GRA 19703

Master Thesis

Thesis Master of Science

Police Culture and Women in Police Leadership

Navn:	Silje Grønning, Nargis Bibi Karim
Start:	15.01.2019 09.00
Finish:	01.07.2019 12.00

Master Thesis

Handelshøyskolen BI

Police Culture and Women in Police Leadership

Eksamenskode og navn:
GRA19703 Master Thesis

Utleveringsdato:
15.01.2019

Innleveringsdato:
01.07.2019

Studiested:
BI Oslo

Preface

This master thesis has been completed as a final completion of the study program Master of Science in Business with major in Leadership and Change at BI Norwegian Business School. The work on this thesis has been completed during the spring semester of 2019, based on preliminary work during autumn 2018. The motivation behind this thesis has been to learn more about the organizational culture of the police. We wanted to find out more about how the police culture fits with the increase of female representation and how females experiences developing leadership career in the police. The study has been carried out with the cooperation of eleven different females in leadership positions in the police, placed in five different districts.

We would like to thank the informants from the police for their excellent contributions and cooperation during this task. It has been a great help that they have been willing to spend time, giving us important insights from their own experiences during their career in the police.

We also want to thank Cathrine Filstad, who has been our supervisor on this thesis, which has motivated and inspired us during the writing. She has through her long experience on researching the police been able to give us excellent insight on the police from day one of this project. This has been important for setting the key focus on our study. She has also through her network helped us connect with our informants.

Oslo, 28.06.2019

Nargis B. Karim   Silje Grønning

Table of Contents

Abstract

We have in this thesis chosen to write about the organizational culture of the police and female police leadership development. The study has been carried out with the cooperation of eleven different females in leadership positions in the police, placed in five different Norwegian police districts. Our research question is: "How does the police culture influence female police leadership development?" The findings show that the entrance into the police has been decisive for how the police culture is perceived, as there are cultural differences in the different departments and areas. These differences seem to be related to the gender distribution in the different places. Female leaders feel a need for behaving in a masculine manner in order to fit into the culture, but the so-called "old male culture" seems to fade away, as there are only individuals that behave in that way, and not groups. The possible cultural barriers contain of; need for power motivation, need for confidence, assumptions of female leaders, expectations of masculine traits and access to leadership networks.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and Topic for The Research

The World Economic Forum (2018) started in 2006 the Gender Gap Index as a framework to measure gender equality. The current global standing of the Global Gender Gap score is 68 percent, which means that there is still a significantly 32 percent gender gap to close. No country has of today reached parity; the top seven countries has only closed at least 80 percent of the gap. Norway is among the top seven and was given second place in the global gender gap report on gender equality in 2018. Statistics from 2017 shows that 38 percent of all leaders in Norway are women (Statistics Norway, 2017). Norway has been considered as a pioneer, being the first country in the world to legislate that corporate boards of directors, both in the public and private sector must contain of at least 40 percent women (Huse, 2013). However, while the numbers of female leaders seem to have increased, there are only 22 percent females among the top leaders in the 200 largest companies in Norway. Thus, it can seem that there still exists a presence inequality in the top management positions (Halrynjo & Stoltenberg, 2018).

In parallel with the discussions regarding the lack of women in leadership positions, the phenomenon of glass ceiling has arisen. According to this theory, there are females who are competent, experienced and motivated for top management positions that claims to only reach a certain level of management position and after that it is like they are not able to reach further. This effect is described as the "glass ceiling", that is a metaphor for "hitting the ceiling" that makes them unable to take the last step up in the top management (Morrison, White & Velsor, 1994).

Alvesson (2011) shows that leadership is closely related to culture, both at the organizational and at other levels. In various organizations, we do not only find different views of leadership, but that ideas and norms of leadership are different. The degree of influence that organizational culture has in framing and guiding leadership may vary, but what influences managers and the groups they are responsible for, is most likely always a cultural element. The cultural context is important for what is considered as leadership, how people in formal and informal

capacity relate to this, norms and ideals of their practices and receptions, which is how organizational culture frames and guides leadership (Alvesson, 2011). Researchers have defined police culture differently, but it can commonly be described as a set of shared values with common behavioral norms, actions and rules (Durivage, Barette, Montcalm, & Laberge, 1992; Skolnick, 1994). Police culture is extremely hard to change, and cultural leadership is crucial for achieving effective leadership in the police (White & Robinson, 2014).

While men have always been allowed to work in the Norwegian police, in 1958, women and men were both formally equated in the police with respect to admission, training, employment and working conditions. However, while females were formally allowed to enter the police in 1958, there were still few women who were selected into the police after this (Wathne, 1996). Throughout the years the gender distribution has become more equal, but there is still a lack of female representation in leadership positions. The police has been working on increasing the number of female managers, and their current goal is that there should be 40 percent female managers in the police by 2022 (Politidirektoratet, 2019). Statistics from 2018 shows that 9 out of 12 police districts have a proportion of over 30 percent female leaders (Politidirektoratet, 2019).

The proportion of women has increased among the applicants to The Norwegian Police University College, and is now at its highest level in history, at 52.6 percent. This is an increase of almost five percent from 2018 (Politidirektoratet, 2019). Much research has been done on females and gender equality in the police in Norway (e.g. Børstad & Johansen, 2010; Finstad, 2000; Finstad, 2005; Hitland, 2007; Lagestad, 2010). There is however less research which focuses on females in the leadership in the Norwegian police. The focus is still very relevant, as just recently it has even been proved that a female police leader was declined a top leadership position, and that a man without the right competence was selected instead. In July 2018 the judgement was given, and it was decided that the police had not followed the qualification principle in the hiring process. The qualification principle states that the person who is best qualified should be hired (Larssen, 2018).

1.2 Research Question

In this thesis we want to investigate the experiences of females in leadership positions in the police, in order to find out in what way the police culture influenced them. We want to look at the police culture and thoughts about career development through the perspective of female leaders in leadership positions in the police. This to find out whether the police culture has influenced their career path or if there are other obstacles in order to see if the culture in the police influences the decision to become a police leader. This paper will investigate the following research question:

"How does the police culture influence female police leadership development?"

1.3 Research Structure

First, we will present literature that is relevant to our research, in order to find out what literature already exists on the research topic. Further, we will present and argue for our chosen research approach and describe our methods thoroughly. Thereafter, we will present our findings and our analyze and compare to theory. This in order to find patterns to find a definition for police culture and how it has influenced them. At the end we will present our findings, the cultural barriers in leadership in the police.

2. Literature Review

Based on our research question, we have chosen to apply theories related to leadership, culture and female leaders. In the following section, the mentioned theories will be examined**.**

2.1 Leadership

The term leadership has been defined in many different ways. Richards & Engle (1986, p. 206), define leadership as "about articulating visions, embodying values, and creating the environment within which things can be accomplished". Another definition of leadership by House et al. (1999, p. 184) is "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organization…". Further, Yukl (2013, p. 23) define leadership as "...the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how to do it, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives". Thus, leadership has many definitions. In the traditional literature of leadership, there is a focus on individual traits, attributes and competencies independently of context (Caroll, Levy, & Richmond, 2008; Crevani & Endrissat, 2016). The leadership literature is largely based on research that is based on pre-developed and behavior-based self-evaluations (McCusker, Foti, & Abraham, 2019).

There are two different ways to become a leader. If you are a formal leader you are pointed out as a leader, and where the job description and responsibility is clear and detailed. An informal leader on the other hand are given the leader role due to their own personal abilities (Kaufmann & Kaufmann, 2011, p. 334). However, given the leader role as a formality does not make you a leader, an important part of being a leader is that you must behave and be perceived as a leader (Lord & Maher, 1991).

We have leadership at three different levels in organizations and quite different requirements are made on leaders, depending on which level in the organization they are located. However, leadership of people is important at all levels. The three levels of leadership are: The operational level, the administrative level, and

the institutional level (Parsons, 1956; Thompson, 1967). The highest level is the institutional level, where we have top leaders, who is responsible for formulating overall goals, long-term planning, budgeting, and strategic adaptation to external factors that are important to the business. The top management must provide the basis for the value of the organization so that it stands out as something the employees can identify with. It must also set and convey the norms that one wants to be the guide for the business. The second level is the administrative level, where there are middle managers who have overall responsibility for limited areas of the organization's activities. At the operational level on the other hand, we have managers who have daily supervision and responsibility for the core activities of the organization (Parsons, 1956; Thompson, 1967).

Traits are defined as characteristics of people that form the basis of how people think, prioritize and act, and that are durable and difficult to change (Allport, 1966; McCrae & Costa, 2008). Trait theory has the ambition to find out if there are special personality traits that characterize good leaders (Kaufmann, 1990; Kaufmann & Kaufmann, 1996). Furthermore, in the "great man-theory", it is argued that great leaders have special traits that are clearly distinguished from other people. The elements included in this theory are leadership motivation, morality, flexibility and intelligence (Fry, 2003; Greenberg & Baron, 2008; Northouse, 2013). In Stogdills (1974) analyses of trait studies, questions were raised about the value of the research of traits of leaders. Based on his findings, he argued that empirical relationships between particular traits and being successful leaders could not be demonstrated. He believed that positive and negative effects of leadership were dependent on different goals and the different situations the leaders and employees were in, rather than traits of those leaders. On the other hand, Bass (2008) concludes that different traits may be necessary predictors of effectiveness, but that they are unlikely to explain why some leaders are effective and others not.

2.2 Leadership in the police

In general leadership literature, it is rarely addressed how leaders conduct leadership. The traditional leadership literature is more overshadowed by the normative leadership models of what leaders should do. They do not consider the

social and cultural contexts and how leadership needs to be understood in terms of context that can be complex and at least problematic (Alvesson, 2017; Day, 2014). For example, it separates the individual police leader from the practices and the culture in the police (Pearson-Goff & Herrington, 2013; Pfeffer, 2015; Carroll, 2016; Raelin, 2016). The police leadership literature also focuses on how to improve each police officer more than the leader-follower relationship. It is focused on the leader's personal traits and skills, about the individual's leadership skills, ethics, capacity as a role model, communication skills, ability of critical thinking, trust and legitimacy rather then what the individual leader does. Thus, it does not consider policing practices and police culture of the unique context (Bratton & Malinowski, 2008; Eterno & Silverman, 2010; Cockcroft, 2014; Pearson-Goff & Herrington, 2014; Flynn & Harrington, 2015; Haake, Rantatalo, & Lindberg, 2015). Cockcroft (2014) argues on the importance of how police leaders understands their own practice as a leader and improves themselves, and that they need to take context into account to that matter. It is not enough to learn about the individual leader's personal characteristics alone, or leadership theories (Mead, 2002).

Police leadership is addressed as the individual leaders' 'property', focusing on the person's characteristics and traits. It is also expected that leadership development will better the individual leader more than the leaders are doing in relations with their employees in practice (Bratton & Malinowski, 2008; Eterno & Silverman, 2010; Pearson-Goff & Herrington, 2014; Flynn & Herrington, 2015; Haake, Rantatalo & Lindberg, 2015). During the last decades, it has been popular with a focus on traits and skills of leaders, but also leaders' styles. This has also included transformational and power-influenced approaches (Alison & Crego, 2008; Cockcroft, 2013). It has been argued in police literature that leaders usually represent a normative connotation related to certain qualities and skills that are necessary to exercise leadership (Campbell & Kodz, 2011; Moggré, den Boer & Fyfe, 2017). Of this concept, it is little evidence of the effectiveness (Schafer, 2009; Neyroud, 2011). To understand leadership, the individual leader and its traits, knowledge, leadership style, quality or efficiency, are argued for being insufficient (Casey & Mitchell, 2007; Fleming, 2008; Meaklim & Sims, 2011; Pearson-Goff & Herrington, 2013).

Considering that the police is an organization with special duties and powers on behalf of the state, it involves a need for strong political, democratic and legal control. The police organization is therefore divided into two different organization and leadership practices; legal understanding of how to organize and lead the police and a military understanding of how to organize in an operative organization (Johannessen, 2014). The legal bureaucratic understanding involves a belief in a clear hierarchy and a delimitation of tasks. The leadership style is task-oriented, and the humans and their needs are less important (Johannessen, 2015, p. 23). The military understanding is also hierarchical, following command lines and responsibilities. The leaders in the different levels of leadership shall follow their specific responsibility areas, with more distance from the actual police work the higher up in the command lines (Johannessen, 2015, p. 24). In military operative organizations, officers at all levels is usually working mission-based; getting a mission from their leader, which they are to solve within certain resource frameworks. The most important distinction is that the bureaucratic leadership practice focuses on individual tasks and pure proceedings while the military operational practice focuses on the group and its missions (Johannessen, 2015, p. 25).

Considering the practices of operational and bureaucratic practice, it involves two different leadership understandings connected to these practices. The bureaucratic practice is based on the instrumental and operational way of thinking. According to this, leadership does merely exist, while administration and steering takes over (Johannessen, 2015, p. 31). The administration involves maintaining control and stability. Leadership involves the operational practice, which is working for creating room for action, both by using existing and new behavioral patterns (Johannessen, 2015, p. 32).

According to Sewell (1991), the transition from operative law enforcement to administrative management can be difficult for police officers as they rise through the ranks. Sewell (1991) argues that police leaders often reminiscence about the excitement of operative service, without the "pain of having to do the reports". Sewell (1991) also discuss how "command hurts", in that administrative decisions regarding personnel is often more emotionally distressing than operative

leadership. Sewell (1991) states that: "Many police chiefs find that making life-or-death decisions is easier than initiating procedures that could cost officers their rank, salary or job." Sewell (1991) also highlights the political aspect of police leadership. According to Sewell (1991), all decisions in law enforcement are political in nature, and police chiefs must successfully deal with external politics in order to keep their jobs.

