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Women Working in Policing and Law Enforcement

The marginalization of policewomen is well documented, but generally ignored within law enforcement agencies.

POGREBIN, DODGE, AND CHATMAN 2000, 312

This chapter is on women who work as police officers or patrol sheriffs. I avoid the terms *policewoman* and *policewomen*, opting for the bulkier phrasing *woman police officer* or *women police officers*, given that regardless of sex, present-day police and law enforcement officers are expected to perform the same job. This is to deny neither the sexism still operating in job assignments and expectations in many departments nor the sexist treatment many women police officers experience on the job. Rather it is a recognition of the power of language and labels and an effort not to imply in any way that women and men should have different responsibilities, and thus, different titles, in policing and law enforcement jobs.

In the last chapter, I discussed the importance of asking: What difference could it have made to exclude women from these decision-making jobs in our justice system? As we learn about women's restriction in law enforcement jobs, it is useful to question whether responses to intimate partner abuse, stalking, and sexual victimizations may have been taken more seriously by the police if women had been allowed to work as officers (and been promoted up into the ranks) since the inception of these agencies.

THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN POLICING

As stated in the last chapter, there are significant parallels regarding women's entry into jobs as prison and jail guards and those in policing. Both roles have long histories of stereotypical roles (such as working in clerical roles or with

juveniles or women offenders); both still represent small percentages of overall employees in their departments (particularly in administration); both attained their current status through court challenges and despite strong male resistance; and substantial evidence suggests that both are as successful as their male counterparts (Pollock-Byrne, 1986, 5). Women prison reformers gained legitimacy for women professionals in public agencies caring for women, which "paved the way for the first police matrons and then women police officers to follow in establishing their own legitimacy in the criminal justice field" (Schulz, 1989, 117). The entrance of women into U.S. police work began in the late 1800s, spurred by increased problems with women and girls that male police officers seemed uninterested in or unable to confront, particularly prostitution (Appier, 1998; Feinman, 1986). Mrs. J. K. Barney, an executive officer of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), spent some twenty years agitating in New York City for the appointment of police matrons, whom she described as ideally middle-aged, "scrupulously clean in person and dress, with a face to commend her and a manner to compel respect; quiet, calm, observant, with faith in God and hope for humanity" (as cited in Segrave, 1995, 7). WCTU, "probably the most powerful women's group of the era," has been identified as spearheading the demand for police matrons in the United States for the last quarter of the 1800s (Schulz, 1995, 12). Although New York State passed legislation in 1888 allowing New York City to appoint two such matrons to each station, they did not provide the funding for the positions, so no matrons were hired. Notably, the press played a significant role in the ensuing years, often arguing for the need of matrons in New York City (Segrave, 1995). "The first four matrons started work in New York City police stations on October 5, 1891, much later than in many other cities, and by 1899 the city employed sixty-one police matrons" (ibid., 10). In 1905, Lola Baldwin was hired as a safety worker in Portland, Oregon, to protect women and girls from male miners, lumberjacks, and laborers (Feinman, 1986).

During World War I in England, women conducted voluntary police patrol work to control other women such as prostitutes (Morris, 1987). Drawing on Martin's work in distinguishing phases in the early history of women police in the United States, Heidensohn's comparison of British and U.S. women police officers' historical phases adds another phase, a preliminary one. Specifically, Heidensohn (1992, 41) describes the first phase of women's entry into policing as *moral reform, rescue, and matrons* (1840–1910 in the United States and 1915 in England), the second phase as *specialists and pioneers* (1910 in the United States and 1915–1930 in England), and the third phase as *latency and depression* (1930–1945 in both countries). Heidensohn (1992) has also noted an expansion phase as a fourth phase occurring in the late 1960s and 1970s, when both England and the United States saw an unprecedented number of women police officers hired. (Martin and Jurik [1996] report similar phases.)

Regarding the *moral reform, rescue, and matron phase* in policing, many of the first women police officers identified more as social workers than as "cops" and saw

Comparative Perspectives: Women Police Stations in São Paulo, Brazil

In the early 1980s, Brazilian feminist activists helped elect the Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, an opposition party that gained control in many state governments, including São Paulo, Brazil (Santos, 2004). The newly elected governor of São Paulo, Franco Montoro, established Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina (the State Council on the Feminine Condition) in 1983, staffed primarily by intellectual and middle-class feminists (ibid.). Concerned with intimate partner abuse and sexual victimization, these women helped implement Delegacia da Mulher (DdM), the world's first all-women police station, in 1985, designed to respond to violent crimes against women (ibid.).

Notably, many of the women officers (*delegacias*) were transferred (unwillingly) from the regular police departments to DdM and did *not* identify themselves as feminists. They viewed feminists as "against men," particularly against male police officers (ibid.). Even the first head of DdM, Rosemary Corrêa, was not pleased about her appointment because she perceived that this would ruin her career in policing, she did not view violence against women as a "real" crime that should be addressed by the police instead of social workers, and she believed the regular police departments did not discriminate against women clients (ibid., 38). Thus, her belief that the DdM was unnecessary was severely challenged when 500 women lined up to file complaints the first day the DdM opened. Corrêa not only changed her idea that the DdM was unnecessary but she also grew to see her job and the DdM as extremely important, to "love" her work, and to understand feminism as "a movement struggling for women's rights" rather than being "against men," and she began to publicly identify herself as a feminist (ibid.).

Corrêa served as a great director/chief (*delegada*) of the DdM partly because she understood so well how the *delegacias* (women police) working under her were reluctant to work in the DdM for the same reasons she had been reluctant to head it (e.g., felt like their new job was not true policing and viewed responding to women victims of male violence as unimportant policing work). Similar to Corrêa, many of the women she supervised changed their views about women victims of male violence, the need for the DdM, and their lack of power compared to male officers (although none of them adopted the identity of "feminist" for themselves (ibid.).

SOURCE: Cecília M. Santos. 2004. En-Gendering the Police: Women's Police Stations and Feminism in São Paulo. *Latin American Research Review* 39:29–55.

their role as helping women and children. Indeed, between 1880 and 1930 in the United States, "many women activists devoted their entire careers in social work and social science to identifying the welfare needs of working-class women and children and pressing for the establishment of government programs and institutions to meet those needs" (Appier, 1998, 13). Importantly, the few African American women police officers were even further segregated—very much a minority within a minority. Hired to work specifically with African American women and juveniles, they shared many of the characteristics of their White sisters. They, too, were usually better educated than the average African American man or woman, and they were often teachers, social workers, or ministers' wives with status in their communities (Schulz, 2004a, 486). But it is important to remember that these stereotyped roles

"were not forced on them [the African American and White women police] by the male police establishment but were the roles they sought" (ibid.).

