involved (Clancy & Tata, 2005; Hyman & Summers, 2004; Walker et al., 2008). Consequently, sacrifices may have to be made in order to climb the ladder of success in male-dominated organizations. Mennino and Brayfield (2002) and Quesenberry, Trauth, and Morgan (2006) argue that women in male-dominated occupations make more trade-offs with regard to family and fewer employment trade-offs than those in other occupations. Women managers have not achieved equity with their male peers with regard to their ability to pursue both a career and have a family (Fagenson & Jackson, 1993). Whitmarsh, Brown, Cooper, Hawkins-Rodgers, and Wentworth (2007) suggest that navigating the path to a successful career is a developmentally complicated process and stress the importance of positive reinforcement from significant others in the woman's life. For women in male-dominated occupations that support is typically from outside the family.

Terborg (1977) and Aranya et al. (1986) suggest that women are more likely to suffer the consequences of sex role conflict, which for many women involves pressures from “relevant others” and family responsibility, and causes many women to sacrifice their jobs and professional careers for family duties. Belkin (2003) and Stone and Lovejoy (2004) noted that it appeared that an increasing numbers of successful, highly educated women were leaving their careers to pursue traditional homemaker roles.

In response to the loss of female talent in organizations, some employers have tried to find ways to reduce the work-life conflict through programs like “mommy track” arrangements. Albeit controversial, mommy track is an intervention designed to either identify women who intend to have children fairly early in their careers and offer or place them on part-time, flexible, low-pressure, slower career tracks than those women who do not have children (Doherty, 2004; Ehrenreich & English, 1989; Fagenson & Jackson, 1993; Schwartz, 1989; Walker et al., 2008; Williams, 2009). Government entities and larger organizations often are at the forefront of such efforts (Doherty, 2004). While these interventions may seem helpful to women, many of the women who worked part-time found that being mommy tracked was nothing more than a career derailment that ultimately led to their decision to leave or opt out of work (Stone, 2007; Stone & Lovejoy, 2004; Williams, 2009).

Despite family friendly laws such as the Family Medical Leave Act, which entitles employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave per year for the birth of a child or other qualified family illness, some male-dominated organizations are not family friendly and in some cases have an anti-family culture (Clancy & Tata, 2005; Walker et al., 2008). Women still have to endure entrenched organization culture of masculinity and family unfriendly work practices such

as double and triple shifts, frequent and extensive travel, and high productivity pressures (Quesenberry et al., 2006; Stone, 2007; Walker et al., 2008).

Williams (2009) and Stone (2007) argue that women are not “choosing” to leave their successful careers but rather they are being pushed out by male-dominated organizations that are inflexible and “pigheadedly” refuse to make accommodations to those with family responsibilities. The interventions mentioned above for work-life balance, mommy tracks, and the masculine nature of male-dominated organizations all have implications for representative bureaucracy.

Influences of Human Resource Management Theory and Practice

The importance of diversity in the public workplace has been one of the main aspects of representative bureaucracy. Research studies (Dolan, 2004; Guy & Newman, 2004; Riccucci & Sidel, 1997) have documented the uphill battle that women have in navigating entry or advancing into leadership roles in male-dominated occupations. Representative bureaucracy theory presumes bureaucracies employ individuals with commitments to a variety of group interests, classes, and occupations or a cross-section of American society. Who is responsible for making sure that government is inclusive at all levels of the bureaucracy? The fact that women are concentrated in lower levels of management calls into questions the role of human resources in enhancing equality in bureaucratic organizations. Gender inequalities in the public sector are affected by human resource management systems.

Governmental affirmative action and equal employment laws in America require that organizations have structures in place to demonstrate they are promoting equal opportunities. Unfortunately, these laws do not require organizations to document their improvement in doing so (Moore et al., 2000). Edelman (1992) argues that there is ambiguity in the Title VII laws and

that the only tangible requirement is that of workforce reporting. Moreover, while that may encourage organizations to increase their minority hiring numbers to look good on reports, it still does not help to clarify any concept of compliance. While reports may show great improvement in women obtaining access in many traditionally male-dominated occupations using statistical information, the story of the plight of their progression into leadership positions is not as obvious.

Based on the statistical information, some would argue that affirmative action is no longer necessary. Other research (Johnson & Duerst-Lahti, 1991) suggests that it is the gender beliefs and processes that have to be modified. Ridgeway and Correll (2000) suggest that “changing the gender system is like moving a sandbar: A single wave seems ineffectual, but a repeating pattern of waves transforms it” (p. 114).

Human resources management is responsible for the structural mechanisms to develop and monitor gender equality in organizations. Human resource management is usually tasked with developing policies and practices in training, career development, compensation, and promotion (Oakley, 2000). Additionally, human resource management develops tracking systems that serve to monitor positions that are under-represented, recruitment programs aimed at attracting qualified women and minorities, and training programs to help develop skills of women to increase their readiness for promotion (Holzer & Neumark, 2000; Konrad & Linnehan, 1995). Edelman (1992) suggests that human resource management formalized structures merely legitimate existing practices rather than effect change in the organization. These serve as major components of the glass ceiling that often prevent women from progressing to the top levels (Oakley, 2000). Other research (Dickens, 1998) concludes that human resource management policies are male-gendered suggesting that human resource concepts and policies

actually perpetuate instead of challenge inequality. Johnson and Duerst-Lahti (1991, p.15) argue that public employment policies are predicated on assumptions of the conventional ideology of the Whyte's (1956) organization man and family woman. Furthermore, Moore et al. (2001) found that gender equality initiatives did not have an effect on the representation of women in management suggesting that human resource programs were more symbolic than effective.

Caulkin (1977), Adler (1987) and Billing and Alvesson, (1989) suggest that a top quality human resource system should provide strategic advantages but noted that companies draw from a restricted pool of potential managers. Billing and Alvesson (1989) further state:

The rationalization and improvement of recruitment, promotion and leadership in organizations, the counteracting of 'old-fashioned' and irrational cultural patterns, and the launching of organizational socialization processes, can all serve to promote a more efficient and sex-neutral utilization of management candidates. (p. 70)

According to USBLS (2011a), 69.3% of all human resource managers in the United States are women, which make the human resource profession a female-dominated occupation. Even though they are in top-level management positions with responsibilities for ensuring a diverse workforce, the feminists' argument is that bureaucracy is a masculine institution. In this sense, when women do advance to managerial and top-level positions, they are often in areas that are stereotypically feminine and in less powerful positions than men, which results in women having fewer opportunities to shape policy or government decisions to hire.

From a professional standpoint, human resource management provides theoretical frameworks for understanding, predicting, and influencing behavior of employees as well as designing interventions in the workplace. Relevant human resource management theories include performance theory (Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, & Sager, 1993) that defines performance as behavior or action that a person is paid to perform or do; organizational citizenship behavior (Organ, 1988), which are discretionary activities that employees do that they

are not paid to do but provide benefits to staff and the organization; goal setting theory (Latham, 1990; Latham & Stuart, 2007) and social cognitive theory (Wood & Bandura, 1989) both of which center on work intentions that are in the form of work plans of action. Wood and Bandura (1989) further argue that social cognitive theory is about self-regulation of motivation and performance to achieve goals. These theories speak to influencing behaviors of employees and predicting how they will perform. The problem with human resource management theories is that they are not used in a manner that has produced results in leveling the playing field for women in male-dominated occupations. Thus this has added credence to the notion that although the human resource management is a female-dominated occupation, the policies are still gendered masculine.

An area that researchers seemed to have neglected in more recent years is research pertaining to women who have succeeded in male-dominated occupations and have been promoted into top-management positions. Scholarly research on this aspect is very limited. Successful women in male-dominated occupations may provide valuable information that may have implications for public policy and human resource mechanisms that may level the playing field for women. Ultimately, understanding how to level the playing field for women can enhance the notion of representative bureaucracy.

Theoretical Model Guiding This Study

The theoretical model guiding this dissertation is the feminist tokenism theory. Kanter's (1977) tokenism theory offers possible insight into the career progression of women. Kanter's theory along with subsequent refinements to the theory (Laws, 1975; Lyness & Thompson, 2000; Yoder, 1991) take into consideration the issues outlined in this review. Token groups, as defined by Kanter (1977), are subgroups composed of fewer than 15% of the overall work group. In this

study, the women in leadership positions of male-dominated occupations in the selected bureaucracies comprise fewer than 15% of the managers. While Yoder (1991, 1994) argues that tokenism is more complex than numeric representations, there is considerable support that women in male-dominated occupations experience negative consequences as a result of their token status (Kanter, 1977; King, Hebl, George, & Matusik, 2010; Laws, 1975; Lyness & Thompson, 2000; Stichman, Hassell, & Archbold, 2010; Strohine & Brandl, 2011). The negative consequences of tokenism are considered barriers to career advancement and progression. The negative consequences in tokenism include

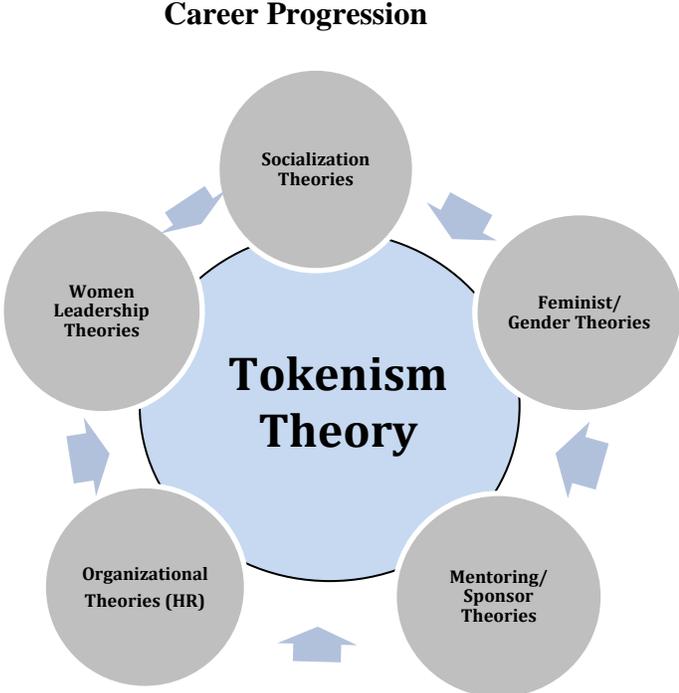
1. Visibility and performance magnification;
2. Exclusion from information networks;
3. Socialization process barriers and isolation;
4. Ineffective or lack of mentors and sponsors;
5. Dependence on meritocratic procedures;
6. Lack of developmental assignments;
7. Stereotypic assumptions and role encapsulation; and
8. Gendered organizational and promotional policies.

The negative consequences are all part of women and leadership, gender, feminist, socialization, organizational, and mentoring theories that seek to explain the career progression of women in male-dominated occupations. The model (Figure 2) illustrates the tokenism theory and its influences from theories discussed in this section.

The model illustrates that at each step of the way in career progression, any one or more of the theoretical influences of the tokenism theory may be present in male-dominated occupations. The theory relates to the current study of how women achieve career progression in

male-dominated occupations because the tokenism theory and its influences look at the barriers and negative consequences the women may face from their perspectives and experiences. The question is whether and how women experience the barriers, if any, associated with the theory given that they represent less than 15% of the managers. Furthermore, the women can experience barriers at some level at each promotional step. The framework of the tokenism theory is useful in understanding how women achieve career progression in male-dominated occupations and may offer suggestions for overcoming the barriers and negative consequences associated within the theory. Previous research (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Gustafson, 2008) tested various hypotheses based on the Kanter's (1977) tokenism theory in police work. This study employed hypothesis generation techniques to search for relationships and patterns based on the various theories in the model (Figure 2) to generate hypotheses and theory that can be tested in future research. The theories in the model have all been tested separately, but this model will use all of them to generate hypotheses by searching for theoretical dimensions that may have been overlooked in previous studies. The use of open-ended response techniques allowed the participants more opportunity to provide insights into their phenomenological world to help maximize prior knowledge of tokenism theoretical influences.

Figure 2. Influences of tokenism theory in career progression model.



CHAPTER III. METHOD AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

This study examined the experiences of women in their career progression in male-dominated occupations in state agencies in Virginia. Specifically, this study sought to understand how women who have reached mid-to-upper levels of management in these occupations viewed their rates of participation, experiences, roles within the bureaucracy, interactions with their coworkers, leaders and organizational policies, personal influence, and decision-making abilities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the career progression of women into mid-to-upper levels of management in male-dominated occupations in state government. Male-dominated occupations are operationalized as those occupations whereby males represent more than 75% of the workers and/or where males occupy more than 85% of available mid-to-upper level management positions. The career progression ladder or occupational career ladder in some male-dominated occupations often looks similar. Career progression ladder is operationalized as the sequence of management levels or step-by-step progression method of reaching the top position of a male-dominated occupation within state agencies. For example, the review of the literature regarding male-dominated agencies in state government indicates that in corrections the progression ladder in a male prison is that of an officer, officer senior, sergeant,

lieutenant, captain, major, assistant warden, warden and finally regional administrators (see Table 7). Nonetheless, women are not well represented in the top leadership positions Is there is a particular mindset, attitude, characteristic, or behavior that a woman must possess in order to achieve career progression through the various career tracks?

The research goals for this study were (a) to identify methods, behaviors, attitudes or characteristics that may be helpful in assisting women in career progression in male-dominated roles; (b) to explore how successful women navigated the issues as described in earlier research; (c) to explore the experiences of successful women working in predominantly male bureaucracies and how they became successful in reaching mid-to-top level management positions; and finally (d) to suggest new theory or areas for further research.

Research Questions

Primary

How do successful women working in predominantly male bureaucracies experience career progression?

The question explores the meaning of the experience for individuals who have experienced the phenomenon in their everyday lives (Creswell 2007). Successful women are operationalized as women who have reached mid-to-upper levels of management in a male-dominated occupation in a state agency. For the purpose of this study, mid-to-upper level management is operationalized as an individual holding a position of influence in management, typically at or near the highest level of management in a male-dominated occupation within an agency, as determined by the hierarchical organizational charts or established career tracks. Predominantly male bureaucracies are defined as those agencies where the staff of the male-dominated occupation is comprised of 75% or more of male employees and 85% or more of the

Table 7

Occupational Career Ladders for Agencies in Study*

DOC	VSP	ABC	DOT	DCR	GIF	MRC	CP	DMV
Regional Ad	Superintendent	Director	Commissioner	Division Director	Colonel	Chief	Chief	Asst. Commissioner
Warden/Asst Warden/Supt	Major	Asst. Director	Deputy Chief Commissioner	District Ops Operations Mgr/	Major	Asst. Chief	Major	Spec. Agent in Charge Supv.
Major	Captain	Spec. Agent in Charge	District Mgr./ Administrator	District Mgr.	Captain	Area Supv.	Captain	Spec. Agent in Charge
Captain	Lieutenant	Asst. Spec. Agent in Charge	Section Mgr.	Park Mgr.	Lieutenant	Marine Police Officer	Lieutenant	Asst. Spec. Agent in Charge
Lieutenant	1st Sergeant	Spec. Agent	Engineer Mgr.	Asst. Park Mgr.	Game Warden Supv.		Sergeant	Spec. Agent Sr.
Sergeant	Sergeant/ Special Agent		Engineer Sr.	Chief Ranger	Game Warden		Capitol Police	Spec. Agent
Corrections Officer Sr.	Master Trooper		Engineer	Park Ranger				
Corrections Officer	Trooper							

*No information provided for Virginia Department of Forestry.

Note. DOC = Department of Corrections, VSP = Virginia State Police, ABC = Alcohol and Beverage Commission, DOT = Department of Transportation; DCR = Department of Conservation and Recreation, GIF = Department of Game and Inland Fisheries, MRC = Marine Resources Commission, CP = Capitol Police, DMV = Department of Motor Vehicles.

available leadership positions. For the purpose of this study, career progression is operationalized as the hierarchical or successive and/or systematic movement between agency positions where the sequence of work positions is of increasing responsibility and seniority over time.

Secondary

The secondary questions for this study are as follows:

1. How are their experiences influenced by their gender and collective work history?
2. How do they perceive gender as a factor in career progression?
3. How do these considerations affect their work experiences, personal choices and career development?
4. How do they perceive their passive and active roles in a representative bureaucracy?
5. What role do they feel human resources management policies and practices played in their career progression?
6. What role do they feel mentors or role models, if any, played in their career progression?

Research Method

In order to explore the primary and secondary research questions, a qualitative research method was used. The decision to use a qualitative research method for this study was based on the following reasons.

First, qualitative research is employed because its primary purpose is to describe and clarify experience as it is lived and constituted in awareness (Creswell, 1994; Polkinghorne, 2005). The experience of women in male-dominated occupations can be described and clarified

in a way to answer the research questions. The notion of representative bureaucracy can be gauged through the awareness of the participants. Secondly, since quantitative methods tend to study physical objects, they are not a good fit for this study. Qualitative methods are more conducive for specifically accounting for particular characteristics of human experience, thus facilitating the investigation of that experience. It is the “life-world” as it is lived, felt, made sense of, undergone and accomplished by the women who have experienced career progression into mid-to-upper levels of management in a state bureaucracy (Polkinghorne, 2005; Schwandt, 2001).

Another reason for the use of qualitative research in this study was that the women selected for the study have had access to much of their own experience that are normally kept from public view. The emphasis of the research is understanding how things occur (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990). In this study, the researcher was concerned with how women experience the career progression in male-dominated occupations in state government. Moreover, qualitative research is appropriate because this research was concerned with “uncovering knowledge about how people think and feel about the circumstances in which they find themselves than they are in making judgments about whether those thoughts and feelings are valid” (Thorne, 2000, p. 68). Qualitative research is conducive for hypothesis generation techniques allowing the researcher to explore data to discover relationships and patterns to develop hypotheses that can possibly generate new theory (Hartwick & Barki, 1994).

Finally, Creswell (2004) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that trustworthiness in qualitative research is advanced through a process of verification from participants rather than through traditional measures of validity and reliability. The information can be verified by the participants through a system of member checking and triangulation.

Research Design Strategies

The research design for this study was drawn from both phenomenology and grounded theory methods. Both methods focus on the richness of the human experience, use flexible data collection procedures, and seek to understand a situation from the participant or subject's own frame of reference (Baker, West, & Stern, 1992). Both methods are conducive for hypothesis generating techniques. That is, through the use of functional hypothesis generation, creative insights into the needs and capacities of the participants in relation to the opportunities and demands of their lived environments can be considered (McGuire, 1997). Nonetheless, there are differences in intellectual assumptions and both will be used in this study.

Phenomenology. Phenomenology was selected for the study because the essence of this methodology is to describe. The goal of this research was to capture how women achieve career progression in male-dominated occupations from the perspectives of the participants. Phenomenology in this sense is concerned with the lived experiences of the women involved or who perhaps were involved (Greene, 1997; Groenewald, 2004; Kruger, 1988; Robinson & Reed, 1998) with working and progressing in male-dominated occupations in state government.

Phenomenology as described by Merleau-Ponty (1964) lends itself to studying human behavior because it represents a dialectical relationship between the participant and his or her world. The study was not about my subjective or objective descriptions of the world with regard to career progression or male-dominated occupations, but rather it was the description of this world as experienced by the participant. The attempt here, as with the tenets of phenomenology, was to discover the common meanings underlying empirical variations of career progression in a male-dominated occupation (Baker et al., 1992). This study was about making explicit the

implicit structures and meaning of the human experiences and searching for the “essences” (Sanders, 1982) that cannot be revealed by ordinary observation.

Past experiences, assumptions, preconceived notions, or opinions about the phenomenon must be minimized to capture the pure and unencumbered vision of what the participant is describing in her own words. Husserl (1931) terms this method as *epoche* or bracketing. The idea here is that the essences could be discovered by reduction, which involved identifying and suspending what I already knew about the career progression in male-dominated occupations (Baker et al., 1992; Husserl, 1931; Oiler, 1982; Sanders, 1982) in order to avoid subjective judgments. The bracketed part does not cease to exist but is taken out of consideration to allow the opportunity to approach the data without preconceptions.

Grounded theory. While phenomenology was used in the study to understand career progression in male-dominated occupations from the perspective of the individual participant experiencing the career progression, grounded theory was used to explain the social situation by identifying the core and subsidiary processes operating in it from various organizational perspectives. Baker et al. (1992) argue that the

core process is the guiding principle underlying what is occurring in the situation and dominates the analysis because it links most of the other processes involved in an explanatory network. Thus consistent with its intellectual underpinnings, the grounded theory generates inductively based theoretical explanations of social and psychosocial processes. (p. 1357)

Furthermore, when Glasser and Strauss (1967) presented grounded theory as a method aimed at generating theory, they explicitly expressed that their perspective was phenomenological. The use of both of these methods in tandem was well-suited for this study since the phenomenological point was to borrow other people’s experiences in order to understand the deeper meaning of career progression. The purpose was to attempt to develop theory that was

grounded directly or indirectly by connecting the multiplicity of perspectives with patterns and processes of action/interaction that are in turn linked with the specified conditions and consequences (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) of representative bureaucracy. In addition to the participants in this study, documents, previous experience, literature, settings, and observations provided the multiplicity of perspectives.

One of the theoretical underpinnings of this study was consistent with feminist thought in regard to representative bureaucracy. From the feminist standpoint, grounded theory allows for the voices of the women to be heard as they tell their stories on their particular career progression (Keddy, Sims, & Stern, 1996). More importantly, grounded theory is rooted in symbolic interactionism (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Cutcliffe, 2000; Mead, 1934) whereby the intent was to understand symbolic meanings, artifacts, gestures, words that were used by those in the environment of male-dominated organizations as they interacted with one another. Cutcliffe (2000) argues that people construct their realities from the symbols around them through interaction. My goal was to search for the social processes in human interaction (Hutchinson, 1993) of not only the participants but the overall bureaucracy as well.

One of the reasons for using grounded theory in this study was that one of its central features is constant comparison analysis, which involves taking one piece of data and comparing it with all others that may be similar or different in order to develop relevant conceptualizations of the possible relations between various pieces of data (Cutcliffe, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Thorne, 2000). In this way, I compared data such as interviews of the various participants, different agencies, and organizational charts depicting organizational structures and anything else that might shed light on the questions in this study.

Finally, in generating theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued the theory must fit, have grab, and work. The theory must fit the categories generated by the data; it must be relevant to the participant group and must be able work by explaining what happened, predicting what will happen while interpreting what is happening.

Participants

Participants for this study were obtained through the use of a combination of purposive sampling and snowballing methods. Purposive sampling was appropriate as it seeks people out because of sex/gender and because they are leaders in a bureaucracy and considered good sources of information for the study. In this study, the participants were actual female managers and leaders that worked in predominantly male-dominated occupations in state agencies. The women had firsthand knowledge and experiences of the phenomenon of career progression. Snowballing allows participants to suggest others who may be appropriate for the study. That is, the women selected for the study might have the names of other women who might have been colleagues at some point or those who might have changed jobs, retired, or left the positions for other reasons. Polkinghorne (2005) suggests the term “selection” be used in qualitative studies since the participants and data are not selected to ensure the representative requirements of statistical inference but because they can provide significant contributions to the phenomenon being studied.

In regard to purposive sampling, gender and leadership roles in this study were demographic variables because participants were selected by virtue of their gender and leadership role, and because they could provide the type of information needed for the study (Sandelowski, 1995). Moreover, participants were selected because they were either women who had progressed through career paths and were in mid-to-top level positions in agencies with

predominantly male occupations. For the purpose of this study, the women were either in a mid-level management position managing a shift or major project area or in an upper-level position managing an entire division, region, department, or agency. They were likely to have direct and personal knowledge of their own experiences in working in a male-dominated occupation. Selection decisions also took into consideration the feasibility of access and data collections, my relationships with study participants, validity concerns, and ethics (Maxwell, 2005).

The participants were selected from the database of employees in relevant management roles maintained by the Department of Human Resource Management. As indicated in Chapter I, the Department of Human Resource Management is the central human resource agency for the Commonwealth of Virginia, which maintains a database of employees that include occupational families, career groups, and occupational role codes. An *occupational family* is operationalized as a broad grouping of jobs that share similar vocational characteristics. A *career group* is operationalized as a subgroup of an occupational family and identifies a specific occupational field common to the labor market. An *occupational role* describes a broad group of occupationally related positions that represent different levels of work or career progression. Finally, a *work title* is a specific title used by an agency to describe a specific position.

The participants were selected according to career groups, occupational roles, and/or titles from agencies considered to be male-dominated or having major male-dominated occupations. The occupational career ladder for each agency is listed in Table 7 and all participants worked in one of the highlighted mid-to-upper levels in occupational career ladder.

Sampling

The size of the sample is an important consideration. In explaining sample size in qualitative research, Sandelowski (1995) and Morse (1994) suggest that phenomenologies

concerned with the essence of experiences include no less than about six participants. While there are well over 3,201 employees in management roles identified as male-dominated in the agencies in this study, fewer than 70 of those women have progressed through middle-to-top levels. However, an adequate sample size is ultimately a judgment call in evaluating the quality of the information that allows a deep analysis that results in a new and “richly textured” understanding of the experience (Sandelowski, 1995). The sample size is deemed adequate at the point of saturation or until the point of redundancy in emerging themes is reached (Cutcliffe, 2000; Hallberg, 2006). Polkinghorne (2005) argues that concern is not from how many sources are involved, but whether the data that were collected are sufficiently rich enough to bring clarity to understanding an experience.

There were a total of 28 mid-to-upper level managers representing six agencies who participated in the study. Of the 41 participants contacted by e-mail, three declined to be interviewed and 10 failed to respond. Of the four agencies that were not represented, two did not have any women who met the criteria for the study. Each of the other two agencies only had one woman who met the criteria of the study and neither responded. The total response rate for this study was 66%. The majority of the participants responded quickly to interview requests although timing and scheduling of interviews proved challenging.

Sampling procedures. In order to obtain a meaningful sample of participants, an e-mail request was sent to the Department of Human Resource Management to provide a listing of all state employees in the law enforcement, security, architecture/engineering manager occupational roles. The Department of Human Resource Management is the central state agency that maintains a database of all state employees in the executive branch of Virginia state government. The database known as the Personnel Management Information System, or PMIS, includes all

aspects of each state employee in the executive branch such as name, title, salary, years of service, gender, agency, etc., as well as other personal personnel information not available to the public. The agency is able to provide certain information regarding employees in accordance with the Virginia Freedom of Information Act.

The Department of Human Resource Management provided the names, salary, position title/role, and agency of all employees in law enforcement, security, and architecture/engineering manager occupational roles as of December 31, 2011. One's gender, like race, is an identifying criterion that is not required to be provided under the Virginia Freedom of Information Act. The agency chose not to release an individual's gender. The agency did, however, provide the total number of employees, with a follow-up request, to indicate that there were 3,189 employees in the manager occupational roles with 2,862 males and 327 females occupying those in the requested occupational roles. Many of the females occupying managerial roles were at the first-line supervisor level and therefore not included in this study.

Since this list was not all inclusive, the *Richmond Times Dispatch's* Data Center was used ("Salaries," 2011). The *Richmond Times Dispatch* Data Center (RTDDC) contains a database of salaries of Virginia state employees for 2011. The database has salary data for 104,486 public employees within 249 state agencies, departments, and courts, including all of the executive branch and nonexecutive branch agencies as defined by the Department of Human Resource Management. Executive branch agency data was as of September 2011, and nonexecutive branch agencies data was as of August 2011. The database can be searched by any combination of first name, last name, job title, or occupational role, department/agency, show only colleges/university or salary range. Although job titles and all other fields are captured, the database does not include names of state employees whose total compensation is less than the

statewide average of \$52,559. This fact was determined not to be an issue because the targeted population typically earned more than \$52,559. The RTDDC's database of Virginia state employees' salaries for 2011 also includes titles and agencies and was used to obtain the names and agencies of employees in management in natural resource manager roles and capitol police roles, which revealed an additional 30 names that could be included. The same database was used to obtain the names of human resource directors in the identified agencies ("Salaries," 2011). After identifying all the managers in the male-dominated occupations, the following process was used to identify potential women and to determine whether or not they were in mid-to-upper level positions in their organizations.

In order to establish context into the managerial level of the employees at each of the agencies, an e-mail was sent requesting organizational charts at each of the agencies. Although some agencies did not respond initially, some of the charts were obtained through an intermediary. Four agencies provided completed organizational charts clearly showing hierarchy and names of employees. One agency provided a complete hierarchal chart with no individual names. Three agencies provided a functional overview organizational chart that did not provide names or titles but rather it did reveal context with regard to where the overall male-dominated function fit within the organization. Two agencies provided no organizational charts at all but provided titles and gender with the omission of staff names. All charts were provided between May 21 and July 21, 2012.

Follow-up phone calls and/or e-mails to the agencies that did not provide organizational charts revealed that either traditional organizational charts were no longer used or the agency failed to respond to the requests. Agencies with field offices or multiple locations statewide tended not to have organizational charts because those locations were decentralized. For

example, each of the 31 major male correctional institutions had its own human resources officers and agency heads but they the all have similar organizational structures.

One agency that did not provide an organizational chart provided an additional list indicating the number of steps of each manager from the agency head in the organization. This information helped to establish some context as to where an individual fit in the management structure of the organization. Using the original list from that agency that included position numbers, role titles and gender but not names, potential females based on role titles and management steps from the agency head were identified by position number to be appropriate candidates to participate in the study. A subsequent e-mail was sent to the agency requesting the names of individuals occupying those position numbers, which yielded the names of the appropriate female managers.

An agency that had multiple locations provided the number of women in each management level at each of its multiple locations. Since each of those locations had decentralized human resource managers, the agency provided names of human resource managers at each location. E-mails were sent to the human resource managers of only the locations with women in the mid-to-upper management levels requesting them to identify the names of the incumbents in the specific positions. Some agencies provided the list of names as requested and several did not respond. The agency list from RTDDC and the list from Department of Human Resource Management were cross-referenced to determine the names of the individuals in those positions in agencies that did not respond to the e-mail.

In agencies that did not provide names of the incumbents but provided position titles and/or organizational charts, the positions were cross referenced based on position title and location to determine the names of female individuals in the positions.

Using all of the various lists and cross-referencing them with the other databases, a list of potential participants was identified. Since gender was not known in many of the cases, women were identified using recognition of typical female names. There is a chance that some women who should have been included may have been omitted because of their seemingly unusual name. Subsequently, the chance exists that some males may have been included on the list because of names that are often used by both genders.

Research Sites

As discussed in Chapter I, 10 state agencies were chosen as potential research sites. The agencies were Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT), Virginia Department of Forestry (VDOF), Virginia Department of State Police (VSP), Virginia Department of Corrections (VDOC), Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV), Virginia Marine Resources (VMR), Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (VDCR), Virginia Department of Alcohol and Beverage Control (ABC), Capitol Police (CP), and the Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries (VDGIF). The agencies all have occupations that have characteristics and meet the definition of a male-dominated occupation. Furthermore, the tenets of representative bureaucracy with regard to representativeness of women can be examined through the experiences of the women in those occupations employed at these agencies. The purpose and historical context of each agency is described in detail in Chapter I of this dissertation.