Pearson-Goff and Herrington (2014) analyze the differences between the different ranks of police leadership. They differentiate between strategic leadership and tactical leadership, where the higher-ranking police officers are responsible for the strategic leadership while the operative leaders are responsible for the tactical leadership. Further, Pearson-Goff and Herrington (2014) analyze five key activities police leaders engage in, and how they relate to strategic and tactical leadership:

Creating a shared vision: Developing a vision and creating a sense of purpose. This activity is shown to be less important for tactical leadership than for strategic leadership, as lower-ranking officers were more interested in solving the tasks at hand.

Engendering organizational commitment: Providing feedback and promoting collaboration. This was not found to be different across ranks.

Care for subordinates: Providing development opportunities. This was found to be important for operational leaders when evaluating their superiors.

Driving and managing change: This was found to be important for senior officers responsible for strategic leadership. Lower-ranking officers performing tactical leadership placed very little value on driving change, as they were more concerned with maintaining the status quo.

Problem solving: Proactive and collaborative solutions to complex and unforeseen problems. This was not found to be different across ranks.

Filstad, Karp, and Glomseth (2018) discuss the leadership development process in the Norwegian police. They find that police leadership is primarily learned through experience and practical on-the-job training, and not through traditional theoretical teaching. Therefore, they argue that the organization should reflect this by facilitating for leaders to learn from their peers. This could be done by using leadership networks to create new learning areas allowing for reflection and evaluation, in addition to more traditional teaching such as leadership courses and seminars (Filstad et. al., 2018). Another important characteristic of police leadership development is that police leaders often work their way up internally from recruits to top management (Roberts et. al., 2016). Filstad et. al. (2018), claim that this might be the reason why police leaders are often viewed as foremost among equals, as they have started out in the same roles as the rest of the police officers.

2.3 Female Leadership

Due to the lack of females in leadership positions, much research has been done on reasons why this is the case, and how to facilitate breaking the barriers that prevents females from climbing up the corporate ladder.

2.3.1 Gender Differences

Gender is a universal classification, referring to the fact that all humans are of a biological background, classified into the category of either man or woman (Haavind, 1982). Men and women behave differently, and therefore they have different experiences. Their perceptions are considered very important because of this (Ås, 1979). According to Anne Grethe Solberg (1995), we learn and adopt our feminine and masculine behavior from our surroundings, men and women are both equal and different. There is more to it than just gender differences. We also have individual differences and in different situations one can tend to be more masculine or feminine or vice versa (Drake & Solberg, 1995, pp. 16-17).

The differences between the genders can be divided into three different perspectives (Drake & Solberg, 1995, p. 44). The perspectives are the biological, the interpersonal, and the cultural perspective. The differences from the biological perspective involves differences linked to chromosomes and hormones, and states

that men and women are built differently. Research has even shown that men and women use their brains differently, which can partly explain why the genders has different strengths in different areas of ability (Springer & Deutsch, 1993). From the interpersonal perspective, gender is seen as a socially constructed phenomenon. Fundamentally, boys and girls develop differently as individuals, based on their relation to the surroundings. Gender socialization is seen as the customization to the societies requirements and it involves identity formation for the individuals who socialize. Gender needs to be considered as a fundamentally side of personality (Drake & Solberg, 1995, p. 49). The cultural perspective is explained more thoroughly beneath.

The Cultural Perspective

One of the most well-known perspectives on gender is looking at gender differences from a cultural perspective (Drake & Solberg, 1995, p. 57). Women and men have different standards and expectations throughout their life. Because of this, they develop different social contexts and values and therefore we can say that they belong to different cultures. For instance, when girls hang out in groups of only girls and the boys in groups of only boys, they will develop different experiences and a different basis for understanding (Ås, 1982). Humans identify themselves in accordance with their social classifications. This can be gender, geographic affiliation etc. The degree of identification is dependent on the category one considers oneself to be in compared to an alternative category (Elly, 1995).

Females who are proud of being a woman will have a stronger identification with being a woman than females who are negative to being a woman. If negative towards that category, one might take behavioral distance from it. This could be regulated by both personal opinions but also influenced by general beliefs and general facts. For example, there is negative attitudes towards female leaders which could explain why female leaders tends to behave less feminine (Drake & Solberg, 1995, p. 59).

When reviewing research on the leadership styles of women and men, Eagly and Johnson (1990) found that women did not follow the expectations of leading in an interpersonally oriented style. Furthermore, they found that men did not follow the expectations to be significantly more task-oriented in their leadership style. However, the stereotypical differences were to some degree present in laboratory experiments and assessment studies. Women also tended to be more democratically and less autocratic or directive than men. This was even more present when the women worked in male dominated organizations, especially when women were underrepresented. If the females in addition had a masculine style, they were even less liked. Eagly, Karau and Makhijani (1995), has also performed studies about differences when it comes to leadership performance between men and women. The difference in actual observed performance between the two genders was minimal. It is worth mentioning, that factors of importance were particularly related to the organization's culture. In organizations with a masculine culture, female leaders came worse off than men. In contrast, female leaders made it better with a culture that was more in line with feminine values.

2.3.3 Glass Ceiling

According to the theory of glass ceiling, there are females who are competent, experienced and motivated for top management positions who are subject to discrimination that makes them unable to reach top management positions. They can only reach a certain level of management and after that, they are not able to reach further. This effect is described as the "glass ceiling", and is a metaphor for women "hitting the roof", which makes them unable to take the last step up in the top management (Morrison, White & Velsor, 1994). This means that women have faced a barrier so strong that it prevents them from advancing up in the leadership hierarchy. While the number of female workers has increased during the last decades, women are still underrepresented in positions with power and responsibility. The ceiling is considered to be between the middle manager and top manager level, preventing women from moving further than middle manager positions. The barrier is to be described by different mechanisms in the organization, such as the organizational culture and values, and is maintained both by women and men. This can happen in hierarchical structured organizations and the reason for this could be different leadership behavior that are caused by

different social and educational background due to genders socializing differently (Drake & Solberg, 1995, pp. 20-21).

2.3.4 The Congruity Theory

Eagly and Karau (2002) has proposed the congruity theory of prejudice against female leaders. This theory explains how females are stereotyped to fulfill the female gender role criteria and how these criteria is not in accordance with the expectations of a leader. This leads to the following aspects of prejudice: Women are less favorable to leadership roles than men, and behavior that fulfills the leadership prescriptions is less favorable when it is enacted by a woman. This could make it more difficult for women to become leaders and to achieve success in leadership roles. Further, according to a meta-analysis performed with focus on whether leadership stereotypes are masculine shows that men fit into the cultural construal's of leadership better than women do and therefore they have better access to leadership roles and face fewer challenges in becoming successful in them (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell & Ristikari, 2011). Nonetheless, through a new series of popular scientific bestsellers and in popular media there has been a lot of focus on how the stereotypical female people-centered leadership skills are a better match for the business world (e.g. Hymowitz, 2012; Mundy, 2012; Rosin, 2012). It is claimed that this stereotypical female leadership traits and the central importance of people skills makes women destined to take over men's dominant position in leadership. However, research of Lammers and Gast (2017) shows that even positive inflated stereotypes about women as leaders can cause female at a disadvantage. This because it reduces the support for affirmative action and the likelihood of prioritizing of hiring women for leadership positions.

2.3.5 Power Motivation

Power motivation is defined as the interpersonal difference in the desire to influence others (McClelland 1985; Miner, 1978). John Miner (1964) proposed the Miner Sentence Completion Scale, which is a test that is made in order to find the levels of motivation to manage. The test consists of both a multiple choice and an open answer test. Based on the answers given in the test, one can according to this scale measure the degree of power motivation of the respondents (Miner, 1964; Miner, 1993). The scale has been used in many studies more recently, and Alice Eagly, Steven Karau, John Miner and Blair Johnson (1994) performed a

meta-analysis based on these studies, which showed that men scored higher on five of the subscales; competitive games, competitive situations, assertive role, imposing wishes, and standing out of the group. However, women scored higher than the male candidates on two of the subscales; authority figures and routine administrative functions.

Newer research has also shown that men have higher levels of power motivation than women, and that this difference can contribute to the unequal distribution of women and men in leadership positions (Schuh et al., 2014). Further, Schuh et al. (2014) show that the difference in power motivation does not seem to have changed in the last three decades, even though gender roles have changed, and women in management positions have become more prevalent. According to Schuh et al. (2014) the higher power motivation of men account for about 26 percent of the difference between the number of men and women in leadership positions. Thus, different levels of power motivation are a significant factor for why women are less represented in leadership roles than men.

2.3.6 The Queen Bee Phenomenon

Staines, Jayaratne and Tavris (1974) defined the theory of the queen bee phenomenon, which proposes that women who has achieved success in male-dominated organizations are less likely to support other women. The label "queen bee" was given the females who pursue individual success in male-dominated environments by adjusting to fit into the masculine culture and distance themselves from other women. They found that these women were more likely to push aside other females, seeing them as possible competitors and were chipping away their self-confidence or undermined their professional standing.

Later research has focused on the reason for the queen bee phenomenon. Derks, Laar and Ellemers (2011) found through their research on senior policewomen that the reason for queen bee behavior is a response to the discrimination and threat of social identity. Gender-biased work environments shape women's behavior so that women with low gender identification will dissociate with other women and display queen-bee responses in order to achieve individual mobility. Later, they found that this behavior was not a typically feminine response but a

general self-group distancing as a reaction to the discrimination of their group as being a female (Derks, Laar & Ellemers, 2016). However, Arvate, Galilea and Todescat (2018) has through their research on the effect of top-level female leadership on subordinates' females suggested that the queen bee phenomenon might be a myth. According to their findings, instead of being a hinder for subordinate women that female leaders who has much managerial discretion tend to be more benevolent toward their subordinate women. They therefore purpose the new term "regal leader" as more appropriate characterization for women in top positions of power.

Thus, previous research shows that female leaders who reach the top management level does either support their female subordinates or do the opposite, hinder their female subordinates as the queen bee syndrome purposes.

2.4 Culture

Culture is a complex term with many different definitions, and it is almost impossible to define one common term for culture. Hofstede (1980, p. 25), a well-known researcher within the field of culture defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another." Another well-known definition of culture is Geertz (1973, p. 89), who defines culture as "a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life." Kroeber and Kluckholm (1952) has even proposed 164 different definitions on culture.

2.4.1 Organizational Culture

Organizational culture is the culture that is established between the people who are in an organization. The term is also broad with many definitions and therefore hard to define in a definite way. A popular definition of organizational culture is "the way we do things around here" (Kaufmann & Kaufmann, 2011). The main reason for studying organizational culture have by many been the assumption that culture can be an important factor in explaining the success of organizations (e.g. Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Kotter & Heskett, 1992; Trice & Beyer, 1993). The corporate culture that characterizes the organization will have a great influence on

employees (Bang, 1995), as more employees experience the culture as their own, the stronger the effect will be on the employees (Colbjørnsen, 2004). Culture is an abstraction, but the forces created in social and organizational situations that come from culture are powerful (Schein, 2010, p.7). By understanding the dynamics of culture, one will get a deeper understanding of why different groups of people or organizations may be different, but also why it is so difficult to change them. If one understands the culture better, one will also understand itself better and recognize some of the forces that work within us and define who we are. This will make us understand our own personality and character which reflects the groups that socialized with us and the groups we identify with and want to belong. Further, culture is within all people and not only around people (Schein, 2010, p. 9).

2.4.1.1 Schein's model for organizational culture
Schein (2010) divides organizational culture into three different levels; artifacts, espoused beliefs and values and basic underlying assumptions. We will now describe these three levels.

Artifacts

The level of artifacts is at the surface of the organizational culture and are hard to decipher. It can be seen from three different aspects, such as the physical environment, which involves the language, technology and products. Further it involves the artistic reactions such as style, which is embodied in clothing, manners, emotional display, myths and stories that are told in the organization behavioral and verbal manifestations of an organization and its culture. Additionally, there are the published lists of values, the observed rituals, ceremonies and so on (Schein, 2010, pp. 25-26).

Espoused Beliefs and Values

Within this level, we find the conscious values. These values define the organization's social principles, norms, goals and what one is concerned with within an organizational culture (Schein, 1985, 2010). By analyzing espoused beliefs and values, one must be careful by discriminating among those who are congruent with the underlying assumptions that guide performance, those who are rationalizations or just aspirations for the future, and those that are part of the

GRA 19703

organization's ideology or philosophy. Espoused beliefs and values are often so abstract that they can be mutually contradictory, and they often cannot explain much of the area of behavior, which prevents us from understanding the culture fully. To gain a deeper understanding of this, we need to understand the basic assumptions (Schein, 2010, p. 27).

Basic Underlying Assumptions

The basic underlying assumptions are what members of a culture believe as real, and they are the basis of what they perceive, how they think, and what they feel. These assumptions will normally be taken for granted and will often be unconscious and invisible (Schein, 1985, 2010). If one does not decipher the pattern of basic assumptions that may be at work, one does not know whether the artifacts are interpreted correctly or how much credibility will be given to the espoused values. The pattern of basic underlying assumptions is the essence of a culture. It is after one has understood these patterns, that one can easily understand the other levels at surface and handle them properly. For understanding the group's culture, one must try to come to the shared basic assumptions and find which such basic assumptions evolve for understanding the learning process (Schein, 2010, p. 32).

2.5 Police Culture

Within the police, there have been debates over whether it should be referred to a police culture or police cultures (Chan, 1997) and whether there is a culture or subculture (Bacon, 2014). In addition, the question raised has also been to what extent some reference points in the police culture continues over time, while others are more temporary (Loftus, 2010).

Glomseth and Gottschalk (2006) has studied the culture in the quick reaction force in Norway. They characterize the culture as being long term focused, with a flat organizational structure and with open and direct leadership. The values that are clear in the quick reaction force is competency and development, to serve justice, being structured, cooperation and achievement. Later, they studied the organizational culture of the investigation unit in order to compare with the quick reaction force and found that there exists not only one police culture, but many.