The first two decades of the 1900s in the United States were important in advancing women into police departments, albeit in stereotypical roles. Hence, the phase after the preliminary entrance phase for women (the moral reform, rescue, and matron phase) has been identified as the *specialist phase* (Heidensohn, 1992; Martin and Jurik, 1996). Between 1910 and 1930, women police officers largely worked in specialist roles within the police departments, usually confined to traditionally female skills (Garcia, 2003; Martin, 1980). Martin and Jurik (1996, 49), however, state that the specialist phase in the United States lasted from the designation of the first woman police officer in 1910 through Title VII in 1972. However, it appears the 1910 to 1930 era had some unique characteristics as well. Although women were hired as women police officers in more cities from 1918 to 1929, "in absolute terms their number remained small" (Segrave, 1995, 44). "In 1930 there were reportedly 600 women police officers employed in 289 communities in the United States" (ibid., 85). Overall, policing itself did not change much between 1920 and the 1940s, including the hiring and roles of women police officers (Schulz, 1993).

The first woman in the United States to hold the title "policewoman" was Alice Stebbins Wells, in Los Angeles, California, in 1910 (Feinman, 1986; Hale and Bennett, 1995; Segrave, 1995). The first African American woman in the United States appointed to policing was Georgia Robinson, appointed as a matron to the Los Angeles Police department in 1916, and in 1919 she became a woman police officer in this department (Schulz, 1995). In Toronto, two women police officers were appointed in 1913 (Segrave, 1995), and the first woman to be sworn in and given arrest powers in England occurred in 1915 in Grantham, England (Heidensohn, 1992, 29). It has been noted that England's struggle for women police officers, relative to the United States, required far more organizing and lobbying, and the battle to achieve the first hires were more prolonged (ibid.). However, in both of these countries, these initial hires did not guarantee the security of women in policing: Instead, their entry was every bit as precarious as their initial hiring (ibid.). The phenomenon described in Heidensohn's (ibid., 54) third phase in women's policing, *latency and depression*, where stagnation in hiring women occurred between 1930 and 1945, was partly due to the Depression but even more so was a result of women's insecure entry into policing, which made a poor basis for expansion. Evidence of this is that in 1925, the City Council in Los Angeles considered reclassifying women officers from members of the LAPD police force to civilian employees (Appier, 1998). After intensive lobbying, the women officers won the right to continue to be classified as policewomen.

Making an international comparison of the first women police is difficult. Specifically, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish who qualifies as a woman police officer. Many of the early women gaining access to policing jobs across the globe, similar to those in the United States, were volunteers or, if paid, were still considered civilians. Thus, semantics makes it difficult to establish a clear time line. In England, there was friction between different groups of women advocating for women police officers on the British police departments, particularly in London. In 1918, the Metropolitan Police Women Patrols was announced, but it was a blow to some organizers because these women had fewer powers, such as

TABLE 10.1 Different Countries' Adoption of Women into Policing Roles

Canada ^a	1913
China ^a	1933
England ^c	1915
Germany ^a	1903
India ^b	1939
Japan ^a	1946
Nigeria ^a	1955
Poland ^a	1925
Sweden ^a	1949
United States ^a	1910

Compiled from data reported in the text in ^aSegrave (1995), ^bNatarajan (1996), (1995), ^cHeidensohn (1992).

no power to arrest, than were available to the few women police officers elsewhere in the country (Douglas, 1999, 72). Natarajan (1996, 2) notes that women play more minor roles in policing in the more traditional societies, and "the willingness of various societies and their criminal justice systems to deploy women as line officers in their police forces varies with the stage of social and economic development in a given society and in relation to the strength of a resistive or supportive culture." A 1961 report from a commission on hiring women into policing in India supported hiring women, but only if they were unmarried (Natarajan, 1996). At any rate, keeping in mind the disjuncture about what counts as a woman police officer, Table 10.1 is an attempt to identify the reported dates that various countries adopted some type of woman police officer onto the police force (albeit in very stereotypical roles).

Alice Stebbins Wells, the first "policewoman" in the United States, was a social worker and theologian who believed she could accomplish more to help women and girls through police work than through volunteer work (Feinman, 1986). When asked why she wanted to enter policing, she answered that women were more suited than men for some aspects of policing, such as comforting and guiding wayward or abused children and preventing the victimization and offending of women and children (Appier, 1998). Although the press negatively characterized Wells as "unfeminine" and "muscular," she also received some support (Feinman, 1986). (This is an example of Rafter and Stanko's [1982] image of the "active woman as masculine," discussed in Chapter 1.) When she addressed the International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1914, she was treated extremely rudely by the audience, including a heckler who yelled, "Call the patrol wagon, another nut gone wrong" (Segrave, 1995, 15). It is unknown how long she stayed on the force, but it is evident she had retired at least by 1934. Soon after becoming the first "policewoman," Wells engaged in a heavy speaking tour

across the United States and Canada and was influential in mobilizing to bring about change in the hiring practices in many places (Appier, 1998).

There is considerable evidence that various women's groups in large cities across the United States advocated for the hiring of "matrons" and "police-women" around 1910, with many women willing to have these jobs. The pressure from these women's groups was significant regarding women's appointments to police departments in the United States between 1910 and 1970 (Segrave, 1995, 24). However, it is important to keep in mind that "[b]efore the 1970s, nearly all police officers in the United States were [W]hite men" (Martin and Jurik, 1996, 48).

Alice Stebbins Wells, along with other women police officers, is credited with helping to form the International Association of Policewomen (IAP). This professional organization lasted from 1915 to 1932. Unfortunately, this and other women's groups declined along with other reformist and temperance groups (e.g., the WCTU), especially given the IAP leadership's lack of recognition from men's policing groups, particularly the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) (Schulz, 1995). Schulz (*ibid.*, 55) maintains that the demise of the IAP was partly due to the leaders' inability to anticipate societal shifts but that such a focus "fails to recognize that even though the early women police officers were greatly expanding women's sphere by entering the police environment, they continued to accept the view of different roles for men and women." Indeed, their approach helped fuel an extremely sexist approach to hiring police.

In 1917, the U.S. Civil Service Commission established a minimum standard for women police officers, consisting of a high school education and at least two years' practical experience in social casework or its equivalent in technical training and business experience. These standards were endorsed by the IACP and by the IAP and were then being implemented gradually in most areas. Male police had to meet a much lower standard, with high school graduation not being required in many areas until the 1960s (Segrave, 1995, 28).

Notably, the longevity of the sense of women as inherently nurturing and of the appropriateness of assigning women to specialized tasks commensurate with their nurturing is evidenced by the Los Angeles City Mothers' Bureau. This institution, a branch of the LAPD, lasted from 1914 to 1964 and was staffed completely by women police officers to work in crime prevention and give advice and aid on such matters as "disobedient children, spousal support, abusive husbands, alcoholism, immigration and citizenship, neighborhood quarrels, adultery, unemployment, and adoptions" (Appier, 1998, 73). During the postwar period of the 1950s and 1960s, the number of women police officers increased, but increased variation in roles was not commensurate (Schulz, 1993). Women police officers during this time, however, were actively attempting to broaden their roles. Title VII, therefore, did not create women police officers' desire for equality but rather provided legal support for changes that began in the 1950s (Schulz, 1993). Nonetheless, prior to 1968, "no women were assigned to the backbone of policing, patrol duty" (Martin, 1980, 48), and until 1972, women police officers' roles typically evolved around assisting male police officers (Hale, 1992).