Virginia Department of Transportation. The Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) was chosen for inclusion in this study because, as the state agency responsible for building, maintaining, and operating the state's roads, bridges, and tunnels (VDOT, 2013a), it employs 162 or over 60% of all engineering managers in the state, and contains all the aspects of being a male-dominated occupation. Engineering Manager II, III and Architecture and Engineer

II are operationalized as occupational roles from the occupational career group of architecture and engineering. These positions are upper and mid-level managers and serve as managers of satellite offices or major project managers as indicated by VDOT. Of the 162 engineering managers, there are 17 women serving as Architecture and Engineer Manager II and another 10 serve as mid-level managers in the Architecture in Engineering II role.

Virginia Department of Forestry. The Virginia Department of Forestry was chosen for inclusion because it is responsible for protecting forest resources from fire and managing the forest resource of 19 state forest properties in Virginia. VDOF has a total of 269 employees (VDOF, 2014). From the occupational career group of natural resources specialists, the agency has 23 managers in the occupational role of Natural Resource Manager II and III positions, and only two are occupied by females (“Salaries,” 2011). The work is considered masculine and is a male-dominated occupation with a limited number of women to reach mid-upper levels of management.

Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries. The Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries (VDGIF) was selected for this study because its functions are considered masculine, and as it is responsible for the management of inland fisheries, wildlife, and recreational boating for the commonwealth. From the occupational career group of law enforcement, the agency’s law enforcement division has approximately 119 in occupational roles of Law Enforcement I-III with the title of game warden, and 10 in the Law Enforcement Manager I and II roles (personal communication, VDHRM, May 16, 2012). There were no women in any of these management roles or in lower management roles. There were eight women in the lower-level game warden positions. In this male-dominated occupation, a

woman's only chance to become a supervisor or manager is through selection from within the organization.

Virginia Marine Resources Commission. The Virginia Marine Resources Commission (VMRC) was selected for the study because its largest division is the Virginia Marine Police, a male-dominated occupation, which enforces state and federal commercial and recreational fishery laws and regulations along with boating and other vessel activities. From the occupational career group of law enforcement, there are about 80 employees in the occupational role of Law Enforcement Officers I and III. There are three Law Enforcement Manager I and II positions in the mid-upper levels and six first line supervisors. None of the managers or supervisors are women; however, there are about three women serving as marine police officers (personal communication, VDHRM, May 16, 2012; "Salaries," 2011).

Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control. The Virginia Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC) was selected for inclusion because of its Bureau of Law Enforcement, the male-dominated occupation that is mainly responsible for enforcing the laws against the manufacture and sale of illegal liquor and other alcohol-related crimes (VDABC, 2014b).

The Bureau's field operations consist of eight regional offices and one substation statewide. For the purpose of this study, it is the duties of the field operations area that is considered male-dominated. The positions in field operations are in the occupational career group of law enforcement in Law Enforcement Officer I-III occupational roles. There are over 100 of these positions with the title of special agents in field operations. There are 10 Law Enforcement Manager I positions with the work titles of assistant special agents in charge and 10 Law Enforcement Manager II positions with work titles as special agents in charge of regions.

There are three women serving as assistant special agents in charge but none are serving in any higher capacity in the Bureau.

Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles. The Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles with responsibilities for the administration of motor vehicle licensing and registration and title laws was selected for inclusion in this study because of its male-dominated Law Enforcement Services Division, which is comprised of sworn law enforcement officers. LES has about 75 law enforcement positions with 12 in the Law Enforcement Manager I occupational role with a work title of assistant special agent in charge and nine in the Law Enforcement Manager II occupational role with a title of special agent in charge. One woman serves as assistant agent in charge (see Table 7).

Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation. The Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation was selected for this study because it is responsible for management and oversight of the Virginia state park system, which includes 35 state parks and four undeveloped parks. These parks are managed and protected by state park rangers and managers, which are considered male-dominated occupations. The chief rangers, assistant managers, park managers, and district managers not only work in the parks, they also live in them. While not all park rangers have law enforcement responsibilities, the park managers manage all activities of state parks.

There are seven districts in the park system, each with several state parks. Staff in the state parks is from the natural resource specialist career group and are in the natural resource manager occupational roles. Each district is headed by a Natural Resource Manager II, called a District Manager, and each park is managed by a Natural Resource Manager II or I, titled Park Manager depending on the size. There are 32 Natural Resource Manager II positions and seven

Natural Resource Manager I positions at the agency with two women in each role (“Salaries,” 2011).

Virginia Department of State Police. The Virginia Department of State Police was selected as it is a male-dominated occupation. It is the premier law enforcement agency in the state, patrolling over 64,000 miles of state highways and providing comprehensive investigations in all criminal matters of the special and sensitive cases. It accomplishes these duties through three divisions with the largest being the Bureau of Field Operations. The department’s positions are in the law enforcement career group and use the Law Enforcement Managers I, II, and III occupational roles. Each of the divisions is managed by a Law Enforcement Manager III, with a work title of lieutenant colonel. The rest of the positions use work titles as well. The Bureau of Field Operations’ Uniformed State Police is statewide and divided into seven field divisions. These divisions are further subdivided into 48 state police areas that consist of one or more cities and/or counties.

Each of the seven field divisions is headed by a captain, and a field lieutenant oversees a group of state police areas within the division. The areas are managed by a field sergeant. There are 171 Law Enforcement Manager I positions and 162 Law Enforcement Manager II positions. Nine of the Law Enforcement Manager I positions are occupied by women with two in Law Enforcement Manager II. Upper management staff is in the Law Enforcement III role and serve as majors and lieutenant colonels. There are seven such positions and one is occupied by a woman (personal communication, VDHRM, May 16, 2012; “Salaries,” 2011).

Virginia Department of Corrections. The Virginia Department of Corrections was selected for inclusion because historically it has been a male-dominated occupation responsible for maintaining security, custody, and control of wards of the state that have been convicted in a

court of law to incarceration. Corrections positions are in the security services occupational career group and use the occupational roles of Security Managers I, II, or III. Each of the institutions is managed by a Security Manager II or III with work titles of warden or a superintendent and is in one of three regions in the state that is overseen by a regional operations chief. The institutions, while under the umbrella of the department, operate as a separate entity but follow department policy and conduct business using uniform standards for the purpose of accreditation.

The structure of the staff in each of the institutions is similar. The correctional officer staff are not sworn police officers with arrest powers, but are security officers who maintain security, custody, and control of the prison and its wards. The security staff is modeled after other police and with titles with officer, sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and major.

Information provided by VDHRM (personal communication, May, 16, 2012), indicates that there is one female among 24 wardens (Security Manager III) serving at male institutions. Assistant wardens (Security Manager II) serve as second in command at major institutions and are the same level as superintendents in adult male field units. Field units, are usually smaller correctional facilities that house inmates suitable to work on public projects. Women occupy seven of 29 assistant warden or superintendent positions. Majors (Security Manager II) serve as the chief of security at an institution overseeing all security aspects of the facility. There are 37 majors with four women serving in this capacity. Finally, 10 women out of 86 captains (Security Manager II) oversee the security staff at facilities typically managing a shift of officers, sergeants, and lieutenants. In this environment, captains and above are considered mid-to-upper level management.

Commonwealth of Virginia, Division of Capitol Police. The Division of Capitol Police was selected for inclusion in this study because it has been a male-dominated occupation since the 1600s due to its responsibilities of providing law enforcement and protection of the state capitol area, including the Governor and all of the state's highest elected and appointed leaders. The Capitol Police is not subject to the rules of the executive branch with occupational career group or occupational roles; however, their job titles are similar to other law enforcement agencies. The department is headed by a colonel who is Chief of Capitol Police. He is supported by an assistant chief in the rank of major, two deputy chiefs with the rank of captain, and five commanders with the rank of lieutenant, which includes one woman. The inclusion of the Capitol Police was also based on the fact that they are sworn police officers in the state and have the same rank structure as most of the other agencies.

Since nearly all of these agencies are located statewide, the site may be anywhere in the state. These agencies were chosen because they all have some law enforcement functions or other public safety functions that are considered male-dominated occupations. Some of the agencies may be contacted for a site visit if deemed appropriate to establish some context if such cannot be determined from documents or interviews. For example, women in the mid-level management positions in a large prison may have a different context because of the size of the facility than those at smaller facilities. Even though the leadership responsibilities may be the same, the experience may be quite different than larger facilities

An initial review of women in mid-level or upper management or even working in male-dominated positions at State Police, Capitol Police, Game and Inland Fisheries, Forestry, DMV, and Department of Conservation and Recreation and Virginia Marine Resources revealed very few women in management positions. Position levels or role titles are sometimes lower in

smaller agencies although responsibilities may be the same. Organizational charts from these agencies provided an opportunity to establish context and identify more women in positions that were not initially considered.

The managers of the selected agencies that were asked to participate were able to offer other potential participants for the study based on their knowledge of employees' job duties or others who had retired. Their suggestions yielded six new contacts that met the study criteria. The suggested participants were contacted for interviews. It was thought that requesting additional organizational charts or job descriptions from these agencies might provide additional context of the leadership roles of the women in the organization and might offer an opportunity to perhaps identify other potential participants. Only one additional organizational chart was provided and it did not yield any additional contacts.

Institutional Review Board Approval and Confidentiality

As with most qualitative research, this study involved interactions with human subjects. Precautions were taken to ensure that the study was ethical and physically obtainable with minimal risk to the participant. In addition, the dignity, privacy, and interests of the participants were protected and respected (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Approval of the Virginia Commonwealth University Institutional Review Board (IRB) was sought to ensure that the research and research procedures would not impose any risk or inappropriate social, economic, psychological, physical, or legal harm to participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2003). An application was made under the "Expedited Review" provisions since the interviews were of minimum risk to participants. Approval was granted by the IRB on September 18, 2013 (see Appendix A).

This research was confidential and the names of the participants will not be identified. Pseudonyms were used to protect identity and provide an alternative method for ensuring appropriate member checking of information. All recordings were destroyed after transcripts were made and the research had been completed. The data analysis eliminated any data that possibly identified individuals by name since data were coded and analyzed to develop and report similarities and trends as a whole. Information that appeared to identify a particular agency remained confidential as agencies were identified using numbers or other appropriate pseudonyms. As required by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Virginia Commonwealth University, this procedure was reviewed to ensure compliance with IRB policies.

Data Collection

The three major sources of data for qualitative data include interviews, observations, and documents (Baker et al., 1992; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Polkinghorne, 2005; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Table 8 illustrates how these sources will be used. Several steps were followed in order collect data for this study. These included the development of the interview protocol and subsequent review by dissertation committee, the approval of protocol and research by the IRB, recruitment of participants, interviews of women in mid-to-upper level management in male-dominated agencies, a review of organizational charts and other relevant documents in the aforementioned agencies, observations and memo documents.

Interview Protocol

The protocol for soliciting participation of key informants for this study required an e-mail a letter to each person identified in the sample, using their published state e-mail addresses located in employee state directory (VDHRM, n.d). The letter contained (a) an introduction to the researcher, (b) an explanation of the study and the procedures to be used, (c) a

Table 8

Data Sources for Study

Data source	<u>Data sources for study</u> <u>Contribution to study</u>
Semi-structured interviews with women in mid-to-upper level management position	Provided relevant data on the career progression of women through their lived experiences. Questions were used to elicit responses that assisted in addressing research questions.
Organization charts	Used to establish visual hierarchical structure and context of agency and identify mid-to-upper level positions. Also used to identify possible participants to provide data to answer research question.
Researcher memos/notes	Researcher memos/notes served to record categories, properties, theories, and questions that evolved during analysis.
Other documents	Documents such as job descriptions, certificates and other government documents that became available helped to provide information relevant to the research question.

description of likely benefits of the study, (d) alternative procedures that might be comfortable for the participant, (e) an offer to answer any questions about the study or its procedures, and (f) an explanation that participation was voluntary and that consent to participate could be withdrawn at any time without consequences.

The interview protocol was designed to list the steps and obtain information from participants or key informants relevant to the research questions. The interview protocol consisted of modified versions of the Experience of Discrimination instrument developed by Krieger, Smith, Naishadham, Hartman, and Barbeau (2005) in their study of racial discrimination in health care, and a modified instrument developed by Wertsch (1988) in her study of tokenism effects in police work. The questions were modified to answer specific research questions

related to representative bureaucracy, tokenism, and how women achieve career progression in male-dominated occupations. Two protocols were developed to gather data. One protocol was a short questionnaire that included some quantitative and demographic elements and was handed to the participant to complete after the introduction of the interview. Once completed, the questionnaire was used to guide the interview. The second protocol was a list of the qualitative questions.

The questions represented several categorical areas that sought information to answer the research questions. The questions were designed

1. To establish an understanding of the informant's duties, responsibilities, and progression steps to their current positions.
2. To seek information to understand active and/or passive representation within the bureaucracy.
3. To understand the bureaucracies' policies with regard to recruitment of women and the roles the informants played in the hiring process.
4. To solicit their perceptions of the role their gender played in their career progress.
5. To seek information about their role models, socialization processes and interactions with their peers, subordinates and supervisors.
6. To gain a sense of their outside professional networks and ongoing development efforts.

The questions were open-ended and allowed key informants to discuss their experiences. While the protocols were designed as mechanisms from which to elicit conversation for the purpose of obtaining information, the methods of grounded theory allowed for follow-up questions to get a better understanding of the meaning of any response. Responses to the questions also provided

information with regard to the tokenism theoretical framework. A pilot study was conducted to test the effectiveness of the questionnaire. In addition, the pilot served to ensure that the data collected would be useful for addressing the research questions. See Appendixes B and C for the complete questionnaires.

Recruitment of Participants

Using the list of potential participants previously collected, each person selected for the study was contacted by e-mail and asked to participate. The e-mail contained a brief summary of the purpose of the study, a general description of the study, the nature of the information being collected, a description of what the study would entail, a statement that participation was voluntary, and how confidentiality of participants would be protected. E-mail addresses for all participants were obtained from the state employee directory from the state's official website (VDHRM, n.d.). Based on the affirmative responses received from the e-mails, each willing participant was contacted to arrange the date, time, and location to conduct a personal interview. They also were sent the consent documents to review. Prior to the interview, the study was again explained and the participants' questions were answered, after which the participant consented and the interview began.

Interviews With Women Working in Male-Dominated Occupations

Face-to-face semistructured interviews were conducted with the participants. Semistructured interviews allow the researcher to focus on career progression through the experiences of the participant. From a phenomenological aspect, interviews questions are designed to be free from preconceived notions, expectations, or framework from the researcher (Baker et al., 1992). This approach may require individually tailored methods since each individual may have a different story or context (Maxwell, 2005). For example, they may prefer

to be interviewed away from the job site. The taped (with permission) interviews were conducted over a 60-day period and subsequently transcribed for analysis using Dragon Naturally Speaking® software. The locations of the interviews were mutually selected by the participants and the researcher based on availability, convenience to the participant, privacy of the location, and at little or no cost to the participant (i.e., parking, tolls, etc).

Organizational Charts and Documents

Documents are a vital part of data collection for qualitative studies. Documents can be government documents, video, tapes, letters, books, newspapers or anything that helps to provide information substantive to the questions being studied and are used in the same way as interviews or observations (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

Organizational charts were obtained from agencies with male-dominated occupations. An organizational chart is operationalized as a visual chart reflecting the arrangement of positions in an organization. The charts show the hierarchy of occupational titles and manifest differences in power and authority (Hirschhorn & Gilmore, 1992). Some charts only show the structure of the organization from a functional perspective by visually showing departments or dedicated business units and their relation to the agency heads.

In this study, organization charts were used to further identify potential participants for the inclusion based on where they may fit in hierarchy of the organization. The charts were helpful in further understanding the career progression tracks in male-dominated occupations and provided some context into each participant's role in the organization.

Observations and Memos

Observation is an important part of data collection in qualitative methods. The psychosocial and social processes with regard to women working in male-dominated occupations

may be inferred from observing social interactions, activities, and actual incidents. From the grounded theory perspective, previous experiences are considered data (Baker et al., 1992) and help to better understand the process being observed. Moreover, through the use of observations, indications of important concepts can be noted. In this way, conditions, actions, interactions, consequences, etc. under which the women work in male-dominated occupations can be noted (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Such observations are vital to determining whether an action or event is indicative of a concept.

Nonverbal communications are just as important for analysis. Researcher notes, memos, and recorded observations as they related to the participants' use of interpersonal space to communicate attitudes, pacing of speech and length of silence in conversation, body movements or posture and variations of voice pitch, volume and quality (Gordon, 1980). Memos or notes were used throughout the study to record the theory step-by-step as it is unfolded or developed. Writing theoretical memos is an integral part of grounded theory. Memos are used as a system to keep track of all categories, properties, and questions that may evolve during the analysis process as well. In addition, memos can serve to adjust the protocol for use in interviewing participants.

Validity Threats

While there may be several threats to validity in any research, qualitative research is considered credible when it presents accurate descriptions or interpretations of the human experience that people who also share the experience would recognize (Krefting, 1991; Sandelowski, 1986). Research bias refers to the subjectivity of the researcher. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research does not focus on eliminating variance between researcher's values and the expectations that they bring to the study, but rather focuses on understanding how the researcher's values and expectations influence the conduct and

conclusion of the study (Maxwell, 2005). Explaining the bias and the personal interest of the researcher may help to diminish this type of validity threat and increase the credibility.

Nonetheless, the recognition that there is no way of “abolishing, or fully controlling for, observer bias in qualitative research” (Greenhalgh & Taylor, 1997, p. 741) must be considered.

Validity and credibility issues center on the qualifications of the researcher as the interviewer who can bring a considerable amount of theoretical sensitivity to the interview context because of past personal and professional experiences with the phenomenon. Such theoretical sensitivity assists the interviewer in addressing issues of validity (Conway, 2000; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Triangulation involves the use of multiple and different methods, sources, theories, and researchers to arrive at corroborating evidence (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). It reduces systematic biases prevailing and the possibility of chance associations as a result of the use of a specific method that allows for greater confidence in interpretations (Maxwell, 2007). Denzin (1978) argued that there were four major types of triangulation: data which uses difference sources, investigator triangulation which involves the use of different researchers, theory triangulation which uses multiple perspectives for interpretation of study results, and methodological triangulation which uses multiple methods to study a research problem.

Triangulation of the interviews among women working in male-dominated positions, human resource directors, context, organizational cultural aspects, observations, etc. enhance the internal validity through the use of multiple methods to overcome deficiencies (Hutchinson & Wilson, 1992; Maxwell, 2005). The small number of women in the population may be considered a validity threat since the sample size may not have been ideal for other research

methods. Sandelowski (1995) suggests that 10 to 50 descriptions of a target experience in a phenomenological study may be needed to discern the necessary and sufficient constituents.

To enhance validity concerns of this study, member checking (respondent validation) was used. Member checking involves allowing the participants to play a major role in the credibility of the study by getting their feedback about the researcher's data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions. Maxwell (1996) suggests that member checking offers the most effective way to eliminate possible misrepresentation and misinterpretation of the "voice" of the participants. Triangulation of the interviews and documents to gather the data was used to further enhance validity concerns.

Data Analysis

The data analysis for this study began with the review of the literature and using it as inductive reasoning to generate ideas about women working in male-dominated occupations and possible barriers as mentioned in the literature. The findings in the study are derived from qualitative content analysis using a grounded theory approach. While there are commonalities between and across various methodologies, the basic phases include data collection, coding, analysis of content and interpretations (Carly, 1993; Duriau, Reger & Pfarrer, 2007; Fielding & Lee, 1998, Gephart, 1993). Analytically, the constructs of this study are derived from women who have been in male-dominated occupations most of their careers and have firsthand knowledge of the phenomenon. As suggested by White and Marsh (2006, p. 28) the "objective of content analysis is usually to identify the person's perspective." Previous research and existing theories are also germane to qualitative studies (Krippendorff, 2004; White & Marsh, 2006).

Qualitative research produces large amounts of data which must be systematically analyzed in a logical way thereby making conclusions via identifying relations among patterns, casual flows or propositions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Thus coding is considered a main theme (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) in analyzing data. In grounded theory, the analysis begins as soon as the first piece of data is collected because it is used to direct the next interviews and observations (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). An initial codebook was developed based on the previous literature, existing theoretical frameworks and predictable responses to questions and probes from the questionnaire as revealed in the pilot. Once the initial codebook was developed, operational definitions were assigned to each code (see Appendix D). The advantage of this approach is that the coding scheme could be corrected or altered if flaws were detected during the study process (Duriau et al, 2007; Tallericco, 1991; Woodrum, 1984). Furthermore, this process allows emerging concepts or theoretical sampling as catalysts to determine what interview or probing questions might be asked of the next participant in order to sharpen the focus of the analysis to help prevent gaps in theory.

The taped interviews of 28 women in male-dominated occupations were transcribed within 24 to 72 hours of the interview to keep perceptions, memos, and observations fresh in the mind of the researcher. Triangulation of the data occurred during the interviews with member checking to ensure that researcher perceptions, interpretations, assumptions, and observations were consistent with the participant's views. This was accomplished through probes, follow-up questions and repeating statements so that participants could verify the researcher's interpretations. The transcribed interviews were read several times to allow full immersion and understanding of the data. Data analysis starts when the researcher reads all the data repeatedly to gain immersion, a sense of the whole and to derive codes (Hsiu-Fang & Shannon, 2005; Miles

& Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990). The data in this study were read word for word to identify and create additional coding categories and operational definitions for each of the codes. The initial codebook was modified to include additional codes and modification of some of the initial codes. Once identified, all interview data, codes, and definitions were entered into Dedoose®, a computer software program used for qualitative and mixed-methods research. Demographic data were also entered into the software program to allow for cross-tabulation of the data. The primary advantage of using Dedoose® over other qualitative analysis software programs such as NVIVO and Atlas-ti is that Dedoose® is web-based software that allows access from any computer or tablet with Internet access.

Next, each transcribed interview was read and text highlighted that appeared to represent relevant data. The highlighted passages were coded using the initial predetermined and modified codes. The highlighted text was assigned a code based on the code's operational definition. Table 9 contains a sample of the coding structure to include the definitions of the codes and sample excerpts. As part of the data analysis, memos and notes were written of thoughts and impressions when highlighted text did not seem to fit any of the codes. Another reading of the data and the noted memos and thoughts lead to the establishment of new codes or subsets of predetermined codes which produced the final master codebook. Using opening coding as a process to break down the data, each interview, organizational chart, memo, note, observation or theme was compared with all others that might indeed be similar or different to develop conceptual labels of possible relations between the various pieces of data (Corbin & Straus,

Table 9

Sample of Data Analysis Coding Structure

Code	Definition	Example quote
Advocate for females	Any mention or discussion of mentoring, encouraging, or being an advocate for other females either in hiring, retention, or promotion in male-dominated occupations.	"What I see my role is with the females that I see progressing or wanting to progress is number one, be that mentor and role model. Also share insight with them. Because what I find even in the ones that are in key positions they take on the male thought process, they talk or act like the man, and I am saying you don't have to use profanity to get your point across. You are a woman, act like a woman and that there are different approaches."
Aggressive or assertive	Any mention or discussion of aggressiveness, assertiveness, or of not being afraid to express ideas in male environments, make suggestions or make tough decisions. Not afraid to speak up or challenge.	"I think you have to be a little tough, you have to be a little aggressive and stand your ground because if you can't do those things, I don't think you are going to get through. I think you can't be afraid to kind of call some people out if you need to because you are going to have to do that from time to time."
Colleagues/peers	Experiences with others who hold the same position, title, or similar jobs in an organization. Experiences with others in the same occupation in other agencies.	"My other colleagues have influenced me, especially in the position that I have now, and I think part of that is growth on my part, age, and just building of self-confidence as you get older. I am not going to say anything bad about them because I love them dearly. My male peers that have the same position I have, they influence me by myself looking at some of the ways that they handle things and saying, 'That doesn't suit me, that doesn't fit for me,' so I have to do it another way."

Table 9 - continued

Code	Definition	Example quote
Competence	Any mention or discussion of having the knowledge, skills abilities, experience, and educational requirements to perform the occupation.	"Competence. I believe that competence has got to be one of the biggest. We do have to like back in the day; you have to do twice as much to be considered half as good type of thing, some of that is still there."
Discrimination	Any mention of gender, age, race, or ethnicity. Disparities in treatment based on gender, age, ethnicity, family status, etc.	"I think one of the really frustrating things about working in a male-dominated profession is the women are more heavily scrutinized. A woman could do the same thing that a male trooper did, and it would be viewed sometimes differently. Sometimes a negative light might be put on something because it was female did it, but it was overlooked completely if it was a male."

1990; Hallberg, 2006). The process also allowed for further triangulation by comparing the source data from interviews, organizational charts, memos, and observations.

The categories and concepts that emerged were linked to the research questions and linked together to form a tentative conceptual framework for hypotheses generation. As the hypotheses appeared to be developing from the data, more interviews were conducted to verify the theory assumptions. Selective sampling of the literature, documents, and observations continued until no new data was found that provided further explanations.

The Dedoose® software provided frequency data of code application within the transcribed data. After analyzing the frequency data and tabulations of the excerpts applied to the codes, the patterns began to emerge from the coded data. Further data analysis of cross-tabulations with demographic data revealed additional themes. For example, by cross-tabulating codes with age categories, themes emerged regarding perceptions of gender in career progression and how those perceptions differed between the age categories. Morgan (1993) suggests that in content analysis, the code counts produced form explicit answers to questions via pattern detection as well as further interpretation of the data.

Since the majority of the agencies selected in the study provided some type of organizational charts, these documents were compared and analyzed to determine similarities and differences. This allowed for multiple perspectives in the data. Themes or categories were verified with each subsequent interview, allowing validation to the categories or allowing more explanatory data to emerge.

Onwegbuzie and Leech (2007) suggest that triangulation in this sense can help to unravel contradictions in the data and lead to a fusion of theories. Furthermore, previous personal knowledge “may help to see data in new ways and think more abstractly about the data in the

process of developing theory” (Hallberg, 2006, p. 144). McGuire (1997) argues that previous experiences or knowledge can provoke, challenge, and even deepen insights by recalling how and why similar situations may have occurred in order to generate hypotheses. Nonetheless, each concept or category still had to earn its way into any theory. The identification of connections among the different categories works best with the results of the prior categorizing analysis as indicated above (Maxwell, 2005). From these analyses, selective coding was unified around a core category when sufficient coding led to clear perception of which conceptual label represents the entire essence of the study. Verification or testing throughout the course of data collection and analysis led to interpretations based on the multiple perspectives of the individuals, documents, and observations.

Limitations

In qualitative research, generalizability to the whole population is not necessary. Maxwell (2005) suggests that internal generalizability refers to generalizability of a conclusion within the group or setting study and external generalizability is beyond the group. The descriptive and interpretative validity of this study corresponded to the case as a whole.

There were several limitations in this study. Contextual framework of the management levels in some agencies was not identified as some agencies did not provide or do not use organizational charts. In agencies where such charts were not provided, such context had to be developed during interviews to the extent possible.

Since agencies often reorganize and make changes due to budgetary concerns, some organizational structures may change prior to completion of interviews and/or study. In such cases, women may have been promoted or pushed further down the management chain due to

added levels of managements. Some women may have been omitted from the list of potential participants because of incorrect female name recognition.

In some cases, the participant might have chosen not to be recorded; however, this was not the case in this study. All of the participants agreed to be recorded. Some data may not have been as robust if the researcher had to take copious notes.

The length of time each of the participants may have been in their current role may have yielded inconsistent organizational cultural accounts or experiences in the agencies. Some of the agencies have many facilities and those in management tend to go from facility to facility to take advantage of promotional opportunities.

An important limitation of the study is that it occurred in agencies in only one state and is therefore not generalizable. Other states may have a larger population of women who have achieved career progression and they may have had very different experiences. In addition, it might have been necessary to use many agencies due to the small number of women in targeted positions because there was a limited risk of identifying the participants. Moreover, given the small number of women in agencies who were interviewed, a potential threat to the research design is that they may have shared questions with other women in their agencies who were potential participants in the study. This threat was minimized with probing questions that sought to uncover the personal experiences of each participant.

CHAPTER IV. FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of a group of women and their career progression to mid-to-upper management positions in male-dominated occupations within state agencies. The focus of the study is on gender and representative bureaucracy as they relate to how these women perceive various occupational factors. The factors include their rates of participation, experiences, gender, roles within the bureaucracy, interactions with their coworkers, leaders and organizational policies, personal influence, and decision-making abilities. This chapter consists of two sections. Following an overall description of the sample and participant demographics, this chapter reports the findings and emergent themes that address the primary and secondary research questions.

Background

The participants in this study included 28 mid-to upper-level managers representing six agencies, reflecting a 66 percent response rate for the study. The majority of the participants responded promptly to interview requests although timing and scheduling of interviews proved challenging. Each of the respondents participated in face-to-face interviews that averaged about an hour. The majority of the interviews (71 percent, $n = 20$) was conducted in offices of the participants and 21.4 percent ($n = 6$) were conducted in conference rooms. The remaining interviews (7 percent, $n = 2$) were conducted in a college library room and a personal residence.

Demographic Characteristics

In the study sample, as indicated in Table 10, there was an equal number of law enforcement managers and engineering managers (35.7 percent, $n = 10$). The sample included 17.9 percent ($n = 5$) corrections managers and the remaining (10.7 percent, $n = 3$) were all other managers. The majority (71.4 percent, $n = 20$) of the participants were White. The remainder of the participants included African Americans (21.4 percent, $n = 6$), Asian-Pacific Islanders (4 percent, $n = 1$), and Hispanic Native (4 percent, $n = 1$). Half of the participants (50 percent, $n = 14$) were between the ages of 41-50 years old. The second largest group of participants (31.1 percent, $n = 9$) were between the ages of 51-60. The remaining participants were between the ages of 31-40 (14.3 percent, $n = 4$) and 51-60 (3.1 percent, $n = 1$).

The majority (64.3 percent, $n = 18$) of the participants are married, and the remainder (35.7 percent, $n = 10$) are single. Most (67.9 percent, $n = 19$) of the participants have from one to three children. Of the married women 38.9 percent ($n = 7$) have three children, and 33.3 percent ($n = 6$) have two children, followed by 16.7 percent ($n = 3$) with one child, and 11.1 percent ($n = 2$) with no children. Seventy percent ($n = 7$) of the single women have no children with 20 percent ($n = 2$) with two children, and 10 percent ($n = 1$) with one child.

Although college degrees were not required in law enforcement and corrections, almost 87 percent ($n = 13$) of the participants in those occupations held at least a bachelor's degree. The remainder of the male-dominated occupations represented required at least a bachelor's degree. The majority (57.1 percent, $n = 16$) of all the participants held bachelor's degrees, 32.1 percent ($n = 9$) held master's degrees, 7.1 percent ($n = 2$) had some college or an associate degree and 3.6 percent ($n = 1$) held a Juris Doctor.