The culture in the different departments of the police varies depending on the organization, structure and task. Even though the Norwegian police is considered to be one service based where all functions are in the same organization, there were significantly differences found in the different departments regarding culture (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2009).

Bakli, Botheim and Lassen (2017) evaluated culture, attitudes and leadership in connection with the reform of the Norwegian police. They conducted documented studies, interviews of different federations in the police (tjenestemannsorganisasjonene), interviews from leaders and employees in three police districts, and had conversations with the Police Directorate. They found that there is not one culture in the police as mentioned above, but that it varies among districts and entities. The study did not find clearly what was wrong with the culture, attitudes and leadership, but found that there were strong profession and trade union cultures. Leaders at all levels had to take responsibility for promoting the desired culture and that cultural changes took time. The positive aspects of the police culture turned out to be that they were action-oriented, proud and engaged in their work and wanted to make a difference. The social mission was a strong driver and they took care of each other. On the other hand, some of the negative aspects was that there were a self-righteous and weak culture of criticism (Bakli, Botheim, & Lassen, 2017).

Within police organizations, there is a tendency to measure the police 'performance' by using relatively simple and inaccurate instruments (Cockcroft & Beattie, 2009). When trying to measure cultural change, these challenges are becoming more acute. Although, culture has no objective reality and cannot be experienced in concrete terms, police organizations have been very concerned with proving, measuring, and proclaiming success in cultural change (Cockcroft, 2015). In section **2.4.1.1** we went through Schein's model for organizational culture, where the three levels, artifacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic underlying assumptions were described. By using his model and distinguishing between the different levels of culture, it becomes clear that what often looks like a cultural change is in reality a behavioral change. This means that the underlying assumptions have not changed, but the artifacts have changed which are presented

by a group of people (Cockcroft, 2015). They only managed to change the language and behavior among them and failed to change the way individuals think (Cockcroft, 2014).

A key part of the police culture is a militaristic loyalty, based on the police hierarchy, where it is important to be loyal to the group one belongs to (Johannessen, 2014, p. 45). When new students enter a police district, they are molded into the group by being told how to act, and how to treat superiors. A key part of this is to respect one's closest superior, but keep a distance to leaders of higher ranks. The further up in the chain of command a leader is, the less one has to deal with him or her in the day-to-day operations (Johannessen, 2014, p. 46).

This strong group culture, combined with the distance to higher superiors, creates systems for internal justice where problems are dealt with within the group instead of being reported to the Chief of Police (Johannessen, 2014, p. 46). According to Johannessen (2014, p. 46), this leads to the problems not being solved, and problematic action patterns are maintained, because the police officers in question does not learn or change from the internal justice.

Another aspect of the strong group culture is that it can be difficult to be accepted into the group. Johannessen (2014, p. 46) claims that this is even more difficult for women and ethnic minorities, and that they have to perform better than the 'typical' white male police officer in order to be accepted into the group. According to Johannessen (2014, p. 46), affirmative action to get more minorities into the police academy did not solve this, as the women and ethnic minorities were stigmatized for not being selected on the same conditions as the rest of the students.

3. Methodology

In the previous section we have reviewed relevant theory, that will form a background for our research. In this section we will explain and justify the choice of research design and the methodology used in this study. We will also describe the methods used for data collection, data usage and data analysis. The methods

used for how we have chosen to collect and use data relevant to our research question and describe how the data has been analyzed will be described in this section.

3.1 Analysis Purpose

The purpose of our methodological choice is to find out more about the police culture, and how women in leadership positions in the police experiences being a part of that culture. Based on this, we also want to find the main obstacles for women who wants to apply for leadership positions. With this, we want to highlight the areas that should be focused on in order to increase the number of females in leadership in the police.

3.2 Choice of Method

Research can be based on either quantitative or qualitative method. We have used a qualitative research method to collect our data. This because we wanted to examine a phenomenon we wanted to understand more thoroughly (Johannessen, Christoffersen & Tufte, 2010, p. 36). In qualitative research strategy there is usually an emphasis on words rather than quantification when collecting and analyzing the data. This method has an inductive approach of the relationship between theory and research, where the former has been generated by the latter. It is also noteworthy that this method has an epistemological position which is described as interpretivist. This means that contrary to the adoption of a natural scientific model in quantitative research, the focus is on understanding the social world through examining participants' interpretation of that world. Lastly, this method is an ontological position, which is described as a constructionist. This means that social properties are the outcomes of the interaction between individuals, rather than 'out there' phenomenon, and those involved in their construction are separated (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p. 392). As our approach is based on explorative, qualitative studies, i.e. inductive studies, we have not been able to define all theoretical background and conceptual terms prior to our research. Our literature has therefore rather been a narrative review, as it is more suitable for this kind of research. A systematic review is rather problematic to do in this case, as with this approach theory is rather the outcome of the study than

the basis for it (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p. 110). Additionally, because of the inductive nature of our study, we focus more on discussing our findings than discussing existing literature in our literature review.

3.3 Procedure and Data Collection

The data used in this paper has been collected using in-depth qualitative interviews, collected through physical attendance, which involved travelling to five geographical police areas in Norway. For our sample we have tried to include representatives from different departments and geographical areas. As we are studying leadership development, we wanted to interview female leaders as far up in leadership positions as possible, but due to limited female representations in the highest level, we chose to interview female leaders in the level right under. We have therefore interviewed eleven female leaders with leadership positions in the police based in nine different geographical areas in five different districts; Southeastern, Eastern, Oslo, Nordland and Western police districts.

As this thesis is a part of a DIFI research project, help was provided in finding informants. This was primarily in the form of connections and contact information provided by our supervisor and The Police University College. We approached our contacts through email (Appendix 2) and arranged interviews at time that suited for each informant. In this process, some informants provided contact information to other female leaders they knew. The distribution of male and females in the police vary among the different departments and we have both interviewed informants who has had operational experience and informants who have not. The interviews were carried out with usage of an interview guide (Appendix 1), containing 29 questions, with additional following-up questions used when the informants reflected around relevant themes. The interview guide consisted of questions related to the leader's background, their perceptions of culture, working environment, and leadership. Each interview lasted between 40 to 60 minutes. All interviews were recorded using an audio recorder, and after this, the recordings were transcribed into Word. The last step was to analyze and interpret the information given in the interviews to the best of our ability.

3.4 Ethical Concerns

During the research process, much emphasis has been put on following the best ethical practice, and to avoid unethical research methods. The need for rich data for our research needs to be balanced with anonymity for the participants. This is a well-known challenge when it comes to qualitative research, as informants might be recognized if the data is too rich and descriptive (Cavendish, 1982; Kaiser, 2009; Roth & Unger, 2018). Securing anonymity is a challenge, as there is a risk for potential repercussions to the informants if they can be recognized (Tjora, 2013, p. 159). It has therefore been important not to harm or negatively affect our participants (Bryman, 2016, p. 135). In order to save anonymity, information given during the interviews that could possibly make our informants recognizable have been excluded. Our prioritization has been securing the anonymity of our informants and therefore the data might miss important aspects from the informants. The informants were provided with information about the thesis and the topic, and had the opportunity to ask questions before the interviews and before the audio recordings started. A consent form was signed before the interviews started (Appendix 3). The research and consent form was approved through NSD in advance of the study and we have followed guidelines from NSD during our process (NSD, 2019).

3.5 Data Analysis

In early social sciences research, coding and categorization were used to get an overview of a text material. Coding involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment, which later allows identification of a statement. Categorization on the other hand is a more systematic conceptualization around a statement that creates the prerequisites for quantification, and these two terms are often used interchangeably (Kvale & Brinkmann, trans. 2015, p. 226). Glaser and Strauss (1967) introduced the grounded theory approach, where coding played an important role in the qualitative research. Two key features of grounded theory are that it is concerned with the theory's development out of data and that data collection and analysis proceed together, where they are repeatedly referring to each other (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). After transcribing all the interviews, each of us categorized all the transcribed material by themes and compared them with

each other. We worked with our data collection to find a wholeness by finding similarities and patterns, and connected relevant theories to the categories and data, without being bound to theories in advance. In this way, we could go back to our data and analyze by applying right theories for our study by using secondary sources in terms of scientific articles and other literature to gather more information.

3.6 Quality of Qualitative Research

The field of social research is people, and people have different opinions and beliefs about themselves and others. The opinions and beliefs are not stable but is constantly changing. The social scientist plays an active part in society and can therefore not only be an observer (Skjervheim, 1996, pp. 200-213). It is important to have a critical look at one's own work in order to say more about the relevance of the findings from the research, and we have evaluated the reliability, validity and generalizability of our research. Mason (1996, p. 21) claims that reliability, validity and generalizability "are different kinds of measures of the quality, rigor and wider potential of research, which are achieved according to certain methodological and disciplinary conventions and principles."

3.6.1 Reliability

Reliability concerns the replicability of the study. There are two different aspects; external and internal reliability (Bryman, 2016, p. 390). External reliability involves to what degree the study can be replicated, whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or the same constructs in similar settings (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p. 32; Thora, 2013, p.206). In this section, we will give a detailed description of the procedure throughout the study.

During our research, we have used in-depth interviews and had follow-up questions when needed. This can give different answers if an approximately equal study is carried out later. During the interviews, more detailed follow-up questions were asked, to ensure that the information given were not misunderstood. It must also be taken into account that both the informants and us researchers are females, which could imply that male researchers might not get the

same answers if they were to carry out the study. As previously mentioned, we have conducted the interviews at various police stations, and as the informants are anonymous it is not possible for potential other researchers to interview the same informants at the same locations. However, while it is impossible for other researchers to replicate our study in a way of talking to the same informants and get the exact same answers, we argue that possible other researchers could find similar answers, as we observed some similarities across the different districts and between the different informants. On the other hand, our source for informants could have influenced our selection of candidates, as they are connected to our supervisor, and thus our informants could either be more or less alike through that network.

Internal reliability involves to what degree the researchers agree on the interpretation of the data (Bryman, 2016, p. 390). In this case we have both researchers agreed on the findings. We have clearly described the method for how we have worked independently, both with the coding and later compared our results with each other, for making it easy for others to understand how we have reached the final conclusion in our study. This has made it more internally reliable as we have not been able to influence each other's coding and focus while working independently and therefore when comparing our findings and agreeing on them, we can therefore assume that the internal reliability for the findings holds. However, internal reliability could indeed be strengthened if we were more researchers working on the study and finding the same results independently. Another factor that can affect is the time spent on the interviews, that can cause informants to feel time pressure to not go deeper into their answer. This might limit their answers and not give us the needed context for their experiences and therefore we could have misinterpreted some of the information given during the interviews.

3.6.2 Validity

Validity involves whether "you are observing, identifying, or measuring what you say you are" (Mason, 1996, p. 24). When evaluating the validity there are two different aspects; external and internal validity.

Internal validity refers to what degree there is a match between the observations of the researchers' and the theoretical ideas that they develop (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p. 400). The research is considered internally valid if the analysis is logical and if the research answers the research question in a satisfying manner (Tjora, 2013, p. 2016). By having qualitative in-depth interviews, we found the information needed to answer our research question, and we consider this as the optimal method to use for collecting data and to answer our problem. We have compared our findings and tried to support these with theories to avoid problems with validity. This has previously been documented under the section of data analysis and has been an important part of the validity of this study. The cultural barriers we propose are built through the informant's perceptions from their experiences in the police. We assume their views as valid aspects of how the police culture influences female police leadership. However, we have had to interpret the material into our women-specific barriers. Due to the complexity of our research, and the fact that we have only studied the female point of view, it could be that some aspects of culture have been interpreted wrongfully when deciding what is female specific and what is not.

External validity involves measuring the degree to which findings can be generalized across social setting (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p. 400). As previously mentioned, in this study, we have interviewed eleven female leaders with leadership positions in the police based in nine different geographical areas, within five different districts. As the police consists of twelve different districts, this limits our ability to generalize on the whole police organization. As previously discussed, former research refers to more than one police culture, and the interviews in the other police districts might show different results. However, many of our informants has not been in only one police district during their whole career and, we can therefore assume that information from our informants can give us a representative picture on how female in leadership positions in the police perceives the police culture.

At the same time, we must be aware that the informants will be influenced by their time in the police, and that this can affect how they view the culture within the police. In addition, as we are looking into the police culture it is important to

point out that we only view the police culture from the perception of female police leaders, which can be different from male police leader's perception. Our findings might show difficulties that female police leaders meet, but it does not mean that male police leaders do not meet the same obstacles. As our research is about female leaders there might be findings we show to be "female obstacle" but as we do not talk to any male leaders, some findings might be unrelated to gender.

3.6.3 Generalizability

Generalizability concerns the validity of the findings outside of the study (Tjora, 2013, p. 222). According to Bryman (2016, p. 406), the purpose of a qualitative research is not to generalize to populations, but to generalize to theory. In our case this means comparing our findings with the results from similar research (Tjora, 2013, p. 206). In order to measure the generalizability of a research, Tjora (2013, p. 208-209), has divided it into three different categories. First, there is the naturalistic generalization, which involves giving the details of arguments available in order to make a verdict on whether the research can be generalizable. Second, there is the moderate generalization, which involves describing the situation; time, places, context and other variants where the results are valid. Third, there is the conceptual generalization involves creating concepts, typologies or theories through qualitative research that are relevant for other cases than the ones studied. Further, Bryman (2016, p. 390) states that in order to achieve transferability or generalization in qualitative research, there is a need for "thick descriptions", which means not only describing and observing, but also take into account the context. In that way, readers can understand how the observations can relate to context and therefore make judgements on transferability. In our study, we do present "thick descriptions" and present the informants experiences as detailed as possible. However, when informants have told about important experiences that has been relevant, but given too detailed information about the context, which has made them potentially recognizable, we have needed to remove the information. This limits our transparency and ability to convey all the details of the data. Even though we had to remove some context, many of our examples from the data makes it possible to understand situations and context thoroughly enough for our readers to make a verdict for whether the research can be generalizable. Further, our findings can relate to theories on

females in leadership positions, but as the police culture is a special case, we cannot state that our findings are generalizable to other organizations, which could have other cultures and aspects influences in another way on females in leadership. Furthermore, it must be mentioned that this study has been conducted in the police in Norway and there may be differences between cities and villages, and can either not be generalized to other countries.