In 1968, when the Indianapolis Police Department assigned Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal to patrol, they became the first women police officers to wear uniforms, strap gun belts to their waists, drive a marked patrol car, and answer general-purpose police calls on an equal basis with men police officers. Although they eventually left patrol and returned to traditional women police officers' duties, they broke the link to the mothering concept that had been the basis of women's roles in policing. Once this link was severed, the stage was set for the beginning of the modern women-on-patrol era (Schulz, 1995, 5).

Thus, the culture of policing remained virtually the same for women from the late nineteenth-century to the 1960s (Hale and Bennett, 1995). Indeed, until the 1970s in the United States, the history of the woman police officer reveals duties that were custodial and directed toward females and juveniles, whereas the man police officer's duties involved punitive and arrest powers (Garcia, 2003, 134). Women's entry into policing, then, has been hard won and is certainly not over. A major part of women's roles in both policing and prison work is appearing to be "man" enough for the job. Segrave notes the following regarding the first woman police officer killed in the line of duty:

The first policewoman killed in the line of duty was 24-year old Gail Cobb of the Washington, DC, force, who was fatally shot in September 1974 while chasing a shotgun-toting fugitive. It was even suggested in some quarters that this incident would help ease the way for female entry into policing; that it would be a sort of baptism under fire and show that females were made of the right stuff. Needless to say, it had no such effect; discrimination and harassment continued apace. (1995, 115)

RATES OF WOMEN IN POLICING

In 1971, there were only seven women police officers on patrol in the United States (Gates, 1976). With the implementation of Title VII, the number of women officers on patrol exploded. Martin (1990, xi) notes, "Women's representation in municipal police departments serving populations over 50,000 has grown from 4.2 percent of all officers in 1978 to nearly 9 percent of officers at the end of 1986." In 1998, women constituted 10.5 percent of law enforcement personnel in the United States. In the United States in 2000, women constituted 16.3 percent of full-time sworn personnel in large city departments, 12.5 percent of full-time sworn personnel in sheriff departments, and 10.6 percent of full-time sworn personnel in local police departments (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). Another government report stated the following statistics for 2000:

Fourteen percent of the officers in larger municipal police departments and sheriffs' officers were women, as were 12 percent of county police officers [sheriffs]. Women accounted for 6 percent of the officers in State agencies.

From 1990 to 2000, the average percentage of female officers increased for each type of agency except sheriffs' offices. (Reaves and Hickman, 2004, v)

In U.S. local police departments, 6.5 percent of sworn officers are White women, 2.7 percent are African American women, and 1.1 percent are Latina. In U.S. sheriffs' departments, 9.1 percent of sworn officers are White women, 2.3 percent are African American women, and 0.8 percent are Latina (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). In Canada, women's representation in law enforcement grew from 0.6 percent in 1965 to 15.3 percent in 2002 (Statistics Canada, 2002, as cited in Tougas et al., 2005).

A study evaluating political factors related to hiring women police officers in urban departments found that departments experiencing budget reductions hired significantly fewer women police officers (Warner, Steel, and Lovrich, 1989). Nonetheless, a growth in the number of available policing positions did not result in a corresponding increase in the hiring of women. Notably, the more women on city council, the more women hired onto the police department. Furthermore, although verbal affirmative action commitments were unrelated to the rate of women police officers hired, court-imposed and formal voluntary programs were effective in increasing the number of women police officers (ibid.). These findings suggest the importance of having women in political leadership roles and of formal policies to increase the rate of women in policing. However, a Florida study examined the effect of the local labor market on women's representations in local law enforcement jobs and reported that "[n]either the degree of parity between men and women in local economic conditions nor the availability of a qualified female applicant pool affected the percentage of women in individual departments" (Poulos and Doerner, 1996, 19).

A study on the racial and gender make-up of law enforcement officers in Southern California reported that different factors are related to "who is hired" (Schroedel et al., 1996). Notably, while similar factors resulted in hiring both African American women and African American men, there were gender differences among the hiring of White officers and among the hiring of Latino/a officers. (1) A higher percentage of African American population in the jurisdiction served increases the likelihood of both African American women and African American men being hired as officers. (2) When the police chief is a person of color, there is a greater likelihood for both African American women and African American men to be hired. (3) Affirmative action policies increased the likelihood of hiring African American women but not African American men. (4) The greater the Latino/a population, the greater the likelihood of Latino men but *not* Latina women being hired onto the police department. (5) When the police chief was a person of color, this increased the likelihood of Latino men but *not* Latina women hired. (6) The higher the violent crime rate, the less likely Latino men would be hired, but this variable was unrelated to the hiring of Latina women. (7) The greater the unemployment rate, the greater the likelihood of Latina women but not Latino men being hired. (8) Affirmative action policies increased the likelihood of Latina women but not Latino men being hired. (9) The greater the White population, the more the likelihood of White women but not White men being hired. (10) A police chief of color decreased the likelihood of

hiring White women but had no effect on hiring White men. (11) The higher the unemployment and the presence of affirmative action policies, the less White men were represented, with no effect on White women. In sum, different factors appear to influence the likelihood of the hiring of various racial-gender groups (ibid.).

In 1973, Fanchon Blake, a twenty-five-year police force veteran, and some of her female coworkers brought a sex discrimination lawsuit against the city, chief, and police department in Los Angeles two years after the police chief, Ed Davis, announced that women were no longer wanted or needed by the LAPD (*Blake v. City of Los Angeles*, as cited in Felkenes, Peretz, and Schroedel, 1993). Davis reorganized the department not only to stop the hiring of women police officers but also to relegate the existing female officers into receptionist and secretarial roles. The plaintiffs won the suit in an appeals court in 1979, and in 1981, a "mutually agreed-upon 'Consent Decree' was signed" requiring better representation of women of all races as well as African American and Latino men (Felkenes, Peretz, and Schroedel, 1993, 34). Although the decision resulted in an increase in the hiring of women, it was not up to the required number, and little was done to alleviate the daily hostility the women police officers experienced afterward.

Mangai Natarajan (2001, 212) proposes four reasons for the slow integration of women into police forces, which she identifies as male dominated and possibly resulting in permanent barriers to (women's) full integration: (1) prejudice by male officers who view women as unable to perform the job; (2) societal attitudes that women are unable to police; (3) inherent physical differences between women and men; and (4) a lack of women who find the job of policing compatible with personal goals of raising a family. Feminists advocating for women's rights and abilities to be police officers would dispute the last two reasons, claiming there are many strong and physically capable women and many women who currently balance a policing career with raising a family. Or, stated another way, neither the desire or ability to police is biological. Thus, the first two reasons are likely the best explanations for women's low representation in even desiring policing (recruitment) and, once there, wanting to stay when they are discriminated against (retention).