Table 10

Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N = 28)

	Frequency	Percent
Male-dominated occupations:		
Law enforcement managers	10	35.7
Engineering managers	10	35.7
Corrections managers	5	17.9
All others	3	10.7
Race:		
White	20	71.4
African American	6	21.4
Hispanic/Native	1	3.6
Asian Pacific Islander	1	3.6
Marital/family status:		
Married (No. of children)	18	64.3
0	2	11.1
1	3	16.7
2	6	21.4
3	7	38.9
Single (No. of children)	10	35.7
0	7	70.0
1	1	10.0
2	2	20.0
Age:		
31-40	4	14.3
41-50	14	50.0
51-60	9	31.1
61-70	1	3.6
Education:		
Some college	2	7.1
Bachelor degree	16	57.1
Master degree	9	31.1
Doctoral degree	1	3.6
Years of experience in agency:		
27-34	6	21.4
19-26	10	35.7
11-18	8	28.6
7-10	4	14.3
Under 7 years	0	0.0

An overwhelming majority (75 percent, $n = 21$) of the participants conveyed that they started in their male-dominated occupations immediately after college because it was the only job readily available. For participants in true law enforcement and corrections, this was especially true since none of them expressed that they had long-term ambitions of being in law enforcement.

The participants in this study had years of experience in their current agencies. There were 21.4 percent ($n = 6$) with 27 to 34 years of experience. The majority of women (35.7 percent, $n = 10$) had 19 to 26 years of experience, and 28.6 percent ($n = 8$) had 11 to 18 years of experience. The remainder (14.3 percent, $n = 4$) had 7 to 10 years in their current agency.

The participants worked in mid-to-upper-level management positions in law enforcement, specialized law enforcement, forestry, corrections, transportation (engineers), conservation, recreation construction, and as park rangers. While 35.7 percent ($n = 10$) of the participants worked in central offices typically located in Richmond, the majority (64.3 percent, $n = 18$) of them were in upper-management level positions at institutions, district offices, regional offices, field offices, or area offices located throughout the state. In some cases, large institutions, districts, or institutions may have from 200 to 1,000 employees. Smaller area and field offices typically had fewer than 100 employees. Interestingly, these data suggest that most women who hold mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated occupations do so in smaller areas or field offices, with fewer overall employees.

In central offices, the participants were typically in upper-level management positions responsible for a particular division or large program area. In some cases, regional or district directors or administrators reported to them. The participants in central offices reported to the deputy directors or the highest level in the agency that was not a political appointee.

In large district or regional offices and institutions, the participants were either in upper management reporting to the highest level of the district, regional, or institutional office or were the highest level in the district, regional, or institutional office. In two of the large district offices, the participants were mid-level managers with subject matter expertise and substantial influence in a specialty area.

Findings

The findings of this study revealed themes as they relate to career progression, gender, and representative bureaucracy in addressing the primary and secondary research questions. The research question guiding this study is

How do successful women working in predominantly male bureaucracies experience career progression?

In order to obtain information regarding the career progression experiences, the participants were asked questions about their career progression in male-dominated occupations. Over 78 percent ($n = 22$) of the participants worked in male-dominated occupations throughout their entire careers. The patterns or themes found in the data were categorized around the research questions. The findings produced from the identified patterns and relationships address the research questions. Finally, the findings in this study were compared with other similar studies and theories to determine if the findings either differentiated from or supported previous studies and theories. Each category is identified to answer the research questions as well as the dominant codes and other related codes for the category in the matrix of findings. Table 11 outlines the findings for the first category that answers the primary research question in this study along with the codes and actual data excerpts to support the findings.

Table 11

How Women Experience Career Progression

Career progression themes	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
Importance of professional development and professional associations	Professional development	100	"Taking on extra projects and sometimes it meant all the difference because some folks had been in places for so long. The expectation was if that someone were to move or retire than there is that next person, so you really had to do something to kind of bring yourself out of the shadows. I encourage the female staff to do that now. You just won't know where that will take you. Some special committee at (central office) will get your name out there, and they start looking at you for other opportunities."
Job satisfaction: A vital component	Job satisfaction	96	"You have to have that drive. Your heart has to be in it like any other profession. You've got to want to do it. In our profession as well as teaching, as well as a fire fighter or any public servant, you know going in there, that there is a risk. You also know going in that you are never going to get rich. You do it for the love of the job."
The significance of hard work	Hard work	86	"You do have to work a little bit harder to make sure that you earn the respect of your peers whether it's male or female, but being a female you have to actually work a little bit harder at it to be successful. You just have to accept that in some cases you might have to be working harder to be on an equal footing and don't take it out on people specifically."
Consequences of tokenism	Tokenism	89	"I just go out there and work 10 times harder than everybody else just to show them that I didn't get the job just because. So I guess in a way, you are always trying to over prove yourself even with good support that I have, because I know there is always someone out there who is thinking that I am the

Table 11 - continued

Career progression themes	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
			token and I have worked really hard in my career not to be the token."
The magnitude of constant proof	Constant proof	32	"You are constantly trying to prove yourself. You are put in the position, came in as a brand new trooper 20 years old straight out of the academy, I had to prove myself to the other troopers in the area. I was the only female in the area. I had to prove to the other male troopers that I could do the job, and after a few months I did, and I built a rapport with them and they understood that they could curse around me and say things, and it was going to be fine. But then, I get promoted to special agent and I have to start all over again; and I get promoted to first sergeant and I have to start all over again, and I get promoted. . . .Every time you go into a new office or maybe work for a new supervisor, you feel like you have to prove yourself all over again and quite honestly, it gets exhausting."

Career Progression

Participants identified five primary factors as contributing to their successful career progression in male-dominated occupations. As indicated in Table 11, these factors include the importance of professional development and professional associations, the importance of job satisfaction, the significance of hard work, the consequences of tokenism, and the magnitude of constant proof.

The Importance of Professional Development Opportunities

The most dominant code that emerged with regard to career progression is the importance of professional development. All of the women (100 percent) made comments relative to development opportunities regardless of their male-dominated occupation. The participants

perceived professional development as a major catalyst for career progression and used a variety of mechanisms to obtain such development.

In particular, participants viewed it as critical for women to expand their technical expertise, beyond their primary job domain, in order to solidify their value to the organization. The women perceived that in a male-dominated occupation, it was crucial to know and perform at a level that was impressive to their colleagues and supervisors so that they could gain their trust. The women expressed that one of the challenges they faced was discrediting negative perceptions of their male counterparts regarding their abilities.

Additionally, the participants perceived education as paramount to career advancement in their particular male-dominated occupation. They perceived that having at least a bachelor's degree increased women's potential for advancement. For example, all of the participants who were engineers held the designation of professional engineer, and all but two participants representing the other occupations had degrees although their position has no degree requirement. One participant indicated that when a woman did not have a degree, it was used as a reason for denying a promotion, but observed that men in those positions did not always have degrees

On-the-job training is an important aspect of professional development. Some women receive on-the-job training that is directly related to the position they hold as normally expected in any occupation. Interestingly, women also value a wider range of professional development training that extends beyond their direct areas of responsibility. They largely view this development as a way to enhance their skills or value to the agency. As one bridge engineering manager noted:

I want to learn because I have been so focused on bridge. I want to learn about roadway, design, and I want to learn more about asphalt maintenance just to get a bigger picture of

what the department does. I have committed myself to taking at least one leadership course within the next 12 months. I want to keep up my knowledge of engineering practices so that I can have an intelligent conversation with my guys in the back. And as for the next step in my career, I have been floating some ideas out there. (D0117)

Participants representing at least three occupations indicated that they must make a special effort to learn more than the responsibilities of their current position to be seen by decision makers as having the skill for the next level. At least three participants noted that they perceive that men often have those skills, and that is sometimes used to give them an edge when it comes to promotions.

I think one of the things is that they [women] need to see that there may be some different types of training that women need because a lot of them don't get the same types of training that men do. They don't look at things the same. Women may say, 'I don't really need to know how to build that box,' while in this agency or this division you do. If you can't build that particular box, then you are second-class to men that can build the box. Whereas it may seem strange of me saying you need to go take electrical class, guys pick that up. Those are the kinds of trades that are the big thing that I think women need to concentrate more on that they may not think about. (C0103)

These perceptions about acquiring various experiences, mobility in work assignments, experience and developmental opportunities are enhancements to human capital and support previous research (O'Neil et al., 2008). Further studies (Powell & Butterfield, 1994; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998; Stroh et al., 1992) suggest that the lack of human capital is the main reason women are not advancing into top levels of management. The human capital theory suggests that education and attaining a breadth of experiences are proper investments in human capital for women (Stroh et al., 1992). The women view learning things above and beyond their positions as making them more marketable for promotion.

Based on interviews with women in corrections, it is important that women have experience in both the treatment side of corrections as well as the security side. The treatment side requires a bachelor's degree and involves counseling and programs that prepare offenders

for eventual release. The security side involves operations and activities that maintain custody of the offenders, but there is no degree requirement. Moreover, they perceive that men tend to progress to assistant warden or warden from having experience only from the security side because it is seen as the more important aspect of corrections. Women, nonetheless, have not been able to progress to those levels without having the education and experience in both treatment and security sides. This notion supports previous research (Hede & Ralston, 1993; Still, 1992) that women in management positions have higher formal qualifications (education) than their male-counterparts, but often less experience in those areas they consider important such as security. One assistant warden noted that having education and experience in both sides put women in a better position for promotion. Another participant stated:

When someone in treatment that goes over to a security position, you have that edge because a lot of folks in security don't know that treatment side so if you are coming from this side, although it may seem you are behind the ball, you are actually ahead of the game because you basically know what an offender should be able to do. You know those policies because they are ingrained in you, but you also know the program's piece of it and that will take you over. (R0108)

The perceptions also support previous research (Stroh et al., 1992, p. 257) that ambitious women must do "all the right stuff" to achieve career progression.

Professional development for women can also come from supportive supervisors who may not be seen as mentors, but as someone who develops staff. Not only do these supportive supervisors share their knowledge freely, they encourage opportunities for cross-training, appointments to committees, task forces, filling acting positions, and specialized training schools. The women also learned from observing their supervisors managing and developing people as suggested by Singh et al. (2006b). The participants perceive these opportunities to be more valuable in career progression because they can acquire new skills as well as learn from negative and positive supervisors. As suggested by Elacqua et al. (2009), if women in

management are getting developmental experiences, they are more likely to be seen by leaders as being in the pipeline for higher promotions. In addition, they have a chance to use those skills while gaining exposure within their departments. The exposure offers women access to top organizational leaders or central office management. For women, the access offers an opportunity for their knowledge, skills, and potential to be seen at the executive level. It offers the leaders an opportunity to gain a snapshot of talent within the district offices, institutions, and regional offices for the purpose of promotion or succession planning. This finding is consistent with previous literature (Singh et al. 2006b). One engineering manager noted:

More of my progression has been my immediate supervisor who sees that I have more potential than my current position. Also he has had me in all these acting positions which have helped him but it has also helped me to have that exposure. (D0120)

The participants perceive that women who volunteer to take on special projects, serve on task forces, and accept challenging assignments often do so because they realize the benefits of doing them. These assignments require extra effort since they often still have to maintain excellent performance in their regular positions as well as the assignment. These assignments offer the benefit of getting their names “out there” for others. One corrections manager noted:

Taking on extra projects. . . and sometimes it meant all the difference because some folks had been in places for so long; the expectation was if that someone were to move or retire then there is that next person, so you really had to do something to kind of bring yourself out of the shadows. I encourage the female staff to do that now. You just won't know where that will take you. Some special committee at (central office) will get your name out there and they start looking at you for other opportunities, so I encourage others to do that. (R0108)

When it comes to professional development that occurs outside of the agency, about 20 percent of the women perceived that they are disadvantaged because it becomes a situation of the “haves and have nots” when there are costs associated with the professional development opportunity. Some agencies have funding and find the value in spending it on professional

development. They encourage professional development and pay for those opportunities for staff. One manager indicated that she has enjoyed constant professional development and that she had “never been denied a training opportunity.” Another participant indicated that the opportunity for professional development was available at her agency, but time constraints prevented her from taking advantage of them because the “work load is just so demanding.” The higher level managers indicate that while training opportunities seemed plentiful for mid-level managers, there was not a lot for those in the higher management positions. One high-level manager commented, “I guess they assume that by the time you get here, you don’t really need much” (D0120).

Some agencies either do not have the funds to support the cost of professional development outside the agency or may not place the same value on professional development as other agencies. Women in a “have not” agency are not able to take advantage of outside professional development opportunities. While it is not suggested that women are purposely denied from outside development opportunities, they report that when there is a reduction in public funding, training and travel are often cut first. Previous research suggests (O’Neil et al., 2008) that the policies and practices of organizations with regard to professional development may disproportionately impact women. One participant commented:

I do think that because, unfortunately, it is a state agency and the funding may make it really hard for them to or provide the opportunities that are out there because I do think that there are a lot opportunities out there. (V0125)

About a third of the participants who indicated that they need and want the professional development often find themselves having to independently pay for the training. Sometimes an agency will provide the time away from work without requiring them to take leave as a way to support their development efforts. One participant lamented:

Our agency is very stingy on this kind of thing somewhat for everybody. They are not hugely supportive as an agency. Only if the training is good, and if you are willing to pay for it. If it means work time, maybe or maybe not, but they don't offer anything. (C0103)

Sometimes agencies with limited funds for professional development establish a process for selecting one or more persons to attend various outside opportunities. The women indicated that they found themselves competing for those opportunities and sometimes competing against each other. When they are chosen for such an opportunity, they feel fortunate.

The Role of Professional Associations

Professional associations offer opportunities for professional development. Through membership and participation in professional associations, women can build networks for the purpose of professional development, support, developing relationships that can be beneficial for career progression. Previous literature (Fombrun, 1982; Ibarra, 1993; Kanter, 1983; Kram, 1985) suggests networking helps to establish connections to others who share one's professional occupations, goals, experiences, or career aspirations. In some cases, these connections may be instrumental in career progression guidance as they may be in a position to offer promotional opportunities in other local, state, federal, or private-sector agencies. A participant in sharing her views on the importance of professional associations stated:

I think that's a good balance. It is good to have those kinds of networking connections because sometimes it makes it a little bit easier for you to make career choices or decisions because they are not connected specifically to you on a day-to-day basis within the organization, and so there is no conflict of interests there or biases. Having a group of peers outside your organization, I think, is very helpful in providing some guidance on your growth and development. (D0115)

These associations for women can be particularly important, but there are many reasons why they are not as active in them as they should. About half of the participants indicated that they probably should be networking with others from other states, but attending conferences may be cost prohibitive if not covered by their agencies. A participant stated, "I believe that I should

be networking with others from other states to do planning, and I should have the opportunity. I could do it at my own expense, but I can't afford to do it" (C0104).

About a third of the participants perceive that other organizations or associations that have women in the same occupation are still very different because they operate under very different circumstances. According to two of the participants, such organizations offer an opportunity to develop positive or negative feelings about their own agencies based on the experiences they share with others. After attending a professional development opportunity in another state, one participant talked less about the networking experience and more about the differences in salary. She indicated that the "salary comparison is no joke" for those in her same position and expressed that her counterparts in that state were "very well compensated for what they do."

Another participant suggested that jealousy and competition can sometimes be barriers to successful networking. One-fourth of the women in the statewide law enforcement agency mentioned that their counterparts in localities were envious of them because they perceive them to be the superior agency with statewide reach. As a result, one participant felt like the professional associations were not beneficial to her. She commented:

No, those organizations have not really helped because a lot of women think we are in competition with each other and you go to the local departments, and while I don't see it, but a lot of them feel like we can go anywhere in the state and they can't. They resent that, not that I am a woman, but just that they are confined to an area, I can't win for losing. (V0128)

Women with children also cited the need to limit involvement in professional associations due to family responsibilities. Nearly a fourth of the participants indicated they had to forfeit the opportunity to participate in such organizations because of family obligations.

They find and establish networking opportunities in organizations within their communities that are usually not directly related to their occupations. One high-level participant stated:

I have three children and a husband, and I am very involved in my church. I am on the School Board, so I am not a member of a lot of outside organizations. So I have not really sought out outside organizations. I did join the Women in Transportation (WTS); I did that for two or three years. I think you get out of it what you put in, but I didn't get a whole lot out of it. (D0119)

Such forfeiture lends support to previous research (Mennino & Brayfield, 2002; Quesenberry et al., 2006) that women in male-dominated occupations often make more tradeoffs with regard to family and fewer employment tradeoffs.

For other women, the network may consist of coworkers they met in a training class within their agency at some point in their careers. These individuals form a network that can last throughout their careers. Often, the network does not include those from outside of their agency or occupation. A corrections manager explained:

Networking is very important. I have, I would say, there are about eight folks now that I remain in constant contact since the old days at the Academy. We maintain contact, we encourage one another. Certainly we have kind of grown with each other's children, so we know what's going on and that's important. You need to know that you can just sound some things off of people that are actually your peers. Sometimes you have to be careful not to get caught up in the 'Woe, it is me' kind of thing when you don't move up and really think you should move up. (R0108)

Job Satisfaction: A Vital Component

Another dominant theme that emerged from the data is that women view job satisfaction as a key component of career progression in male-dominated occupations. The participants were asked to characterize their overall experience of being a woman in a male-dominated occupation. Nearly all (96.4 percent) of the women expressed positive reflections of their careers in their male-dominated occupation. Based on the motivations of nearly a third of the individual

participants, their satisfaction was attributed to the love of the job and their personal drive. One law enforcement manager commented:

You have to have that drive. Your heart has to be in it like any other profession. You've got to want to do it. In our profession as well as teaching, as well as a fire fighter or any public servant, you know going in there, that there is a risk. You also know going in that you are never going to get rich. You do it for the love of the job. (V0126)

Another engineering manager seemed excited when she reflected on her career. She seemed comfortable with her career and her current location. She seemed to suggest that not all of her counterparts in the state had the same positive outlook. She smiled with pride and commented:

I love my job. I love this district, and I have nothing else to compare it to. I hear stories in other districts, but I have never lived that. This is what I aspire to do, and this is what I wanted. (D0119)

This finding supports previous research (Jurik & Halemba, 1984; Meyer & Lee, 1978; Schreiber, 1979) that women in male-dominated occupations enjoy high levels of job satisfaction. As suggested by Schreiber (1979), women in male-dominated occupations consider the pay and work content of their positions to more satisfying than those in perhaps traditionally female occupations. The women in the study enjoyed what they did and how it impacted others.

Five of the participants attributed their job satisfaction to the working conditions that allowed them to enjoy their personal family lives more. They seemed to enjoy more of a work-life balance as a result of either their agency policies or supervisors, which is consistent with previous research (Kanter, 1977; Miller, 1980). All of the participants who attributed their job satisfaction to working conditions were from the same agency. The suggestion here is that the agency has organizational policies and practices that are supportive of women and recognize the various career dynamics and phases of their lives (O'Neil et. al., 2008). One engineering manager commented:

I will say the accommodations by [agency] for parents are outstanding. From the beginning and the very first manager I had even up to until today. The manager I have, he knows if school is out early, I have to run home to get my kids. There are no issues with that. They are extremely, I can't tell you how much benefit that is and it is not a tangible benefit that you can put on your resume but the flex time, the understanding, the time off when you have children, everything is top notch. (D0121)

About 20 percent of the participants' attributed their job satisfaction to the people that they met during their careers, the people they worked with, and the contributions they were able to make along the way. For one law enforcement manager, it was the people that she met and the pride of her accomplishments that provide job satisfaction. She stated:

I have met some interesting people, I have met some wonderful people, and I have met some lifetime friends. I feel like I accomplished more in that field than I would have in the private sector. I do. In all, it helped me raise my family and maintain a certain lifestyle, and we still maintain it today, both my husband and I, because of it. (C0102)

Working with supportive subordinates and helping them to excel was also important to at least four of the participants. They care about their employees and make sure that they have the same opportunities. In addition, they believe that they make valuable contributions that are satisfying to them. One transportation manager commented:

Honestly, my career aspiration is, well, I am fairly satisfied at the level I am at now. I know that is not good, but I want to be able to contribute. I want to do a good job, there are so many transportation problems in Virginia and I just would like to make a valuable contribution. So I have a number of people working for me who are really good and competent, and when I say good, they are really just good people. I would like to do right by them by giving them the opportunity that they deserve and that they get compensated well and that they get credited, and grow in their field so that they can do what they want to do. It is also good for business and the whole department if those people do well. Then we all do well, and they stay with the department and contribute as much as they can. (D0114)

A corrections manager was more subdued in her response, but it was clear that making a contribution and accomplishing something was important to her. She believed that people should be credited for their contributions. In describing her job satisfaction, she stated:

I just come to work to do a job and if we happen to accomplish something outstanding during the course of the day, then that is good. I give credit where credit is due. I am really comfortable in my skin right now. (R0109)

The Significance of Hard Work

The third dominant to emerge in the study is the significance of working hard. The perception of 85.7 percent of the participants is that women have to exert more effort and work harder than their male counterparts in male-dominated occupations. The study participants perceive that they work harder, in some cases twice as hard, as their male counterparts although they had different reasons for doing so. One-fourth of them attribute their hard work to their upbringing, determination, and overall work ethic. For these women, early in life they were taught by their parents the values of hard work or being better than others. In three instances, the participants conveyed they had been raised in single-parent homes usually with another sister. The experience of watching their mothers' struggles in areas of employment, education, and raising a family had an influence on their determination to work hard. Their mothers instilled in them that they had to work hard to be successful. Teresa and Padmawidjaja (1999) suggest that high parental expectations are motivated by a desire to have their offspring surpass their own occupational levels. One upper-level participant indicated that hard work was part of her upbringing and stated:

It is how you are raised. My mother would say, 'You work hard and you make sure you know what your job is and you don't B.S. people and all that kind of stuff.' I think hard work is more of how you are raised than your gender. (D0120)

One of the highest level participants suggested that it took determination and hard work to get where one wants to be in life.

Determination, drive, I guess that's almost the same thing. Wanting to, really wanting to do what you are doing, passion for whatever the career choice that is and then going out there and working twice as hard as everybody else. (V0123)

That sentiment was repeated time and time again as the participants were adamant that working hard, even if it meant working harder than their male coworkers, was expected in order to achieve success in male-dominated occupations. The participants also perceive that women must work harder to get noticed by their peers and supervisors. “I think you are going to have to work hard, maybe harder than the guys sometimes to get to where you need to be” (D0113). “To get further, you are going to have to do a little bit more. I think it is harder for Black women than anybody because we are labeled and they put the bad name on us” (R0107).

You do have to work a little bit harder to make sure that you earn the respect of your peers whether it’s male or female, but being a female you have to actually work a little bit harder at it to be successful. You just have to accept that in some cases you might have to be working harder to be on an equal footing and don’t take it out on people specifically. (D0115)

The finding regarding working hard to achieve success is consistent with previous research (Ragins et al., 1998) that women have to work harder than their peers and demonstrate superior performance. Moreover, sheer hard work and stamina were emphasized as very important for getting noticed. Even though they have to work harder, women have to be cognizant that they are doing so in a way that does not threaten or make their male counterparts uncomfortable.

Consequences of Tokenism

The fourth dominant theme that emerged is the amount of effort that seems necessary for tokenism avoidance. The finding suggests that not only do the women perceive that they work harder to perform their job in a male-dominated occupation, but 89 percent of the women exert an enormous amount of personal effort to prove themselves in their occupations. The effort is in addition to the normal high effort put forth to learn and perform at an acceptable or even a higher level. Women who aspire to be in leadership positions work even harder to show that they belong in the position. The participants take pride in making sure that they earned their

positions, and the enormous personal effort is to prove constantly that there were no other factors other than their hard work that earned them the position. Their descriptions lend support to previous research (Eagly, 2007) that women must endure a trajectory of diverse challenges and indirect forays to get to the top. One of the participants explained that she had been promoted to an area where there were mostly men who had only had male supervisors for their entire careers. She explained her effort:

It was important when I came in that I could illustrate to them I could do what they could do, so even though I was the manager or boss if you will, I wanted them to understand that I knew how to use the computer programs; that I knew how to do that and that I could use their computer systems. That was one of the first things I tried to do when I was hired as the L&D engineer was to show the staff I knew how to plot on the plotter, I knew how to open up a micro-station file and I knew how to do all those things. I know one of the senior designers who has worked here 40 years now, I know one of the biggest compliments I ever got from him was, 'you have worked harder than any boss I ever had' and I thought that was really a good compliment because I think he saw me doing things and not just maybe sitting at my desk. ..I try to... make sure I am a doer and not just sit there. (D0113)

One of her long-term employees pointed out that the type of personal effort she displayed was not expected as part of her job as the manager. He had never seen any male boss in his 40 years work that hard. The kind of personal effort she displayed did not seem to be confined to any particular male-dominated occupation. Another participant who had worked undercover in drug investigations revealed her personal efforts to make sure she left no room for her male counterparts to second guess why she held her management position. She stated:

I keep showing up. I keep doing what they do. I do my job and take care of things. You have to, and I mean I have done drug work. I have been on the street. I have bought. I have been arrested 50 times when they did a buy bust. I have done the search warrants. I have done the federal thing. I have done all that stuff so there is nothing they can say to me that I haven't been right there with them, and then I am out there running the street with them. (V0128)

Based on the comments of the participants, they believe women in male-dominated positions also exert a tremendous amount of personal effort to prove that they were not given a

position or promotion by virtue of being female or because the agency needed to promote a female to improve diversity. Over half of the participants expressed the importance of earning their positions because their male counterparts viewed them as getting positions just because they are female. As supported by previous literature (Kanter, 1977), there are not a lot of women in the male-dominated occupations, so the few women that do make it in leadership positions are often targeted. The thought never leaves the back of their minds, so they exert more effort at proving that they are not a token or an agency female trophy. The perception of the participants is that they may have a good sponsor within the agency or a great support system. Nevertheless, that still does not change the need to continue exerting a lot of personal effort to show everyone that they are worthy of the position. The highest ranking woman in one agency noted:

I just go out there and work 10 times harder than everybody else just to show them that I didn't get the job just because. So I guess in a way, you are always still trying to over prove yourself even with the good support that I have because I know there is always someone out there who is thinking that I am the token and I have worked really hard in my career not to be the token. (V0123)

For a quarter of these women, the notion that they have to do twice as much to be considered half as good is still another reason that they have to exert so much effort. Even though they are already performing twice as well, it is like they are perceived as only performing half the amount of their male counterparts. The constant extra effort can take a toll on women, but still they are determined to do it which provides more support to the research of Ragins et al. (1998). One participant lamented: "We do have to, like back in the day, you have to do twice as much to be considered half as good type of thing, some of that is still there" (R0110).

The finding also points to a possible shift in the amount of work and effort women exert to prove themselves in male-dominated agencies in the last few years. Over 75 percent (n = 18) of all comments made by the participants regarding proving themselves, and the efforts they

exerted to do so came from those with over 15 years of service. The suggestion here is that women with less tenure are not feeling the pressure to prove themselves in the same manner as those who had been in the occupation for longer periods of time. Another suggestion is that the acceptance of women is gradually improving in male-dominated agencies in state government.

The Magnitude of Constant Proof

Another code that emerged as a subtheme relevant to the dominant code of hard work suggests that constant proof is emotionally problematic. Their experiences lend support to the findings by Cech et al. (2011) that women bear the burden of proving they are skilled in male-dominated occupations. As one participant commented:

You are constantly proving yourself whether you know it, or you don't. Not all the time does it come to a head, but every day you work, somebody is always looking at you. Like you can go out and mess up and they say, 'Well that's a woman, she is going to do that.' But let a guy go do that, 'Oh, he's okay, he just messed up, no big deal.' But it is one of those things where women are held to a higher standard than men and sometimes that will come out where you are constantly proving yourself whether you know it or you don't. (V0126)

Another participant suggested that men simply do not have to try as hard as women in male-dominated occupations to prove their capabilities to perform the job. Perhaps men believe that since the job is considered man's work that they naturally deserve the job as illustrated by one participant:

I think men don't try as hard. I guess maybe they feel maybe they don't have to. They don't have to prove themselves. Maybe they don't feel they have to prove as hard that they can do this job or that they deserve this job. (D0113)

The participants perceived that when men have proven their capabilities early in their careers, the proof becomes the catalyst for future positions. The tenure in their positions typically is enough to indicate that they are well qualified, have served their time, or belong at the next level. Conversely, the perception for women is no matter how long they have been in

the occupation within the same organization, they have to constantly prove that they belong in, or are worthy of, the next level within the organization. Their perceptions support previous research (Ragins et al., 1998), which suggests that in order for women to overcome negative assumptions they must repeatedly prove their ability and over perform. Furthermore, Faulkner (2009) found that women have to establish and prove themselves every time they encounter a new colleague, citizen, or client. Moreover, this seems to suggest a constant system of new beginnings for women even though they are within the same organization. The system of new beginnings appears to require constant proof that a woman belongs in the position she may occupy or aspire to occupy. Two participants perceived that men who are promoted to the next level do not have to prove that they were worthy of the promotion after the promotion. The perception of four other participants is that women seem to have to prove at each promotion that they are worthy of the promotion and that proof must continue after the promotion. Each new step requires a new beginning even when the next step is just a different assignment. A participant with over 20 years of career progression within the same organization explained the exhaustive nature of constant proof:

You are constantly trying to prove yourself. You are put in the position, came in as a brand new trooper 20 years old straight out of the Academy, I had to prove myself to the other troopers in the area. I was the only female in the area. I had to prove to the other male troopers that I could do the job and after a few months, I did and I built a rapport with them and they understood that they could curse around me and say things and it was going to be fine. But then, I get promoted to special agent, and I have start to all over again and I get promoted to first sergeant and I have to start all over again, and I get promoted. . . . Every time you go into a new office or maybe work for a new supervisor, you feel like you have to prove yourself all over again and quite honestly, it gets exhausting. (V0124)

Based on the comments of the participants, there is a never ending challenge for successful women in male-dominated occupations to prove themselves. This finding lends support to previous research (Stroh et al., 1992), which suggests that for women, sometimes

doing all the right things is not enough. Their comments suggest that even when they are in another assignment within the same rank or level, they still have to prove themselves. The proof alone can fall short on helping to achieve the next rank or assignment unless someone is kind of pushing or sponsoring the women. As suggested by a 30-year veteran in one agency:

Every time you go to another assignment, I have to prove myself. Every time for 30 years. They have to have some kind of sponsor, some kind of leg up. They have to have some way, I mean proving yourself, to me, is not always enough. Not just proving you are the best does not make it for you. You are going to have some sort of leg up to get to the next level. (V0128)

Another participant stated, “They get frustrated because again they're not taken seriously sometimes by the men. They have to prove themselves still ...so it can be very frustrating” (C0103). The comments from the participants regarding their hard work and proving themselves suggest that they are willing to perform and hold themselves to a higher standard to be successful in male-dominated occupations.