4. Results and Discussion

We are now going to present and analyze our findings from the interviews. We will investigate the motivation and support for applying for leadership positions in order to find out what made our informants apply in the first place. Further, we will investigate the characteristics of the different leaders that has been evident for them in order to become a leader. The focus of the analysis will be to discuss which cultural aspects, if any, are preventing women from entering top management as shown in figure 1. We consider our informants to be in the place between middle and top management level. The potential cultural barriers are presented as the "glass ceiling", as the phenomenon as earlier described is supposed to represent the potential barriers that prevents women from taking the last step up in the top management (Morrison, White & Velsor, 1994). Note that we use the term "management" here only to describe the different levels in the organizational hierarchy in the police. When discussing the leadership function of the person in a given management role, we are still referring to leadership as defined in section **2.1**.
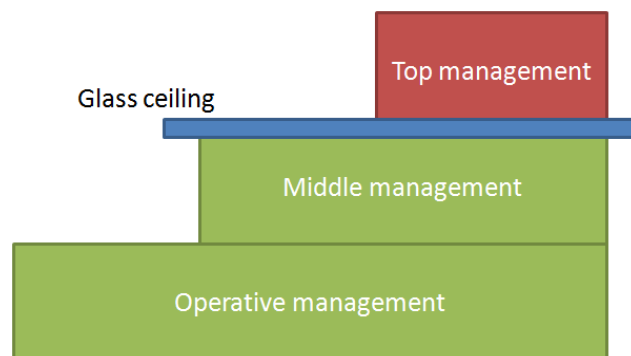

Figure 1: Our research focus

We will present our findings grouped by our codes as discussed in section 3 (Methodology). Our main codes are: Motivation, encouragement and confidence, police culture, differences between operational and bureaucratic practices, expectations of masculine traits, and leadership development. We discuss motivation first, as it was evident from our data that our informants found motivation important for choosing to become leaders in the first place. Then, we discuss encouragement and confidence, as our informants pointed this out as the next step on the path to becoming a leader. Further, we discuss the police culture and how they have perceived it, in order to find out more about their experiences with fitting into the culture. Thereafter, we discuss the relevance of our findings and relate it to the different aspects of operational and bureaucratic practice. Further, we discuss one of the obstacles we found during our interviews, the expectations of police leaders to have masculine traits, and how these impacts women in leadership positions. Then we discuss how our informants have been able to develop as leaders, the aspect from getting into the position, and how they have experienced fitting into their new role as a leader. Finally, we discuss the relevance of our findings and relate it to the different aspects of operational and bureaucratic practice.

4.1 Motivation

Motivation is a key aspect that several of our informants found important for moving up into leadership position. In this section we discuss our key findings related to our informants' motivation for leadership. Many of the informants had inner motivation, which has been an important driver for them to succeed:

> I guess I have always had a little like that, what should I say, aspiring leader in me. (I11)

Some of the leaders has also had leadership as a vision through their whole career:

> Applying for a leadership position has always been triggered by my inner motivation, I started in leadership training in the army before that and have always had a focus on becoming a leader. (I3)

Being aware of how motivated you are before considering applying for leadership position is also pointed out by our informants:

> It is important to know what your motivation is for becoming a leader and what is needed. If one is not clear with oneself about that, I think one will become disappointed, because there is a lot of work to become a leader. We need to be our own motivator, to set goals, to take initiative and think strategically in order to become a leader candidate. (I7)

We can see that the statement of informant 7 is supported by other informants. For example, there were informants who were very motivated that managed to achieve success in management despite the many hinders they met. Informant 11, experienced that a younger male candidate was promoted before her. With the help of her own motivation she did what she could, she thought strategically. She took management courses, which she knew gave her an advantage and knew that at some point they could not ignore her since her resume made her superior to other candidates. We will discuss this case further in section **4.3.** It can therefore seem like some candidates got even more motivated by the fact that it would indeed be challenging to achieve leadership success, this is also supported by informant 10:

> When I applied for the incident commander role it was a selection with proper screening with competing against only men. Then I became even more motivated because then I knew that we were going to be tested after the course that lasted for one month was completed. And when I compare myself to others, I think that 'if he is going to make it, then I will'. I felt like it was going to be easy, and that I would do it better myself. I do not feel inferior to men; I simply have great faith in myself. (I10)

However, while our informants seemed to be motivated to do their job and enjoy their job. Some of our informants stated that they do not at this time want to consider climbing any further. One key aspect of top management that some of our informants points out is that it is time consuming. To work in top management involves reduced free time, and requires the leader to always be available:

> I do not have a dream about becoming Chief right now. If I get one level up, then I must be there in case of crisis. I enjoy skiing and other things, and I do not want to have my mobile phone on while skiing. Now I have a duty schedule, so that I know that someone else covers for me. One level up, there is no one else (I1)

> If I were to do it all over again, I would have waited even more before applying for leader position, not because I do not like being a leader, but because I enjoyed the other jobs, besides there is a lot of responsibility being a leader, you have to follow up on your employees 24/7. (I2)

> I sometimes miss being on the lower level, just being at work the normal eight hours and then come home and be done. As a leader you must be available 24/7, I try to limit the time spent on work. (I4)

> If we as women think that when we want to enter leadership positions we are in addition going to be the best mother, the friend who bakes the nicest cakes, travel to nice places, participate in girls nights etc., it is not possible, at some point you do not manage the time, that is why I have prioritized very hard. (I7)

Further, some of the informants states that it was difficult for women to come back to work after they had been away for maternity leave:

> I have several female colleagues who have gone through pregnancy and felt insecure and had many questions. When they return after the leave, they feel like a zero. (I11)

> She [her colleague] was on leave and when she came back, she suddenly had no place and there was a lot of confusion. (I5)

Informant 11 states that women do not feel valued after being away from work, while informant 5 states that one loses his place after being away for a while. This could influence motivation, as women has to be longer away from work than men, and if they have to start fresh when coming back from maternity leave, this could influence motivation for leadership position for women in particular.

It is clear from these findings that motivation is a significant factor that could prohibit many from moving up into management positions, and in particular top management, which is found to be especially time consuming. Therefore, it is possible that motivation is a contributing factor that can prevent women from moving up into top management. Because all our informants are female, it is difficult to say if there is a difference between motivation for men and women in the police based solely on our findings. However, as discussed in section **2.3.5**, research indicates that men in general have higher levels of power motivation than women, and that this is a significant factor for why there are more men than women in management positions. Additionally, informant 7 points out how the leadership role conflicts with the expectation that women should be the best mother, or the best friend. This finding is aligned with congruity theory, as discussed in section **2.3.4**, which claims that the leader role contradicts with the stereotypical expectations of women. In order to enter top management, informant 7 claims that you have to prioritize your job over fulfilling this stereotypical role, which could impact the motivation of some potential female leaders. This combined with that women have to work their way up again after being away on maternity leave could influence the motivation of females in particular and could be a factor that prohibits women in particular from moving up into police top management. Another factor shown to reduce motivation for top management positions are the political factors of top management, both externally and internally.

> We are politically managed, which can hurt the motivation. The police reform is not based on science, but instead it is politically motivated. (I1)

This illustrates how external political control impacts motivation, as decisions are not always perceived to be best for the police, but rather as parts of a larger political agenda. These findings seem to coincide with the findings of Sewell (1991) discussed in section **2.2**, who argues that all decisions in higher police management are political in nature, and that police chiefs need to be able to manage external politics. This further indicates the importance of power motivation in police leadership, as police leaders must be motivated to exert power through political influence in addition to "normal" leadership influence.

This fits with our definition for power motivation from section **2.3.5.** Similarly, internal politics between departments can also be a factor for motivation:

> It is difficult to get the upper levels [of management] on a strategic level. There are too much 'King on the Hill', and it is difficult for managers to go outside their own responsibilities and see that they also should be responsible for all of Oslo. (I1)

This illustrates how self-interest can cause political processes within the organization, where department managers try to optimize for their own departments, and not for the organization as a whole. Just as with external political processes, these internal political processes could make power motivation even more important, as exerting political power is found to be a central part of police leadership.

As we have seen, motivation seems to have played an important role for succeeding in climbing the career ladder in the police for many of our informants. We can both see that motivation has gotten informants through difficult barriers and that some leaders do not want to climb any further due to lack of motivation that are caused by among other things, reduced free time. However, while this explains that motivation is important in order to get through difficult barriers when climbing the ladder, it does not necessarily mean that women who does not succeed lacks motivation. It is apparent that power motivation is important for potential leaders, and if men are more motivated by power than women, as previously discussed, this could be a significant barrier for the women who lacks this high degree of power motivation.

4.2 Encouragement and Confidence

In the previous section we discussed the importance of motivation in order to apply and succeed. In this section we discuss how the informants were selected as leaders and what has been important for them in order to apply for leadership positions.

Encouragement from other seems to have been a very important factor for our informants to apply for leadership positions. Some did not even think about becoming a leader before they were approached:

> A female leader asked me 'have you considered the leadership path?' And that was a little shocking to me, because no, I had not. (I1)

> The reason why I chose to become a leader was that my male colleagues approached me and told me that they wanted me to become a leader and that I should apply for leader position. I think that regardless of whether you are a female or a male in the police, my experience is that skilled people are pointed out and encouraged. (I2)

Many of our informants were dependent on being told that they would fit into a leadership position from others. It seems like a confirmation is needed in order for them to apply:

> There was a colleague that told me 'I think you would really fit into a leader position' and that got me thinking that it would be nice to become a leader and get new challenges. If someone had encouraged me even more, I think I would have applied earlier. (I5)

> It is often the case that others see you better than you do yourself, and there were people who perhaps hinted "maybe you should apply for that position" and "maybe you should try." I also began to think and wonder myself, that maybe I should do that then, maybe I should try. And think that when you first apply for a leadership position, then one might be a bit more open for other things as well. (I6)

While a few saw an available leadership position and just sent the application:

> When I saw the position was available, I just thought "how fun, I will apply", and then I got the job. I am more like if something looks fun, I'll try for it. If I get it then, fun. (I10)

Encouragement from others seems to have been important for most of our informants. Surprisingly many were convinced by other colleagues and some were encouraged by their leaders. Only four out of our eleven informants applied without any encouragement, two applied after being told that they would fit into a leadership position, while five of our informants did not apply before they were explicitly told to do so. It seems to be important in order to apply for leadership positions, that someone points them out and tells them that they are "good enough" for applying. There were opinions among the informants about why females in particular needed encouragement in order to apply. Many of our informants stated that they think females are less confident and that there are differences among the genders when it comes to courage. The informants stated that a reason for this is that women are more self-critical. This has also been proved to be the case in other studies, as males have higher levels of self-esteem than females (Kling, Hyde, Showers & Buswell, 1999). Being self-critical could potentially be a hindrance from succeeding, as our informants points out, some females do not dare to even apply for positions:

> When I apply for jobs, I look at "I can do this and this, but not that and that, but that I will learn." Many women are focused on checking all the boxes when looking at job requirements, they believe that they must be able to do everything and if they lack some of the boxes, they do not apply. I am not like that; I only see opportunities. (I10)

> Us women are often setting high demands to ourselves; we care too much about what others think of us. When becoming a leader, it is important to repeat to oneself "I just have to not care about what others think". I have been doing that a lot. I cannot take it personally, since the reactions are only due to you being a leader, and not anything else. (I7)

Thus, according to our informants, these seems to be aspects that makes it challenging especially for women to become a leader. As our informants say, women care too much about how they are perceived. Further, some informants pointed out that they felt that it was their responsibility as leaders to point out and encourage other potential candidates in the future:

> I think we as leaders need to be good at looking for potential leadership talents and encourage them. I have done so, there was this colleague that I had seen potential in, and I said, "You know what? I see what you do, I see that you have potential and now it is time that you try to see further", and after only six months, I saw changes, my colleague took a lot of responsibility. (I11)

Encouragement seems to be very important, as it turns out that there is a need for being pointed out as qualified in order for many to apply. And as we have interviewed candidates in leadership positions, we know that they were all qualified as they have succeeded, but that few of them saw the leadership potential in themselves beforehand. Many of the informants did need a little push to make them self realize that becoming a leader was a possibility for them. They all seem to be very aware of the fact that they need to dare more and as one informant stated, she thought that she would have applied earlier if she only dared, or if someone had encouraged her earlier.

4.3 Police Culture

In this section, we discuss how the informants have experienced the police culture. When discussing the police culture, it became evident that many of our informants found it hard to define, as they have perceived the police culture to be different from department to department and some even said that the police culture varied from working day shift and night shift at the same department. However, as police culture is a broad term and the aspects are many, we have chosen to focus on the aspects and experiences of what the informants have told that is relevant to our study. That is, the elements of how they have experienced to fitting into the culture. In order to further structure the discussion, we will use Schein's model for organizational culture from section **2.4.1.1**, to identify artifacts, espoused beliefs and values, and basic underlying assumptions in the police culture.