Jennifer Brown's (1997) evaluation of women police officers in European countries suggests a six-stage process by which women become integrated into police forces. The first stage, *entry*, is often the result of a shortage of men to serve as police officers (e.g., World War I in Europe). The second stage, *separated restricted development*, is a departmental structure that limits women officers to working solely with women and children. This sexist restriction leads to legislation requiring the third stage, *integration*. Integration, mandated by legislation, is often met with resistance by male police officers, which results in litigation by women officers. This litigation leads to the fourth phase, *takes off*, where the number of women increases substantially, which leads to further backlash, including sexual harassment of women officers by men officers (ibid.). Research conducted to document this resistance by male officers and poor treatment of female officers has resulted in the fifth phase, *reform*, where there is increased inspection by outsiders, a clearer grievance process, and improved training. The

final phase is *tip-over*, where the number of women increases from a small minority to more equal representation (about 25 percent). Brown (ibid.) suggests that this model helps explain the varying rates of women officers across countries due to varying rates of progress through these stages.

Natarajan (2001, 213) believes that Brown's six-stage model may work for Western countries but questions its applicability to traditional societies with very different expectations about the roles and duties of women. In a long-term and different expectations about the roles and duties of women. In a long-term and cross-national study of women police officers, Natarajan (2001) collected data from hundreds of women officers during three time periods (1988, 1994, 2000) and from a variety of police departments (all-women, sex/gender integrated, experienced professional women officers, and new-recruit women) in Tamil Nadu in India, as well as 1988 data on women officers in New Jersey in the United States. Two data collection points were from all-women units implemented in Tamil Nadu in the early 1990s to provide an entirely female force to respond primarily to women victims of male violence. Her questionnaire included items assessing the respondents' preferred roles for women officers: *traditional* (women officers' jobs are different from men officers' jobs, typically restricted to responding to women and children); *modified* (women take on similar duties as men, except they are restricted if violence is likely); and *integrated* (women and men have identical policing responsibilities). Her first finding was that women in the all-women units were more likely in 2000 than in 1994 to desire to be in integrated departments. She speculates that this might be due to disenchantment with the units, "but it may also be a result of improved confidence gained as a result of working successfully in the [all-woman] units" (ibid., 228). Second, new recruits (a younger generation) were more likely than the more experienced/older women officers and the women in the all-woman units to prefer an integrated role. Third, despite these changes indicating Indian women's desires for more integrated policing roles, the new recruits in India in 2002 (76 percent) were significantly less likely than the new recruits in New Jersey in 1988 (93 percent) to prefer an integrated role (ibid.). Natarajan (ibid., 229) concludes that Brown's (1997) integration model may not be limited to Western democracies but that integration of women into policing roles equal to men's in traditional countries is likely slower and subject to more reversals than in Western countries.

Natarajan (2001) described the all-woman departments in Tamil Nadu, India, implemented in the early 1990s, and she favorably evaluates their effect on intimate partner abuse cases (Natarajan, 2005). Others have written about (all) women's police stations implemented in São Paulo, Brazil, in 1985 (Hautzinger, 2002; Santos, 2004). Indeed, São Paulo is the site of the first women's police station in the world (Santos, 2004). Its inception is described in the Comparative Perspectives box for this chapter, but it is useful to point out some of the flaws with the implementation of the all-women unit in São Paulo. There were two primary flaws. First, there was a significant race and class difference between the women designing the department and the *delegacias* (women officers), *delegadas* (chiefs/magistrates of the departments), and the victims to which the *delegacias* responded (Hautzinger, 2002, 243):

Thus, poor black women predominated among the *delegacia's* complainants; lighter-skinned, better educated women worked as police officers, and mostly White, university-educated women led the stations as *delegadas*, or magistrate-police chiefs. In class and color terms, then, the *delegacia* reflected, in microcosm, the distribution of status, power, and dependency of the broader society.

The distance between the designers and the women officers produced inappropriate expectations of women police officers (ibid.). Furthermore, and related to this first flaw, many of the *delegacias* (women officers) working in the department identified their job as more of a requirement of what we might call in this book "doing masculinity." That is, many saw their job as trying to achieve doing the identical work that male officers did. Thus, the feminists designing the program seriously erred in their assumptions that the *delegadas* and *delegacias* were feminists who wanted to help women victims of male violence (Hautzinger, 2002; Santos, 2004). This strong identification women police officers felt as *police*, or as potentially violent, somewhat masculinized workers, complicated their ability to identify with the female victims they attended (Hautzinger, 2002, 246). In sum, the idea was exciting, but the implementation was seriously hampered by a failure to understand the lives and experiences of the *delegacias*, *delegadas*, and the clients they served.

Women were not appointed to the Secret Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation as agents until 1972, and in 1993, almost 10 percent of the U.S. Secret Service agents were women (Segrave, 1995, 111–112). As Schulz (1995, 6) states, "exceedingly few women have reached the top of all but small police agencies." Penny E. Harrington served as the chief of the Portland (Oregon) police department from 1984 to 1986. "As of 1994, only two additional women had served as chiefs in major cities, and fewer than 100 of the more than 17,000 municipal law enforcement agencies were led by women" (ibid., 6). In 2004, there were about 200 women chiefs of police and 30 women sheriffs in the United States, about 1 percent of these law enforcement leadership positions (Schulz, 2004b). Two recent books have been published on women in leadership positions in policing, one on the United States (ibid.) and one on England (Silvestri, 2003). Both document the varying ways these women climbed to the top and the many obstacles they faced, and both discuss the potential for women at the top to change policing.

WHY DO WOMEN WANT TO BE POLICE OFFICERS?

The research investigating why women want to be police officers mirrors the same reasons why men want to be police officers. Primarily, both women and men give the reason that they want to help people or to give back to their communities (Schulz, 2004b). A study of women police chiefs found that many of them began their policing careers after careers in teaching or nursing, careers that help others (ibid.). However, women also choose policing because of the salary and benefits or the potential for excitement, or simply out of curiosity (ibid.). Notably, most helping professions for women do not pay as well as

work in law enforcement or firefighting: In all but a very few cities, police officers and firefighters earn higher salaries and can retire at younger ages than teachers and social workers (ibid., 18). Somewhat similar to what we will learn about women's advancement into the field of law in the following chapter, women chiefs of police often have/had husbands who were in the police department (Schulz, 2004b).