Career Influences

This study sought to discover the influences women had in their careers and the particular supports that helped them to achieve career progression in their male-dominated occupations. Specifically, how such supports assisted them in their successful leadership journey. The themes that emerged were the influence of mentors, the impact of family supports, the advantages of spouses in the same occupation, encouragement from colleagues, the roles of other women, and angst over spouses of colleagues.

The Influence of Mentors in Career Progression

The first theme to emerge was the influence of mentors in career progression. In Chapter 2 of this study, the literature varied regarding mentors for women in male-dominated occupations. Research suggests that the presence of mentors is associated with positive career

outcomes (Chao, Walz, & Gardner, 1992; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely et al., 1991). Some researchers (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010) suggest that women typically lack access to mentors in male-dominated occupations. Table 12 depicts career influence themes that emerged in this study.

Table 12

Career Influences of Women in Male-Dominated Occupations

Career progression themes	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
The influence of mentors	Support(s)-mentors	92	"I had one supervisor that was just a very caring, good person and he talked to me about things. I mean I was young, and it was my first professional job and I was there for 20 years for that first job. We grew, he let me grow with him and he was very good, you know, like when I would have struggles at work and doubts, I could talk to him and I could even cry in his office and he supported me. He is the one that was very open and honest with me about things. He always believed in me, and he always found my good qualities and was able to point them out to me and he was just supportive."
The impact of family support	Support-family	68	"One of the biggest impacts in my career as far as bouncing things off has actually been my brother. We are always talking back and forth about opportunities, not opportunities or issues that I have been having, but employee issues, management issues, and he does the same thing for me."
The advantage of spouses in the same occupation	Occupations-family	67	"The only reason I am where I am is because of his support. Let me say for someone who works with men all day long, he has not a jealous bone in his body anywhere, which is wonderful because that is one of the things that probably helped our marriage work. I could say I am going with so and so to lunch, it is in one ear and out the other; he does not pay attention to that. That is

Table 12 - continued

Career progression themes	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
			because we were troopers together, we worked the same shift together sometimes and sometimes we didn't, and he just knew I am surrounded by guys no matter where I go and that is just the way it is. He is wonderful."
Encouragement from colleagues	Colleagues	50	"I would say, for the most part, the colleagues in the agency throughout my career have been very encouraging and always helped. When I have an issue, it is very few who was just like, 'I don't have time for you or whatever.' When you hit that wall, you move over this way. So I would say overall they have been encouraging."
Experiences with other women	Other women	40	"I was there 9 months and worked for the worst female ever; the worst boss ever, male or female. Somebody who had climbed up pretty quickly but not necessarily on the basis of competence. The one that makes us all look bad. She didn't know jack. Made her nervous the fact that I was there, so it was kind of interesting."
Angst over spouses of colleagues	Spouses of colleagues	33	"I am not going to say it has been easy just because being female in profession, from the day you start here and go out in the field. You always are at a disadvantage because people are looking at you, not only your coworkers, but their spouses. For example, I go to an all-male area and get invited to a Super Bowl party. I am friends with the males and had not met many of the wives. I go to the party, and I try to be friendly and cordial to the females. I walk in and introduce myself, and you feel this tension, 'Who is she and why is she here?' You know 9 times out of 10 you expect women in law enforcement to look like men, and I wear my makeup, so it is like that resistance that you feel from the spouses. You feel like you are a threat even though you are not. You are a threat in their eyes, so I am more likely to gear my attention to my friends, who are the male troopers, so it hasn't always been easy. I have gained respect from the males I worked with, but that was the biggest issue I had in the field was the resistance from the spouses."

Allen et al. (1995) suggest that mentors were helpful but not essential for women administrators. The participants in this study were asked questions about the support they received during their career progression in order to answer the following secondary research question:

What role do to they feel mentors or role models, if any, played in their career progression?

Specifically, the participants were asked about support they had during their career progression and how their colleagues, family, professional associates, and others influenced their careers. Nearly 92 percent of the participants stated that they had mentors or supporters during their careers. The findings suggest that support for women in male-dominated occupations come from a variety of sources. Since there were few to no women in management positions to mentor them, women with over 20 years of service with their agencies found that some of their male counterparts and supervisors were very supportive and mentored them. This finding does not seem to support previous research (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010) that suggests that women typically lack access to mentors in male-dominated occupations. One participant commented that it was the “older White males that embraced and taught me” and the males her age or younger did not embrace or teach her.

About 25 percent of the women indicated that unsupportive supervisors inspired them to work harder. They purported that they refused to fail at their jobs in spite of those unsupportive supervisors. One participant indicated that she “refused to give them the satisfaction of seeing her fail at her job.” Interestingly, those who had experienced bad or unsupportive supervisors used that experience to excel and held some of the highest positions in their agencies. It also

illustrated how driven the women were to succeed in their occupation. As one high-level participant stated:

The good supervisor would point me in the right direction, and say go do it and he was always behind me, he was always encouraging me. He was wonderful, whereas the not so good supervisor, or the bad supervisor, he challenged me and that everything I did was wrong, wrong, wrong so he made me work ten times harder than I ever had. It is kind of funny because the lack of support drove me. The support drove me. (V0123)

Nearly 20 percent of the women in the study indicated they had long-term mentors who helped them to grow in many ways. In nearly all cases, the mentors were someone in their fields and continued to mentor them long after the women had had progressed from a particular position or location. One participant gleamed with pride when describing her mentor. She described her experience:

I had one supervisor that was just a very caring, good person, and he talked to me about things. ...I was young and it was my first professional job and I was there for 20 years for that first job. We grew, he let me grow with him and he was very good you know like when I would have struggles at work and doubts, I could talk to him and I could even cry in his office and he supported me. He is the one that was very open and honest with me about things. He always believed in me and he always found my good qualities and was able to point them out to me, and he was just supportive. He was a good guy. (D0118)

About 23 percent of the participants indicated that they were lucky enough to have other female mentors. The female mentors offered them someone to look up to and develop their aspirations and inspirations in their careers. The participants talked fondly of the females that helped pave the way for them by teaching them and offering opportunities to grow. As suggested by Singh et al. (2006b), senior women in management should support, develop, and try to raise the profile of other women to help them experience a less painful journey into management. One participant commented about her female mentor:

She was the only supervisor in this agency who was very inspirational, and when you saw her, you wanted to be like her. She had such pride in her position and people respected her. You know that you can have the rank, and nobody respects you. I saw that as the

role model, and that is what I aspired to do. I said, 'You know I could probably do that too one day.' So really that is my goal, and that is what I am working toward. (C0101)

The women's descriptions of their mentors suggest that they had some experiences in both the career development functions and psychosocial functions associated with mentors. Kram (1985) found that mentors provide career development functions that focus on the organization and the individual's career. Such functions include sponsorship, coaching, challenging assignments, protection, and exposure. The sponsorship aspect of mentoring was not as apparent for the women in this study; however, many of them experienced the remaining functions at some level.

Kram (1985) noted that psychosocial functions focus on the interpersonal aspects of mentoring to include the individual's confidence, personal development, professional development, and self-efficacy. From this perspective, mentors provide aspects that help the individual to develop acceptance and confirmation, provide counseling, support, and friendship as well as role modeling. The women in this study also experienced mentors who provided some aspects associated with psychosocial functions. The findings support previous research (Ragins & Cotton, 1990) that a single mentor may not necessarily provide all of the career development and psychosocial functions. Rather, a mentor may provide just some of these functions.

The mentors, as described by participants, appeared to be informal mentors who were instrumental in providing the support they needed to experience career progression. The finding supports previous research (Chao et al., 1992; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely et al., 1991) that having mentors is associated with positive outcomes such as promotions, satisfaction, and higher status. The informal mentors tend to be effective because the women are mutually attracted and enjoy working with each other, thus forming a relationship that fosters such positive growth (Kram, 1985; Ragins & Cotton, 1991). The women who had mentors had them for long periods

of time suggesting that they had formed relationships that were valuable to them throughout their careers regardless of whether the mentors were still employed.

As aforementioned, Allen et al. (1995) found that mentors were helpful but not essential for women. The finding was also supported because not all of the participants experienced having a role model or mentor. Seven percent of the participants indicated that they had to make their own way and that they did not have a mentor throughout their career progression. The women were not apologetic about it because it was just the way it was for them.

The Impact of Family Mentors

The second theme to emerge in the study is the impact of family mentors in women's career progression. Family role models are not uncommon regardless of occupation or situation. Singh et al. (2006b) suggest that women often use their parents as reference points when they are not quite certain about a situation. The participants in the study were asked about the role their families played in their career choices and career progression. Based on the interviews, family support of their career choices started early in their lives with influences from their parents or siblings. Occupations may be a family affair as 68% of all the participants have family members who either worked or are working in their current field. This finding supports previous research (DeSantis & Youniss, 1991; Fisher & Padmawidjaja, 1999; Smith, 1991) that indicates there are strong relationships between the occupational aspirations of parents and children. Nearly two-thirds of those participants followed the footsteps of their spouses, fathers, or brothers in law enforcement, corrections, and engineering fields; and one-third of them led the way as their siblings followed their footsteps into the occupation. The participants indicated that they were comfortable with these occupations because they were familiar to them, and those fields offered the overwhelming support of their parents and other family members. One participant noted,

“My family is all in construction; my father is an engineer. It is something I grew up with. I am very familiar, so that’s my background, that’s my family background” (D0121).

A participant with three siblings indicated that her father was an engineer and he told them that he would pay for college, but they were “all going to be engineers because they are the ones who make the money.” The responses of the women were supportive of existing research (Fisher & Padmawidjaja, 1999; Reeder & Conger, 1984) that suggests that the father’s education was a better predictor for women with regard to educational attainment relating to occupation. For four of the participants, they chose the education and profession because it offered an opportunity for them to earn a decent living. They had seen others in the field that looked like they made a good living in their occupations.

Nearly 85% of the women with children attributed their success to the assistance and support they received from family members who helped them with their children during their career progression or were particularly supportive of whatever they chose to do. Nearly one-half of those women expressed that their mothers or mothers-in-law helped them with their children early in their careers because they often had to move or drive for long distances for promotional or professional development opportunities. One corrections participant stated:

My husband worked in corrections; he was an officer and when both of us were working my mother-in-law took care of the children. We lived in [city] and commuted to [city], both of us worked there. The lady that was taking care of them, the twins, we had not had the third one, she decided to just give up on daycare...so we moved closer to my mother-in-law so she could take care of the children. There is nothing like a grandparent taking care of a child, so definitely that support and just having my husband having two brothers and a sister and, of course, they have their children so it a big group of family helping each other. (R0108)

Another participant noted:

I was fortunate that my mother was living with me for a while, and it enabled me to continue to maintain my professional career. . .I know many women have not been able

to do. My daughter understood because she would ask, 'How come other women don't have to go to work?' (C0105)

Half of the participants indicated that their siblings or parents who were in the same profession were invaluable to them in their careers. Their family members were knowledgeable in the field and often shared viewpoints regarding issues or opportunities encountered by the participants in their professional careers and vice versa. An engineering manager whose brother is an engineer commented:

One of the biggest impacts in my career as far as bouncing things off of has actually been my brother. We are always talking back and forth about opportunities, not opportunities or issues that I have been having, but employee issues, management issues and he does the same thing for me. (D0120)

The Advantages of Spouses in the Same Occupation

The third theme that emerged in the study is that there are advantages of having spouses in the same occupation. The findings in this study suggest that the spouses of the women in male-dominated occupations offer the most support that ultimately allows the women to pursue career progression in the field. When a spouse understands the challenges of the occupation because he is in the same occupation, the women perceived they have a better chance of succeeding in both the occupation and in marriage. From a cultural perspective, assortative mating literature (Kalmijn, 1994) suggest that such marriages are based on the notion that occupational similarities ensure a common basis for conversation and reduce friction that may derive from dissimilarity. The women in this study viewed that having a spouse in the same occupation made life easier for them. From a status perspective, the choice of spouse is based on the benefit of sharing the economics that each brings to the marriage (Hout, 1982; Safilios-Rothschild, 1976). The women reported that even when their marriages ended in divorce, they married someone else in the same field. This finding seems to suggest that when the spouse is in

the same male-dominated occupation, there is less tension in the marriage when there is understanding and familiarity of the spouse's everyday work environment.

Regardless of the occupation, 67% of all the married participants in this study reported that their spouses were in the same occupation of the participant. They indicated that the support of their spouses helps to eliminate the jealousy or alienation a spouse may feel when women work in male-dominated occupations. One high-level manager made this comment about her spouse:

The only reason I am where I am is because of his support. Let me say for someone who works with men all day long, he has not a jealous bone in his body anywhere, which is wonderful because that is one of things that probably, helped our marriage work. I could say I am going with so and so to lunch, it is in one ear and out the other; he does not pay attention to that. That is because we were troopers together, we worked the same shift together sometimes and sometimes we didn't and he just knew I am surrounded by guys no matter where I go and that just the way it is. He is wonderful. (V0123)

The participants tended to agree on the benefits of having a spouse in the same occupation; however, there were challenges, especially for those who worked at the same agency. Five of the participants held higher positions than their spouses in the same occupations. This finding provides support to Safilios-Rothschild's (1976) finding that wives with same or similar occupational roles as their husbands may achieve higher status line than their spouses. The women reported that while their spouses were comfortable with their higher position, they were both sometimes subjected to ridicule from other males. Other challenges include having disagreements about situations at work or allowing work conversations to spill over at home.

One participant described how this occurs. She said:

Sometimes at home it is difficult. I will say with two people who are engineers living in the same house because we both think we know how to do everything right. I know how to do it, he knows how to do it, and it can be quite tedious sometimes. I actually have the higher position which sometimes that's interesting too. I get a few side comments from time to time, but not too often. (D0113)

Another challenge occurs when career progression takes place in male-dominated occupations; relocation is often required in order to take advantage of a promotional opportunity. For married participants, especially with spouses in the agency, a promotional opportunity often means either long separations from their spouses, maintaining two residences in different localities, child-care issues, or moving entirely. A participant commented:

Well, that has been the story of our lives—relocations. We lived together for a period of time, and one usually ends up here and the other there. I made a lot of sacrifices in moving nine times over 24 years. Those are big obstacles especially if you have children and taking the child out of school every 3 years. (V0123)

While participants may have choices in determining when they want to apply for a career advancement opportunity or where they would be willing to relocate, some agency management positions do not offer a choice. For example, women in corrections and some law enforcement positions are transferred from one facility to another at the pleasure of the agency. When female managers hold similar positions in the same agency as their spouse, the chance that they will move to different localities is very high. Such transfers for those who have children can present separate challenges. One participant explained her experience of being the head of a facility and her spouse leading another facility in a locality that was 4 hours from their home and her facility. She had to bear the burden of caring for her daughter, and that limited her opportunity to travel for training and other assignments

I had not been able to travel for about a year and a half, so I have had to miss out on a whole lot of stuff because they moved my husband to [sic] as assistant warden. He was out there for 1 ½ years, so this was shortly not even six months after I made warden. I couldn't go to new wardens training because I had to take care of my daughter. (R0110)

For women in male-dominated occupations, having a spouse in the same occupation does have some advantages with regard to support of career progression, but there may be family disadvantages as previously mentioned. The participants seem to provide the support and make

the sacrifices needed to make their marriages and career successful because they understand the expectations of the occupation. This notion seems to add support to research (Kalmijn, 1994) that suggests that those who marry in the same occupation have a better idea of the work, financial prospects, norms, and values of their spouses. Those participants who were not married reported they were limited in their selection of men to date as one commented that “some men can’t handle it, so it is hard to find a guy that will understand” what women must do to progress in male-dominated occupations. They reported that they were not successful in finding mates who were not in similar occupations.

Encouragement From Colleagues

The fourth theme that emerged in this study was encouragement from colleagues. The interviews of the participants revealed that support from their colleagues was great to have in their career progression, but not all of the participants received such support. While nearly one-half of the participants indicated they had worked with colleagues who were supportive and encouraging, a quarter of them did not experience such support. Three of the participants said that their peers and colleagues accept them for who they are, but offered nothing further in that regard. One participant in particular shared a personal story about her colleagues. She commented:

I view myself to have been fortunate in this organization in terms of my coworkers being supportive of me because I wasn’t married when I got pregnant. I wasn’t pushed aside, and I wasn’t pushed down... I was actually traveling with the operations manager at the time and the supervisor with whom I was switched. We had all been working together for 5 years by that point in time. I was fussing and fuming and I said, ‘On top of that I am pregnant,’ and they were like ‘WHAT???’ They were excited. It was like who cares about work. That kind of support was great. It was also great in terms of being able to continue doing my job. (C0105)

Law enforcement participants, in particular, indicated that they had to pay a high price in terms of reputation to have support of colleagues. Even though they worked together, hanging

with their colleagues during down times is not always perceived as acceptable. This finding supports Poteyeva and Sun's (2009) finding that integration and socialization attempts are still not smooth processes for women in law enforcement occupations. For example, accompanying or meeting a male colleague for lunch, although harmless, may be viewed as something more intimate. A law enforcement manager commented:

The story is a little different, but it's like if you go to lunch with somebody, you are sleeping with them. If your best friend is a guy, which 9 times out of 10, I mean who else are you going to hang with? You know, it has got to be something going on. You know I have been guilty of it, too. I started doing that, and I said I was not going to do that anymore. (V0128)

One engineering manager commented that her colleagues influenced her attitude in her day-to-day work. She was seen as a high performing employee, and her colleagues respected her work because she had proven herself. However, she made it clear that it was not necessarily to suggest that her colleagues supported her personally, but they supported the value of high performing colleagues. She indicated that some days, the environment was positive and other days it was negatively charged. The participant commented:

I think my colleagues definitely influence your attitude on a day to day basis, and if you have high performing colleagues, it supports your growth and development and I like to surround myself with that. On the flip side of that, if your colleagues are pretty negative, and some of them can be pretty competitive, then that could influence some of your decisions but I try to stay away from those kinds of situations because I am big believer in self-awareness, that you have to demonstrate or you have to be able to perform to advance whether it is career development or growth. (D0115)

Her comments support previous research (Cech et al., 2011; Faulkner, 2009) that women in engineering must endure a grueling and emotionally charged male culture. Conversely, her observations support other research (Epstein, 1970) that women must be in situations where they are able to learn. When discussing colleagues, it appeared that there was more caution used in

the responses of the participants than any other subject. This observation was further explained when discussing the spouses of colleagues.

Experiences With Other Women

The fifth theme to emerge was the experiences the participants had with other women in their occupation. The participants discussed their interactions and experiences with other women in their field who were either colleagues or supervisors. Nearly 25 percent of the participants described other women as mentors. They reported that there were only a few of their female colleagues who were supportive, and that they provided support to each other by “bouncing things off” of each other. It was their network which supports previous research (Chesterman & Ross-Smith, 2006; Cross & Armstrong; 2008; Singh et al., 2006) that women use their network to support one another, foster relationships, and share concerns. Three of the participants felt that they provided support and were mentors to other women who were progressing to their current level.

However, the perception of over 40 percent of the participants was that other women did not provide support at the supervisory level. They described their experiences with other women in their field as unpleasant. One participant stated, that as women, “We are our own worst enemy.” Her comments support previous research (Ely, 1994; Mavin, 2008) that there is a female versus female competition within male-dominated occupations. Mavin (2008) suggests that competition is “subtle, deep, tension-producing and wracking” (p. S77). One recently retired law enforcement manager stated, “My people were the worst thing that happened to me in my entire career, my people, my Black women. They were 10 times worse than any of the White males in my career” (C0102). At least four participants who had experienced female supervisors

considered them to be among the worst they had experienced in their careers. A high-level corrections manager noted:

I was there nine months and worked with the worst female ever, the worst boss ever, male or female. Somebody who had climbed up pretty quickly but not necessarily on the basis of competence. The one that makes us all look bad. She didn't know jack. Made her nervous the fact that I was there so it was kind of interesting. (R0110)

Regardless of the male-dominated occupation, the participants from each of the occupations included in this study had negative experiences with female supervisors. An engineering manager shared a similar experience. She stated, "I had a female supervisor and she was absolutely the worst (D0118). These comments support previous research (Mavin & Gandy, 2012; Wacjman, 1998) that women find it difficult to deal with other women in senior management positions. The women seem to find it hard to even consider other women managers as having legitimate authority. Interestingly, the above comments suggest that women are harder on other women in male-dominated occupations than they are on their male counterparts.

Four of the women perceived that working with their male colleagues is easier than working with other females and indicated their preference for working with men. The perception of those women was that working in a male-dominated occupation had been advantageous to them. One participant explains her preference:

I think there are some benefits working with men and not with a large female contingency. As much as I love my colleagues, women can be catty, gossipy, and very talkative and sometimes they have very thin skin so in many ways, men are easier to deal with. (D0114)

Moreover, this finding supports previous research (Mavin, 2008; Sheppard & Aquino, 2013) that once women achieve senior management positions, there is a tendency for them as tokens to dissociate from members of their own gender. The researchers further described this phenomenon as the "Queen Bee Syndrome," which suggests the woman in power acts as a queen

bee and stings other women if they threaten her power. Ironically, Mavin (2008) suggests that the Queen Bee actually blames female individuals for not supporting other women. In addition, Nieva and Gutek (1981) found that senior women in a predominantly male work group may turn against other women, ignore other disparaging remarks made by their male-counterparts, and actually contribute to the derogation of other women.

Angst Over Spouses of Colleagues

A related subtheme that emerged with regard to other women is the angst the participants experience with spouses of colleagues. It has been established that women face a trajectory of obstacles with their male-counterparts in male-dominated occupations. One unexpected finding is that even when women receive the support of their male colleagues or subordinates, they may also have to seek approval from their spouses as well. The perception of a third of the participants is that they have to be approved by the spouses of their male counterparts. Spousal approval was a more prevalent phenomenon in law enforcement and corrections occupations. One law enforcement manager indicated that one of the most frustrating things about working in a male-dominated profession is that women are “more heavily scrutinized.” They are scrutinized by their male counterparts and their spouses as well. Women’s socialization or assimilation into their positions as well as the support they receive may be sometimes affected by whether the spouses of their male counterparts approve of them. While Kanter (1977) found that women are more heavily scrutinized in male-dominated occupations by their colleagues and supervisors, there has been little to no research regarding spouses of their male-counterparts. A law enforcement manager commented:

I am not going to say it has been easy, just because being female in profession, from the day you start here, and go out in the field. You always are at a disadvantage because people are looking at you, not only your coworkers, but their spouses. For example, I go to an all-male area and get invited to a Super Bowl party. I am friends with the males and

had not met many of the wives. I go to the party. . . I walk in and introduce myself, and you feel this tension, ‘Who is she and why is she here?’ You know 9 times out of 10, you expect women in law enforcement to look like men, and I wear my makeup, so it is like that resistance that you feel from the spouses. You feel like you are a threat even though you are not. You are a threat in their eyes, so I am more likely to gear my attention to my friends, who are the male troopers, so it hasn’t always been easy. I have gained respect from the males I worked with but that was the biggest issue I had in the field was the resistance from the spouses. I am in a brand new area, and I am trying to fit in and I am surrounding myself, it is hard, you are accepted by the men but for others you are really not accepted. (V0127)

In addition, the women managers perceived that when they hosted events or attended social events of their male counterparts, they were cast as outsiders. They reported that they felt uncomfortable because their male counterparts tended to congregate without them and discuss subjects that the women were familiar with as they often discussed them together. The wives tended to congregate because they shared commonalities in being members of the “wives’ club.” Even though the women gained access into the club and received positive support, they can still experience isolation because they do not fit anywhere. They were shunned by their usually accommodating and supportive male counterparts because their wives would get upset with their husbands if they seemed too friendly to their female counterparts. Another participant explained: “If you had a Christmas party, it was you, the troopers and then the wives. You didn’t know who to talk to because nobody wanted to talk to you. . .the wives would get mad” (V0122).

Based on the interviews, wives played a role in their jobs and job assignments as well. One of the participants explained that when she was assigned to an area for field training, the training officer would ride with her to show her the daily requirements for a few weeks. She encountered a situation where the wife of a training officer disapproved of her riding with him. She commented:

When I first came to the department, they have an FTO period which is field training officer that walks you through. You do the daily activities that he or she would do. One

of the guys that I was supposed to get, his wife said, ‘Absolutely not, you are not going to have a female riding around with you.’ (V0126)

From an opposite perspective, there is the perception that males may sometimes admire the courage and strength of their female counterparts and look for the same attributes in their wives. One participant indicated that she knew that one of her male counterpart’s wife was the jealous type but did not realize that she was the reason for the jealousy. The participant explained that her counterpart’s wife confronted her: “She told me she couldn’t stand me because her husband always compared her to me and the things that she did. She said he would say I bet [name] doesn’t do that” (C0102).

Women who had progressed through the ranks, especially in law enforcement, indicated that they learned early in their careers that the wives of their male counterparts and subordinates were an important part of their success. They reported that they made a conscious effort to meet their subordinates’ wives and the wives of their male counterparts once they received promotions or transferred to other areas in management positions. One participant explained:

When I came here because they are all men, I made sure that their wives had an opportunity to meet me, because I would be calling their husbands at 3:00 in the morning. . . .I wanted to be clear up front that as far as I was concerned, their wives were part of the family and I wanted to make sure that the wives knew that I felt that way because women tend to be very jumping to conclusion and that feeling of insecurity and stuff and that was not going to be an issue as far as I am concerned. A couple of guys even joked, ‘Can you make sure you call my cell phone and in case someone else answers, make sure you identify who you are.’ They all know me now, but it was an issue. . . .when I think about it, I have made certain choices or decisions or have taken certain actions because I am female. . .it is not because I think it has been imposed on me, I think it is more because I am afraid how other people perceive things and I know what the stigmas are and what the perception is and I think I feel like I try to combat that sometimes. (V0125)

These data suggest that when women are promoted to management they may need to reach out to the spouses of their colleagues and/or subordinates in an effort to continue receiving the support and encouragement of their colleagues and subordinates. One participant suggested that when a

colleague has this issue at home, it makes it “hard for him to support or encourage” his female supervisor or colleague.

Attributes for Leadership Success

Leadership attributes and traits have been the subject of various studies over the years. The consensus is that women possess certain types of attributes suitable for leadership in bureaucracies that deal mostly with women’s issues (Dolan, 2000). Since the women in this study all work in male-dominated occupations and agencies, they were asked about attributes they felt were important in order to be successful in their male-dominated occupation. Five dominant themes emerged regarding attributes for leadership success. The themes included the power of knowledge; the importance of respect and credibility; the value of assertiveness and aggressiveness traits; and the role of confidence (see Table 13)

The Power of Knowledge

Leadership via knowledge or competence emerged as the most dominant theme based on the comments of participants as they described attributes that contributed to their successes in career progression. As aforementioned in the literature, women hold more college and advance degrees than men and have achieved educational dominance (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The educational background helps to set the foundation for work in some male-dominated occupations, but academic education alone does not necessarily equate to success. Although the participants shared the importance of obtaining college degrees and advanced degrees, they did not feel that academic education alone was related to their successes. The willingness to learn their jobs, the efforts they made in gaining the knowledge they needed to have in their jobs, and the demonstration of their competence to their coworkers and superiors seemed more advantageous to them. Nearly 86 percent of the participants making expressions suggested that

Table 13

Attributes for Leadership Success in Male-Dominated Occupations

Attributes for leadership success	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
The power of knowledge	Competence	86	"You have got to be competent. It is no question about it. You might laugh your way or grin your way to a point, but you will not succeed beyond a certain point."
The importance of respect and credibility	Respect and credibility	82	"My thinking that, and I did used to earlier on in my career, I would have friends at work and all that. But the higher up you go, you can't do as much. You have to really be the leader, be consistent, be competent and be respected."
The value of assertiveness and aggressiveness traits	Assertive and aggressive	79	"I think you have to be a little tough. You have to be a little aggressive and stand your ground because if you can't do those things, I don't think you are going to get through. I think you can't be afraid to kind of call people out if you need to because you are going to have to do that from time to time."
The role of confidence	Confidence	64	"I let them know they have to have the confidence otherwise they are not going to be able to interact in such a male-dominated industry. You need to learn to have confidence and that you are just as good as they are, and they might not treat you that way all the time."

gaining knowledge and knowing more than their counterparts helped them to become leaders and make good decisions. As one participant noted, "To me knowledge is power. I think it is important that they stay focused, that they learn all there is and you have to apply yourself. If you don't apply yourself, you can't make good decisions" (R0107).

Another suggested that in addition to having all the qualifications needed to be successful, one must continuously learn new things in their positions as leaders. There is no sense of finally reaching the top because the focus clearly is to stay competent through continuously learning.

I am a good interviewer, and I had the qualifications. I was always willing to learn. I did what needed to be done. I met deadlines. I did my due diligence. I researched and I continuously learn new aspects of the job that we do. (D0117)

The participants were adamant about the role of competency in their leadership positions. They believe that leaders are supposed to know what they are doing, and they pride themselves on building that competency as a way of highlighting their skills and making themselves more visible by demonstrating results. Additionally, the participants suggested that women must be consistent and have passion for their work. The excerpts below support the importance of competence as this was repeated by the vast majority of the participants.

I think there is value in getting the right person in the job that has passion for it and is committed and knows how to do the work. (C0104)

I think it is just being as good as you can in your field and I would say the most of the women I know that are successful are extremely competent. (D0114)

You have got to really be the leader and be consistent and be competent and be respected. (R0110)

If you are a supervisor, you are supposed to know what you are doing. (D0116)

The findings regarding competency also suggest that women who do not use competency as a foundation may resort to other skill mechanisms for getting noticed. In other words, women who are successful may have excellent interpersonal skills, but they still must be competent in those skills. The perception is that women who use other mechanisms such as being overly-accommodating or hanging around the male boss in hopes of getting noticed are not quite as successful. As suggested by one participant, men seem to “get away with more buddy-buddyisms and stuff like that.” The perception of the participants is that women who hope to get by with overstating their qualifications or understating results with a smile and a nice gesture without a base in competence rarely experience sustained success. Participants at the highest levels warn of the shortcomings of using interpersonal type skills to progress. One of them

noted: “You have got to be competent. It is no question about it. You might laugh your way or grin your way to a point, but you will not succeed beyond a certain point” (R0111). Another participant warned that competence is what should get women noticed and their ability to learn and contribute to the agency’s mission. She indicated that if women are competent, do good work, demonstrate their good work, they will get noticed, and that women should not accept getting noticed for other reasons. She commented:

I am not a schmoozer. I really had to work on the schmooze skills, and so I am not the brown-nosing, ass-kissing type. I am doing good work. Here is my good work, notice it. And that is pretty much how I have always done it. I have never been attached. I have never hitched my wagon to any particular star. It has all been competency based. If you don’t respect me for my competency, I don’t want to be noticed. (R0110)

The women’s assertion that knowledge is vital in leadership supports feminist theories that there is no discernible difference between the genders in terms of capacity to perform, contribute, learn, and teach (Burnier, 2003; Hutchinson & Mann, 2004). Furthermore, the descriptions the women gave seem to support that women should be recognized for their abilities. The descriptions suggest there is discourse among women as to how other females should behave or present themselves at work (Mavin, 2006; Singh et al., 2006b) and perpetuates the divide between women in management.