> Early in my police career there was a police leader who said "why are there so many girls at work today? We shall just put them in one police car and then they can just be on their own". I did not react much to it, knowing that those I work

with have never thought 'do I really have to drive with a girl?', I knew that it was only that one individual's attitude. (I4)

There were some informants that mentioned experiences early in their police career, where they met individuals who were negative against females in general in the police. This could indicate an underlying assumption from Schein's model, as it seems that some individuals have an unconscious assumption or feeling that females in some way are less qualified than males. However, it seems like while it would indeed be something that people could react to, it seems like most of the informants were able to distance themselves from the comments, as they need not perceive it to be the most people's meaning, and that it was just simply individuals who were alone with that opinion and attitude. Worth to mention, is that many of the examples mentioned where there were signs of females being less welcome seems to be more related to individuals and less the "old male culture", as the examples mentioned are focused on individuals and not groups in particular. Some of our informants have because of this especially had focus on changing the culture, as they find it important to react against unacceptable behavior:

> There is always someone who has to be on the line between what is okay or not. And if you as a leader just sit there and smile and laugh with them, then you will continue that trend. We have leaders that say, and often with many people around, "you know what? I do not find that appropriate to say. That is not in line with the attitude one should have when working in the police." (I5)

This shows how informant 5 tries to change the espoused values from Schein's model, as she observes conscious attitudes and social principles that she finds inappropriate. They have also found it important to set a standard for what is acceptable in their department:

> There are probably quite large individual differences from place to place and in relation to how close the leader is, and what one allows to call a bad culture. I think it is a bit of such a decisive factor for how, those who have leadership responsibility, are involved as cultural carriers, and for

our part it has been important to play on the social arena, create a good cohesion, belongingness, knowledge, competence and mastering. (I3)

Thus, non-accepted behavior still occurs, but it can seem to be a focus on reacting against it. Furthermore, while leaders have the possibility to set a standard for the culture, our informants also state that they as leaders tend to be alone about taking responsibility:

> We have such a culture to blame leaders and we have a culture that no one wants to be leaders, because one sees what they are exposed to. It can be challenging to make people take responsibility for their role in a larger picture, many believe that if there is a problem, it is the managers responsibility to fix it. (I5)

This makes it even more important for a leader to be robust and manage critique and adversity even more.

When it comes to the selection for higher positions on the other hand, it seems like there are informants who says that the way they have entered the police could influence their whole experience of whether the police culture is so-called "male dominant" or not:

> I experienced, and still experience, and I find it exciting to reflect on and study male leaders on how they behave and conveys and if a woman acts in the same manner, I experience that they are perceived much differently. That is my opinion about that. I know that other female leaders in the police says that they have not experience anything, but then I believe, at least that is my thoughts about it, that they must have had another entrance into the police leadership than what I have had. There is a huge difference between becoming a leader in the jurisdictional department than through The Norwegian Police University College and having to compete with all the males when applying for leadership positions. (I9)

This has been evident among the answers we have gotten as well. Informants who had been longer in the police and thereby started their police career earlier had more experience with so-called "old male culture", than people who had entered later. This seems like an underlying assumption from Schein's model, as it seems like some police officers unconsciously perceive male and female leaders differently. Further, in the areas and departments where there already were female leaders in the ranks over, informants had less issues and less experiences with difficulties regarding being promoted, than in the areas with less women. And it seems like especially they who had started their career earlier had experienced not being selected for promotion even though it could seem that they were supposed to be given the job if the selection was based on merit:

> When I began at the sheriff's office, there was much younger male officer who was promoted before me. That got me pissed off. They argued that the reason was due to his 6 study points in leadership, so they chose the formal competence over my 10 years of experience. Then I thought "to hell with that' and began studying leadership paying out of my own pocket." (..) This further gave me an advantage as few others could match my leadership competences. (I11)

Informants has also experienced not being selected for leadership positions where they saw themselves as most qualified not only in cases where they felt it was related to gender:

> I have experienced being through application processes where I have not been chosen, while I, if you look at the application objectively, have been the candidate with the most education and experience. I have neither been given any good reason for why I have not been selected. So, I believe that there exist discrimination, with regards to the recruiter wanting a certain person into the position or that a person is given an advantage for seniority from a position that is not relevant to the position while others might be more competent and have the right experience. (I3)

According to this informant, there is a general trend in the police to promote former colleagues and close ones before others. If they go way back with another

candidate, they tend to choose that candidate instead. As we can see, this informant has experienced that selection for leadership positions could be influenced by networks and relations. However, while this could be seen as a general trend regardless of gender, we have also found that networking is more difficult for women. This will be further discussed in section **4.5**.

However, informants have already seen change and believe that the change in gender distribution will improve the situation for women:

> I believe that we have cultural differences from place to place, differentiating between who has come long and who has not. It is not possible to compare with 10-15 years back in time, it has really changed, and it is completely different today. (I11)

> There were not so many girls when I started for over 30 years ago, but we have become more and more. When I entered a managerial position like this one, gender has not been a topic here. I have never experienced it as a challenge. (I6) I think that with the increase of more women in the police, we will naturally be a better distribution among the genders. Not necessarily that there will be more women, but that it will be fairer, and that the distribution will be natural in the sense of that the exclusion will no longer exist. (I5)

Many have mentioned that they are afraid of losing credibility if the selection would seem to favor women instead of focusing on merit. This could also make their success more negligible:

> When I was selected for the new position, there was this male colleague who said "so nice that we are going to have a female in this group", and that started me thinking, is that why I got the job? I understood that it was not the case, but I did not see the reason why he needed to point out the fact that I am a woman. I have never considered myself to be any different than my male colleagues. I get really frustrated when people say "she must have gotten the job only because she is a woman." I really do not want to be any female alibi. The position I am climbing up to is considered as more top management, maybe that is the reason why I have started to think in that manner? I have never thought about it before, so maybe this climb to the next level makes me think that way. (I8)

It seems clear that our informants want equal treatment of female and male candidates. They are especially concerned about a fair selection and they do not want it to be unbalanced in the way that females are to be selected just because they are females. Many have especially mentioned that concern:

> I have always been concerned about that it is my qualities and not the gender that should be decisive for whether I get a job or not, among other things and maybe some challenges attached to it, but I think this is not something like either... or dilemma. (I3)

This shows examples of both an underlying assumption, and an espoused belief. First, informant 8 observes an individual with the underlying assumption that males and females were different in how they functioned in the group. Then informant 8 points out how some people hold the conscious belief that she or other female leaders were chosen for the position based only on their gender. This type of belief is also documented by Johannessen (2014 p. 46) who states that affirmative action can stigmatize women for not being selected on the same conditions as men as discussed in section **2.5.** However, other informants have mentioned believing there to be fair selection practice in the police. This again has made them feel more legitimate as a leader, and that it has been important to them, knowing that they were the most fit for the job, and that this has given them a sense of safety:

> I thought it was really nice to transfer from the military to the police, because in the military I felt that no matter what I did, I still felt that I stood out as a girl, but when I came to the police, I felt that I was given credit for my results (..) it has also been important to me that, as a contradiction to my experience in the military, in the police it is not like females have not competed at the same level as their male colleagues when they are applying for important positions. It is important to me, because you will lose legitimacy if you get an advantage into management. (I2)

In this section we have seen examples of espoused beliefs and values, and basic underlying assumptions from Schein's model for organizational culture from

section **2.4.1.1.** On the espoused beliefs and values level, we have seen how informant 5 reacted to inappropriate attitudes, while informant 8 experienced that people believed some leaders were chosen based on gender and not qualification. As discussed, this could simply be the opinions of certain individuals, and does not necessarily represent the opinions of the majority of police officers. However, these attitudes could also be symptoms of deeper cultural barriers for women in the police. According to Schein (2010, p. 27), we must understand the basic assumptions in order to explain the espoused beliefs and values. On the basic assumption level, we do indeed see examples of how males and females are being perceived differently. Informant 4 experience how an individual perceives females to be less qualified than males, while informants 8 and 9 observes how females are perceived different than males in group functions and leadership functions respectively. This indicates that there are, indeed, some underlying and unconscious assumptions in the police culture that men and women function differently. This could create barriers for females trying to enter top management, if there are different assumptions of how men and women function in this role. We will discuss this more specifically in section **4.4**. (Expectation of Masculine Traits).

In section **2.3.3,** we mentioned the three different perspectives that separates men and women and that one could even say that they belong to different cultures. Further, as earlier research has shown, the difference in leadership performance was minimal between the two genders, but when organizations had a masculine culture, female leaders came worse off than men. According to our findings, it seems like the male dominant culture has been less evident to our informants. However, as we have mentioned, it is a difference between starting the police career in the operative department versus from the jurisdictional department. Also, if you start in the operational department, it is a difference between the departments where the genders have been more equally distributed and the departments where there has been no other or just a few women. The gender distribution where the informants has started their career in the police seems to have been important. In the operative departments especially, there has not been females in the higher ranks which seems to have been an important factor for the

differences in our informants experiences. We will discuss this difference further in the following subsection.

4.3.1 Police culture in operational departments

An important aspect of police culture that several of our informants pointed out, is that there are large cultural differences between operational departments and more bureaucratic departments:

> The typical masculine culture is more dominant in the more operative departments. (I9)

> There are not many females who have been leaders in an operative department in Norway because it has been very male-dominated. I have also gone the very typical man's way and not chosen the very 'female tasks' in the police. (I9)

These statements from informant 9 show that the masculine police culture is even stronger in the operational departments, which indicates that the cultural barriers for female leaders identified previously in this section will also be more prevalent in these departments. Several informants even claim that women are actively excluded from leadership positions in the operative police departments:

> It seems like the old habits of keeping the women down might still exist in the operational departments, I think it is culturally conditioned in the operative special areas. I think it would be healthy with more female leaders in those departments, maybe even they will soften up with more females there. (..) I believe that it is harder for women to get up in management positions in the operative section. (I7)

> In the operative departments' females did simply just not get to entry fully. There was this one female leader, she was kind of tough, she really wanted to succeed as a leader in the operative department, but it was really difficult for her. When she came back from being on leave, she suddenly did not have her position there anymore. (I5)

These statements show that the basic assumption from Schein's model of how males and females are being perceived differently is prevalent in operational

police departments, to the point where women are excluded from leadership roles. This is supported by Johannessen (2014, p. 46), who claims that a strong loyalistic group culture in police departments dominated by men can make it difficult for women to be accepted into the group, as discussed in section **2.5**. This indicates that the cause of these underlying assumption is a lack of females in the operative departments. Similarly, we see that informant 7 explains this culture with a lack of female leaders, who could help "soften up" the departments. Further, informant 4 points out that many females are leaving operative departments, which could add to the problem:

> I think there are many females, including myself, that does not want to be working operative anymore after becoming a mother. That is one of the things we are trying to look at, why we lose so many females from the operational positions, because we need females there as well. (I4)

> I started in the police because I thought it was exciting and it seemed like a job of action and excitement. Eventually I got family, got pregnant and got small kids and moved the focus from action and excitement to slightly different type of police job as investigation. Then, there were leadership positions available, the operation manager job was vacant and I was really mature for some change, wanted to do some other things and when there was vacant station commander position here, then I was yes (..) thought it was exciting to apply, and I got the job. (I6)

As we can see, informant 4 is also under the impression that more females are needed in the operative departments. However, she and other female police officers are moving away from these departments. Both informant 4 and informant 6 moved away from operative departments after having children, and informant 6 explains that she wanted a position with "less excitement" as a consequence of this. All in all, it seems that the cultural issues we have highlighted for the police in general is even stronger in operational departments, due to less female representation.

4.4 Expectations of Masculine Traits

A central part of our findings is the expectations of masculine traits. We are here going to discuss in what way masculine traits have been central for the informants. In order to structure the discussion, we use the Bem Sex-Role Inventory to define masculine and feminine traits. According to Bem (1974), who proposed the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, males are expected to have instrumental traits, such as assertiveness and independence, while women are expected to have expressive traits, such as being understanding of others and gentle.

During our interviews there has been many examples and statements about the importance of not being too feminine. This has according to our informants been important in order to succeed and to be taken seriously:

> It is important that we [female leaders] do not appear girly. We should not use female cunning, but be direct with the guys. Of course, you can be smart, and do smart things, but you should not use female cunning! It's like we should not wear short skirts. (I8)

> I have pushed many others to not worry too much, to rather think that 'this is good enough.' People do not need to be perfect in every area to succeed. Many thinks that things have to be done extraordinary in order for them to prove that they can handle their job and that they do not want others to be able to point out errors they can potentially do. One should worry less, not be such a 'good girl.' Our male colleagues worry less, and it goes just as well. So that has been my advice, worry less, get things done, so that people see that you are able to progress and that you should be the one to decide. (I10)

This illustrates how police managers are expected to be more masculine, and how female police managers also should appear masculine. The masculine traits have also been pointed out as a way to behave and think with regards to the lack of confidence and courage from female leaders as discussed in **4.2.** Our informants perceive courage and confidence as something connected to masculinity and men:

> You must not be modest, you must have courage, dare to stand out and be confident on your competence and experiences from practice. I have myself been

a mentor, and what I see is that male colleagues often can give a whole list of all the skills they have, while the women tend to focus on what they cannot. That is when I often say 'be a man'. Maybe not so nice to say, but it is the confidence to trust oneself, own knowledge and competence and experiences. (I11)

This effect appears to be evident in our findings, as several of our other informants also state that they show masculine traits:

I am not a typical female. I know it myself, and I also get a lot of feedback, that I am very 'male' in my thoughts and approaches. You can find more females like me that comes from operational departments. (I10)

We [females in the police] have a lot of similarities, here I meet the women that I did not meet in high school, they have more, ehm, male hormones. I mean, they are more ongoing, extroverted, want a lot in their job (I1)

I might not be representative for females, as I am not the typical girly leader (I2)

I am more unmasked, I'm tough" further she says that she has been described by others as "someone you do not want to mess with, she is safe, she has got the courage and she works for what we shall in the workplace. (I7)

I have never considered myself as a female in the police. When people referred to us as 'the guys on guard', I took that as a compliment, that I was considered as a part of the gang. (I8)

Informants 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 11 all state that one of their most important traits as leaders in the police is their social skills, in that they care for their employees, employ trust-based management, and focus on creating a good work environment.

I try to find solutions if there is a need both work related or in private, if they need one day off, I will try as hard as I can to make that happen. I have an open door, and they can come talk to me about everything. (I3)

This shows that the leaders have the stereotypical feminine trait by being relationship focused. As earlier mentioned in section **2.3.1**, females tend to

become relation focused because of their development and close relationship to their mother during their childhood. Since there are so many leaders that highlights their social skills and the focus on being a leader you can talk to, it can seem that they are positively identifying as a woman and that their feminine skills are something they are proud about.