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN JOB PERFORMANCE

One of the major arguments against women on patrol centered on whether women were physically strong enough to be patrol officers (Townsey, 1982a). The vast majority of studies examining gender differences in the criminal legal system job performances have centered on policing and were conducted shortly after Title VII resulted in hiring women in larger numbers on patrol. For the most part, these studies reported that the women were as capable as men (Bartlett and Rosenblum, 1977; Bartol et al., 1992; Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Grennan, 1987; Sherman, 1975; Sichel et al., 1978). This is particularly impressive given a study on the evaluations of women on patrol, which found that the studies themselves were sexist, valuing typically male traits and devaluing typically female traits—most of which were not shown to be meaningfully related to policing (Morash and Greene, 1986). In sum, then, most of the evaluations of women on patrol in some manner assumed that *male* police officers do the job right in order to judge whether women police officers measure up. In fact, even with these sexist presuppositions, they measured up quite well. Progress in acceptance of women officers is evident in a 1990 study:

[T]he salience of the physical differences [between women and men officers] has decreased because women officers have proven their ability to defend themselves and their partners. In addition, defensive tactics courses have been developed to overcome many of the disadvantages of smaller stature, and departmental policies (often designed to avoid lawsuits) have curbed officers' physical aggressiveness. (Martin, 1990, xiii)

Researchers evaluating women police officers often report that, generally, they bring positive aspects to the policing role. For example, some research found that women police officers tend to have more support from and improved relations with citizens than do male police officers (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Felkenes and Trostle, 1990; Marshall, 1973; Sichel et al., 1978). Other researchers suggest that women police officers are better at de-escalating potentially violent situations than are male officers (Belknap and Shelley, 1993; Bell, 1982; Gates, 1976; Grennan, 1987). Research has also indicated that women police officers may be more likely to have traits that should be associated with "good policing," such as having empathy for rape victims and battered women and possessing a broader and more creative outlook on policing (Feinman, 1986; Homant and Kennedy, 1985; Kennedy and Homant, 1983; Price, 1974). Research on community-oriented policing (C-O-P) stresses the importance of strong ties

between officers and the beats they work and that in many ways this officer-citizen relationship strived for in C-O-P is consistent with early women in policing and even some current-day gendered differences women officers exhibit (Miller, 1999). Moreover, police departments, which are masculinist agencies, are charged with social control (ibid.). At the same time, C-O-P is often negatively stigmatized as social work instead of true crime fighting, even within departments that have C-O-P programs (Garcia, 2005). A study on citizen complaints of police misconduct found that while males are overrepresented among those officers complained about (men comprised 88 percent of the department and received 95 percent of the complaints), of those complained about, there were no gender differences in the types of citizen complaints, including the likelihood of accusations of misuse of force (Lersch, 1998). A similar study of Indianapolis police officers found *no* gender differences in officers' use of either physical or verbal coercion of citizens (Paoline and Terrill, 2004). The only gender difference was that male police officers were more likely to use higher levels of force against male suspects, while levels of force used by females were statistically independent of suspect gender (ibid., 114).

Recent research on African American women police officers details how most were raised in the African American community and how, due to their experiences as African American women, they offer a more compassionate view for the plight of minority people and overall view themselves as more effective in most police-minority encounters (Dodge and Pogrebin, 2001, 556). Clearly, this is consistent with C-O-P guidelines, yet police officers report C-O-P as significantly lacking in departmental support and resulting in ridicule and report being challenged as to whether they are real police officers (Garcia, 2005).

As stated, Title VII resulted in the hiring of many women on police patrol duties for the first time in U.S. history. Even after Title VII, sex segregation was maintained to some degree, which not only marginalized women officers but also provided excuses for gender pay discrimination and limited promotions. For example, in policing, promotions and advancement are directly tied to patrol, detective, and investigative work, yet women were historically barred from these jobs. Also, because these women have remained in such small numbers overall (token status at about 14 percent in 2000) and been in the lower strata of police departments (officers), it has been difficult for them to shape policing in a nonmale manner. Additionally, using the established law to fight discrimination can be hazardous; a backlash of countersuits and hostility—sometimes even violence—is often unleashed against oppressed groups and individuals who sue for basic rights (Smart, 1989, 138).

The question, as Barbara R. Price (1989) pointed out, is how much can women change policing, or does policing change women? Is it so hazardous to fight the status quo that women *become* the status quo (do policing by being like men)? Or do women really do the job differently than men? If there were no gender discrimination and sexual harassment, would women do the job differently? Similarly, Schulz (2004a) addresses a debate among feminist criminologists: Should the goal be for gender-neutral policing, where women and men perform the job similarly (i.e., women adapt to men's policing styles), or should the goal be to allow gendered-policing, where women and men perform the job differently? Or perhaps the goal should be commensurate with the women guards in

Zimmer's (1986) study who believed they did the job better than men and the goal should be for men to police more like women police. To some degree this is tongue-in-cheek, but future research needs to establish whether, and if so how, police recruits' ideals of doing policing are gendered. Perhaps there is no longer much in the way of gender differences in what those entering policing expect and how they conduct themselves on the job, especially given research cited in this chapter indicating women may be more like men in policing than originally thought in terms of using coercion, force, and comfort with citizens, or at least are when they first enter into patrol work (e.g., De Jong, 2004; Lersch, 1998; Paoline and Terrill, 2004).

One recent study documents the gendered way that emotional labor is conducted among police (Martin, 1999). On the one hand, the crime-fighting aspect of the job is highly masculinized, but on the other hand, appropriate, and at least compassionate, responses to victims and witnesses who are often highly distraught is more associated with femininity and nurturing/mothering. Martin (ibid.) describes the various gender expectations of how police officers respond to citizens regarding both the officers' and the citizens' genders (i.e., how male officers communicate with male versus female citizens and how female officers communicate with male versus female citizens). Furthermore, in addition to the gender expectations of officers in their responses to citizens is the gendered responses to their coworkers and supervisors, including sexist societal perceptions of the appropriate means to vent, show fear, and use humor (ibid.). In short, police must respond to people in a variety of circumstances (including as victims and offenders) and must fill the tall order of controlling crime (associated with masculinity) and communication skills (associated with femininity) (ibid.).

A test of this gendered labor was conducted by DeJong (2004) to examine how officer gender and citizen gender were related to police officers' likelihood of providing comfort to citizens. Surprisingly, officers' attitudes and behaviors in using comfort were *not* gendered. Rather, officers, female *and* male, are simply more likely to provide comfort when citizens most need it (e.g., they are injured, depressed, or victimized). However, a study of university students found they have gendered expectations about police officers' appropriate responses, which likely reflects a negative impact on women officers' policing work (Grant, 2000). For example, if they are good with victims, as they are expected to be, they may be required to do more of this work whether or not they want to. The stereotyped determination of appropriate response was further complicated by the type of offense. For example, women's perceived inability to handle calls that could result in death penalty charges is likely transformed into their real evaluations at their jobs (ibid.).

CLASSIFICATIONS OF WOMEN POLICE OFFICERS

The last chapter identified Kanter's labels of roles the first women working in corporations in the 1970s encountered (i.e., pet, mother, seductress, and iron maiden). Research on similar roles available to women in policing forced by male

coworkers has been conducted. Similar to the male-focused view of work in prisons, male police officers' understanding of police work is often culturally centered on masculinity, particularly with the stressed importance of physical strength and aggressiveness. This view by male coworkers and supervisors appears to have influenced both the males' views of females as coworkers and, in some cases, the women's views of themselves in these crime-fighting roles.

Consistent with some of Kanter's roles, a study on women police officers found that one-third of the women did not feel supported by male police officers, while the two-thirds who reported feeling close to male police officers expressed being viewed as "mothers," "sisters," and "women" but not as police officers (Jacobs, 1987). A study of the first women police officers on patrol found that the *men* police officers fell into three categories in their views of women police officers: traditionals, moderns, and moderates (Martin, 1980). *Traditionals* believed that women police officers do not belong on patrol and if present should be protected and treated as junior partners. *Moderns* were willing to work with women police officers as equals. Finally, *moderates* were neither supportive nor negative toward women police officers; they tended to be ambivalent. Consistent with other research on token women, African American male coworkers were more supportive than White male coworkers of women police officers as equals (ibid.).