The Importance of Credibility and Respect

The second theme that emerged is the importance of credibility and respect. Nearly 82 percent of the participants made comments regarding the importance of establishing credibility. The findings suggest that women care about earning the respect and credibility from their staff, peers and superiors. More than half of the participants view earning credibility and respect from the subordinates that they supervise as especially important to them. They go to great lengths to show them they have done the jobs that they have asked their subordinates to perform even

though it may not be necessary. They “walk the walk and talk the talk” to gain credibility and show that they earn their money in the same way as their subordinates even though it is not necessarily required. One of the participants commented:

I’ve tried to put myself and experience the jobs they're doing so that I can say, ‘I used to do that, or I know how to do that.’ You always seem to get a little more credibility if you can say, ‘Yeah I remember when I put that campsite together and this is how we did it,’ rather than somebody, anybody saying just do it this way. Being able to pull up those real life experiences, I think make a big difference for some of the subordinates under you. (C0103)

Additionally, a third of the women indicated that they go the extra mile to show that being female is not part of the equation to establish their credibility among their peers and superiors. The women learn everything there is to know so that their coworkers can count on them. This seemed to be the case regardless of the occupation. One of the participants explained “you have to make yourself needed” in order to gain the trust and respect. They want to be taken seriously by their male counterparts even after they feel they have earned credibility as noted by a participant in a central office high-level position:

I really feel that the fact that I am a female is not part of the issue at all after you have won your credibility and people know that you are talking about it and bring the facts to the table and the numbers to support your arguments. I think that is when you are taken seriously. I don’t think that has been an issue for me as being a female. (D0114)

One-third of the women were also concerned about their lasting legacy with their male-dominated organizations. They wanted to ensure that they had a reputation of credibility and respect. One high-level corrections leader commented that her peers and supervisors “may not have agreed with me, but they respected me.” A quarter of the women who worked over 30 years in their male-dominated occupation were most concerned with being respected. A participant near retirement noted:

I hope that I am respected by my coworkers and my peers and if I don't go any further, all I want is to be remembered by the fact that I was straight up. She is not going to lie to you, and she looks out for her people. That's all I want to be remembered by. (R0109)

The participants perceive that leaving a legacy of respect somehow paves the way for other women in male-dominated occupations. Many of the participants discussed a female before them that has since retired or worked at another job that inspired them to think of the legacy they leave. They want to make sure that they leave an atmosphere whereby women of the future would be taken seriously.

The Value of Assertiveness and Aggressiveness Attributes

The third dominant trait that emerged in the study concerned the value of assertiveness and aggressiveness attributes. The traits of aggression and assertiveness are often attributed to men when it comes to leadership qualities (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kanter, 1976; Schein & Mueller, 1992). The perceptions of the women in this study is that their assertiveness and/or aggressiveness traits were valuable attributes in their success in career progression. They perceived being assertive or aggressive in some cases contributed to their success and made them stand apart from others. Over 78 percent of the women made comments about being aggressive or assertive and indicated how important it was not to be seen as indecisive. They discussed the importance of having their voices heard or expressing their opinions even when those opinions were not well received. One participant commented on the importance of decisiveness:

Decisiveness, you have to be able to make a decision and move on. You can't be wishy-washy because I think that is one of the things men don't appreciate. Really understanding what you are dealing with in a situation and just being able to make a decision and move on. (C0104)

The women commented on their convictions and not being afraid to express their opinions and speak out against what they perceived to be bad decisions or injustice. They

viewed not being afraid to challenge a process or decision as important. A high-level corrections manager commented:

I have no fear of challenging the process, and I have made it almost 29 years, which I find fairly remarkable. I am a challenge the process person anyway so it has worked to my advantage. It is difficult at times, but it is probably something that has helped propel me. It is sometimes a pain in the ass to some people, but persistence pays off. . . I think at the end of the day, strong capable leaders are very wise to surround themselves with people who have that diversity of thought and this is another reason I don't want butter BS man, I want to see people who see all aspects of the situation and can make good decisions on them and I can let them know when they are not exactly perfect. (R0110)

In addition to challenging a process or decision, the women perceived that being assertive and aggressive does not mean that they are being disrespectful. Rather, it meant standing up for themselves as well as their decisions. The acknowledgement and demonstration of these attributes by the women in this study support previous research (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kanter, 1976; Schein & Mueller, 1992) that women are considered less qualified than men if they do not possess traits attributed to leadership such as aggression, assertiveness, power, risk taking, decisiveness, and competitiveness. The women were passionate in their discussions of being aggressive, demanding respect and demonstrating conviction as a leader. The following excerpts illustrate how these attributes contributed to their success in a male-dominated occupation:

I don't allow anybody to overstep me. Nobody walks over top of me. I don't tolerate that at all because being a female in this position, if you let them talk to you any kind of way, then that is how they are going to always do it and you have to demand respect in order to get respect and that is probably the biggest and strongest lesson I have ever learned in this business. (R0109)

I think you have to be a little tough. You have to be a little bit aggressive and stand your ground because if you can't do those things, I don't think you are going to get through. I think you can't be afraid to kind of call some people out if you need to because you are going to have to do that from time to time. (D0113)

And I think probably one of my attributes is that I am not a bobble head. I really have a conviction about doing what is right and what is in the interest of the agency, so I don't

do the game playing very well, and it has helped me. I guess it has brought me 32 years, and I guess it will take me this next six months anyway. (R0111)

The Role of Confidence

The fourth dominant theme that emerged is the role of confidence in leadership attributes. Confidence plays an important role for women in male-dominated occupations. In addition to being competent, assertive, aggressive and working hard, over 64 percent ($n = 18$) of the participants indicated that women must be confident that they can perform their jobs. Women may have education, knowledge, and excellent skills, but it is their confidence that the participants perceive is most influential in getting them noticed by their peers and supervisors. One law enforcement participant indicated that a woman has to be “willing to step outside of your comfort zone” to gain self-confidence. This finding suggests that if women do not have adequate confidence, they are unable to communicate their education, knowledge, and skills in a way that garners support, respect, and credibility. These findings support previous research (Aranya et al., 1986; Cech et al., 2011; Frome et al., 2006, 2008; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) that women in effect exclude themselves from opportunities because they have a low-assessment of their own abilities or lack the confidence to express them. The participants perceive that having confidence helps them to gain the respect of their subordinates as well. The perception of the women is that men in male-dominated occupations have a tendency to have an extra dose of confidence because they compete with each other since there are very few women. Over half of the participants relayed that their male counterparts may sometimes dismiss women in the workplace unless women have the confidence to stand up to them, which further supports the previous research. Some women are naturally confident as a third of the participants making confidence expressions indicated they have “always been confident” and others had to learn to

develop their confidence in the work place through growth, age, and “just building self-confidence as you get older.”

At least one participant in each of the occupations and across agencies reported experiences where men may say things to women in male-dominated occupations aimed at shaking their resolve or developing reasons to second guess themselves. This notion is supported by previous research (Cech et al., 2011; Faulkner, 2009) that displays of masculine culture can leave women questioning their own confidence, self-esteem, and credentials. At least two other participants indicated that they struggled with low self-esteem in their positions at times during their careers. One manager noted, “Men have a tendency to try to say things to throw you off, and make you wonder and second guess yourself or whatever. I have got too much confidence in myself to do that” (R0109).

An engineering manager shared her experience in speaking to a group of younger women, who were just starting in their careers as engineers, about the importance of having confidence. She indicated that she gave them the following advice and shared her reason for giving them such advice:

I let them know they have to have the confidence, otherwise they are not going to be able to interact in such a male-dominated industry. You need to learn to have confidence and that you are just as good as they are, and they might not treat you that way all the time. You might have to work a little bit extra harder to earn their respect, but that is having thick skin. I just don't want some young lady new in her career get discouraged just because of the treatment. It is discouraging, I think I have learned and developed thick skin having gone in my career but initially it was challenging sometimes and was not the case. (D0115)

Five of the participants indicated that sometimes men are so overly confident that they do not take notice of the knowledge, competence, and confidence of their female managers or coworkers. The women in engineering particularly expressed that this was more prevalent with older, less educated male workers in trades occupations, construction, and other day laborers.

They expressed their experiences with dealing with overly confident men who may not have had the necessary knowledge required for the task but were very confident that they did. In addition, the participants perceived that those men actually did not think the women had the knowledge either. One engineer explained a couple of her experiences with confidence and the level of confidence of her male counterparts in this excerpt:

You have to be confident because now that I am where I am; I listen to a lot of men. . . 12 people at the table, and then there is me and 12 men. We were talking about an issue, and I sat there and I was thinking eight of these 12 people need to leave because they just don't know anything. They are allowed to be here, and I have no idea why. Singularly, I would say it's got to be confidence. . . Men are definitely confident. . . They will convince you they know everything. Women go in and do it with the hesitation and thinking everybody else knows more than me. Men go in and say I know, I know more than anybody and they don't have the background to say they do, they just do it. . . They'll literally show me what they are doing and show me wrongly what they've done. Point out to me that 'I did good and see how good it is.' I am amazed because not only are they pointing. . . they are pointing out to me everything that they have done wrong, but they are confident in how they are pointing it out. . . I have a leg up. . . because they all think I am stupider than them. . . I mean something they did completely wrong and think I didn't have sense enough to know. To be honest, I don't know which one it is. Is it because they think I don't have enough sense, or is it because they are just that dumb. (C0106)

This participant's experience was consistent with earlier research (Aranya et al., 1985; Terborg & Ilgen, 1975) findings that women in male-dominated occupations are often perceived by men as lacking knowledge or qualities necessary for the job. Furthermore, it points out that women still must understand how to use their confidence. One law enforcement officer commented that women have to be "confident and courageous enough to know when it is okay to speak up or when it is just as well that you don't." In some environments, confidence may be more about being right or correct regarding situations. Another participant in law enforcement indicated that "it is not that I have to be hard, I have to be right."

Gender

As indicated in previous research (Eagly & Karau, 2002), gender complicates the bureaucracy in the public sector because it was framed as predominantly male. From this aspect, gender is embedded in public sector jobs as well as culturally and socially constructed to be appropriate for one's gender. To understand the role of gender in the career progression of women, the participants were asked questions about their experiences in order to answer the following two secondary research questions:

How are their experiences influenced by their gender and collective work history?

How do they perceive gender as a factor in career progression?

How do these considerations affect their work experiences, personal choices and career development?

The dominant themes that emerged regarding gender were navigating stereotypical expectations; the modification of the "Boy's Club"; the impact of double standards; and the effects of barriers in their personal choices (see Table 14).

Navigating Stereotypical Expectations

The first dominant theme that emerged in the study regarding gender was the experiences the women had navigating stereotypical expectations. Specifically, the women in this study discussed the gendered cultural aspects of their male-dominated occupations, societal gender expectations, and the mechanisms they used for overcoming those expectations. Over 96 percent of the women in this study made expressions regarding gender from aspects supporting research that gender is something that people "do" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) challenging societal stereotypes of what is appropriate attributes for men and women.

Table 14

How Work Experiences Are Influenced By Gender

Gender themes	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
Navigating stereotypical expectations	Gender/gender role	93	"Oh, just being a girl. I am not what people expect. They look at me and my husband and pick out the warden. They are going to point to him all day long. He is 6'3", big guy, looks mean, you know he is perfect for the role. They look at me, and they are like, 'Oh, so you are a warden,' and then it is assumed it will be of a woman's prison. I am like, 'No!' I am used to that. A lot of time, I I just tell people, 'Oh, I work for the state.' I don't even get into a whole lot of specifics, probably because I am not what people expect."
The modification of the "Boys' Club"	Good ol' boy network	93	"The forestry community as a whole is very male dominated, so I think there is still a good ol' boy network. I think that sometimes, perhaps I feel maybe left out of the loop or not invited to the hunt club, not that I necessarily wanted to be, but I think the best way I can describe it is that there may be or because those are things that go on outside of the workday, that I was not included in."
Encounters with the male culture	Male-dominated aspects	89	"I can free climb, and it is very hard. It is very physical. You have to be able to put a ladder up. . . I can actually throw a ladder. I can climb anywhere; I can actually climb places some people won't go. You have to do everything the men do."
The impact of double standards	Discrimination	86	"I see salary differentials between females doing the same jobs, and their male counterparts across the board outpacing them. It is glaring. They promote or transfer a male, if he is a White male, he gets more money but they ask the Black female to go and they didn't want to give her money to compensate her."
The effects of barriers on personal choices	Barrier/road blocks	82	"I guess the only obstacle is that there are so many people that are still in higher management positions, and I don't want this to sound so bad, but they won't go away. They just won't leave; they are hanging around. Folks won't retire, and I think that they really need something to do. In corrections they go away and come back as a P-14 (part-time)."

Even though most (71 percent) of the interviews occurred in their offices, many spend considerable time in the field. As managers, they were on construction sites, in communities, at state parks, at crime scenes, and other areas whereby they were exposed to the general public. While in their offices, engineering managers often wore business attire. However, on at least three occasions, a business garment such as dress slacks, skirt, blouse, or jacket was observed hanging behind an office door, and the women being interviewed were wearing jeans. The point is that the women must be on construction sites with hard hats or in other areas in their male-dominated occupations where business attire would not be appropriate. Since their jobs also required public personas, they played multiple roles that required different appearances or attire. One participant explained:

You can see by my attire of jeans, I am ready to go out in the field, under the auspice of maintenance, we do run crews out of here. I have three crews that actually work and build bridges; we have those in addition to the contractors we have out in the bigger construction projects. We are all the time out in the field looking for that; now we are inspecting, so we are always out there. So half of me will change, and the other half of me will change tonight, because I have a public hearing. So I have on jeans now but I will change into a skirt tonight so I cross dress. (D0121)

Even though she reported that her male counterparts rarely changed for such meetings, she obviously felt that she needed to show that she was female. This notion supports previous research (Faulker, 2009) that women have the pressures of being like one of the guys and pressures to not lose their femininity in male-dominated occupations. At least 20 percent of the women struggled with stereotypical expectations.

From a gender perspective, appearance was also important especially among those participants who wore uniforms. Over 25 percent of the participants in this study were required to wear uniforms. One observation is that the law enforcement participants who were interviewed that wore uniforms were almost indistinguishable from their male counterparts.

Their uniforms did not reveal any feminine attributes suggesting that women in male-dominated occupations may try to emulate their male counterparts in demeanor in looks. One participant noted, “I take a lot of pride in my appearance. I work out regularly and when I am in my uniform, I try to look professional” (V0124). The participant was one of the highest level females in her agency. Her comment, mannerism, and appearance seem to give some support to Kanter’s (1977) finding that women are expected to behave as men thereby inhibiting expressions of femininity in top positions. In addition, the finding also supports Bierema’s (2001) suggestion that success for women typically means that they emulate the male-dominated organizational culture.

The law enforcement managers clearly wanted to convey that they were females and that they wanted to be seen as females. They seem to take great care not to give the appearance of losing their female identities. Mavin and Gandy (2011) suggest that women can exaggerate their expressions of masculinity and at the same time perform alternate expressions of femininity. A law enforcement participant noted that it was important to her to maintain her feminine qualities while in uniform. She acknowledged that while the uniforms inhibited her femininity on the job, it did not off the job. She stated:

You know 9 times out of 10, you expect women in law enforcement to look like men but I wear my makeup, you know I am prissy. I am wearing a man’s uniform, but I want to be seen as a female. I do my hair before I come to work, and I put my makeup on. I don’t go anywhere without my makeup. When I am off duty, I am a jeans and t-shirt kind of girl, but I am prissy. I don’t want people to think that I am a female that hangs out with the guys. (V0127)

Just as the previous participant used makeup to be in tune with her femininity, one participant used wearing jewelry as her connection and warned against dressing like or pretending to be a man. She commented:

You don't have to dress like the men, you don't have to conform and pretend and be a boy. You can be exactly who you are and you have just as much of a success or chance for success. The first thing I do when I get home is I put on earrings. It has always been since I was a trooper, the first thing I do when I take off the uniform is I put on earrings. ...I have just always done that just because, and I am not a girly girl. (V0125)

An unexpected viewpoint from one of the participants in another law enforcement agency is that the uniforms were part of the reason that women were not attracted to the field. She felt that uniforms took away from her femininity. She described her uniform and how she felt about wearing it. She commented:

Our uniforms are not designed to and do not fit women very well. When you have a rear end, they are really not flattering. I think it makes one feel, and it did make me feel, uneasy when I was in the field. It made me feel not as professional. When I see one of our park personnel, and they are in good shape and when that uniform looks sharp, I am proud to be a part of this organization. As a female, unless you too are in shape or have a good build, it is very tough to look good in that uniform. (C0105)

There appeared to be three thought processes about the uniforms. The findings here seem to support that women almost have to emulate men in their appearance and suppress their own feminine qualities on the job for successful career progression in certain occupational environments. Secondly, the findings suggest that women can still find ways to preserve their femininity in male-dominated occupations lending support to previous research (Bierema, 2001; Billing & Alvesson, 1989; Marshall, 1987; Vanderbroeck, 2010) that women should adapt with their own needs. The final thought process is that the uniform itself is male-gendered perhaps as a mechanism to deter women from entering the occupation.

Based on the interviews, women who perhaps did not wear the uniforms had more trouble convincing the public that they held certain positions because the public associated their roles and positions based on gender. Nearly half of the women indicated they rarely discussed their occupations because people are usually surprised that they built bridges, designed highways, recovered dead bodies, investigated gruesome homicides, or secured some of the

state's most violent criminals. A small-framed warden of a large state male prison illustrated the point. She commented:

Oh, just being a girl. I am not what people expect. They look at me and my husband and pick out the warden; they are going to point to him all day long. He is 6'3, big guy, looks mean, you know he is perfect for the role. They look at me, and they are like, 'Oh, so you are a warden' and then it is assumed it will be of a woman's prison. I am like "NO!" I am used to that. A lot of times, I just tell people, 'oh I work for the state.' I don't even get into a whole lot of specifics probably because I am not what people expect. (R0110)

The findings here suggest that when women achieve higher positions in male-dominated occupations, they still have to work around public perceptions and societal expectations of what is gender appropriate.

The Modification of the "Boys' Club"

The second dominant theme that emerged in the study is the modification of the Boys' Club. The findings suggest that the good ol' boy network has slightly changed from the days where men congregated in their male-only clubs, golf courses, or other activities that were exclusionary to women. The demand for public transparency, technology, and the fear of discriminatory lawsuits may have played a role in at least the outward appearance of the good ol' boy network. Over half of the participants perceive that there are now lots of opportunities for women in reaching high-level positions and they were very optimistic about those opportunities and felt that the good ol' boy networks were slowly dissipating. However, it still exists in some male-dominated agencies.

Participants with longer tenure in male-dominated occupations were able to detect changes in the good ol' boy systems or incidents in their agencies. Nearly 36 percent of the participants often had good ol' boy experiences, while 32 percent very often encountered good ol' boy experiences. Given that 56 percent of the participants had been employed with their

agencies over 20 years, they tended to have more experiences from which to compare. The participants with less than 20 years of service reported fewer good ol' boy experiences.

The participants described their experiences with the good ol' boy network. In some instances, the good ol' boy network is classic and provides support to previous research. Epstein (1970) found that when women are not included in the informal male network, they are excluded from the social control system and situations from which they are able to learn. One participant commented:

The forestry community as a whole is very male-dominated, so I think there is still a good ol' boy network. I think that sometimes, perhaps I feel maybe left out of the loop or not invited to the hunt club, not that I necessarily wanted to be, but I think the best way I can describe it is that there may be or because those are things that go on outside of the workday, that I was not included in. (T0112)

One high-level participant commented that there were good ol' boy networks that “still have their little power base and only so many women can get in the club.” The other classic way the good ol' boy operated was to keep women out of the club by keeping pertinent information from them. The participants perceive that some of the men were not willing to share any information with a woman that may make her successful in her management role which supports previous research (Budig, 2002; Holder, 1996; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Terborg, 1977). The women perceived that men did not want a woman knowing as much as they knew, and perhaps this was their way of exerting their dominance. A participant described her observation regarding information sharing within her male-dominated agency. She stated:

They were like, I don't want you to know what I know. It was so obvious that was how it was. But let a male come in and ask questions or whatever the case maybe, they were a wealth of information for them but not for females. You could definitely see that they were not trying to provide any assistance whatsoever. (R0108)

Another participant suggested that the good ol' boy network is a “little more covert than in the past” with technology tools like e-mails, texts, social media, etc. The good ol' boy network of

the past was perhaps seen and heard. Women knew and could see who was in the network. A corrections manager commented:

They still have their sidebar conversations. I was just dealing with an issue and one of my assistants sent my boss e-mails back and forth about something he wanted to do in the prison and did not copy me and did not copy his warden, and that scenario has kind of backfired in their face now. (R0111)

The good ol' boy network manifests itself in a number of other very subtle ways albeit visible with an analytic eye. Either way, the impact, whether intentional or not is exclusionary to women. Several of the women that oversee areas involving construction and laborer type work observed the good ol' boy network from an angle that was not necessarily a direct exclusionary threat to them personally. One participant commented, "I don't know how to say this properly, I think the good ol' boy network is more visible in the lower pay bands or where the more physical work is done" (D0117). A participant from another agency involved in construction work observed the good ol' boy network from a slightly different angle. She commented:

The construction world. . .but contractors, in my experience, are mostly lower educated people that may or may not have graduated from high school, and they are mostly male. So the contractors at the tail end of my job are mostly male, and they are lower educated. ...that is where you have the good ol' boy network (C0106)

At least two of the participants commented that they noticed the good ol' boy network from yet another angle. They observed the good ol' boy networks forming based on attendance at the same colleges and universities. Their perception is that men who have attended the same schools within the organization tend to form alliances and hire or promote those from the same schools. One of the participants stated, "I have noticed that sometimes there is a good ol' boy network between people that have gone to the same schools like Virginia Tech, Georgia Tech, VMI, or UVA or wherever; it doesn't really matter" (D0117). The findings regarding the good ol' boy network suggest that it is still alive but perhaps it is more like a chameleon. It is

changing its techniques, colors, and methods. Over 50 percent of participants perceive that the good ol' boy network has gotten "much better than it used to be" in their agencies and that it has all "changed over time." Nearly 20 percent of the women, especially those who are younger (ages 31 to 40), who have been in their management positions for shorter periods of time, have not seen or experienced the good ol' boy network. One participant explained that her agency seemed to have done a good job getting rid of the good ol' boy network. She explained:

They seemed to have routed the good ole boy network out, and I come from Southwest Virginia, which was the probably the home of the good ol' boy network. Even when I worked for a municipality, it seemed to have gone by the wayside by the time I got there. It is a good thing. (D0121)

The changing techniques of the good ol' boy network suggest that it is not likely to go away. The notion supports research (Byrd, 2009) that found that the existence of the good ol' boy network is more like a concrete ceiling that is denser and more stringent to penetrate than the glass ceiling. The suggestion is that the network has many different mechanisms and gaining entry is still not an easy process.

Encounters With Cultural Perceptions

The third dominant theme to emerge in the study regarding gender is how the women experienced encounters with cultural perceptions. The male-dominated environment and culture manifest itself from the aspect of physicality. Many of the occupations require a certain amount of physical training, physical work, or at a worksite or area that is attached to a social context deemed uncomfortable for women. In the public sector, these occupations often have an impact on the general public as citizens can critique and comment on the service that is rendered or provided. From that perspective, women have to encounter not only the environment from the internal culture, but from the external culture of the community as well. As Lemkau (1979)

suggested, society does not expect women to participate or excel in “men’s work” (p. 222). Society has expectations of what a woman should do in a job.

By the time women become managers and leaders, they have encountered the male-dominated culture from the lowest level, and they have paid a price either emotionally or physically to rise above it. Most of all, they seem to find creative ways to rise above it. Clearly, many of the duties associated with male-dominated occupations are not attractive to the typical woman. One participant commented that “when you get a woman in a male-dominated occupation, she is not your stereotypical woman.” The descriptions of their work activities depicted constructs of rugged, masculine symbolism thus supporting previous research (Brandth & Haugen, 1998; Faulkner, 2009) that these constructs serve to discourage women. One bridge engineer manager explained the physical nature of her position. With pride, she stated:

I can free climb and it is very hard. It is very physical. You have to be able to put a ladder up. . .I can actually throw a ladder. I can climb anywhere; I can actually climb places some people won’t go. You have to do everything the men do. (D0116)

A law enforcement manager with a very petite build indicated that she was also the expert scuba diver who dived into bodies of water for rescue missions or to recover dead bodies. She gave a vivid description of her role as a scuba diver. She commented:

As a police diver it was tough. Diving in dark muddy water where you can’t see your hand in front of your face, the guys were going to do it and I was going to do it too. I think it was that mentality along the way that I was just one of the guys too. (V0127)

Even though many of the work activities in male-dominated occupations may involve some physical components, there are white collar aspects such as management. This is the area that women seem to expend most of their energies navigating through the culture. Management is that area where men may have the most trouble accepting women because that may mean giving up the control or dominance. As suggested by previous research (Martin, 1992; Oakley,

2000), gender is embedded in management via male dominance and female subordination.

Women in male-dominated occupations seem to understand the dominance aspect and find ways to work around it with what they call the “female edge.” The female edge does not mean that women have to be submissive to that male dominance. It just means, according to one corrections manager, women have to “do things a little bit differently so that they hear your voice.”

Men with stereotypical attitudes may prefer to believe that women are not capable of management in a male-dominated environment, or at least they want them to think that they are not capable as suggested by Terborg and Ilgen (1975) and Aranya et al. (1985). Women may feel from the reactions they experience in the male-dominated culture that somehow it is their own fault. A participant described that experience:

Sometimes people who are in the more traditional role, males in traditional male-dominated positions don't tend to look at women as being on the same level or being able to weigh in with the same values or ideas and judgment. Some of that may be my own fault, maybe it's me not being prepared. Some people are more comfortable with men. (C0104)

Conversely, the participants reject any notion that their achievements in their male-dominated occupations were due their gender. The sentiment of one participant is she did not “want to be picked for anything because I am female, I want to be picked because I know what I am doing.”

She commented:

I think there are men in this department that think that if a woman gets something, be it a training school, a promotion, a new car, they think it is because we are women. If they would just walk a mile in our shoes. . . . For every one thing I may have gotten because I am a woman, there are probably three other things that I didn't get because I am a woman. It makes you feel like a second-class citizen, angry and frustrated and you realize this is 2013 and you shouldn't have to deal with that. I went through. . . what all the men went through; I had to do everything exactly like they did it. There were no female pushups on the knees. . . I did extensive undercover work so I feel like I have done all the things that have been expected of me but sometimes you just feel like it is never good enough. (V0124)

The participants in this study have the perception that the male-dominated culture may seek to exclude them from the management ranks which supports previous feminist research (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kanter, 1976; Schein & Mueller, 1992). The findings suggest that this is very prominent in corrections or law enforcement environments. Out of fear of losing dominance, they perceive that men focus on the most dangerous aspects of the job and use that to diminish the capabilities of women in management. A corrections manager with over 20 years of service observed that:

There is such a thing as women working at a male-dominated agency, and there are folks that will be obstacles for you just because they don't believe that women should be in this setting. Then again, we just have folks that have been around so long that I think out of fear sometimes they just don't think we have the intuitiveness or the skill base or knowledge base to get things done when they are narrowly focused on the management of offenders instead of everything that we do now as leaders and managers. We not only manage offenders, we have to be accountable to the public and other stakeholders and if they saw that, then they could see the value of having a woman at the table. (R0108)

The findings also suggest that women do not only have to be concerned with the male-dominated culture within their agency but outside as well. Many of them are in the public eye and have to deal with a general public, especially in some rural areas, that may have traditional and cultural views about what is or is not considered work appropriate for women or they tend to associate males with certain roles. A very high-level engineering manager commented that she encountered most of her resistance from citizens, specifically "older, rural citizens." She stated that when people called her "honey" and "dear," it did not bother her.

One law enforcement participant had lived and worked in very urban areas most of her life, recalled the shock she experienced when her promotion assignment was in a very rural area. She commented that she had to get used to the people, including other law enforcement and town leaders, in the local community calling her "darling" and although she hated the term, she realized that "they don't mean any disrespect, it is the culture." She observed that people are

generally friendly in rural communities and have a tendency to use hugs to greet their female friends, family, neighbors, coworkers, and acquaintances. While that may be seen as harmless, the perception is that it is part of a male-dominated culture that can give the appearance of or diminish the authority of women in male-dominated management positions. A law enforcement manager who was the highest ranking state officer in her area commented:

I had a fire chief who jokes because if he sees me in uniform, he now knows to shake my hand and not give me a hug even though he is a hugger. But if I am not in uniform he will greet me with a hug. It is not sexual, and it is not physical. It is just the rural way of life and it was hard for me to adjust to because I didn't want to give up that 'I am the boss and you have to rely on me for decisions in this area,' and I don't want my staff to see you hugging on me. I feel like it takes away from my authority, so I had to get past that. . .they are from here so they do that. (V0125)

In addition, the findings suggest that it is not just those in the rural communities that seem to have trouble seeing women in leadership roles. Another law enforcement manager who leads an agency's motorcycle division indicated that the general public still seemed surprised that a woman in authority "can ride a motorcycle." They almost always assume that if they are being stopped for a traffic violation or some other crime, that the individual doing so will be a male.

She described the reaction she had gotten throughout her career:

Lots of the times, I walk up to the car and ask for license and registration, they say, 'Well excuse me sir, what did I do wrong?' The first thing I say, 'First of all, I am not a sir, and second of all, I will tell you when you give me your license and registration.' And they say, 'My gosh, you are a female. We would never have thought a female would be riding a motorcycle. You mean you hold that big bike up?' (V0126)

Regardless of the male-dominated occupation, women appear to find ways to take advantage of their gender in their management positions, mostly because they have already proven that they are capable of doing the job and have earned the credibility as managers. One engineering manager indicated that she learned to use her gender as an advantage when citizens did not want to listen to her recommendations or decisions regarding a transportation issue. She

had her male assistant accompany her and had him to communicate her decision, and the citizens readily accepted what the male said even though it was her speaking through him. The comments of the women provide support to previous research (Follo, 2002) that women are likely to experience gendered expectations as to what is appropriate for women, skepticism, distrust, and devaluation of their roles and positions. Another scenario worked well the opposite way when a male contractor disagreed with one of another participant's assistants; she would speak to him and say the same thing and the contractor would accept it from her. She commented that in the end she "got what she wanted" either way.