However, it is clear that they reflect on the expectations of leaders to have masculine traits and that not all of them managed to imagine that their personality was fit for a leadership role.

> I did not think that I had the traits needed, but as they told me I was fit for the job, I did apply (I2)

Also, some informants pointed out that they had difficulties behaving as a leader, as they felt their personality made it hard for them, but they have changed their behavior to meet the experienced needs of behaving masculine as a leader:

> I am a person who basically likes to make everyone pleased, but I have learnt a lot during my time here, to be clearer and more definite. (I4)

> I am really empathic; I have a lot of care for others. I think that it could sometimes hindrance to me, since there is sometimes a need for being authoritarian and definite, you need to make decisions quickly, especially when it comes to incidents where there is a need for acute management. I have become a more serious, maybe a little too serious, I need to try to find back to myself again, it is exhausting behaving in contradiction with who I really am as a person. (I5)

As mentioned in section **2.3.4** there exist stereotypes about female leaders as they are expected to fit into their gender role, while the same criteria are not in accordance with the expectations of a leader. Different leadership positions, and different organizational cultures, could influence which of these traits are seen as most important for the specific organization and position. As we have found through our informants, masculine traits seem to be central in their thoughts about leadership and expectation. Even more interesting is that many of our informants

even found themselves to be "not representative" for women in general as they perceive themselves as "not so girly" in the way they are. This can relate to the aspects of queen bee phenomenon as we mentioned in section **2.3.6.**, that females who achieve success in male-dominated organizations tend to adjust in order to fit into the masculine culture (Staines, Jayaratne & Travis, 1974) Some of our informants have told that they have tried to change their behavior in order to become a better leader, this by being more dominant as a leader or just trying to be more definite.

> Females can be really mean to each other and they can easily envy each other, but I have never experienced that in the police. There are girls who are like that, of course there are a few, but most of them are pretty much alike and they are also more direct as my male colleagues. (I4)

According to the theory of queen bee phenomenon, women who achieve success in male-dominated organizations are less likely to support other women (Staines, Jayaratne & Travis, 1974). In contradiction to the queen bee phenomenon, many of the informants who have had female leaders in higher ranks at the same geographical area, as we discussed earlier, had experienced support from the female leaders among them. However, there were females who experienced that the other females were less supportive than their male colleagues:

> When I became a leader and got higher management functions, I felt that for the females they reacted like, "yes, it was okay that you came up here, but especially higher than this is not okay. Now we are not supporting you anymore!" Because it was kind of a bit too much, but I have been very much supported by good men around me, both in my leader group. I have been raised as a leader primarily by other male leaders. I do not believe that it is the case that female leaders support other female leaders, I have not seen that, neither with regards to myself nor to others. (..) when you work in a male dominated environment, when you are social with a group of people, it is easier to get support from men because the majority are men (I9)

What we did notice on the other hand, is that in the departments where there were more females, it seemed to be more support for other females than in the

departments where there were very few women. Thus, associating with other females seemed to be easier for the females who had others. Females who were very few among many men seemed to feel more pressure to fit in and by so disassociate more from other females. It was evident that behaving more in a masculine manner was important to most.

4.5 Leadership Development and Networking

In order to succeed as a leader and to climb higher in the so-called ladder, leadership development is important. When it comes to leadership development, the informants spoke about both informal and formal networks and the possibility to get courses and get more formal knowledge. However, an interesting part is how some of our leaders experienced taking over the role as a leader:

> He who I got the leadership position after quit on the day. I said the whole time that we should have an overlap, but I never got that. When I got to the job the first day, there was a yellow post-it on the desk. All that was written on it was "you can just throw most of the things on the shelf." And that, that was my so-called "overlap". (I9)

Because of this, creating better routines in the future has been important to some of our informants. It has been evident that many of our informants has had issues with knowing who to turn to and how to learn:

> There was no one who told me how I was going to do my job, I was given a lot of tasks that I had never done before and I had to find someone who could show me how to do them. So, it has been merely on my own initiative. A lot of things I do at work is not things we were taught at the The Norwegian Police University College. (I3)

This shows how important networking has been for our leaders as they have to find out a lot of things on their own initiative. This coincides with the findings of Filstad et. al. (2018), who shows that police leadership often is learned through practical experience as discussed in section **2.2.** Therefore, they argue that networks are important for police leadership development (Filstad et. al., 2018). Networking involves creating and managing a system based on social connections

that gives access to resources which are beneficial both for oneself and for others (Byrum-Robinson & Womeldorff, 1990). As seen, both informant 3 and 9 experienced being given tasks without knowing how to solve them, who to ask or how to connect with someone who can help them, so it is clear that network has an important role in police leadership. In particular, we see that informant 3 had to start creating this network, by finding others who could teach her.

Many of the informants says that this form of networking has been an important part of their leadership development and also found it important to keep them motivated and understand situations or simply just get support in difficult situations:

> I had a really good management team backing me, and if it were not for them, I do not believe that I would have been a leader today (I9)

Thus, networking is not only important for leadership development, but also for motivation, which is discussed in section **4.1**.

While some of the informants has had some formal networks, it seems to be the informal networks that has been evaluated as the network that is being used when need for support. In addition, support from family has also been an important factor for some of the informants. An example of this is some pointing out that having a husband who has adjusted his own work in order to have time for their children has given opportunities. Some informants often use close friends from the police who can see the situation from another perspective:

> We have never had any formal network that we can use if there is a need, at those times one often uses a person you trust or the closest leader if there are any challenges. (I3)

> I think it is important to have a network to succeed as a leader. It could be a mentor, either male or female, I had a male colleague that earlier was my leader that I have called when I have questions. (I4)

These findings show that the networks do not necessarily have to be formal in order to help with leadership development. This finding is supported by Burt (1992, 1998), and Krachardt and Hanson (1993), who claim that such informal channels help with communication and collaboration.

This is also shown by informants 2 and 8, who stresses the importance of an open dialogue with their coworkers, which has been important for them in order to develop:

> I am a part of a leader group that are sitting in a higher position than me and the group there is focused on solutions, teamwork, flexibility between the sections so that we together can give the best possible police service. I find it inspiring that we evaluate the whole district, not only evaluating ourselves. I have a boss that is always there in crisis, so that is a safety in itself, knowing that she will always give med feedback if there is a need for improvements and how to adjust. We have an open dialogue (I2)

> It is the section that contributes to my leadership development because I get so much ... In what you do something, you get direct feedback. Then, I have had some supporters right from the start, which I have told from the beginning that they have a special function and that is to tell me when things do not work (..) So, getting immediately the direct inputs or the feedback that states what works and what does not work. (I8)

However, while many of our informants has told that they have someone to talk to, there are also some leaders who feel that they lack support:

> If I have a bad day, I have nobody to talk to, so I kind of have to get through it alone. You get a little lonely, I might be able to talk to the leaders on the lower level, but I need to appear to have control, so it is a little difficult. (I7)

> After all, I see that male leaders may to a greater extent seek each other than necessarily to me, more naturally. It's like "boys talk", but I have no women I talk to. (I9)

Here, we see examples of the effects of not having established networks or other leadership development arenas. As previously discussed, Finstad et. al. (2018) shows how such networks and other development arenas are key for police leadership development, which in turn builds confidence. It is apparent from informant 7 that she does not have access to this type of development arenas, and as a consequence this makes her feel alone. Further, informant 9 experiences that male leaders have access to more informal networks than she has as a female leader, as she does not have the opportunity to be part of the "boys talk". Therefore, it could be argued that women in police leadership faces a barrier for leadership development, as they could be excluded from informal male networks. Because of the importance of such networks, as discussed in this section, this is potentially a significant barrier that could prevent women from entering top management due to the lack of leadership development.

On the other hand, the police have also had formal female networks only for women. However, our informants tend to be against these networks as they experience it to rather create distance than help:

> When I started in the agency, it was a grouping that we had female network in (..), which was a little negative for some, including me. Because I think we should not have any difference. In what we make female networks, we make a difference. I think if we do not have any quotation, we will not have any thoughts about coming in because we are girls, and that will be better. Then, I asked if I could leave the female network which people reacted negatively to. (I8)

> I have chosen not to be part of female only networks, as I do not find that important, I find all leader colleagues important. I have gotten requests about joining in such networks, but why should I be a part of a female network and not a male network? (I1)

These formal women networks are meant for creating support among females who wants to develop. There are many who encourages this kind of networks as they are supposed to help females develop (Cullen-Lester, Woehler & Willburn, 2016). However, it has also been shown negativity towards networking, as some perceive networks as self-serving, insincere, or manipulative (de Janasz & Forret, 2008).

The networking can therefore make people feel morally impure as they perceive the networking to only benefit themselves (Casciaro, 2014; Casiaro & Lobo, 2005). Female-only networks in particular can also cause additional stigma, as it excludes males (Anderson, Vinnicombe & Singh, 2008). It is apparent that this is how informants 1 and 8 view the female only networks available to them. They both focus on how female networks creates differences between male and female leaders, which is viewed negatively. This is an interesting contrast to the informal male networks discussed previously, which does not seem to be viewed in the same negative light as the formal female networks. This could create even more barriers for women in leadership positions, if they are excluded from informal male networks, and at the same time choose not to be part of formal female networks that they feel contribute to the distance between male and female leaders.

This effect could to some degree be reduced by informal female networks:

> I have some female colleagues that I call if there is something I need to talk about. I mean, if there is something important that I need to discuss with someone. Not that there is anything formal about it, it is more informal. I feel that I perceive things differently than my male colleagues and I kind of envy them the fact that they are not sensitive, or at least they do not seem to be, they are more direct, while I find that part difficult. (I4)

As we can see, informant 4 shows the importance of informal female networks in the same way that informant 9 showed how male informal "boys talk" was an important arena for male leadership development. Ely (1994) also shows that both women and men form this kind of network. However, the author also finds that women have more difficulties forming such strategic networks than males. In addition, these informal networks are time consuming, and therefore females tend to down-prioritize it in order to spare time for work and family responsibilities. (Eagly & Carli, 2007). This could explain why many of our informants still feel alone and excluded from networks, as we have seen previously in this section. Additionally, because of the importance of male-only or female-only informal networks, the leadership development opportunities of a given leader will depend

on the number of other leaders available of the same gender. Thus, in male dominant departments, women will be at a distinct disadvantage. Because of the informal nature of these networks, this could be an invisible barrier that female leaders face, as the "boys talk" they are excluded from is not seen as the arena for leadership development that it is.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to investigate how the police culture influences women in their career development in the police in order to see whether there are any cultural obstacles when trying to succeed in that matter. Our research question that we wanted to answer was "How does the police culture influence female police leadership development?"

Our main findings are summarized in figure 2. Through our discussion we have highlighted five possible cultural barriers that could prevent female police officers from entering into both top management, and leadership roles in general: A need for power motivation, a need for confidence, different underlying assumptions for male and female leaders, expectations of masculine traits in police leaders, and different accesses to informal leadership development networks. Through these barriers we have discussed how the police culture influences female police leaders, and in particular how it affects their career development opportunities, thus answering our research question.
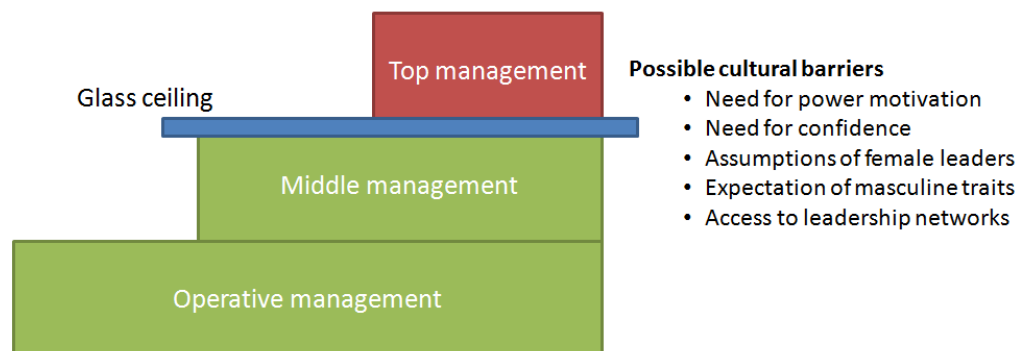

Figure 2: Summary of our findings

The first factor we found to be important for police leadership, was power motivation. We find that power motivation is especially important in police leadership in order to succeed, because of the political nature of the police leadership roles. Thus, without the right amount of motivation one will not succeed. We found that women's motivation could particularly be influenced by that they have to start from zero when coming back from maternity leave. If it is the case that women have less power motivation as earlier studies have shown, this could be a significant barrier especially for women in the police.

Next, we find that encouragement is an important factor for entering into leadership roles. Our findings indicate that many female leaders needed a push in order to realize their own leadership potential, stating the importance of "daring to try". Our informants claimed that females have less confidence than their male colleagues. Earlier research has also indicated that women have lower levels of self-confidence than men. The need for confidence in order to entering leadership positions could therefore be a barrier for aspiring female leaders.

We then discuss how the police culture directly impacts the development opportunities of female leaders. We find that there are underlying and unconscious assumptions in the police culture that men and women function differently, both in group functions and in leadership functions. These assumptions create barriers for female leaders as they face different expectations than men. We find this to be especially true in operational departments, where women seem to be actively excluded from leadership roles. However, our findings show that gender distribution on the different locations influences the culture and that the police culture has drastically changed over time.

Related to the different expectations for male and female leaders, we discuss how police leaders often are expected to show masculine traits such as assertiveness and independence. We find that many of our informants believe it important to appear masculine in their leadership roles, which creates barriers for female leaders who finds this difficult.