Jennifer Hunt's (1984) participant observation research on gender and policing reported that male coworkers frequently "tested" the women officers (including showing them pornography and taking them to topless bars). Hunt (ibid.) reported the male officers in her study tended to simply dichotomize women police officers as "dykes" or "whores." She learned that the women officers walked a fine line when they attempted to combine elements of both masculinity and femininity in order to gain acceptance. If a woman acts "too feminine," she is criticized for not being suitable for the job. However, if she acts "too masculine," she is criticized for not acting like a woman (Garcia, 2003, 341). Hunt's (1990) study reported that male police officers uncomfortable with women police officers' presence resolved their own confusion by placing women into such stereotypical categories as "seductress," "mother," or "lesbian." Another study found that the White male officers were often "protective" of the White women officers whom they could reduce to "pets," "mothers," and "seductresses," but when African American women acquiesced to these same roles, they did not receive the benefit of White male officers' protection and indeed were seen as "lazy" (Martin, 1994, 391).

While this section reported on some of the ways male coworkers and supervisors categorized women police officers, some research also addressed how the women coped. As already noted, some male police and prison officers are threatened by the idea that a woman can perform their job; they believe it is impossible that a person can be a woman and an officer when everything about the job is so strongly linked with masculinity. Thus, it is probably not surprising that the earliest research on women police officers on patrol found a tendency for these officers to emphasize either the police (POLICEwomen) or the woman (policeWOMEN) aspect of being a police officer (Martin, 1979). Susan E. Martin classified those women who emphasized their *job* over their female status through

professionalism, assertiveness, occupational achievement, and departmental loyalty while downplaying their female status as POLICEwomen. On the other hand, Martin's (ibid.) policeWOMEN were women police officers who emphasized their *female* identity, often acquiescing to ascribed female roles (for example, "little girl"), and who were isolated from "real" police work. Notably, the male police officers did not appear to value either POLICEwomen or policeWOMEN. POLICEwomen were seen as strange women, while policeWOMEN were viewed as incompetent officers. Thus, male police officers seemed threatened by evidence that women could do the job, as well as by evidence that they could not. Zimmer's (1986) later work, identifying adjustment strategy roles for women working in prisons and jails, compared her *institutional role* to Martin's (1979) POLICEwomen role and her *modified role* to Martin's (ibid.) policeWOMEN role. (Martin [ibid.] identified two roles, while Zimmer [1986] identified three.)

Martin (1994, 395), similar to Hunt (1984), found that many women police officers struggle "to negotiate an identity that allows them to maintain their femininity, succeed as officers, and gain individual acceptance as 'just me'." In their attempts to do so, they are often critical of other women officers whom they perceive as role-playing the other extremes by acting either too masculine or too feminine (e.g., "sluts," "clinging vines," or making their way around the department on "knee pads") (Martin, 1994, 395). They perceive these too-masculine or too-feminine women coworkers as confirming stereotypes that "rub off" on all women police, including those who have managed a compromise between masculine and feminine.

These categories of women officers are important concerning the various ways that women do gender (see Chapter 1). For some women (including in prison work), a manner of coping is maintaining a strong tie and image to the traditional gender role (e.g., Martin's policeWOMAN). Southgate (1981) collected surveys from almost 700 of the first women in England assigned to do the same policing job as the male officers. In the survey, he distinguished three roles: The *traditional role* is characterized by women's specialized and gender "appropriate" and unique job assignments, such as working with minors and women as both victims and offenders. The *integrated role* is where women are expected to do the same job as the male officers. Finally, the *modified role* is characterized as a cross between the traditional and integrated roles, where women were provided with a wider range of duties than the traditional role but "could take account of differences between the sexes" (ibid., 163). Almost half (49 percent) of these first women assigned to policing identical to their male counterparts preferred a modified role, while over one-third (36 percent) preferred the integrated role, and only 15 percent favored the specialized or traditional role (Southgate, 1981). Of course, it is important to remember that many women are ordered to stereotypical work assignments, such as a recent study of women officers in the Philippines found (de Guzman and Frank, 2004).

Dodge and Pogrebin's (2001) study of African American women police officers found the women reported that most of the White male officers had few interactions with African Americans as children and as adults viewed them as an unknown entity, and a combination of the small numbers of both male and female African American

officers and lack of repercussions appeared to allow or even encourage the White officers to use racist slurs when referring to citizens. These women had varying reports on the levels of support from fellow African American male officers. Many believed their presence on the force improved the African American male officers' status with White male officers, but some of the African American women officers reported that some African American male officers were deliberately unsupportive of them because of the African American men's own precarious status in the (racist) department (ibid.). Finally, the African American women officers viewed themselves as needing less protection from the other (mostly male) officers than the White women needed, and they prided themselves on their ability to do the policing job well (Dodge and Pogrebin, 2001; Pogrebin, Dodge, and Chatman, 2000).

Natarajan's (1996) more recent survey of women in India similarly situated to those in Southgate's (1981) British study (because they were new to patrol work) found that a significant proportion of the women reported that men were better suited/more competent for the job of policing for a variety of policing activities, including foot patrol, traffic offenses and accidents, surveillance, motor patrol, lethal weapon situations, and crowds of males. However, many of the women officers believed they were more able than men to deal with some other situations, such as interviewing female suspects, writing reports, domestic violence calls, and juvenile situations. Clearly, the demarcation between these activities the women officers saw as men and women doing better/worse are very gendered. Drawing on Southgate's (ibid.) categories, Natarajan (1996, 9) asked the women which of the roles and styles of police departments they preferred. She found that almost half of the women officers (46 percent) preferred a traditional role, one-third (33 percent) an integrated role, and almost one-quarter (24 percent) a modified role. However, she also found that "only a minority of the women had experience in most of the listed duties" and that women who had experienced the wider range of policing duties, particularly the primary line functions such as patrol and crime prevention, were the most likely to favor nontraditional roles for women.

RESISTANCE TO WOMEN POLICE OFFICERS

Struggles for the First Women on Patrol

The positive research evaluations of women police officers on patrol have not sheltered them from considerable hostility from their fellow officers and sometimes from administration (e.g., Balkin, 1988; Belknap and Shelley, 1993; Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Christopher et al., 1991; Gratch, 1995; Heidensohn, 1992; Jacobs, 1987; Marshall, 1973; Martin, 1983; Martin, 1980, 1990, 1994; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Pogrebin and Pool, 1997; Pope and Pope, 1986; Remington, 1983; Rivlin, 1981; Segrave, 1995; Sherman, 1973; Timmins and Hainsworth, 1989; Wexler and Logan, 1983). Some male police officers believe many stereotypes about women in general and about women police officers in particular. For example, earlier research indicated that some male police officers believe that women police officers are

emotionally and physically weak, that they are more likely to use deadly force, and that they get sick every month when they menstruate (Balkin, 1988; Koenig, 1978). Similar to research on female prison guards, research on women police officers has found that their male coworkers often perceive the job as masculine and are thus confused and threatened when they see women capably performing the job (Balkin, 1988; Gross, 1984; Martin, 1980; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Sherman, 1973; Wexler and Logan, 1983). Stated alternatively, Martin and Jurik (1996) report that the danger, power, and social control aspects of policing make it a highly masculine job. Thus, the men opposing women's integration into their ranks did so because when they saw women could do the job too, it took away their "fringe benefit" of policing making them feel more masculine (*ibid.*, 67). The end result is these men's hostility directed at their coworkers and supervisees (*ibid.*, 175).