One high-level manager indicated that she, on occasion, had to meet with male contractors, managers, local officials, or other males who seemed to be clearly thinking of her female attributes instead of the business topic of discussion. She stated that she used it to her advantage to get the resources she needed for her projects and staff. She commented:

I did have one manager who was a little too grabby, a little too close and a little too touchy but I used that to my advantage at times. It's like hey if we are in a meeting and you are going to look at my chest more than you are going to pay attention to what I am saying, I am going to get everything I can out of you and I did and I don't feel bad about doing that. If you are going to be that stupid as a man to do that, then I am going to manipulate you to get what I want out of you. (D0120)

These findings suggest women must prepare for the cultural expectation of male dominance of their occupation from the public that they serve and those in their fields outside of their organizations. They may also use their female edge when necessary to accomplish their goals.

The Impact of Double Standards

The fourth theme to emerge in the study is the impact of double standards. One of the findings in this study suggests that discrimination does exist in male-dominated occupations since 86 percent of the participants made some comments, but the subject seemed uncomfortable

for the participants. Half of the participants either denied there was discrimination or discussed that there were strict policies against discrimination. Although 50 percent of the participants expressed their concern over the fact that there were very few women in leadership positions, nonetheless, only one participant identified discrimination as the main reason for that particular disparity. She was very adamant that her agency just did not do enough to try to recruit women. She believed that the agency was in denial and allowed men to perpetuate the inequality through implied employment violations. She commented:

It is there, and I believe the department could serve us as women better if they would not be so afraid to acknowledge that there is a disparity in the number of females in positions. And without trying to impact employment violations, but to recruit and promote the women. . . .But there are differences, and we do need to celebrate the differences and recognize the differences. And think if we did that as an agency. . . others would feel more empowered and feel that they really can make that next step and sometimes even make that next leap. (R0109)

Discrimination, however, was implied in the descriptions of participants' experiences in many other ways. A law enforcement manager suggested that there were things that should be addressed but that women were perhaps afraid to come forward with complaints. She commented:

I can tell you that our department does have policies against discrimination, and they won't tolerate it. But, I think it would take a lot for a female to come forward because then you are labeled as a troublemaker, or the other guys won't say anything around you because you are too sensitive or something like that. Unless it is something completely outrageous, I think most women just take it on the chin and go, and that is pretty much what I have done for the majority of my career. (V0124)

One of the challenges that women face when they do bring up discrimination or any other issue that can be embarrassing to the establishment in male-dominated occupations is that there are consequences for doing so. They perceive that they will be identified as a whistleblower. It does not seem to matter whether the woman who identifies the discrimination or a discriminatory practice is at mid-level or upper-level of management. There seems to be a price to pay for

shining the spotlight on the problem. The women perceived that they are sometimes punished in some way for doing what they think they should do when they attain a higher level position, which is to make sure that there is fair and equal treatment for all employees. A high-level manager acknowledged that there were inequities and that she had seen and experienced how such retribution takes place for women. She commented:

I think that it is no doubt that they have had challenges that they have not viewed as being equal. When they have spoken up and it has been in opposition with the grain, that they have suffered some retribution. I have had it. I had a situation where wardens were given an in-band adjustment (pay increase), but I wasn't given one and it took them three years to try to explain that. It was merely because of the difference in addressing an issue, and it was kind of their way of saying 'I'll get you' and they did it in that way. . . .But when you speak up, you know there are repercussions, and you have to decide. . . .are you willing to accept what will come later because the men don't like to be wrong. (R0111)

The findings suggest that one of the most glaring discriminatory practices was the disparity in the salaries of the women compared to their male counterparts. This practice seemed to be across the board in state government as evidenced by the *Richmond Times Dispatch's* State Salary database (2012-2013). The database listed the salaries of all state employees who earned more than \$50,000 annually. The database can be sorted by agency, position, or role titles within an agency as well as position or role titles within the state. In the majority of cases, women in the same position within an agency and across agencies, made less than their counterparts. The disparity may not be just in the final salary but in terms of years of service. It is well-documented (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Stroh et al., 1992; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011a; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) that women, even with equal or more education, earn less than their male counterparts.

As illustrated in Table 15, a female Architecture and Engineering Manager II in the same agency makes \$142,252 with 25 years of service, and her male counterparts with 15 or fewer

Table 15

Sample of Salaries

Role	Gender	Salary	Years of service
Architect and Engineering Manager II	Male	\$146,558	9
	Female	\$142,542	25
	Male	\$141,803	13
	Male	\$138,253	15
	Male	\$138,138	11
Law Enforcement Manager II	Male	\$73,134	4
	Male	\$73,083	19
	Male	\$72,516	17
	Male	\$71,395	11
	Female	\$65,954	19
Security Manager III	Male	\$101,075	9
	Male	\$95,806	23
	Male	\$89,250	25
	Male	\$80,850	14
	Female	\$75,542	27

Adapted from "Database of State Employees, 2012-2013, *Richmond Times Dispatch*."

years of service make about the same. One male with only 9 years of service makes over \$4,000 more than the female with 25 years of service. In another example, for Law Enforcement Manager II, with each holding the same rank in the agency, the female’s salary was considerable less than her male counterparts even though she had the same or more years of service than her male counterparts. There may be a myriad of reasons why the disparity exists including shift differentials, assignment complexity, location, and length of time in the management position. Given those factors, no questions were asked during the interviews about salaries.

Nonetheless, at least a quarter of the participants initiated conversations about their salaries during the interviews suggesting that it is one of the challenges they face in male-

dominated occupations. Participants described incidents where, they were promoted but did not receive any increases, and their male-counterparts did receive them when they were promoted. They also described incidents where they were doing the work of a manager in a higher position. More than one participant commented they were doing “everything he was doing except I wasn’t getting the pay.” One high-level manager in a position to oversee and approve the promotion decisions of other high-level male managers seemed to confirm that males did receive increases after promotion or transfer while some females did not receive additional compensation. She observed the following:

I see salary differentials between females doing the same jobs and their male counterparts across the board outpacing them. It is glaring. They promote or transfer a male; if he is a White male, he gets more money but they ask the Black female to go, and they didn’t want to give her money to compensate her. (R0111)

Discrimination is considered unequal treatment and in that regard it can be based on double standards. The participants expressed frustration over what they perceived to be the double standards they encounter daily. Those double standards include policies, incidents, or rules that are applied differently for women and men or situations that are perceived differently for men and women. Even though 28 percent of the participants have been in the male-dominated environment for over 25 years, they find it appalling that they still have to deal with disparity in the way very similar things are perceived by their male counterparts.

Furthermore, the findings suggest that when a woman does something wrong, it is perceived to impact all women. She commented:

Well, there is a female that got in trouble over some sex stuff, so now they are looking at all females, which is insane, because guys get in trouble with that all the time. But when a guy does that it, like ‘YEAH!’ When a female does it, she is a slut. Still to this day, if I was going out with 50 guys and I am single, I am a slut. If guys do it, ‘its YEAH MAN, way to go.’ Still, after all these years. (V0128)

The double standard seems to exist when women do something such as use profanity or something that men might do; a negative connotation is attached to it. A participant commented that a negative light might be put on something because a female did it, but the exact same thing is “overlooked completely if it was a male.” Ragins et al. (1998) found that women are in a double bind, and there are double behavior standards for women. Another participant described a meeting where a woman used profanity as well as several of the men in the meeting. The woman’s profanity was highlighted, but not the men who used it. Further, Oakley (2000) suggests that because of the double-bind, women cannot win no matter what they do. The participant commented that men “never want to acknowledge that they do that but they do.” She further observed that it is “very accepting for the men to act one way, but when the women act that way, it is looked at differently.”

The Effects of Barriers on Personal Choices

The fifth theme to emerge in the study focused on the effects of barriers in career progression on personal choices of the participants. In order to gather more information from the participants with regard to gender, as it relates to their personal choices and career development, they were asked about barriers they may have experienced during their career progression. Over 60 percent of the participants do not perceive many barriers to career progression at this point in their careers. As mentioned earlier, 57 percent of the women have been in their career progression cycle for over 20 years. Previous research (Faulkner, 2009) suggests that older women tend to be more sensitized to such gender issues over time. The findings in this study suggest that some barriers still exist for women in male-dominated occupations especially in those occupations that have shift work. Nearly 40 percent of the participants experienced

barriers that affected their personal choices. One barrier is the willingness to relocate when the participants have children. One law enforcement manager concluded:

I think one of the disadvantages of this being a statewide agency versus Henrico or Virginia Beach, a lot of times to accept a promotion whether you are male or female, it requires you to relocate. A lot of times when women have kids, the men will go and leave the wives and children behind and live out of a suitcase for a year or two until they can get a transfer back home, and women just aren't willing to do that. They don't want to be away from their children, so I think that as I said, with this being a statewide agency and sometimes to get promotional opportunities, you have to take what is available. I have accepted three promotions with the department and two of the three, I have had to move. (V0124)

In addition, women who want to have families often have to make the ultimate sacrifice, which is to either give up their careers or forfeit having children. Only three women managers in law enforcement and corrections had their children while in the occupation. One such manager explained:

I think in law enforcement wanting to have families is a huge barrier. I just think that mothers, although there are some very dedicated fathers out there, I think society expects the mothers to be the primary caretakers and no one looks sideways if a man promotes to another division and he's gone for a year or two and just comes home on the weekends. But if a woman did that with small children, she would be viewed differently and I don't think women would want that. . . .I think when women have children, I just think there is a difference what mothers feel. . . .I do feel that is a barrier. Wanting to have families is a barrier, and there is nothing anybody can do about that. . . .I do think that wanting to have a family is a huge factor and that guilt, if I have to put in a 12-hour day and when I get home my kid is already in bed and I didn't see them all day. There is more of a guilt factor with women and you just have to have a strong drive and personality where you will persevere and not be frustrated and give up because I am not going to give up. So sometimes I feel like I am beating my head up against the wall but I am going to push through. So it takes a strong minded, and strong willed person to hit some of those roadblocks and keep going rather than just deciding this isn't for me, I'm going to do something else. (V0124)

Relocation and family responsibilities are roles that present barriers for women in career progression because participation in one role may mean sacrificing participation in the other role. This finding lends support to earlier findings (Clancy & Tata, 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Nonetheless, when women are married, they can use time-management techniques between the spouses to mitigate some of family-work conflict.

Another barrier for women in male-dominated occupation is that they have become stagnated as a result of baby boomers remaining in the workforce longer. Many of the males in the higher level positions have been working in their respective department for over 40 years and in some cases 50 years. The finding supports previous research (Lewis & Frank, 2002) that baby-boomers remaining in government positions limit opportunities for women and younger workers. Women who want to remain in a particular area will have to wait years to have the opportunity to get a particular position. One law enforcement manager stated:

When you take a promotion, you usually get transferred. You don't have to, but if you really plan on moving up the chain, that is how it goes. You can sit and wait for a position to come open, but you could wait for years. (V0123)

A corrections manager expressed a similar frustration. She commented:

I guess the only obstacle is that there are so many people that are still in higher management positions, and I don't want this to sound so bad, but they won't go away. They just won't leave; they are hanging around. Folks won't retire, and I think that they really need something to do. In corrections, they go away and come back as a P-14 (part-time). (R0108)

The finding seems to suggest that men, in particular, are staying in their management positions longer and it presents barriers to career progression for women in male-dominated occupations. The women report that even after a male in a high-level position retires from the agency, the agency rehires them as a part-time employee. Thus, the high-level position is never filled which denies women an opportunity to advance. This practice is very common in state government regardless of the agency.

Opportunities for Representative Bureaucracy

Earlier research (Mosher, 1968, Mosher, 1982) suggests that passive representation carries the expectation that women would press for issues, desires, and interests of women and active representation would be the degree they were represented. Under the tenets of representation bureaucracy, women in male-dominated occupations should advocate for increased representation. The participants were asked questions about their role in advocating for increased representation of women in leadership in order to answer the following secondary research questions:

How do they perceive their passive and active roles in a representative bureaucracy?

The most dominant themes that emerged were the opportunities for advocacy, the impact of Human Resources policies, the value of perspective, and the lack of women in management (see Table 16).

The Opportunities for Advocacy

The most dominant theme to emerge in the study was opportunities for advocacy. In order to advocate for other women, they must have the opportunity in their positions to do so. Women either have the opportunity to advocate for other women in management positions or they have the opportunity and fail to do so. In some cases, the women do not have the opportunity to advocate at all. Over half (55 percent) of the participants felt they had a certain responsibility to advocate for increased representation of women in management or even in the occupation. Their efforts to recruit or promote more women into their various fields are mediocre at best. The participants were asked about the extent to which they made hiring

Table 16

Opportunities for Representative Bureaucracy

Representative bureaucracy themes	Dominant codes	%	Example quote
The opportunities for advocacy	Advocate for other women	96	"I am probably a little prejudiced in that I tend to think that women are better employees. So when I am interviewing for a job, I am usually looking for the woman not to say that I don't hire men. I hire lots of men, I love men, but if a woman can do the same thing, I always look at who do I think is going to be the best fit for the job, who is going to most benefit me in that job, and it doesn't matter to me whether you are a man or a woman, but I just kind of have that thought in the back of my mind that says women are better."
The impact of HR practices	HR practices and policies	86	"In general, it doesn't matter if you are woman or male. I think that it is a challenge just because it is government. On the human resource side of the house, we are really not a pay-for-performance agency or sector since all of us almost have equal opportunity for career growth and advancement."
The value of perspective	Diversity/perspective	75	"I think that women bring a lot to table with regard to cooperation and coordination. I personally think just in general, I am not trying to make a bash here, but we don't have the big egos that men have and we don't have to push forward the project with our names on them. We (women) look for the greater good. I think a lot of women because we are nurturers by nature; we want things that will bring a greater outcome for everybody. While there are men like that, I think that women tend to have more socialization and less ambition for themselves and more ambition for the greater good. And I think that is something our agency could definitely use. We need to make decisions and put money where it does a good thing and not worry about who is going to get credit."
The lack of women in management	Few women/no women	50	"This position is an isolated position, you are not working locally, you are there for an hour and then you are gone. You really don't have that connection that you have when you are working at the site. It is harder to see how you are influencing or impacting people at this level. What I have learned from this level is that you don't have the authority. It has to be blessed by so many people you don't really have as much autonomy at this level."

decisions. As illustrated in the Table 17, the participants sometimes make senior level hiring decisions ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.46$). It appears that they make slightly more mid-level hiring decisions ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 3.71$).

Table 17

Hiring Decisions

Hiring decisions	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Senior level hiring	3.07	1.46
Mid-level hiring	3.71	1.38
Recruit senior level women	2.57	1.35
Recruit mid-level women	2.93	1.30

Note. Likert scale: 1 = Very rarely, 2 = Rare, 3 = Sometimes, 4 = Often, 5 = Very often.

Based on the interviews, 25 percent of the participants indicated that they had no responsibility for advocating for other women. Seven percent stated they did not have the opportunity to promote or hire other women. The remainder (13 percent) of the participants felt that they advocated for women through the role they played in mentoring those who have become managers. When asked how she advocated for other females in her occupation, one manager stated, “I don’t do a whole lot. I will be honest. I just don’t have the opportunity really” (D0121). A manager with the authority to hire or promote within her region indicated that each person stands on his/her own. She commented,

I think that each of those women stands on their own two feet. So I don’t know that I have any influence in hiring a woman over anybody else and I would, well if did not think that a woman was able and competent, I would not choose her over someone else. (T0112)

Another manager involved in the promotional process felt that she had the greatest impact serving as a mentor to those who had been promoted but demonstrated potential for the next level. She preferred to mentor them to allow a better chance of displaying their abilities to

upper-level management. She also indicated that although she has to approve a decision to promote, her approval is also approved by several others in the bureaucracy. She stated:

What I see my role is with the females that I see progressing or wanting to progress is first, be that mentor and role model also to share insight with them because what I find, even in the ones that are in key positions, they take on the male thought process, they talk or act like the man and I am saying you don't have to use profanity to get your point across. You are a woman, act like a woman and that there are different approaches. . .It is important to me that I make a difference. . .I think it is important for me to be in a position that other people have an opportunity to work at this level so that other people will take women seriously when it comes to promotion and it's time for somebody else to step into this level and to define the women's place in this organization. (R0111)

Over a third of the women perceive that they are not able to have much influence because they have to interview the candidates that the human resource department sends to them. Their only influence is serving as a member of an interview panel. The interview panel usually consists of three to five members who come to a consensus about the candidate to recommend to the hiring manager. As one slightly disgusted manager indicated:

If you can get on a committee like that, then you have influence. That is about the only influence. I can certainly have influence with all of my staff, and I would love to bring more women. It is just they have to come to me, and that's the whole thing. Of course, with the state process and so there are still very few women. (C0106)

Another manager indicated that the human resource department was of little value and that they often selected the same people for interview panels.

As far as putting me on interview panels to select females, they (HR) have a certain pool of people they pick, and that is it. Usually when I am on an interview panel, my boss has put me on it, and you look at interview panel people, and it is the same people. (R0109)

Some agencies, especially law enforcement, have promotional systems that are more regimented. One has to serve in a particular position for a specific amount of time before they are eligible to take a promotion test. Once they pass the promotion test for the next rank, they are listed on a promotion list where they have to identify the areas they are willing to work. If an opening becomes available in an area and if a candidate is at the top of the list, the candidate is

offered the promotion. A high-level law enforcement manager explained the promotion process for upper-level positions:

Up through the ranks of Lieutenant, you are on a promotion list. After Lieutenant, from Captain to Major to Lt. Colonel, you apply and the Executive Staff (Lieutenant Colonels, and Major & Captains) get together and based on the resumes or interviews, they make a recommendation to the Colonel who then picks the final one. (V0123)

There is only one woman in the agency who is in a position to advocate for promoting women since the process for promoting mid-level positions is very hierarchal and mechanical with few exceptions.

Based on the interviews, 75 percent of the women did not have the full authority to promote or hire more women considering their involvement in the hiring or promotional process. While four participants at one agency enjoy the autonomy of making final decisions, most did not have that authority. They can make recommendations for the candidate but must get approval to hire from a higher authority. One manager with full authority explained her feelings about hiring women. She commented:

I am probably a little prejudiced in that I tend to think that women are better employees. So when I am interviewing for a job, I am usually looking for the woman not to say that I don't hire men. I hire lots of men, I love men, but if a woman can do the same thing, I always look at who do I think is going to be the best fit for the job, who is going to most benefit me in that job and it doesn't matter to me whether you are a man or a woman, but I just kind of have that thought in the back of my mind that says women are better. (D0120)

Nearly 10 percent of the managers indicated that they had never really thought about advocating for other women in their field. One participant explained:

I don't think of it that way, I really don't think of it as the woman or the man in leadership, I just think about the work ethic and what they do and if they are a woman or man, I really don't, it doesn't hit me that way. (D0118)

Another manager completely rejected the idea of advocating for other women in her profession.

She believed that hiring decisions should be gender neutral and race neutral. She commented:

I mean I would have a problem if they start telling me that you don't have a woman on the staff and you have to get one. I don't like that idea and never have about having singular group whether Black, women or anything really. I think there was a time and place for that but now we are in a different time period. (C0106)

The other approach the women used to advocate for more female managers was to try to encourage them to apply for promotional opportunities and prepare them by offering professional development opportunities. This endeavor does take time. One manager described trying to motivate women as a responsibility. When discussing her role, she commented:

I think that it's actually a responsibility, and I think I try to do that even within my own staff to provide opportunities for them especially when they are pretty well-deserving then reach out to other venues. I would like to be more active but it is challenging time wise but. . . .(D0115)

Moreover, management is not for everyone. The participants perceive that some women just do not want the additional responsibility of management. One manager indicated that the women she tried to encourage would get to a certain point and stop trying to progress further. She stated, "A lot will get to a certain point, and they would get to as far as they want to go and then they don't want all that responsibility. I hear that all the time" (R0110). Those managers who tried to encourage other women perceive that women do not apply for management positions because they do not want to give up what they have as far as stability in their personal lives. This notion supports previous literature (Clancy & Tata, 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) that work-family conflict arises when participation in one role makes it difficult to participate in the other role. As previously mentioned, promotions often require shift changes or relocation. Consequently, sacrifices have to be made between work and family in order to progress to higher levels of management and some women are not willing to make such sacrifices. A corrections manager described the reasons women in her agency do not apply for supervisory positions. She commented:

I can't even get them to apply for Sergeant. And the reason is, well there are two reasons: One, they think that it is a headache being a supervisor, and two they say, 'I am comfortable with what I am doing, I've got 5 [days] and 2 [off], I got dayshift, it coincides with my church, my children, my husband.' And they are not looking for anything to rock that boat. (R0109)

Interestingly, these findings seem to suggest that women are not fully able to make decisions that may impact representative bureaucracy. As Dolan (2004) found, if women are not in administrative roles or in such roles, but exercise less influence or discretion in their roles, they are unable to affect policy outcomes. Consequently, the result is less active representation for women as well passive representation

The Impact of Human Resource Practices

The second dominant theme to emerge is the impact of human resource practices. The participants were asked questions about human resources to answer the following secondary research question:

What role do they feel human resource management policies and practiced played in their career progression?

The finding revealed that the participants did not perceive that human resources had an impact on their career progression or of women in male-dominated occupations. Thirty percent of the participants acknowledge that their human resources departments try to recruit women and minorities. They also felt that their policies and practices were nondiscriminatory, although no specific policy was mentioned other than discrimination policies. Human resource practices were explained in detail. Those details revealed symbolic preferences. One engineering manager explained the human resource practice at her agency. She commented:

I think since there is a push to get more minorities and get more women, I think some are getting screened who get interviews that shouldn't necessarily be screened into interviews. But I also feel that way about the veterans, now with the veterans, we have a standard meaning so if I screen and I see you are potentially qualified, because you have

not qualified, minimally qualified, potentially qualified and highly qualified. We typically interview the highly qualified. If I look at this, and it says potentially qualified and I get to where it says you are a veteran, it automatically sets up one notch. So we are interviewing some vets, and they are not qualified. Yes, they are potentially qualified but because they are vets they are put in the highly qualified. That doesn't make them fully qualified! We don't have anything that formal for minorities and women, but I do know in conversations with HR, you just can't interview these five because they are all White men, you got to get some mixture in there. I am not pushing the women who are not qualified to get it but I mean if there is a qualified woman in there then I am going to look at her harder than I am going to look at the guys. Our HR is good in that they will screen it down, like we get 20 applicants and they screen it down to 10 that they want me to look at. But they do let me look at all 20, and then we sit down we say 'Yes, I agree or this one not so much.' We have a good working relationship with HR. (D0120)

Previous research (Dickens, 1998) concluded that human resource management policies are male-gendered suggesting that human resource concepts and policies actually perpetuate instead of challenge inequality. Human resource equality initiatives do not seem to have an effect on the representation of women in management in male-dominated occupation which supports the findings by Moore et al. (2001) that human resource programs are symbolic in nature. Another participant indicated that her agency had strict policies regarding discrimination but provided more support to prior findings that human resource policies are symbolic but not necessarily effective. She commented:

I can tell you that our department does have policies against discrimination. They won't tolerate it. But, you know I think it would take a lot for a female to come forward because then you are labeled as a troublemaker or you know the other guys won't say anything around you because you are too sensitive or something like that. (V0124)

In discussing the role of human resources in promotional opportunities, two of the highest level participants discussed their agencies practices while also expressing some frustration about them. One participant was responsible for the human resources department but acknowledged that she did not have the authority to change the process. She commented:

It's very black and white. You have to be on X amount of years before you can take a Sergeant's test. You have to be on an X amount of years before you can take a Lieutenant's test. Once you make that rank, you have to be in that rank for so long before

you can take the test for the next level. . .in the promotion process or system, we have changed it here recently, you get points for time in grade and the arguments have always been I can occupy years in a position but that doesn't necessarily mean I learned anything. But coupled with that is that they also have something called leadership evaluation that comes from your supervisor, and it was supposed to be objective but it is very subjective. There is like four or five questions on a scale from 1 to 5 and 1 being you are terrible and 5 being you are great. They are supposed to rank you based on your leadership potential based on five categories. That's where those things should show up but to be quite honest with you, it is not administered properly. I do supervise HR. That process itself was put into place probably 15 years ago. Instead of canning the process altogether, because [name] likes it, we did go through and try to do some education as to how it is to be scored to make it more objective, but I am afraid it is just one of those things that is out there and I don't see it going away anytime soon. (V0123)

From a human resource prospective, the hierarchical aspect of the promotional process is male-gendered although it gives the appearance of being fair. Mast (2004) suggests that a man's world is characterized by hierarchical structures and competition more so than women. Given these stereotypes, the human resource promotional process, as described by the participant above, seems tilted toward men.

Another high-level manager commented that even though everyone has an opportunity to apply for positions, decision makers look for a good fit instead of the best qualified. When there are fewer women from which to select, then women are less likely to make it into decision-making ranks. The manager commented:

I think that everybody has an equal opportunity to apply for positions especially being at this level. I don't think we look at competency or the most qualified. I think we look at it as is this a good fit versus that, and so women, number one, we don't have as many in the next level to apply so we are always coming up short on the number of candidates to look at when it comes to females because we just don't have across the board, the number of females at the assistant warden level to apply for the warden level and I mean going up the chain. I do think that we need to prepare people. (R0111)

This finding supports Powell and Butterfield's (1994) suggestion that decisions are made in accordance with existing top managers' perceived fit of the candidates rather than measureable job qualifications like knowledge, skills, and abilities. Additionally, they asserted

that the demographics of the decision-making departments affect a woman's chance for advancement. Regardless of the preparations women may make to prepare for the next level, they may never be the right fit in the perceptions of top managers.

Over half of the women in this study appeared to struggle to answer the question about how human resource policies and practices had helped their career progression. Nearly a quarter of the participants just did not know of any role that human resources played in their career progression or did not have a favorable opinion of their department. One participant commented, "We have HR policies? The policies are pretty straightforward the question is whether they are getting enforced equally and I'm not sure that they are enforced equally" (C0103). The comments made seem to suggest that human resource policies and practices have limited connection to career progression of women in male-dominated occupations. The findings here also suggest that human resource policies and procedures produce limited opportunities for true representative bureaucracy.

The Value of Perspective

The third dominant theme to emerge is the value of perspective in what they bring to the management table. As mentioned in the literature review, diversity can serve to legitimize public bureaucracies (Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). About 75 percent of the women in this study perceive that they bring a different perspective to the management table that complements their male counterparts and helps to advance the missions of their agencies. From the perspective of representative bureaucracy, with respects to gender, this finding supports previous research (Keiser et al., 2002; Wilkins & Keiser, 2004) that the benefits of diversity go beyond just providing equal opportunity. Passive representation suggests that perspectives be diverse and considered when administrators carry out the work of the bureaucracy.

When it came to being at the management table, the women perceived that they brought a different perspective that their male counterparts may not have considered. One participant purported that:

I think you need that voice that women bring because it is different. I don't know how to describe that. You know from everything from policy decisions to personnel decisions, we handle things differently. Not that it is right or wrong but it is different and I think that in any organization whether it is the PTA or a state agency, you need to have people at the table that think differently. (T0112)

The women perceive that they also bring to the management table a perspective that highlights desirable characteristics for leadership such as aggression, assertiveness, power, risk taking, decisiveness, competitiveness, accommodation, passiveness, sensitivity as well nurturing, empathetic, kindness, and affection. The majority of these characteristics were ascribed to males as suggested in previous literature (Dennis & Kunkel, 2004; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Oakley, 2000; Sabharwal, 2013). In addition, the perception is that in a male-dominated occupation, there is a tendency to think one way without considering what one participant described as the "diversity of thought." Another participant explained the differences she experienced when comparing the leadership characteristics of her male counterparts. She commented:

I think that women bring a lot to table with regard to cooperation and coordination. I personally think in just in general, I am not trying to male bash here, but we don't have the big egos that men have and we don't have to push forward the project with our names on them. We (women) look for the greater good. I think a lot of women because we are nurturers by nature; we want things that will bring a greater outcome for everybody. While there are men like that, I think that women tend to have more socialization and less ambition for themselves and more ambition for the greater good, and I think that is something our agency could definitely use. We need to make decisions and put money where it does a good thing and not worry about whose is going to get credit. (D0114)

Three of the participants commented on the value they brought to the management table with regard to sensitivity and empathy especially toward employees. An engineering manager commented that women are "better facilitators and empathize with employees better" and

sometimes they have to use those skills to call out their counterparts. Another participant described the value of her perspective at the management table and explained her experiences with some of the male characteristics. She commented:

I bring the female view because a lot of times I found that my counterparts were hard-nosed and say ‘This is what you are going to do.’ They are men and they act like men. I was able to say from a female perspective this or that. One of the things I think I bring and even today, is the sensitivity to our employees that they are not robots that we wind up a set loose, that they are human beings with personal items going on in their lives and we not to write people off without trying to talk to them to see what is going on and being open-minded about things. For me, I can get ticked off with you and say what I have to say and when I am finished, I am through with it. My male counterparts tend to be vindictive, and they hold to stuff. . .I am very comfortable bringing those issues but I try to be professional, but I also say I need to understand how this is happening and think the value in that is that you put it on the table what has been done under the table and that’s the value of me in this position (R0111)

Another finding in the study suggests that despite the efforts that have been made by women in male-dominated occupations, the participants perceive that they still are labeled when they are decisive. Yet, they believe that women must be decisive and at times a little aggressive to get their points across. They must be able to make sound decisions, as expected of any manager, but there can also be a consequence for doing so. Women, especially those who aspire to be in management in male-dominated occupations, are sometimes accused of being “wishy-washy” when it comes to making tough decisions. That has been used as an excuse by men to discourage women from advancement thereby limiting opportunities for representative bureaucracy. Conversely, women who master the skill of decision making or directness perceive that they are labeled by their male counterparts. The participants often spoke of being labeled with unflattering terms by their male counterparts. A high-level engineering manager commented:

Sometimes I think that some of the old adages of women get the title of pushy, harsh when they have to make hard decisions or when they have to enforce things more so than

their male counterparts. I have some nicknames that people sometimes call me because if I have to kind of be a little forceful. . .with different things and enforcing things to move my program along or to get things done and I think those are names that I don't necessarily think that some of my male counterpart would have. I have been called 'Ice Princess' . . .I guess there could be some more unflattering ones, but that is one that I have been told that because people might think I am cold with things that I have to do. (D0113)

The participants perceive that there is an expectation that all women are nurturers or have soft skills. At least 20 percent of the participants indicated that they are naturally direct or struggle with those skills just like their male counterparts. One corrections manager made this observation:

There are some issues with being women, and I have seen this happen. If you don't make people feel good, if you don't necessarily fit the expectation of how women are, the nurturing thing, sometimes you can get labeled with the 'B' word. (R0110)

The perception of the women is that they are sometimes stigmatized in their careers because they are seen as firm and not afraid to voice their opinions at the management table. One participant indicated that she did not come up through "the school of warm and fuzzies," and another indicated that she was told that she was "harder than some of her male counterparts." One manager explained her experience:

I can't help that I am the only female in the room, and I have a voice and nobody else does. That stigma stayed with me for a long time. People said I was nasty, I was mean, don't know how to talk to people. My thing was is that am I all of that of what you say or is it that I am more direct and firm, and people don't know how to take that. That stayed with me for a long time, but it was all men saying that it wasn't women. (R0107)

Based on the interviews, it appears that when women's responses to situations are "outside of what men think they should be" as one participant commented, then the women are often labeled with the "B" word. The participants perceive that these labels are often used to discredit strong women or hold them back from being selected for promotions in their field. Four of the women indicated that they believe that women "can be effective and be assertive without getting the 'B'

label” but that the skill set is something “that you either have or you don’t” commented one participant. The finding supports previous research that women face stereotypical barriers in male-dominated occupations (Stroh et al., 1992).