Finally, we discuss the importance of both formal and informal networks for leadership development. Here, we find that many of our informants choose not to be part of formal female-only networks, because they are seen to create more distance to their male colleagues. This makes informal networks an important arena for leadership development, as the informal networks are found to be both more effective, and more used than the formal networks. We find that female leaders struggle with not having access to informal male networks, while informal female networks seem to be less prevalent. This puts female leaders at a disadvantage. Because these informal networks might not be recognized as arenas for leadership development, this disadvantage could also be difficult to spot and address.

Overall, our findings show that the entrance into the police in itself has been decisive for how the police culture is perceived. There seems to be many cultures within the police organization, with different cultures for different areas. These differences seem to be related to the gender distribution in the different places. Further, female leaders feel a need for behaving in a masculine manner in order to fit into the culture, but the "old male culture" seems to fade away, as there are only individuals that behave in that way, and not groups.

6. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

As with most research, there are some limitations to the study. First of all, we have only interviewed Norwegian female police managers, therefore the scope is limited to Norwegian police management as police culture and other factors are expected to be different in other countries. Also, the scope of this thesis is police management and might not be transferable to other forms of management. The interviews contain only of female managers who have been successful in "climbing the ladder" and their perspectives of obstacles, therefore we might not identify some relevant aspects that managers on lower levels might encounter. Different departments might also have different cultures, which could influence the results. Also, the females we have interviewed can only speak for their own experience and the information that they give is based on the situation they meet during their career development and might not be representative for females who are to start building their career in the police today.

For further research, we recommend that it should focus on differentiating between the different departments of the police and also the different levels of female employees. For instance, shadowing or following up females who enter the police at an early stage that are motivated for management positions and track how they either succeed in that matter or are hindered. In that way, one could get a better understanding of if females who are fully motivated for management positions are able to fulfill their goals and if not where the obstacles arrive. This can give a picture of whether power motivation is a reason for the lack of females in the management positions in the police or not.

It might also be interesting to do similar research in similar sectors to see if the results also apply to women in management positions in other emergency services like the fire department and ambulance services, and other similar sector such as the military.

References

Alison, L., & Crego, J. (eds.). (2008). *Policing Critical Incidents:*
   Leadership and critical incident management. Devon: Willan Publishing.

Allport, G. W. (1966). Traits revisited. *American Psychologist*, *21*(1),
   1–10. DOI:10.1037/h0023295

Alvesson, M. (2011). Leadership and Organizational Culture. In A.
   Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson, & M. Uhl-Bien (Eds.), *The*
   SAGE Handbook of Leadership (pp. 151-164). London: SAGE
   Publications.

Alvesson, M. (2017) Studying Leadership, Taking Meaning, Relationality
   and Ideology Seriously. In J. Storey, J. Hartley, J. L. Denis, P. t'Hart & D.
   Ulrich (eds). *The Routledge Companion to Leadership* (pp. 67-88). New
   York: Routledge.

Anderson, D., Vinnicombe, S. & Singh, V. (2008). Women only
   Leadership development: A conundrum. In K. T. James & J. Collins (Eds),
   Leadership learning (pp. 147-160). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Arvate, P. R., Galilea, G. W. & Todescat, I. (2018). The queen bee: A
   myth? The effect of top-level female leadership on subordinate females.
   The Leadership Quarterly, 29 (5), 533-548. DOI:
   10.1016/j.leaqua.2018.03.002

Bacon, M. (2014). Police Culture and the New Policing Context. In
   Brown, J. M. (Ed.), *The Future of Policing* (pp.103-119). London:
   Routledge.

Bakli, O., Botheim, I., & Lassen, V. (2017). *Evaluering av nærpolitireformen –Underveisrapportering om kultur, holdninger og ledelse* (Difi-rapport 2017:9). Retrieved from: https://www.difi.no/sites/difino/files/evaluering_av_naerpolitireformen._u nderveisrapportering_om_kultur_holdninger_og_ledelse_difi-rapport_2017-9.pdf

Bang, H. (1995). *Organisasjonskultur* (3. ed.). Oslo: TANO.

Bass, B.M, & Bass, R. (2008). *The Bass handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and managerial applications* (4th ed.). New York: Free Press.

Bem. S. I. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. Journal of *Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42* (2), 155-162.

Bratton, W. J. & Malinowski S. W. (2008). Police Performance Management in Practice: Taking COMPSTAT to the Next Level. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice, 2* (3), 259-265. DOI: 10.1093/police/pan036

Bryman, A. & Bell, E. (2015). *Business Research Methods* (4th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burt, R. S. (1992). *Structural Holes.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burt, R. S. (1998). The gender social capital. *Rationality and Society, 10* (1), 5-46. DOI: 10.1177/104346398010001001

Byrum-Robinson, B. & Womeldorff, J. D. (1990). Networking skills inventory. In J. W. Pfeiffer (Ed), *The 1990 annual: Developing human resources* (pp.153-168). San Diego, CA: University Associates.

Børstad, F. & Johansen M. F. (2010) *Likestillingsstrategier - intensjoner og realiteter. Politiets ansvar. Om kjønnsdiskriminerende praksiser ved rekruttering til lederstillinger i politiet.* (Masteroppgave) Handelshøjskolen i København, København.

Campbell, I., & Kodz, J. (2011). What makes great police leadership? What research can tell us about the effectiveness of different leadership styles, competencies and behaviours. A Rapid Evidence Review. *National Policing Improvement Agency*, *11*, 1-27.

Casey, J., & Mitchell, M. (2007). Requirements of police managers and leaders from sergeant to commissioner. In J. Casey & M. Mitchell (eds.) *Police Leadership and Management* (pp. 4-20). Sydney: Federation Press.

Cavendish, R. (1982) *Women on the Line.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Carroll, B., Levy, L. and Rickmond, D. (2008). Leadership as Practice: Challenging the Competency Paradigm. *Leadership, 4*(4), 363-379. DOI: 10.1177/1742715008095186

Carroll, B. (2016). Leadership as identity: A practice-based exploration. In J. A. Raelin (Ed.), *Leadership-as-Practice. Theory and Application* (pp. 91-109)*.* New York: Routledge.

Chan, J. B. (1997). *Changing Police Culture: Policing in a Multicultural Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crevani, L. & Endrissant, N. (2016). Mapping the leadership-as-practice terrain. In J.A. Raelin (Ed.), *Leadership-as-Practice. Theory and Application* (pp. 21-49). New York: Routledge.

Cockcroft, T. (2013). *Police Culture: Themes and concepts*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Cockroft, T. (2014). Police Culture and Transformational Leadership: Outlining the Contours of a Troubled Relationship. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice, 8* (1), 5-13. DOI: 10.1093/police/pat040

Cockcroft, T. (2015). Golden Ages, Red Herrings and Post-Keynesian Policing - Understanding the Role of Police Culture in the Police Professionalism Debate. *Nordisk Politiforskning, 2*, 183-196.

Cockcroft, T., & Beattie, I. (2009). Shifting cultures: managerialism and the rise of "performance". *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *32* (3), 526-540. DOI: 10.1108/13639510910981644

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Colbjørnsen, T. (2004). *Ledere og lederskap: AFFs lederundersøkelser* (AFF lederbibliotek). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Cullen-Lester, K. L., Woehler, M. L. & Willburn, P. (2016). Network-Based Leadership Development: A Guiding Framework and Resources for Management Educator. *Journal of Management Education, 40* (3), 321-358. DOI: 10.1177/1052562915624124

Cunliffe, A. L. (2001). Managers as practical authors: Reconstructing our understanding of management practice. *Journal of Management Studies, 38* (3), 351-371.

Day, D. V. (2014). Advances in leader and leadership development: A review of 25 years of research and theory. *Leadership Quarterly, 25* (1), 63-82. DOI: 10.1016/j.leaqua.2013.11.004

De Janasz, S. C. & Forret, M. L (2008). Learning the Art of Networking: A Critical Skill for Enhancing Social Capital and Career Success. *Journal of Management Education, 32* (5), 629-650. DOI: 10.1177/1052562907307637

Deal, T., & Kennedy, A. (1982). *Corporate cultures: The rites and rituals of corporate life*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.

Derks, B., Laar, C. V. & Ellemers, N. (2016). The queen bee phenomenon: Why women leaders distance themselves from junior women. *The Leadership Quarterly, 27* (3), 456-469 DOI: 10.1016/j.leaqua.2015.12.007

Derks, B., Laar, C. V. & Ellemers, N. (2011). Gender-bias primes elicit queen bee responses among senior police women. *Psychological Science, 22* (10), 1243-1249. DOI: 10.1177/0956797611417258

Drake, I. & Solberg A. G. (1995). *Kvinner og ledelse - gjennom glasstaket?* Oslo: Tano.

Durivage, A., Barrette, J., Montcalm, L., & Laberge, M. (1992). Analysis of organizational culture: the key to strategic planning. *Canadian Police College Journal*, *16* (2), 94-134.

Eagly, A. H. & Carli, L. L. (2007). *Through the labyrinth: The truth about how women become leaders.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Eagly, A. H. & Johnson, B. (1990). Gender and Leadership Style: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 108* (2), 233-256. DOI: 10.1037/0033-2909.108.2.233

Eagly, A. H., Karau, S. J., Miner, J. B. & Johnson, B. T. (1994). Gender and Motivation to Manage in Hierarchic Organizations: A Meta-Analysis. *Leadership Quarterly, 5* (2), 135-159. DOI: 10.1016/1048-9843(94)90025-6

Eagly, A. H. & Karau, S.J. (2002). Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders. *Psychological Review, 109* (3), 573-598. DOI: 10.1037//0033-295X.109.3.573

Eagly, A. H., Karau, S. J. & Makhijani, M. G. (1995). Gender and the Effectiveness of Leaders: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 117* (1), 125-145. DOI: 10.1037/0033-2909.117.1.125

Elly, R. J. (1995). The power of demography: Women's social constructions of gender identity at work. *Academy of Management Journal, 38* (3), 589-634. DOI: 10.2307/256740

Ely, R. J. (1994). The Effects of Organizational Demographics and Social Identity on Relationships among Professional Women. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 39* (2), 203-238.

Eterno, J. A. & Silverman, E. B. (2010). Understanding Police Management: A Typology of the Underside of Compstat. *Professional Issues in Criminal Justice, 5* (2&3), 11-28.

Filstad, C., Karp, T. & Glomseth, R. (2018). How Police Leaders Learn to Lead. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice.* DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pay043

Finstad, L. (2000). *Politiblikket*. Oslo: Pax

Finstad, L. (2005). En av gutta? Om kjønn i politiet. In J. Strype & M. Egge (Eds.), *Politirollen gjennom 100 år: tradisjon og endring* (pp. 192-201). Oslo: Politihøgskolen

Fleming, J. (2008). Managing the diary: What does a police commissioner do? *Public Administration, 86* (3), 679-698. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.2008.00748.x

Flynn, E. A. & Herrington, V. (2015). *Toward a Profession of Police Leadership. New Perspectives in Policing Bulletin.* (NCJ 248573) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1-18.

Fry, L. (2003). Toward a theory of spiritual leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly, 14*(6), 693-727.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Aldine.

Glomseth, R. & Gottschalk, P. (2006) Organisasjonskulturen i politiets beredskapstropp. *Magma, 9* (1), 88-102.

Glomseth, R. & Gottschalk, P. (2009) Police personnel cultures: a comparative study of counter terrorist and criminal investigation units. *Criminal Justice Studies, 22* (1), 3-15.

Greenberg, J., & Baron, R.A. (2008). *Behavior in Organizations.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson International.

Haake, U., Rantatalo, O. & Lindberg, O. (2015). Police leaders make poor change agents: Leadership practice in the face of a major organisational reform. *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 27*(7), 764-778. DOI: 10.1080/10439463.2015.1099653

Haavind, H. (1982). Makt og kjærlighet i ekteskapet. In H. M. Hernes (Ed.) K*vinneforskning: Bidrag til samfunnsteori,* (pp. 138-171). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Halrynjo, S. & Stoltenberg, C. (2018). *Core topplederbarometer 200 vår 2018.* Oslo: Core senter for likestillingsforskning. Retrieved June 20th 2019 from: https://www.samfunnsforskning.no/core/bilder/core-topplederbarometer/core-topplederbarometer_pdf/core-topplederbarometer-2018.pdf

Hitland, S. (2007). *Beredskapstroppen: Siste skanse for kvinner i politiet.* Trondheim økonomiske høgskole, Høgskolen i Sør-Trøndelag

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences.* California: Sage.

House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Ruiz-Quintanilla, S. A., Dorfman, P. W., Javidan, M., Dickson, M., & Associates. (1999). Cultural influences on leadership and organizations: Project GLOBE. In W.H. Mobley, M. J. Gessner & V. Arnold (Eds.), *Advances in global leadership* (pp. 131-233). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.

Huse, M. (2013). The political process behind the gender balance law. In S. Machold, M. Huse, K. Hansen & M. Brogi (Eds). *Getting women in to corporate boards: A snowball starting in Norway* (pp. 9-16). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Hymowitz, K. S. (2012). *Manning up: How the rise of women has turned men into boys.* New York: Basic Books.

Johannessen, A., Christoffersen, L. & Tufte, P. (2011). *Forskningsmetode og økonomisk-administrative fag* (3rd ed.). Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Johannessen, S. O. (2014). *Politikultur: Identitet, makt og forandring i politiet* (4th ed.). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Johannessen, S. O. (2015). *Politiledelse* (1st ed.). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Kaiser, K. (2009) Protecting Respondent Confidentiality in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research, 19* (11), 279-289.

Kaufmann, G. (1990). Lederegenskaper – fiksjon eller funksjon? In A. Greve & G. Kaufmann (Ed.), *Ledelse. Psykologiske og strategiske perspektiver. Oslo: Tano.*

Kaufmann, G. & Kaufmann, A. (1996). *Psykologi i organisasjon og ledelse.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Kaufmann, G., & Kaufmann, A. (2011). *Psykologi i organisasjon og ledelse.* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS.