Consistent with research by Hunt (1990), for women police officers to survive, they may need to balance extreme femininity and extreme masculinity. An autobiography of the first Los Angeles woman on police patrol, who served twenty years starting in 1969, suggests the ways that women officers are more accepted when they are able to both flirt and be "sexy" and act masculine in terms of using foul language, catching criminals, and so on (Hays and Moloney, 1992). (Incidentally, her badge identified her as Policewoman #1, an obvious way to distinguish her from the "real" officers, the policemen.) This officer, Gayleen Hays, describes how she was asked in 1972 to enter a Miss Fuzz beauty contest for women officers in the LAPD in order to promote an (apparently sexist policing) film entitled *Fuzz* that was soon to be released:

The day of the contest about twenty policewomen showed up to compete, everyone in hot pants and go-go boots. Unlike the Miss America pageant, the Miss Fuzz contest didn't have a "talent" competition, and there was no one asking us questions to determine whether we were smart or had a good personality (however, I think they should have had a marksmanship competition). All we did was march slowly around a swimming pool and let the judges take a good look at us. Their decision would be final. (*ibid.*, 22)

Evaluations of Women Police by Their Supervisors, Their Supervisees, and Citizens

A study on women police officers found that their token status affected their experiences on the job (Belknap and Shelley, 1993). For example, women from departments with 10 percent or fewer women police officers were more likely to report being seen as women first and police officers second. Although the increase in the numbers of women officers has been gradual, perhaps a combination of their increased numbers and the fact that they are no longer "new" to patrol work (citizens and coworkers have greater acceptance of their legitimate role on police forces) is the reason more research indicates that the acceptance of these women by their male coworkers has improved some in more recent years (Martin, 1990; Pogrebin and Pool, 1997). Of course, this is not to say that they do not still face

considerable challenges, resistance, and hostility, but the situation does appear to be improving. Even some citizens balk at a woman officer's police authority, particularly if she is African American (Martin, 1994, 391). And male college students' assessments of women officers, although improving over the past couple of decades, still report a somewhat negative appraisal of women police officers, while female college students remain quite positive about them (Austin and Hummer, 1999, 18).

When examining women officers' formal evaluations on the job, there is evidence that some sex/gender discrimination starts in the police training academy, where all new recruits learn how to be officers (Harrington and Lonsway, 2004). An analysis of the Los Angeles police department, drawing on data from 1990 to 1999, found that women (19 percent) were twice as likely as men (9 percent) to be fired from or choose to leave the academy (*ibid.*). The next step, field training, is where successful graduates of the training academy are assigned to work with a field-training officer (FTO) who is responsible for on-the-job training and evaluating the new officer's performance before she or he becomes a full-fledged police officer. Some male FTOs have used this authority position to coerce sex from their female trainees by threatening them with unfavorable evaluations if they do not comply (*ibid.*).

A study evaluating the field-training evaluations of new police officers reported that women were rated significantly more harshly than men by their FTOs (Pelkey and DeGrange, 1996). Obviously, bias in evaluations at this point in a new officer's career could have serious implications. The last chapter discussed the higher expectations and scrutiny that women face when they are tokens and among the first women in criminal legal jobs. One example of this can be seen in a recent study of recruits and FTOs in a department where a woman in the recruit academy accidentally shot another recruit at the academy during firearms training (Lonsway and Welch, 2004). This accidental shooting by one woman recruit out of thirty new recruit women in the department resulted in skepticism about the abilities of women in law enforcement that remained for at least a year following the incident (*ibid.*, 73). Additional examples of sex discrimination and gender stereotyping of women police officers include an early study that found competent women police officers were rated more negatively than competent male police officers (Deaux and Taynor, 1973).

GENDER AND STRESS

Similar to studies on women working as guards in men's prisons, the first studies of women on patrol report higher stress levels for women than for men in these professions (Martin, 1983; Rivlin, 1981; Wertsch, 1998; Wexler and Logan, 1983). This stress appeared to be largely due to experiencing male coworkers' and supervisors' hostility, but it may also be attributed to the constant pressure to prove competence (Martin, 1983; Rivlin, 1981; Timmins and Hainsworth, 1989; Wexler and Logan, 1983). Research in the 1990s indicates that the women officers' stress is highly related to the pressures related to their token status in a male-dominated institution (Bartol et al., 1992; Wertsch, 1998). This was manifested by decreasing their job satisfaction, motivation, and organizational

commitment. One study found that despite their high stress levels, the women officers still reported high levels of job commitment and a strong commitment to policing, although they reported a weak attachment to the police department (Wertsch, 1998). An Australian study of women police officers evaluated how the women's work stress had a spillover effect onto their family environments in terms of increased personal emotional exhaustion and reduced family cohesion (Thompson, Kirk, and Brown, 2005). Notably, supervisors, but not coworkers, were effective in reducing the women's role stressors (ibid.).

A significant aspect of women police officers' stress is likely due to the numerous studies of these women documenting sexual harassment (e.g., Bartol et al., 1992; Brown, 1998; de Guzman and Frank, 2004; Gratch, 1995; Martin, 1980; McMahon, 1999; Morash and Haarr, 1995). Brown's (1998) research on women officers in England and Wales documents the more minor but still offensive everyday types of offensive comments, to medium-level sexual harassment, and also to actual sexual assaults of women police perpetrated by their male coworkers and male supervisors. Seventy percent of the women in her study reported sexual harassment on the job (ibid.).

Since women entered the policing force, there is also evidence of the added burden of racism on top of sexism (Dreifus, 1982). A U.S. study examined African American and White police officers and their levels of reported stress and the ways they coped with job stress (Haarr and Morash, 1999). This study found that when men and women were compared overall, women reported slightly higher stress levels than men. However, when examining just White officers, there were no gender differences in reported stress levels, and when examining just African American officers, "the African American women reported significantly higher stress levels than did African American men" (ibid., 318). Although this study found numerous racial differences in how the officers coped with stress, the only significant gender difference in coping was that women reported higher levels of *escape* (e.g., avoiding superiors and coworkers and ignoring situations) than men. However, both men and women who reported high levels of job stress also reported significantly higher levels of using escape to cope with the job.