The Lack of Women in Management

The fourth theme to emerge is that there is a lack of women in management. Representative bureaucracy, from the standpoint of equal opportunity, is undermined when the leadership ranks are dominated by an advantaged group (Kelly et al., 1991). This notion would appear to apply to women in management in male-dominated occupations. The participants were asked about their experiences with feelings of being left out and to the extent they interacted with other women. Over half of the participants indicated that they still experience isolation in their management position even though they have been in their occupations or agencies for as long as 30 years. Part of that isolation is related to there being relatively few women in management positions within male-dominated occupations. At least one-fourth of the participants indicated that they experience isolation because they are the only women in their specialty areas. The opportunities to make decisions on behalf of other women are limited. Once women attain the management positions, they often experience loneliness thus lending support to previous research (Kanter, 1977) that women in leadership positions are usually in a token position making them subject to more isolation. Furthermore, the presence of women in the male-dominated world is conditional on their willingness to modify their behavior to become more like men or be seen as being more male than even men (Wacjman, 1998, p. 7-8). Interestingly, this suggests if there are fewer women in management and they have limited opportunities to network with other women, they take on male behavior thereby failing to advocate or make policies on behalf of women.

Sanchez-Hucles and Davis (2010) suggest that women are typically more isolated without a network of support. Nearly a quarter of the participants are isolated from others in their profession, and they lack the opportunities to advocate for the needs of women. One corrections manager likened her situation as being a “closed society.” When asked during the interview about her interactions with women outside of her agency, she responded:

I don't. It is something I want to do more of, especially with women. That is the one thing I want is to seek women out who kind of get it. That goes for police. We don't. We all have our closed societies, but we don't necessarily know what else is out there. I don't have close, close friends. I can't really think of anything. I feel a lot like a lone wolf. (R0110)

A law enforcement manager commented that her women colleagues were so spread out throughout the state, the opportunity to develop close relationships even within the agency was challenging. Even professional development training does not yield opportunities to establish close relationships because even when there is professional development training, there is usually only one female in attendance. The point is that it is hard to advocate or make decisions that other women will benefit from because some women rarely have an opportunity to interact with other women. She commented:

Now the women, and I say that with respect, a lot of us will talk and support each other, but we are so far spread out. In my day-to-day, I rarely see another female. I see the secretary, but a sworn person, it is rare that I see one. So when you go to training, you are the only one there. You have to make your own way. (V0128)

Another finding in this study suggests that sometimes, the higher the position, the more isolated the woman is in the position. Although a management position from the outside may look prestigious carrying with it a vast amount of authority, it is not always what it seems. Layers of bureaucracy are often added after women attain certain positions. The finding lends support to previous research (Dolan, 2004) that women in comparable positions in the public

sector do not necessarily lead to equal power and responsibility. One of the highest level managers interviewed provided more support to this finding. She stated:

This position is an isolated position, you are not working locally, you are there for an hour and then you are gone. You really don't have that connection that you have when you are working at the site. It is harder to see how you are influencing or impacting people at this level. What I have learned from this level is that you don't have the authority. It has to be blessed by so many people you don't really have as much autonomy at this level. (R0111)

Summary of Findings

The findings in this study addressed the primary and secondary research questions regarding women's career progression to mid-to-upper management in male-dominated occupations. The findings suggest that women in male-dominated occupations perceive professional development and job satisfaction to be important aspects of career progression. They achieve professional development through a variety of mechanisms such as professional associations, training, and seeking additional assignments. They generally enjoy their profession and work extremely hard to prove their knowledge skills and abilities.

The findings suggest that women in male-dominated occupations are influenced in their careers through support from mentors and family members. The findings indicate that many of their mentors were male colleagues and supervisors. The findings also suggest that family members provided valuable family support, but also served as mentors. The majority of the women in this study had family members and spouses who were in the same occupations. Furthermore, the findings indicated that women in male-dominated occupations faced challenges when it came to other women in male-dominated occupations and spouses of their male colleagues.

In order to be successful in male-dominated occupations, women must possess a variety of leadership attributes. The women in this study perceive that they must be competent and have considerable knowledge in their occupations. The findings suggest that the attributes of assertiveness, aggressiveness, and confidence were very important aspects in male-dominated occupations. The perceptions of the women suggest that these aspects were critical in gaining credibility and respect from their colleagues, subordinates, and superiors in male-dominated occupations.

The findings suggest that the work experiences of women in male-dominated occupations were influenced by their gender. The findings suggest that women must navigate stereotypical expectations from their male counterparts as well as the public they serve. The findings also suggest women face roadblocks and barriers that affect their personal choices. Women may have to sacrifice career progression for family responsibilities because of organizational structures and policies that require relocation.

Lastly, the findings suggest that women are not fully able to make decisions that may impact representative bureaucracy. The majority of the women in this study did not have the authority to hire or promote other women. The women perceived that they had a responsibility to advocate for other women, but had limited opportunity to do so. The findings suggest that women in male-dominated occupations are often isolated because there are so few women. It is difficult to advocate or make decisions that other women will benefit from when women rarely have an opportunity to interact with other women.

CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION

Review of Purpose of Dissertation

Over the past few decades, women in the workforce have steadily grown resulting in a new workforce. There have been steady increases in executive leadership positions, management positions, professional and technical positions, and other occupations that include jobs that have not been traditionally held by women. Women have prepared themselves for fulfilling careers as they now make up the largest segment of the workforce and have attained more education and advanced education than men. However, women are still under-represented in mid-to-upper management in male-dominated occupations. When women are under-represented in mid-to-upper levels of management in government, there are implications regarding representative bureaucracy.

Previous studies have examined various aspects of women in management in the public sector. The issue of how women experience career progression to mid-to-upper management levels in male-dominated occupations in state government agencies has not been explored. This study examined how successful women working in predominantly male-dominated bureaucracies in state government agencies in Virginia experienced career progression. This study contributed to the literature by exploring how successful women navigated the issues found in previous studies relative to women in male-dominated occupations.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Representative bureaucracy suggests that the bureaucracy should look like the people it serves. Although under-represented, women have progressed to mid-to-upper level management in male-dominated occupations. The questions are whether their representativeness in male-dominated occupations has led to benefits for other women and whether they are able to advocate for other women by making decisions that increase their numeric representation. The theoretical framework for this study suggests that when women do reach mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated occupations, their limited numbers place them in token status. As a result, they experience the negative consequences of tokenism. The negative consequences of tokenism found in this study enhanced or supported theories that seek to explain the career progression of women in male-dominated occupations.

While no new theories were discovered in this study, it is hypothesis-generating research. Based on the findings and the theoretical negative consequences of tokenism, the following hypotheses were generated from this study.

- H₁** Women who are promoted to mid-to-upper levels of management in male-dominated occupations are more likely to be promoted to management positions in a district or regional office, institution, area office or field office than in a central office.
- H₂** Women in mid-to-upper level management in male-dominated occupations have less influence on agency-wide policies or practices that would lead to active or passive representative bureaucracy than their male counterparts who occupy or occupied the same positions.

The justification for these hypotheses was evident in both the findings of this study and various theoretical explanations. The majority of the women in this study worked in institutions, district offices, regional offices, field offices or area offices. These offices are located throughout the state and have fewer overall employees. The opportunity for women in mid-level or even some higher level positions to gain exposure to top management in the central office are inhibited, minimized, or nonexistent. Scott (1996) noted that even when women had the same characteristics such as title, experience, age, and work history, men still had more contact with the key leaders and decision makers. To illustrate this notion, a district administrator who managed a large district office with 500 employees, stated that the agency director assumed that she was the financial manager. She had been district administrator for 4 years, and the agency director had been in his position for at least 5 years. Furthermore, when women are in mid-to-upper level positions in offices outside of the central offices, they have less opportunity to have influence on overall agency-wide policy decisions. The decision-making power is limited to implementation strategies of agency-wide policies within their smaller domain or geographical area of responsibility

The women in central offices reported that once they attained the management positions, they did not have the same authority of the previous male incumbent, or their authority was diminished by the addition of another level of review. Additionally, the majority of the women had little opportunity to advocate for other women in the hiring process. The result is that even though women hold upper-level management positions, they have limited opportunity to make policy decisions that benefit other women and they have less opportunity to increase the representation of women in mid-to-upper level management positions.

Application of Findings to Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this study focused on influences of the tokenism theory in the career progression model of women in mid-to-upper level management in male-dominated occupations. Specifically, the framework focused on the negative consequences of tokenism from theories that explain career progression including socialization, women and leadership, feminist/gender, organizational, and mentoring/sponsoring theories. While these theories were not specifically tested, the findings provide support for the negative consequences associated with these theories as identified in Chapter II. Table 18 depicts the negative consequences of tokenism and the overview of findings in this study.

Table 18

Negative Consequences of Tokenism

Negative consequences of tokenism	Overview of findings
Visibility and performance magnification	Strongly supported
Exclusion from information networks	Strongly supported
Socialization process barriers and isolation	Strongly supported
Ineffective or lack of mentors or sponsors	Not supported
Dependence on meritocratic procedures	Strongly supported
Lack of developmental assignments	Moderately supported
Stereotypic assumptions and role encapsulation	Strongly supported
Gendered organizational and promotional policies	Strongly supported

Visibility and Performance Magnification

Visibility and performance magnification were common themes in this study with regard to negative consequences of tokenism. Kanter (1977) suggests that when women are in token

status, they are often targeted. Women have to seek visibility for progression sake, yet their performance is magnified for perhaps the wrong reasons. The women in this study struggled to increase their visibility among decision makers by working up to 10 times harder than their coworkers. They also worked hard to remove any doubts that they had the knowledge, skills, and abilities to perform the duties as well or better than their male counterparts. The women held themselves to a higher standard in order to stay competitive in the male-dominated work environment. However, the mistakes, even minor ones, the women made were often magnified.

For women in male-dominated occupations, especially law enforcement and corrections, the hard work was manifested in performance in an effort to prove themselves to their coworkers, colleagues, and supervisors. Tenure was not valued as much since the women reported that they had to prove themselves constantly. Each step of the progression required a new beginning even if the next step was just a different assignment performing the same job in a different location. The women perceived that their performance was magnified in each endeavor regardless of the simplicity or routine nature of the task. Ragins et al. (1998) suggest that this type of proof can take a toll on women. When women are under this type of pressure, the notion of representative bureaucracy seems secondary. Nonetheless, the findings in the study strongly supported feminist and gender theories (Burnier, 2003; Hutchinson & Mann, 2004) that assert that there is no discernible difference between the genders relative to capacity to perform, contribute, learn, and teach in male-dominated occupations. Visibility and performance magnification aspects of tokenism are strongly supported by the findings in this study.

Exclusion From Information Networks

Gaining entry into the good ol' boy network is difficult for women because it often has a collegial club context that excludes women (Epstein, 1970; Kanter, 1977). When women are

excluded, they miss information vital to the decision-making process in male-dominated occupations. The women in this study perceived that there are improvements in the good ol' boy networks of the past. Several women commented that the good ol' boy network had been routed out in their agencies. It was interesting to note that women who perceived that the good ol' boy network had slowly dissipated had less tenure with the agency and in their management positions. Women who had longer tenure in their agencies suggested that the network was more overt and sophisticated than in past years. They reported that the technological advances had allowed the network to change its methods, techniques, and colors. The modernized version of the network strongly supported the finding that the good ol' boy network continued to be a negative consequence for women in mid-to-upper levels of management in male-dominated occupations. The exclusionary characteristics of the good ol' boy network help to minimize representative bureaucracy. If the good ol' boy network only admits like-gendered individuals, the bureaucracy is not likely to be representative of the people it serves.

Previous research (Cross & Armstrong, 2008; Maack & Passet, 1993) suggests that networks in an organization help to build a sense of community, stay current with new developments, share information and knowledge, and are a means for learning what is happening in a particular profession. The findings in this study suggest that women in male-dominated occupations lack such networks. The women reported that they rarely see other women in their occupations. Moreover, they reported that inclusive networks do not exist in their organizations. The lack of organizational funding or family responsibilities prevents them from attending professional development or associations whereby they can establish relationships that ultimately form networks. Furthermore, the lack of the networks seemed to make the women in this study

more skeptical of other women outside of their agencies. The negative consequences of exclusion from information networks are strongly supported by these findings.

Socialization Process Barriers and Isolation

Socialization theories (Budig, 2002; Holder, 1996; Kanter, 1977; Laws, 1975; Terborg, 1977) suggest that women in male-dominated occupations tend to be viewed as token or solo within the work group. Consequently, women in these environments often do not experience the receipt of information or participation in formal or informal conversations, work contacts, or decision-making processes. The women in this study experienced isolation within their agencies and outside of their agencies. Even when they were in meetings with their male counterparts, the women were not a part of the informal meeting after the formal meeting. Women in male-dominated occupations seemed to have challenges with mingling with other women outside of their agencies or occupations which further isolates them in a “closed society.” In nonwork situations, the women indicated that their point of reference in conversations is mostly job related, and others outside their field may lack interest in their masculine environments. As a result, the women in some cases adopted the values, behaviors, and attitudes of their male counterparts in an effort to fit in as suggested by previous research (Aranya et al., 1986; Colwill, 1982; Terborg, 1977). In such cases, women may fail to advocate or make policies on behalf of women.

The socialization process barriers were apparent during parties and social events. The women in the study described their feelings of isolation when they attended social or informal events with their coworkers or colleagues. The women were shunned by their male colleagues during events when wives were present, and they were shunned by the wives. While this phenomenon was expressed more often by the women in corrections and law enforcement, it

describes another type of barrier that limits information gathering or informal exposure to those in higher management positions. The negative consequences of socialization process barriers and isolation were strongly supported by the findings in this study.

One of the most interesting findings was the role that the spouses of colleagues played in not only the informal situations, but also in formal work situations. The socialization process of women into their positions was sometimes affected by whether the spouses of their male counterparts approve of them. Even if the women were assigned to a colleague who was willing to share information and help them with assimilation in their positions, spousal disapproval could very well disrupt the process. No previous research was found to explain this particular barrier to the socialization of women in male-dominated occupations. However, socialization process barriers are strongly supported that women must endure a trajectory of diverse challenges (Eagly, 2007) in male-dominated occupations. The negative consequence is often isolation.

Ineffective or Lack of Mentors or Sponsors

Sanchez-Hucles and Davis (2010) and Morrison and Von Glinow (1990) found that women typically lack access to mentors in male-dominated occupations. This finding was not supported in this study since the majority of the women in this study indicated that they had male mentors during their careers. The definition of mentors being higher ranking senior-level employees who were committed to helping lower-level employees achieve career progression (Elacqua et al., 2009; Raabe & Beehr, 2003) did not seem to fit the descriptions the women gave for many of their mentors. Rather, the women received support from coworkers, colleagues, and supervisors who were not necessarily senior-level employees. The women considered them mentors as well. Moreover, mentoring and sponsoring theories (Chao et al., 1992; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Whitely et al., 1991) suggest that the presence of mentors is associated with positive

outcomes. For nearly a quarter of the women in this study, the lack of support from bad supervisors appeared to have had some of the same positive outcomes as those who had positive mentors. Even bad supervisors were considered helpful because those supervisors, whether intentional or not, tested the resolve of the women. As a result, the women worked harder to learn and be successful. Several of the women commented that those bad supervisors were instrumental in their career progression because they could observe and experience the bad behaviors that were ineffective. The negative aspects of the observed behavior helped the women to become more effective in their supervisory and managerial skills.

The lack of other women supervisors to serve as mentors was more prevalent. Only 23 percent of the women experienced female mentors in their male-dominated occupations. This is not to suggest that there were numerous women who were mentors in male-dominated occupations as several of the women identified either the same woman or some of the same few women in their particular field as their mentors. However, this does suggest that there was at least one woman in nearly all of the male-dominated occupations represented in this study who served as a mentor and/or sponsor to other women within the organization. There was also a small percentage (7 percent) of women who had no mentors at all throughout their careers.

The number of women in this study who identified family members as mentors in their occupations was unexpected. Many of them chose their male-dominated occupations because it was the same occupation as their parents, siblings, or spouses. Family members seemed to help the women achieve successful career progression by offering them support from both personal growth and professional levels. Even more unexpected was the large percentage (67 percent) of women whose spouses were in the same occupation regardless of the occupation. While there were challenges when they worked at the same agencies, those challenges did not seem to

outweigh the career progression benefits for the women. Furthermore, it was also interesting to note that except in one case, the women were in equal or higher management positions than their spouses.

While the women in this study found ways to compensate for the lack of traditional and female mentors in male-dominated occupations through a variety of mechanisms, there still seems to be a lack of managers at the highest levels in the organization who mentor women. Only one of the women in this study had a mentor at the highest levels in the organization. None of the women mentioned that a formal mentorship program existed in their respective agency. The lack of mentors for women at the highest levels suggests that representative bureaucracy is not likely to occur because women may not be represented at the highest decision-making levels.

Dependence on Meritocratic Procedures

The women in the study, especially those in law enforcement and corrections, seemed to depend on meritocratic procedures within their organizations in order to advance in their careers. They were adamant that competency played a large role in their career progression, and they devoted a tremendous amount of personal effort to gain additional knowledge in their professions. The women perceived that having more knowledge and experiences than their male counterparts made them more attractive to decisions makers. The hierarchal career progression ladder in these occupations was typically very prescriptive and meritocratic. Although the women were knowledgeable, time served in a position was often used as indicator in determining the eligibility for promotion.

Previous literature (Sandberg, 2013; Sellers, 1996, 2014; Shirley, 2013) suggest that successful women rarely take the routine ladder, but rather they climb the “jungle gym” which allows them more creative movement in their careers. The jungle gym for the women in this

study was within their respective agencies. Women in leadership theories (Eagly, 2007; Kanter, 1977) suggest that women travel an uneven path to achieve upward progression. The women in this study did not move in the linear hierarchal fashion as indicated by the career progression ladder. Within their agencies, the women in this study typically worked in more than one bureau, division, district, department, institution, or specialty area requiring different skill sets in order to move to the next prescribed step in the linear hierarchy. The perception of the women was that their male-counterparts were able to be promoted from an even path in the linear hierarchy.

The descriptions of the career progression of the women in this study suggest that the meritocratic procedures that were successful for their male counterparts did not equate to success for women in the same manner. The prescribed step-by-step hierarchal progression did not necessarily apply to women, in the same way. The women discussed the double standards in their agencies regarding career progression. They indicated that their male counterparts did not necessarily reach management positions by way of the step-by-step progression. Furthermore, none of the women in the study skipped any steps to progress to their current positions, which suggests that they were perhaps limited to the step-by-step progression. The negative consequences of their dependence on meritocratic procedures are strongly supported by the findings that women must use an uneven path to get to the next step.

The findings also suggested that there was a double standard even in the salaries that the women were paid once they reached their management positions. These double standards perhaps offer a glimpse of how representative bureaucracy operates in the male-dominated occupations. The intent of the policy may appear to be gender-neutral, but the practices serve as barriers to women. If promotional policy decisions and practices are not made to benefit women

within the organization, then it becomes questionable whether women are considered in other policy decisions.

Lack of Developmental Assignments

Jurik (1985, 1988) found that inadequate institutionalization of organizational policies could affect the career progression of women at crucial points such as work assignments. The lack of developmental assignments was only moderately supported in this study because the women indicated that they did not wait to be given work assignments outside of their normal jobs. They sought out special projects, special training, and opportunities in an effort to learn new skills. In some cases, these were assignments that their male counterparts did not find appealing. The women perceived special assignments, appointment to committees, and other special projects as professional development. In this regard, these types of professional development sometimes offered women the only influence they would have on new initiatives or policies. These assignments required extra effort as they were in addition to the women's regular assignments. In addition, such assignments offered women the opportunity to come out of the shadows so that their work and skills were seen or recognized by upper management. Conversely, several of the women confided that they were assigned certain assignments to give the appearance that the agency was inclusive of women, yet their input and recommendations were not considered. The suggestion here is that bureaucracy can have the appearance of representativeness and still not be representative of the people it serves.

Several of the women stated that they participated in community organizations to gain experience in various areas. Some of the women were elected school board members, PTA leaders, members of a board of directors for various nonprofits, homeowner association members, and other leadership positions in their communities. These experiences provided the

women with opportunities to gain leadership experiences in visible areas outside of their work environments, especially when these opportunities were not available to them within their agencies. In the most positive cases, such outside experiences were viewed favorably by their agency management and helped the women to be selected for special committees, task forces, and special projects. From the opposite perspective, such participation in outside visible organizations was perceived as threatening to management. The result was even more isolation for the women.

Stereotypic Assumptions and Role Encapsulation

West and Zimmerman's (1987) notion that gender is something that people "do" is an ongoing challenge for women in male-dominated occupations. The negative consequences of stereotypic assumptions and role encapsulation were strongly supported by the findings in this study. The women in this study shared their experiences challenging societal stereotypes of what were appropriate attributes and work for men and women. Even though women have been in the occupations represented in this study for many years, society as a whole still has not quite accepted them based on stereotypical expectations. The thought that women can climb bridges or even design them may seem unsettling for some people. One of the engineers indicated that her decisions were accepted when those decisions were delivered or communicated via a male. This concept suggests that even when there is representative bureaucracy, the general public may have trouble recognizing it because of preconceived stereotypes about women.

Several of the women in this study noted there have been some improvements in stereotypical assumptions about their male-dominated work over the past few generations depending on where they were located. Women who had worked in metropolitan and urban areas of the state perceived that people did not seem to have as many stereotypical assumptions

about them in their male-dominated occupations. Conversely, women who worked or were assigned to rural areas faced stereotypical assumptions as well as cultural expectations regarding their roles. In rural areas, there were cultural expectations that some of the women found offensive even when dealing with other government officials in a locality. Although the women were in their official capacity, they were treated as a “weak little girl” first before any acknowledgment or recognition was given to their role in a male-dominated occupation. The cultural expectations of what occupations women should participate in both professionally and socially made the women targets for isolation in rural communities. From a cultural perspective, representative bureaucracy in male-dominated occupations may not be important or even desired.

Gendered Organizational and Promotional Policies

Previous research (Hale, 1996; O’Neil et al., 2008) concluded that even in the 21st century, male-dominated organizations, organizational structures and processes are still not gender neutral. The negative consequences of gendered organizational and promotional policies are strongly supported in this study in a number of ways worthy of discussion. Attire and appearance were topics of concern for the women in this study regardless of the occupation. The women struggled to maintain some of their feminine qualities, even though, the job requirements dictated otherwise. Men in engineering can participate in on-site activities in the field and attend evening public meetings wearing the same attire. Such attire is considered normal activity and the public would not even notice. Conversely, women participating in the same on-site activities in the field would feel the need to change into attire not indicative of the occupation but more appropriate for a woman. As aforementioned, women have the pressure of being cognizant of the stereotypical assumptions and cultural expectations of the people and organizations they represent.

Women who were required to wear uniforms faced similar pressures but from an opposite perspective. For those women, the uniforms nearly forced them to emulate men in appearance. The uniforms are tailored for males and do not take into account that men and women have different physical anatomies. The women appeared to feel pressure to ensure that their uniforms did not reveal any feminine attributes. Although their uniforms were indicative of their occupations, their role in their occupation was diminished because of their gender. The suggestion is that if women emulate men, people will be more likely to respect their occupational role. The uniform itself is male-gendered. The lack of evolutionary changes to the uniform over the years suggests that it may be an effective mechanism to deter women from entering the occupation.

Gendered organizational policies were also barriers for women in male-dominated desiring a work-life balance. Clancy and Tata (2005) and Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) suggest that when pressures from the family and work roles are mutually incompatible, participation in one role makes it difficult to participate in the other role. For the women in this study, many of them made many sacrifices to achieve career progression in their male-dominated occupation. In law enforcement and corrections occupations, promotional opportunities often required relocation. Relocation every 2 or 3 years can be disruptive for women with children and married couples without children. One manager indicated that she had moved nine times in 20 years to take advantage of promotional opportunities. She had lived in a different locality than her husband for most of their married life. The maintenance of two residences was financially challenging. For women in other occupations with children, the sacrifice involved professional development and memberships in relevant organizations. For some single women, frequent relocations resulted in either delaying the desire to have children or remaining childless.

Finally, Dickens (1998) concluded that human resource policies are male-gendered suggesting that human resource concepts and policies actually perpetuate instead of challenge inequality. Even though women have been in male-dominated occupations for a number of years, the human resource policies have not reflected the change in the workforce. The double standards in the application of policies, salary differentials, hiring practices, and promotional policies have not been advantageous women in the workforce. The double standards strongly support the theoretical negative consequences women experience. For example, one agency required that when a woman became pregnant, she was automatically given an “appropriate” desk job, and her pay was reduced tremendously. This decision was not based on the woman’s ability to perform her job or the advice of a medical professional; rather, it was based on the agency’s human resource policy.

The example supports Johnson and Duerst-Lahti’s (1991) argument that public employment policies are based on assumptions of the conventional ideology of Whyte’s (1956) organization man and family woman. Human resource policies in male-dominated occupations appear to be elusive to the women. Although they are mid-to-upper level managers, the majority of the women in this study either had an unfavorable opinion of human resource policies or had no connection to human resource management from which to have an opinion. There were a few women who had the opportunity to serve on interview panels, but they viewed their participation as fulfilling a legal requirement for the agency to appear diverse. One of the women indicated that since she was one of the only women in her position, human resources called on her more frequently to serve on interview panels. She stated that she was nothing more than “rental ovaries” when it came to interview panels because she did not make any decisions. The suggestion is that human resources has very little impact on ensuring representative bureaucracy

in a male-dominated agency. Human resources programs and processes may have the appearance of ensuring equality, but the programs, practices, and policies are useless if there are no mechanisms for training managers to understand the purpose of the human resource initiatives. Moreover, this notion supports the suggestion by Moore et al. (2001) that human resource programs are more symbolic than effective.

Public Policy Implications

This study was important because the robust findings offered a glimpse into the experiences of the women working in mid-to-upper management levels in male-dominated occupations in state government. The study also provided insights into the shortcomings of representative bureaucracy in Virginia's male-dominated occupations and agencies.

Representative bureaucracy theory presumes that when bureaucracies employ individuals representing a cross-section of American society, the policies and outcomes will reflect the needs and interests of all groups (Meier, 1993; Meier & Nigro, 1976; Selden, 1997; Selden et al., 1998; Thompson, 1976). It would seem that gender is the largest determinant of the cross-section of society. From a public policy perspective, the application of representation bureaucracy whereby the rates (passive representation) of women's participation in male-dominated occupations would lead them to advocate for benefits (active representation) for other women needs improvement. While there are a few women in mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated occupations, they are not necessarily decision makers whereby they can advocate for increased representation of women. When applying the theory to the few mid-to-upper level managers, their individual decisions take into consideration their life experiences thus leaving the expectation that they will use their discretion to produce positive outcomes for women in the population (Dolan, 2002). However, they must be in the position to have such discretion.

The agencies represented in this study are typically divided into regions, districts, areas, and institutions with a large headquarters. The decisions and public policies are made at the headquarters where very few women hold upper-level positions. Women in upper-management positions in this study were mostly at the district, regional, area, and institutional level. Metaphorically, they serve as the “big fish in a little pond.” In that pond, they have authority and power to carry out the policies that have been distributed from headquarters. That authority does not necessarily allow women to hire mid-to-upper level managers without oversight or approval from the males at headquarters. They may recommend policy changes to headquarters, and if those changes are implemented, the women are rarely credited or openly recognized for the changes. When those women move to positions at headquarters, they are not guaranteed the same authority, respect, and power as their male counterparts, but they are regarded as having such power outside of headquarters. This study adds to existing research (Dolan, 2004) that when it comes to gender in male-dominated occupations, women are not necessarily afforded equal power or influence over aspects that lead to passive or active representation. Virginia must improve in this regard so that women will want to bring their field leadership and decision-making skills to headquarters where they can use their experiences to impact overall agency-wide policy decisions.

From a passive representative bureaucracy perspective, if women are not given authority to make managerial hiring decisions, their ability and opportunity to advocate for or increase the representation of women is inhibited. The implication of the practice in Virginia’s male-dominated agencies is that women will be kept isolated from other women. Without the interaction with other women or female role models in male-dominated occupations, women seem more likely to emulate their male-counterparts not only in their appearance, but in their

thinking as well. The result is that female representativeness would not lead to active representation. The evidence of this notion seems rooted in the unfavorable portrayals of other women by the participants in this study. Ely (1994) and Mavin (2008) found that there is a female versus female competition within male-dominated occupations. Perhaps, this competition is perpetuated through the lack of effective public policy that ultimately leads to meaningful passive representation in male-dominated occupations.

One of the modern avenues for ensuring passive representative bureaucracy is through effective human resource management policies and practices. The women in this study indicated that they served on interview panels to recommend the top candidates to the hiring authority. In male-dominated occupations, usually the hiring authority is a male. Typically, the selection of the candidate by the hiring authority is based on who is the “best fit” for the organization rather than on the quality of the candidate’s knowledge, skills, abilities, and competencies. As one participant suggested, the best fit is often another male with similar interests and styles of the hiring authority. This best fit practice sanctioned by human resources, whether intentional or not, serves as a barrier for women in male-dominated occupations.

The experiences of the women in this study regarding their knowledge of their agencies’ hiring and promotional processes suggest that human resource practices and policies have not been integrated into the whole organization. Women in mid-to-upper level management should be human resource partners in helping to bring more women into their agencies. The perceived gender-neutral approaches employed by human resource departments often operate to the detriment of women in male-dominated occupations. The policies are male-gendered. The evaluation processes are male-gendered often overlooking the leadership qualities that women bring to the table. The policies in some cases have double standards built into them. From a

public policy perspective, human resource practices may need to be overhauled, so there is more of a collaborative effort with managers on the business aspects of the organizations. Such an overhaul may allow legitimate diversity to flourish. Women managers in male-dominated occupations should have more input into recruiting and selection processes than mere service on interview panels. Diversity and women's inclusion brings a plethora of ideas to the table that can be effective in addressing complex public policy problems. Without such diversity, innovation in public policy will be limited resulting in policy decisions that do not adequately address the needs or representativeness of the public-at-large.

Recommendations

Women working in male-dominated occupations are resilient, competent, strong, and determined to make a difference in the lives of the citizens of Virginia. Over the past 30 years, they have endured discrimination, hard work, good ol' boy networks, personal life sacrifices, and other obstacles proving that they can perform and manage in male-dominated occupations. Their experiences have paved the way for increased representation of women in mid-to-upper level management if perhaps a few obstacles are acknowledged and removed.