Kling, K. C., Hyde, J. S., Showers, C. J. & Buswell, B. N. (1999). Gender Differences in Self-Esteem: A Meta-Analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 125* (4), 470-500.

Koenig, A. M., Eagly, A. H., Mitchell, A. A. & Ristikari, T. (2011) Are Leader Stereotypes Masculine? A Meta-Analysis of Three Research Paradigms. *Psychological Bulletin, 137* (4), 616-642. DOI: 10.1037/a0023557

Kotter, J., & Heskett, J. (1992). *Corporate culture and performance*. New York: Free Press.

Krackhardt, D., & Hanson, J. R. (1993). Informal Networks: The Company Behind the Chart. *Harvard Business Reviews, 71* (4), 104-111.

Kroeber, A. L. & Kluckhohn, C. (1952) Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Harvard Archaeology & Ethnology, 42* (1).

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (trans. 2015). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (3rd ed., Anderssen, T., & Rygge, J., Trans.). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Lagestad, P. (2010). *Fysisk styrke eller bare prat: om kjønn fysisk trening og ordenstjeneste i politiet.* (Doktoravhandling). Norges idrettshøgskole, Oslo.

Lammers, J. & Gast, A. (2017). Stressing the Advantages of Female Leadership Can Place Women at a Disadvantage. *Social Psychology, 48* (1), 28-39. DOI: 10.1027/1864-9335/a00029

Larssen, S. R. (2018, November 8th). Anne ble forbigått til toppjobb i politiet -Menn er tydelige, kvinner er bitchy. *Dagbladet.* Retrieved from https://www.dagbladet.no/magasinet/menn-er-tydelige-kvinner-er-bitchy/70501017

LeCompte, M. D. & Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic Research. *Review of Educational Research, 52* (1), 36-60.

Lofthus, B. (2010). Police Occupational Culture: Classic Themes, Altered Times. *Policing and Society, 20* (1), 1-20.

Lord, R. G. & Maher, R. L. (1991). *Leadership and information processing.* Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching.* London: Sage.

McClelland, D. C. (1985). *Human motivation.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T., Jr. (2008). The five-factor theory of personality. In O.P. John, R. W. Robins, & L. A. Pervin (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (pp. 159-207). New York, NY, US: The Guilford Press.

McCusker, M. E., Foti R. J. & Abraham E.K. (2019) Leadership Research Methods: Progressing Back to Process. In R. E. Riggio (Ed) *What's wrong with leadership? Improving Leadership Research and Practice* (pp. 9-40). New York and London: Routledge and Taylor.

Mead, G. (2002). Developing ourselves as police leaders: how can we inquire collaboratively in hierarchical organization? *Systemic Practice and Action Research, 13* (3), 191-206.

Meaklim, T., & Sims, J. (2011). Leading powerful partnerships - A new model of public sector leadership development. *International Journal of Leadership in Public Services*, *7*(1), 21-31. DOI: 10.5042/ijlps.2011.0090

Miner, J. B. (1964). *Scoring Guide for the Miner Sentence Completion Scale.* New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Miner, J. B. (1978). Twenty years of research on role-motivation theory of managerial effectiveness. *Personnel Psychology, 31* (4), 739-760. DOI: 10.1111/j.1744-6570.1978.tb02122.x

Miner, J. B. (1993). *Role Motivation Theories.* New York: Routledge.

Moggré, M., den Boer, M., & Fyfe, N. R. (2017). Police Leadership in Times of Transition. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, *12*(4), 388-397. DOI: 10.1093/police/pax041

Morrison, A. M., White, R. P. & Velsor, E. V. (1994). *Breaking the glass ceiling. Can Women Reach The Top Of America's Largest Corporations?* New York: Perseus Book Group.

Mundy, L. (2012). *The richer sex: How the majority of female breadwinners is transforming sex, love and family*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Neyroud, P. (2011). *Review of Police Leadership and Training*. London: Home Office.

Northouse, P.G. (2013). *Leadership: Theory and practice* (6th ed.). London: Sage Publications.

NSD (2019). NSD personverntjenester. Retrieved 22.06.2019 from https://nsd.no/personvernombud/

Parsons, T. (1956). Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations- I. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 1*(1), 63-85.

Pearson-Goff M. & Herrington, V. (2013). *Police leaders and leadership development. A systematic review.* Manly, New South Wales: Australian Institute of Police Management

Pearson-Goff M. & Herrington, V. (2014). Police leadership: A systematic review of the literature. *Policing, 8* (1), 14-26 DOI: 10.1093/police/pat027

Pfeffer, J. (2015). *Leadership BS Fixing Workplaces and Careers One Truth at a Time.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers

Politidirektoratet (2019). Flere kvinnelige ledere i politiet. Retrieved June 19th 2019 from https://www.politiet.no/aktuelt-tall-og-fakta/aktuelt/nyheter/2019/03/08/flere-kvinnelige-ledere-i-politiet/

Raelin, J. A. (Ed.) (2016). *Leadership-as-practice. Theory and application.* New York: Routledge

Richards, D., & Engle, S. (1986), After the vision: Suggestions to corporate visionaries and vision champions. In J. D. Adams (Ed.), *Transforming leadership*. Alexandria, VA: Miles River Press, pp. 199-214.

Roberts, K., Herringtion, V., Warwick, J., White, J. & Day, D. (2016). Police Leadership in 2045: The value of education in developing leadership. *Policing, 10* (1), 26-33

Rosin, H. (2012). *The end of men: And the rise of women.* New York: Riverhead.

Roth, W. M. & Unger, H. V. (2018) Current perspectives on Research Ethics in Qualitative Research. Qualitative Social Research, 19 (3). DOI: 10.17169/fqs-19.3.3155

Schafer, J. A. (2009). Developing effective leadership in policing: perils, pitfalls, and paths forward. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, *32*(2), 238-260. DOI: 10.1108/13639510910958163

Schein, E.H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schein, E.H. (2010). *Organizational culture and leadership* (4th ed., Vol. 2). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schuh, S. C., Bark, A. S. H., Van Quaquebeke, N., Hossiep, R., Frieg, P. & Van Dick, R. (2014). Gender differences in leadership role occupancy: The mediating role of power motivation. *Journal of Business Ethics, 120* (3), 363-379. DOI 10.1007/s10551-013-1663-9

Sewell, J. D. (1991). What They Didn't Teach in Management School. *FBI Law Enforcement Bullentin, 60* (5)*,* 5-8.

Skjervheim, H. (1996). *Deltakar og tilskodar og andre essays.* Oslo: Aschehoug.

Skolnick, J. (1994). *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in a Democratic Society*. New York: Macmillan.

Staines, G., Jayaratne, T. E. & Tavris, C. (1974). The Queen Bee Syndrome. *Psychology Today, 25* (4), 501-524

Springer, S. P. & Deutsch, G. (1993). *Left Brain, Right Brain* (4th ed.). New York: W.H. Freeman and Company.

Statistics Norway (2017). Stadig flere kvinnelige ledere. Retrieved June 20th 2019 from   https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/stadig-flere-kvinnelige-ledere

Stogdill, R. M. (1974). Handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research. New York: Free Press.

Thompson, J. (1967). *Organizations in action: Social science bases of administrative theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Tjora, A. (2013). *Kvalitative forskningsmetoder - i praksis* (2nd ed). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Trice, H., & Beyer, J. (1993). *The cultures of work organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.

Yukl, G. (2013). *Leadership in Organizations* (8th ed.). Edinburgh Gate, Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited.

Wathne, C. T. (1996). Vi skjønte etterhvert at vi var kvinner: Kvinners likestilte inntreden i politiet. Hovedfagsoppgave i sosiologi, Universitet i Oslo.

Weick, K. (1995). *Sensemaking in organizations*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

White, V., & Robinson, S. (2014). Leading Change in Policing: Police Culture and the Psychological Contract. *The Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles, 87* (4), 258-269.

World Economic Forum (2018). *The global gender gap report 2018.* Geneva: World Economic Forum. Retrieved June 20th 2019 from https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018

Ås, B. (1979). De 5 hersketeknikker. Om ufarliggjøring av fiendens våpen. In *Årbog for kvinderet* (pp. 55-88). København: Juristforbundets forlag.

Appendix 1: The Interview Guide

Bakgrunn
Fortell kort om deg selv og din nåværende jobbsituasjon.
1: Hvor lenge har du jobbet i politiet?

2: Hvor lenge har du hatt stillingen som du er i nå?

3: Kan du si litt om avdelingen du leder, ansvarsområde og antall?

4: Var dette en nyopprettet stilling, eventuelt hvem hadde den før deg?

5: Hvor lenge har du jobbet som leder?

6: Hvilken type lederstillinger har du hatt før denne stillingen som du har i dag?

7: Hvorfor ble du leder? Hva motiverte deg til å bli leder?

8: Kan du si litt om erfaringene fra første gang du ble leder?

9: Hva synes du er mest utfordrende ved å være leder?

10: Hvordan vil du beskrive deg selv som leder? Gi eksempler.

Kultur og arbeidsmiljø
11: Hvordan vil du beskrive kulturen i politiet? Gi eksempler.

12: Politiet er mannsdominert - også politiledere. Har du noen tanker om positive og negative sider ved det? Har du noen tanker om at det endrer seg med flere kvinner inn i politiet?

13: Er det annerledes å være leder i politiet enn andre steder? Gi eksempler.

14: Var det noen rundt deg som oppmuntret deg til å bli leder?

15: Opplever du situasjoner på jobb som påvirker din motivasjon eller ditt ønske om å være leder? Forklar.

16: synes du at glasstaket eksisterer i politiet?

17: Har du kjent på at det er forskjell på å være kvinnelig leder og mannlig leder i politiet? Hvordan har du forholdt deg til det?

Ledelse:

18: Trives du som leder? Hvorfor?

19: Hvilke arenaer bidrar til din lederutvikling?

20: Identifiserer du deg med andre kvinnelige ledere eller har andre kvinnelige rollemodeller?

21: Hva forventer du av deg selv som leder?

22: Tror du dine forventninger er annerledes fordi du er kvinne?

23: Hva forventer du av dem rundt deg?

24: Hvilke mål har du ved eget lederskap?

25: Hvordan tror du dine medarbeidere vil beskrive deg som leder?

26: Er du en del av noen form for ledernettverk? Hvis ja, hva kjennetegner disse nettverkene?

27: Er det noen kulturelle utfordringer når det gjelder utvikling av eget lederskap (fordi du er kvinne)?

28: Har du noen gode råd til andre kvinner som ønsker å bli ledere i politiet?

29: Er det noe du føler du ikke har fått sagt i dette intervjuet, som du ønsker å tilføye?

Appendix 2: Mail to Informants

Hei!

Vi er to jenter som studerer ved BI i Oslo og går siviløkonomstudiet med spesialisering i endringsledelse. Dette er vårt avsluttende år på masteren, hvor masteroppgaven vår vil omhandle politikultur og vi vil derfor intervjue kvinnelige ledere i politiet. Masteroppgaven vil være en del av forskningsprosjektet til Cathrine Filstad. Vår problemstilling er som følgende: "How does the police culture influence women in management positions in the police?"

Vi har fått tilbakemelding fra Cathrine om at du vil stille opp som informant og det setter vi veldig stor pris på. I denne omgang ønsker vi å vite når det passer for deg med et intervju. Vi vil helst at det skal bli avholdt i løpet av mars, men er åpen for andre tidspunkter hvis det ikke lar seg gjøre. Vi flyr opp for intervjuet, så trenger kun litt forvarsel slik at vi rekker å bestille flybilletter. Skulle du kjenne til flere kvinnelige ledere i ditt område som kunne ha interesse av å delta, så si gjerne ifra. Intervjuet vil vare i ca. en time. Er det noe du lurer på - nøl ikke med å ta kontakt!

Med vennlig hilsen

Nargis Karim og Silje Grønning

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet
"Police culture and female leaders"?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å forske på hvordan kulturen og kvinnelige ledere er i politiet. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Dette prosjektet er en del av vår masteroppgave ved Handelshøyskolen BI Oslo. Deltagerne på dette prosjektet kommer fra ulike avdelinger i politiet, men har alle til felles at de er kvinner med lederposisjoner.

Vår problemstilling i dette prosjektet er: "How does the police culture influence women in management positions in the police?"

Målet vårt er å forske på hvordan kulturen i politiet påvirker kvinnelige ledere i politiet.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Deltagelse i dette prosjektet innebærer et intervju med en maksimal lengde på ca 60 minutter. Temaet på intervjuet vil innebære egen erfaring i politiet som organisasjon, med fokus på kultur og ledelse. Intervjuet vil bli tatt opp med lydopptak til senere transkribering. All informasjon vil bli behandlet konfidensielt.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Det er kun oss forskere (Silje Grønning og Nargis Karim) og vår veileder, Cathrine Filstad som vil ha tilgang på informasjonen som blir samlet inn. Ingen identifiserende informasjon vil bli tatt opp på lydopptaket. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil vi erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Ingen deltagere vil kunne gjenkjennes ved potensielt fremtidig publisering av resultatene fra prosjektet.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 01.07.2019. Datamateriale anonymiseres og videoopptakene slettes så snart det er blitt transkribert.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Silje Grønning og Nargis Karim ved Handelshøyskolen BI har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta

kontakt med:

- Silje Grønning, på e-post silje.persson.gronning@gmail.com eller telefon 92404651
- Nargis Karim, på e-post nargisjkarim@gmail.com eller telefon: 98627979
- Cathrine Filstad, veileder ved Handelshøyskolen BI, på e-post cathrine.filstad@bi.no telefon 46410715
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17

Med vennlig hilsen

Prosjektansvarlige

Nargis Karim og Silje Grønning

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjonen om prosjektet «Police culture and female leaders», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

☐ å delta i intervju

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. 01.07.2019.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Samtykkeerklæring