Recommendation 1: Hold Executive Leadership Accountable for Changing the Culture in Male-Dominated Occupations

The findings in this study highlighted that traditions, methods, operations, policies, and displays of masculine culture have permeated in male-dominated agencies for decades to the detriment of women with little change or consequences. No one seems to be held accountable for integrating women into the leadership ranks of male-dominated occupations in a manner that changes the culture of masculinity even though women have proven themselves to be exceptional performers and leaders. Executive leadership in state agencies must be held

accountable by the Governor, cabinet secretaries, and agency heads for ensuring that the workforce is diverse and representative of the population it serves. Since the Governor, cabinet secretaries, and most agency heads change every 4 years, nonpolitical executive leadership in male-dominated agencies should have 360 evaluations conducted by professional consultants at various intervals. Such an evaluation offers an opportunity for leaders to understand how women and others view the organization and its culture. The evaluation process can also provide a mechanism for women and others to provide feedback about their experiences without fear of retribution. Although organizational culture does not change overnight, the evaluation can lay the groundwork for identifying issues, solutions, goals, measurements for change over time. In addition, agency heads will have a mechanism for holding executive leaders accountable for ensuring a culture that is free of discrimination and disparate treatment of women and minorities.

The women also indicated that top leaders in the agencies came through the ranks of the organization with long tenures. The suggestion here is that men with long tenures tend to perpetuate the male culture because it is the culture that is comfortable and familiar to them. In male-dominated agencies, promotion from within to the top ranks may do little to change the culture. When agency heads want change, they should hire qualified individuals from outside the agency with proven track records of being inclusive change agents.

Recommendation 2: Human Resources Must Become Strategic Business Partners

This study revealed that women managers have limited connection or exposure to the hiring or promotion process except through serving on interview panels. Some of the women resented the limited human resources exposure because they perceived that they were simply a visual representative to the candidate seeking a position. Furthermore, the women were required to ask only the questions that were assigned to them. Their resentment is justified since they do

not make any decisions in the process. Agency heads must include human resources as strategic business partners so that they are incorporated in the mission and business aspects of the male-dominated organization. Human resources should be held accountable for the organization's success just as other high-level managers. Human resources should be included in meetings where challenges are identified in order to assist the agency with human capital needs. When this occurs, meaningful and innovative human resource programs, policies, and practices can be developed and utilized to hire and promote women and minorities for leadership positions collaboratively with all levels of management. Further, agency heads must acknowledge that women are under-represented and hold human resources and the entire management team responsible for increasing their representation at all levels in the organization. Human resources must modify existing promotional policies and practices to enable meaningful representativeness at all levels within the bureaucracy.

Recommendation 3: Redefine Diversity Training

The problem with male-dominated occupations is that men in the occupation act and think like men without acknowledging diversity or the lack of diversity in the occupation. Although the women in this study perceived that they had the respect and support of their male subordinates and colleagues, such admiration for them did not lead to increased representation of women. The women pointed out that all managers were required to take diversity training. Most diversity training of the past focused on numbers and various minorities. Diversity training must include not only generational and gender differences, but also must focus on the benefits of diversity of thought. Women, as well as minorities, bring different perspectives to the management table that allow an issue to be more fully addressed with the possibility of fewer unintended consequences. These different perspectives allow for more active representative

bureaucracy. The agency head and human resource management must seek or develop diversity training that stresses the benefits of diversity of thought and how such diversity contributes to the agency's success. The agency should not only endorse such training but emulate and demonstrate the benefits of diversity at all levels. In male-dominated occupations, infusing diversity into the culture may lead to the acknowledgment that women belong in the management ranks along with the authority of the rank. Perhaps that acknowledgment will lead to a valid representative bureaucracy.

Recommendation 4: Redesign Promotional Policies

The findings in the study suggest that the application of promotional policies in male-dominated agencies were inconsistent and served as barriers to career progression for women. The policies rely heavily on tenure in a position. The rationale suggests that a certain amount of time in a position or rank is an indicator of one's qualifications. This type of rationale and policy seem flawed and outdated since individuals have different ways of learning and acquiring knowledge, skills, and abilities. In addition, the best fit method for selecting managers has negative consequences for women since men often select those who look and think like they do. The promotional policies should consider one's demonstrated knowledge, skills, abilities, and competencies rather than just time or unwritten subjective criteria. It is suggested that male-dominated agencies use a facilitated process or diverse focus group to help develop new promotional policies that help to eliminate discrimination and gender bias. Once there is consensus on revised promotion policies, mechanisms for strict monitoring of the application of the policies must be included as well as severe consequences for managers who do not follow the policies.

Recommendation 5: Address Disparity in Salaries for Women

One of the most glaring discriminatory practices in this study was the disparity in the salaries of the women compared to their male counterparts. Although the disparity has been recognized publicly, there have been few efforts to correct the disparity. The lack of funds are often blamed for failing to correct it, but much of the disparity stems from the male leadership who approved lower salaries for the women at the onset of their promotions. Even when funds are available, women are not likely to get a salary adjustment or alignment with their male counterparts. The agency heads of these male-dominated agencies should establish a diverse compensation committee or hire a consultant to conduct a salary study. Once the study is completed, the agency should seek or designate funding to address the disparity in the salaries of women in their agencies. In addition, the agency head should have the responsibility of monitoring salaries on an ongoing basis to ensure that women receive equal pay for equal work.

Recommendation 6: The Creation of a Professional Networking Association

The findings in the study suggest that women in male-dominated occupations were fairly isolated from other women outside of their “closed society.” Some of the women expressed interest in a local networking mechanism whereby they could meet other women in male-dominated occupations outside of their departments. The creation and development of a networking organization for women in male-dominated occupations is recommended so that women can establish networks, support groups, find female mentors, share ideas, and collaborate on social activities that provide professional and personal fulfillment outside of their closed society.

Future Research

The findings in this study revealed several trends that warrant further study, one of which is the applicability of the good ol' boy network in future generations. Has it been routed out of male-dominated occupations in government agencies? Is the network important to the next generation? Women in the age group of 31 to 40 or Generation X'ers reported not having experienced the good ol' boy network. Jurkiewicz (2000) suggests that GenXers, those born between 1963 and 1981, are natural change agents with an agenda of reinventing government. Given their distaste of the status quo, future research should test whether GenXers are poised to dissolve the good ol' boy network that has served as a barrier to women in attaining mid-to-upper level management position in male-dominated occupations.

The findings suggested that women have the burden of trying to navigate the negative consequences of the male-dominated workforce. The executive leadership seems somewhat oblivious to the negative experiences the women encounter. Future research should examine the perceptions of men in mid-to-upper leadership positions in male-dominated occupations regarding their roles and responsibility for improving the experiences of women in their occupations.

This study examined representative bureaucracy solely from the female gender perspective of society. Future research should examine representative bureaucracy from other aspects of gender such as race and class. Specifically, the research should focus on whether women of different races and classes experience career progression in male-dominated occupations differently than those in this study.

This study also suggested that human resource practices and policies present barriers for women in male-dominated occupations. Human resource practices and policies are presumed to

be mechanisms for ensuring fairness in hiring, selection, and promotions. Mechanisms for monitoring discrimination and policies that create a disparate impact are typically responsibilities of human resources. Why do these mechanisms seem to fail in male-dominated occupations? In addition, none of the agencies had mentoring programs or other programs that would serve to increase the representation of women at all levels in the organization. Future research should examine the mechanisms used for monitoring discrimination and disparate impact in male-dominated occupations and other occupations.

This study, although small and not generalizable, suggested that women select spouses within the same occupation and that doing so provides the opportunity for greater support for career progression in male-dominated occupations. Little research could be found on the subject. Since this study focused only on one state, future research should be conducted to examine whether women in male-dominated occupations with spouses in the same occupation experience career progression at a faster rate than those with spouses in different occupations. The recommendations for future research will add to the existing body of research regarding women working in male-dominated occupations.

This goal of this study was to understand how women achieve career progression in male-dominated occupations. This study produced a deeper understanding of women managers in male-dominated occupations. In addition, this study revealed techniques, attributes, characteristics and efforts women use to achieve career progression. More importantly, this study yielded a better understanding of women's successful career progression in male-dominated occupations within the public sector and the implications for representative bureaucracy.

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL



Office of Research Subjects Protection
BioTechnology Research Park
BioTech One, 800 E. Leigh Street, Suite 3000
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DATE: September 18, 2013

TO: Susan T. Gooden, PhD
Wilder School of Government and Public Affairs
Box 842028

FROM: Lisa M. Abrams, PhD
Chairperson, VCU IRB Panel B
Box 980568

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lisa M. Abrams", is written over the "FROM:" field.

RE: **VCU IRB #: HM15521**
Title: Gender and Representative Bureaucracy: The Career Progression of Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations in State Government

On September 18, 2013, the following research study was approved by expedited review according to 45 CFR 46.110 Categories 6 and 7. The approval reflects the revisions received in the Office of Research Subjects Protection on September 11, 2013. This approval includes the following items reviewed by this Panel:

RESEARCH APPLICATION/PROPOSAL: None

PROTOCOL (Research Plan): Gender and Representative Bureaucracy: The Career Progression of Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations in State Government, received 8/30/13, version 1, dated 8/13/13

- VCU IRB Study Personnel Roster, received 8/30/13, version date 8/13/13
- Interview Protocol, received 8/30/13, version 1, dated 8/13/13

CONSENT/ASSENT (attached):

- Research Subject Information and Consent Form, received 8/30/13, version 1, dated 8/13/13, 3 pages

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS (attached):

- Recruitment Email Letter, received 9/11/13, version 1

This approval expires on August 31, 2014. Federal Regulations/VCU Policy and Procedures require continuing review prior to continuation of approval past that date. Continuing Review report forms will be mailed to you prior to the scheduled review.

The Primary Reviewer assigned to your research study is Salvatore Lupica, JD. If you have any questions, please contact Mr. Lupica at slupica@vcu.edu; or you may contact Jennifer Rice, IRB Coordinator, VCU Office of Research Subjects Protection, at irbpanelb@vcu.edu and 828-3992.

[Attachment – Conditions of Approval]

Conditions of Approval:

In order to comply with federal regulations, industry standards, and the terms of this approval, the investigator must (*as applicable*):

1. Conduct the research as described in and required by the Protocol.
2. Obtain informed consent from all subjects without coercion or undue influence, and provide the potential subject sufficient opportunity to consider whether or not to participate (unless Waiver of Consent is specifically approved or research is exempt).
3. Document informed consent using only the most recently dated consent form bearing the VCU IRB "APPROVED" stamp (unless Waiver of Consent is specifically approved).
4. Provide non-English speaking patients with a translation of the approved Consent Form in the research participant's first language. The Panel must approve the translated version.
5. Obtain prior approval from VCU IRB before implementing any changes whatsoever in the approved protocol or consent form, unless such changes are necessary to protect the safety of human research participants (e.g., permanent/temporary change of PI, addition of performance/collaborative sites, request to include newly incarcerated participants or participants that are wards of the state, addition/deletion of participant groups, etc.). Any departure from these approved documents must be reported to the VCU IRB immediately as an Unanticipated Problem (see #7).
6. Monitor all problems (anticipated and unanticipated) associated with risk to research participants or others.
7. Report Unanticipated Problems (UPs), including protocol deviations, following the VCU IRB requirements and timelines detailed in [VCU IRB WPP VIII-7](#):
8. Obtain prior approval from the VCU IRB before use of any advertisement or other material for recruitment of research participants.
9. Promptly report and/or respond to all inquiries by the VCU IRB concerning the conduct of the approved research when so requested.
10. All protocols that administer acute medical treatment to human research participants must have an emergency preparedness plan. Please refer to VCU guidance on <http://www.research.vcu.edu/irb/guidance.htm>.
11. The VCU IRBs operate under the regulatory authorities as described within:
 - a) U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Title 45 CFR 46, Subparts A, B, C, and D (for all research, regardless of source of funding) and related guidance documents.
 - b) U.S. Food and Drug Administration Chapter I of Title 21 CFR 50 and 56 (for FDA regulated research only) and related guidance documents.
 - c) Commonwealth of Virginia Code of Virginia 32.1 Chapter 5.1 Human Research (for all research).

010507



RESEARCH SUBJECT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

TITLE: Gender and Representative Bureaucracy: The Career Progression Experiences of Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations in State Bureaucracy

VCU IRB NO.: HMISS21

This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask the study staff to explain any words that you do not fully understand. You may take home an unsigned copy of this consent form to think about or discuss with family or friends before making your decision.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research is to examine how women achieve career progression in male dominated occupations in state government agencies. This study seeks to understand your experiences in achieving success in your occupation.

You are being asked to participate because of your knowledge of a male-dominated occupation and your position as a mid-to-upper level manager in a male-dominated occupation in a state agency.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to sign this consent form after you have had all of your questions answered and understand what will happen to you.

In this study you will be asked to complete an in-depth interview. The interview will last approximately one hour. During this interview, you will be asked questions representing a combination of opinion, knowledge and experiences with regard to your personal career progression. The interview will be digitally recorded to allow for a complete analysis of the content of each interview, but no names will be recorded.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There should be minimal risks for participating in the interview. If there is any question that you prefer not to answer please let me know. Likewise, if there is any answer you give that you would prefer not to be recorded or used in this study, please do not hesitate to let me know. At your request, the recording can be stopped at anytime during the interview process.

APPROVED

9-18-13 / SL / JLR

BENEFITS TO YOU AND OTHERS

You may not get any direct or monetary benefits from this study, but the information I learn from your interview may produce new relevant theory regarding women's career progression in male-dominated occupations as well as offer ways for navigating through the career tracks.

COSTS

There are no costs for participating in this study with the exception of the time spent responding to the interview questions.

CONFIDENTIALITY

I will not tell anyone the answers you give; however, information from the study and the consent form signed by you may be looked at or copied for research or legal purposes by Virginia Commonwealth University. What I find from this study may be presented at meetings or published in papers, but your name will not ever be used in these presentations and papers. A letter coding system will be used to refer to data related to specific agencies. To ensure we capture what you say correctly, the in-depth interviews will be digitally recorded, but no names or agencies will be recorded. The digital recording will serve as verification for field notes that we are also taking. All data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet that only the principal investigator and the student investigator will have access.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You do not have to participate in this study. If you choose to participate, you may stop at any time without any penalty. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study.

QUESTIONS

In the future, you may have questions about your participation in this study, you may contact:

Susan T. Gooden, PhD
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Executive Director, Grace E. Harris Leadership Institute
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APPROVED

9-18-13 / SL / JRR



Recruitment Email Letter

As a doctoral student at VCU, I am conducting dissertation research on the career progression of women managers in male-dominated occupations in Virginia government agencies. To facilitate this study, I am interviewing selected women who have been successful in attaining mid-to-upper level management positions in male-dominated occupations.

The purpose of this email is to request your participation in this study. Since there are only a few women in male-dominated occupations in state government who meet the criteria to be interviewed, your participation is extremely valuable. May I please coordinate a time to meet with you for about an hour during the week of October 7, 2013? If this week is inconvenient for you, other dates and times are available.

Please let me know if I can provide any additional information. I can be reached at my office telephone number (804) 371-7019 or my cell number (804)-334-7824. My email address is ballardvj@vcu.edu

I look forward to your response. I look forward to your response.

Warmest Regards,
Velma J. Ballard

APPROVED

9-18-13 / sl / OR

v. 1

TO: Susan Gooden

CC: Velma Ballard

FROM: IRB Panel B

RE: Susan Gooden ; IRB [HM15521 CR1](#) Gender and Representative Bureaucracy:

The Career Progression of Women Managers in Male-dominated Occupations in
State Government

On 8/18/2014 this research study was approved for continuation by expedited review according to 45 CFR 46.108(b) and 45 CFR 46.109(e) and 45 CFR 46.110 by VCU IRB Panel B . This study is approved under Expedited categories 6 and 7.

The information found in the electronic version of this study's smart form and uploaded documents now represents the currently approved study, documents, informed consent process, and HIPAA pathway (if applicable). Please see instruction box below for details on viewing the approved study.

This approval expires on 7/31/2015. Federal Regulations/VCU Policy and Procedures require continuing review prior to continuation of approval past that date. Continuing Review notices will be sent to you prior to the scheduled review.

If you have any questions, please contact the Office of Research Subjects Protection (ORSP) or the IRB reviewer(s) assigned to this study.

The reviewer(s) assigned to your continuing review will be listed in the History tab and on the continuing review workspace. Click on their name to see their contact information.

Attachment – Conditions of Approval

Conditions of Approval:

In order to comply with federal regulations, industry standards, and the terms of this approval, the investigator must (as applicable):

1. Conduct the research as described in and required by the Protocol.

2. Obtain informed consent from all subjects without coercion or undue influence, and provide the potential subject sufficient opportunity to consider whether or not to participate (unless Waiver of Consent is specifically approved or research is exempt).
3. Document informed consent using only the most recently dated consent form bearing the VCU IRB “APPROVED” stamp (unless Waiver of Consent is specifically approved).
4. Provide non-English speaking patients with a translation of the approved Consent Form in the research participant's first language. The Panel must approve the translated version.
5. Obtain prior approval from VCU IRB before implementing any changes whatsoever in the approved protocol or consent form, unless such changes are necessary to protect the safety of human research participants (e.g., permanent/temporary change of PI, addition of performance/collaborative sites, request to include newly incarcerated participants or participants that are wards of the state, addition/deletion of participant groups, etc.). Any departure from these approved documents must be reported to the VCU IRB immediately as an Unanticipated Problem (see #7).
6. Monitor all problems (anticipated and unanticipated) associated with risk to research participants or others.
7. Report Unanticipated Problems (UPs), including protocol deviations, following the VCU IRB requirements and timelines detailed in [VCU IRB WPP VIII-7](#)):
8. Obtain prior approval from the VCU IRB before use of any advertisement or other material for recruitment of research participants.
9. Promptly report and/or respond to all inquiries by the VCU IRB concerning the conduct of the approved research when so requested.
10. All protocols that administer acute medical treatment to human research participants must have an emergency preparedness plan. Please refer to VCU guidance on <http://www.research.vcu.edu/irb/guidance.htm>.
11. The VCU IRBs operate under the regulatory authorities as described within:
 - a) U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Title 45 CFR 46, Subparts A, B, C, and D (for all research, regardless of source of funding) and related guidance documents.
 - b) U.S. Food and Drug Administration Chapter I of Title 21 CFR 50 and 56 (for FDA regulated research only) and related guidance documents.
 - c) Commonwealth of Virginia Code of Virginia 32.1 Chapter 5.1 Human Research (for all research).

Conditions of Approval (version 010507)

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete this brief questionnaire to help guide our discussion during the rest of the interview. It should take about 4-5 minutes to complete. Please circle your answer to each question and hand the completed questionnaire to me.

1. On a scale of 1-5, with 1 representing “mostly female dominated professions”, 3 representing an “even mix of male/female dominated occupations” and 5 representing “mostly male-dominated professions”, how would you describe the majority of your professional career?

Circle one:

Mostly Female Even Mix Mostly Male

1	2	3	4	5
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2. To what extent (on a scale of 1-5 with 1 representing “rarely” and 5 representing “very often”) do you do the following? Circle one:

Very Rarely Very Often

Provide advice to your superiors that is routinely followed or enacted	1	2	3	4	5
Determine priorities for the organization	1	2	3	4	5
Provide policy ideas that are implemented	1	2	3	4	5
Make high level budgetary decisions	1	2	3	4	5
Make or considerably influence senior level hiring decisions	1	2	3	4	5
Make or considerably influence mid-level hiring decisions	1	2	3	4	5
Identify and strongly recruit women for senior level	1	2	3	4	5

positions					
Identify and strongly recruit women for mid-level positions	1	2	3	4	5

3. On a scale of 1-5 with 1 representing “never” and 5 representing “very often”, how often have you encountered the “good ole boy network” whereby you felt left out of a decision, activity, promotion, or event by your male counterparts? Circle one:

Never

Very Often

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

4. Which of the following is your age category?

- 1) Under 30
- 2) 31-40
- 3) 41-50
- 4) 51-60
- 5) 61-70
- 6) 71 or above

5. Do you have any children? Circle: YES or NO

If so, how many? Circle: 1 2 3 4 5 6 or more

Please circle the following for each child

Child 1 = Under 5; K-12; over 18

Child 2 = Under 5; K-12; over 18

Child 3 = Under 5; K-12; over 18

Child 4 = Under 5; K-12; over 18

Child 5 = Under 5; K-12; over 18

Child 6 = Under 5; K-12; over 18

6. Which statement best describes your family status for the **majority of your formative career?** Circle one:

- 1) No child-rearing responsibilities
- 2) Few child-rearing responsibilities (occasionally or near adulthood)
- 3) Moderate child-rearing responsibilities (often or tweens and teens)
- 4) Substantial child-rearing responsibilities (constant care or infants to tweens)
- 5) Other _____

7. Which statement best describes your role as a caregiver for an elderly parent, sibling, family member or other individual during the **majority of your formative career**?

Circle one:

- 1) No caretaker responsibilities
- 2) Few caretaker responsibilities (occasionally during the week)
- 3) Moderate caretaker responsibilities (several hours on more than one day per week)
- 4) Substantial caretaker responsibilities (several hours daily)
- 5) Other _____

8. What is your highest education level attained? Circle one:

- 1) High school or equivalent
- 2) Some college
- 3) Associate's Degree
- 4) Bachelor's Degree
- 5) Master's Degree
- 6) Doctoral Degree

9. Which of the following best describes your race/ethnicity?

- 1) White/Caucasian (Non-Hispanic)
- 2) Black/African American (Non-Hispanic)
- 3) Hispanic/Latino
- 4) Native American
- 5) Asian Pacific Islander
- 6) Other _____

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Career Progression of Women Managers in Male-Dominated Occupations Interview Protocol

Introduction

Thank you for participating in this interview. My name is Velma Ballard and I am a doctoral candidate at VCU conducting a study of women in management in male-dominated occupations in government agencies.

The purpose of this research is to examine how women achieve career progression in male dominated occupations in government agencies. You are being interviewed because you meet the criteria of women who have been successful in achieving career progression in a male-dominated occupation

I would like to hear your perspectives on various aspects of your career progression as well as your personal experiences in male-dominated occupations. The information gathered from this study may produce new relevant theory regarding women's career progression in male-dominated occupations as well as offer ways for navigating through the career tracks.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and you may stop at any time or refuse to answer any question without penalty. There should be minimal risks for participating in the study and there are no costs or monetary benefits

This is a confidential interview and is not expected to take up more than one hour of your time. To ensure that I capture your responses correctly, the interview will be recorded. Individuals will not be identified by name in reporting the results of the study. I am required to ask you to sign the approved consent form indicating your agreement to participate.

(1) Please tell me about your duties and responsibilities in your position.

Probes: What is your title, rank or area?

How long have you been in your current position?

How long have you been in your current agency?

How did you progress to this position?

To participant: In order to guide our questions during the rest of the interview, I'd like to ask you to please to complete this brief questionnaire. (*Give clipboard with questionnaire and pen to participant*). I will then ask follow up questions as we talk.

Brief questionnaire probes:

What is your basis for this assessment? (Questions 1 & 2)

Please describe any incidents where you experienced being left out. (Question 3)

(2) Have you ever experienced obstacles (road blocks) and barriers during your career progression in reaching your current position? If so, what were the obstacles and barriers?

Probes: How did you react to these barriers?

How did encountering these obstacles make you feel?

How did you overcome the barriers and obstacles?

(3) Have you ever experienced particular supports during your career progression that were very instrumental in you reaching your current positions? If so, what were they?

Probes: Did you have someone to help you?

What types of assistance did you receive?

(4) What do you believe is the value of having women in leadership positions at your level or higher in your agency?

Probes: What responsibility do you feel you have to advocate for increased representation of women at your agency?

Why did you choose this profession?

(5) Thinking back on your experience in your profession, what efforts or actions have you taken to demonstrate your abilities and talents to your superiors or subordinates?

Probes: How does this compare to the efforts of your male counterparts?

(6) Could you please describe how each of the following groups of individuals influenced your career choices, development and progression either positively or negatively?

- A) Colleagues within the agency
- B) Professional colleagues outside of your agency but within your profession of field
- C) Family and friends
- D) Any other groups I did not mention, but you feel have had a significant impact.

(7) How has your agency prepared you for the next management level?

Probes: What training or professional development is offered?
Are the opportunities for women (1) equal, (2) less than or (3) more than others in your position or higher?

(8) How have your agency's human resource policies and practices hindered or increased promotional opportunities for women in your profession?

Probes: What changes would you suggest?

(9) How have your ideas, work, and accomplishments been recognized by your peers and supervisors?

Probes: How are your peers recognized?

(10) In thinking back on your career thus far, how would describe and characterize your overall experience as a woman working in a male dominated field?

Probes: Why do you characterize the experience this way?
Were there up and down periods? Describe them.
What have been some of the struggles you've faced?

(11) How do you think your experiences compare to other women in male-dominated occupations?

Probes: What do you think contributed to the differences?

(12) What do you think are the factors that influence women's success in male-dominated occupations?

Probes: What factors do you control and what factors are systematic or systemic?
How do those factors compare to those of men?

APPENDIX D

CODEBOOK

Number	Code	Description
1	Advocate for females	Any mention or discussion of mentoring, encouraging, or being an advocate for other females either in hiring, retention or promotion in male-dominated occupations.
2	Aggressive or assertive	Any mention or discussion of aggressiveness, assertiveness or of not being afraid to express ideas in male environments, make suggestions or make tough decisions. Not afraid to speak up or challenge.
3	Barriers/Road Blocks/Obstacles	Things specifically mentioned as creating difficulty in career progression including promotion, training, family, organizational issues. Includes references to bad supervisors or evaluations.
4	Colleagues-Peers	Experiences with others who hold the same position, title or similar jobs in an organization. Experiences with others in the same occupation in other agencies
5	Competence	Any mention or discussion of having the knowledge, skills abilities, experience, and educational requirements to perform the occupation.
6	Confidence	Any mention of having high self-esteem and being confident in one's knowledge, skills and abilities. Any discussion of not being afraid to make decisions or judgment calls.
7	Constant Proof	Any mention of frequently having to prove abilities to others including peers, supervisors, and customers. Any mention of proving abilities and talents to the same individuals more than once.
8	Discrimination	Any mention or descriptions of disparities in treatment based on gender, age, ethnicity, family status
9	Diversity/Perspective	Discussion of inclusion at the management table to offer diversity of thought and perspective. Any mention of being heard and or consideration of ideas from others (gender, race, ethnicity, etc.).

10	Few women/no women	Any mention of few women or no women in the occupation, position or work environment. Referring to a limited number of women in management roles or few women applying for jobs in an occupation or management roles. Any mention of being the only woman, or the first woman to be in a position
11	Gender/Gender Roles	Any gender-related discussions. Any mention or comparison of male and female treatment. Roles that describe a gender. Any discussion of roles that are expected of a gender either from personal, mental, societal, physical, occupational or other perspectives.
12	Good Ole-Boy Network	Any mention of feeling or being left out of social or work activities by male counterparts. Any discussions of experiences with harassment from male counterparts (gender, rookie, sexual). Any mention of being passed over for promotion in favor of males who appear to “hang” together or share common activities.
13	Hard work	Any mention of working hard to accomplish goals, tasks, or assignments. Any mention of working harder than colleagues or anyone else. Discussion of working twice as hard as the average or others.
14	Human Resource Practices/Policies	Policies that govern recruitment, promotion, selection. Practices used in hiring, assignments or promotion. Selection or interview committees
15	Job Satisfaction	Any mention or discussion about feelings about the job or career choices. Available Training opportunities. Advancement or Promotional opportunities. Any mention of work hours or schedules.
16	Male-Dominated Aspects	Any mention of masculine aspects of an occupation. Occupation or positions whereby women are not traditionally represented. Work that is thought to be appropriate for men, but not for women. Organizational environment or culture where men dominate.
17	Management	Any mention of actions taken to oversee projects, staff, budget, decision- making. Encouraging and training subordinates. People who occupy higher positions or the top leadership positions in an

		organization.
18	Occupations- Family	Family members in same or similar occupations
19	Other	Item doesn't fit under any other code but needs to be coded. Does not include insignificant information that will not be analyzed such as "you know", "un-hum", or conversation clearly not related to the topic.
20	Other Women	Any description or discussion of experiences with other women including colleagues, supervisors or subordinates.
21	Personal Efforts	Descriptions or mention of efforts made to demonstrate ability or commitment to work, occupation, job, or project.
22	Professional Development	Discussions related to job training, education, skill development, skill enhancement, leadership, management training, special projects or attainment of certifications. Includes professional organizations or associations catering to an occupation or management
23	Promotion	Attainment of a higher position than one's current position. Taking advantage of a promotional opportunity.
24	Quotable Quotes	A quote that may explain an emerging or a particular theme.
25	Relocation	Moving to a different location for promotional opportunity. Involuntary or voluntary transfer to another location, facility, office, district, locality or state. Accepting a new job in a different section of an agency requiring long commutes.
26	Respect and Credibility	Any mention of having, gaining or earning respect from others for one's work, ethics, skills, position or job. Any discussion of having respect from supervisors, colleagues, community or subordinates. Any discussion of credibility or gaining acceptance from others for one's skills, abilities, knowledge, attributes or behavior.

27	Road blocks/obstacles/barriers	Things specifically mentioned as creating difficulty in career progression, promotion, training, or professional development. Includes references to bad supervisors or evaluations
28	Spouses of Colleagues	Relationships with spouses of colleagues or subordinates
29	Support - Family Members	Support from parents with childcare. Career encouragement from parents, siblings or relatives.
30	Support (s)- Mentors	Any mention of someone who helped facilitate promotion. Any mention of someone who provided opportunities to build skills or gain work experience. Any mention of anyone providing support and encouragement
31	Tokenism	Any mention of being the only woman, or the first woman to be in a position. Efforts to demonstrate worthiness or belonging in an occupation, job, assignment, position or organization. Any discussions relating to tokens.

VITA

Velma Jones Ballard was born in Franklin, Virginia, and graduated from Greensville County High School, Emporia, Virginia in 1975. She graduated from Paul D. Camp Community College, Franklin, Virginia, in 1982 with an Associate of Applied Science in Corrections and an Associate of Applied Science in Police Science. She earned her Bachelor of Individualized Studies in Social Science from Virginia State University, Petersburg, Virginia in 1990. She received her Master of Arts in Education and Human Development from The George Washington University, Washington, District of Columbia, in 2002. She has served in significant leadership positions within Virginia state government agencies for over 35 years including the Department of Corrections, Virginia Information Technologies Agency, and the Department of Housing and Community Development. She is currently the Associate Director of Administration at the Virginia Department of Housing and Community Development where she oversees administrative operations including human resources, information technology, procurement and public relations in Richmond, Virginia.