A comprehensive study on policing and stress surveyed over 1,000 officers in twenty-five police departments in the United States (Morash and Haarr, 1995). Unlike previous studies, although women reported higher levels of stress than men, as a whole, the difference was slight, and the same factors that cause stress to men officers were found to generally cause stress to women officers. In particular, for both female and male police officers, the greatest stressor is their sense of a lack of influence over day-to-day operations, or how "policing gets done" (ibid., 127). However, there were some gendered predictors of stress for officers. For example, sexist jokes and language harassment were significant predictors of women's but not men's stress. "An increase in women's stress is related to their spending time and energy dealing with sex, age, race, or ethnic group bias directed against others and themselves" (ibid., 132). Notably, being "set up" in dangerous situations and ridiculed by coworkers was a predictor of only men's stress, and this was particularly acute for Latino men. A comparison of gender

differences within races found no significant differences among Whites and among Latino/as; however, African American women reported significantly greater stress than did African American men (Morash and Haarr, 1995).

Another study conducted on gender and police stress drew on small-town departments in Vermont (Bartol et al., 1992). The authors divided potential stressors into four categories. *External stressors* were primarily frustrations with the courts and the processing of their cases. *Organizational stressors* included departmental politics, lack of recognizing good work, insufficient personnel, and inadequate retirement plans. *Task-related stressors* were the day-to-day routines of policing, and *personal stressors* included their family lives. Similar to the findings by Morash and Haarr (1995), this study found that, *overall*, the stressors for the male and female officers were similar. Specifically, there were no gender differences in police officers' reported organizational, external, and personal stressors. However, also similar to Morash and Haarr (1995), those gender differences that existed were significant: (1) Women officers reported the frequent exposure to tragedy as more stressful than did their male counterparts; (2) women officers reported the sense of constant danger to themselves and their coworkers as more stressful than did their male counterparts; (3) women officers reported the responsibility of the lives and safety of others as more stressful than did the men; (4) consistent with other research, women officers reported the departmental rumors about themselves and their coworkers as more stressful than the men did; and (5) women officers reported their relationships with their coworkers, the size of the department, and the lack of proper training all as less stressful than did the male officers (Bartol et al., 1992).

A large-scale study of women police in Canada reported the intricacies of the effects of personal discrimination on two forms of psychological disengagement from the job: discounting and devaluing (Tougas et al., 2005). The study found that the more personal discrimination experienced, the more the women discounted work evaluations, which in turn led to devaluing the importance of police work (ibid., 790). Also, the more discounting the women did, the lower their self-esteem fell. And finally, lower self-esteem was associated with higher stress levels (ibid.). This study, more than any other on women police officers, substantiates the complicated means by which discrimination alienates women and the costs to the department and public when sex discrimination is allowed in law enforcement departments.

THE INTERSECTION OF RACISM AND SEXUAL IDENTITY WITH SEXISM FOR WOMEN POLICE

Martin (1994, 2004) conducted intensive interviews with police officers in an attempt to better understand the intersection of racism with sexism and some of the unique experiences of African American women police. She found that although White women officers reported more sex discrimination than African American women officers reported, the African American women still reported serious levels of sex discrimination. Moreover, although many of the African

American women reported experiencing both sexism and racism, (1) they reported experiencing racism at higher levels than they reported experiencing sexism, and (2) they reported higher levels of experiencing racism than the African American male officers reported (ibid.). This study also found that court orders and affirmative action plans in particular departments worked to African American women officers' disadvantage. Similar to discrimination highlighted in the first chapter of this book, African American women were left out of the decisions/promotions in terms that benefited African American men and White women. Indeed, when the few coveted promotional places earmarked for women or for African Americans became available, there was a sense that the former were for White women and the latter for African American men. Thus, some African American male officers were more hostile to African American women officers than White women officers with whom they had to compete for the African American positions (ibid.). Martin (1994, 396) concludes: "Men of each race control women's on-duty behavior by threatening them with social isolation."

More recent research, including intensive interviews with all twenty-one African American women officers in a large urban police department found that the women reported significant gender discrimination, racial discrimination, police subculture exclusion, and prejudicial assumptions about their hiring and promotions (Pogrebin, Dodge, and Chatman, 2000). The racial and gender discrimination often intersected, and the racism committed by the younger White officers appeared to be worse than that by the older White officers, indicating it might be getting worse. Exclusion for the department culture not only meant being blatantly or subtly told that no matter what they did on the job they would never be considered equals, but also the dangerous practice of not backing them up on a risky call (ibid.). Regarding their hiring and promotions, it was typically assumed by others that they were hired or promoted simply due to their race and gender, not that they deserved the appointments (ibid.).

Martin (1994) identified the token nature of African American men in police departments as an organizational structure that further impacts African American women. For example, White male officers were protective of White, but not of African American, female officers. Although the African American male officers were generally protective of the African American female officers, they were fewer in number and, therefore, less available when needed. In addition, African American men faced pressures from the White men (or their shared resistance to women on patrol) not to back the women up (ibid., 392). Another form of organizational impact regarding gender (and often, racism) was Martin's (ibid.) finding that as women (particularly African American women) advanced to some of the station house administrative jobs, their better clerical abilities (compared to the male administrators who worked there) actually backfired. Martin (ibid.) found that these first women advancing to administration had far better typing skills and thus were able to more quickly and effectively complete paperwork. The result was that these jobs became organizationally redefined as feminine, resulting in less prestige and authority. Finally, Martin (ibid.) documents the difficulty of women officers to unite against sexism across race. She notes that this is due not only to the effectiveness of White males' divide-and-conquer strategy

but also to the fact that many of the African American women found the White female officers to be every bit as racist as the White male officers (ibid.).

On a more promising note, a review of policing and gender in the United States reported that formal organizational policy changes, such as in seniority rules, the degree of civilianization, criteria for obtaining specialized assignment, and compliance with equal opportunity policies, have resulted in an improved integration of women into the policing jobs, serving a greater number of assignments, including in administration (Martin, 1990).

The only study specifically examining lesbians in law enforcement had somewhat surprising findings (Miller, Forest, and Jurik, 2004). The women in the study reported varying degrees of being "closeted" and "out" at the jobs; some were quite closeted and others were out from the time they started the police academy. The women's "outness" seemed, understandably, to be highly influenced by the department climate. As expected, departments that valued sexual diversity, had training and verbal and written support respecting lesbian/gay identities, and saw this as plus for their interaction with the citizens housed lesbians who were more likely to be out (ibid.). Importantly, lesbians of color were more reluctant to be out because they already felt overly high visibility as women and women of color. Additionally, being closeted was related to higher job stress (ibid.).

SOME STEPS FORWARD FOR WOMEN, SOME STEPS BACK

Similarly, patterns of sexism on the job for women police officers, such as hostility, insufficient instruction, and alienation, were most visible for the first generation of women police (post-Title VII), suggesting that overall the women's situation is improving (Martin, 1994). The improvement in women officers' situation is not only a result of organizational changes but is also due to the widening of individual women's preferences and skills and informal influence networks. Unfortunately, although the informal networks have improved for women police officers they are

... often excluded from the informal networks that are essential for success. They are less likely than their male counterparts to have mentors, are more likely than men to adopt a supervisory style that others regard as too unassertive or too bossy, and tend to be challenged by male subordinates who resent a woman telling them what to do. (Martin, 1990, xv)

Remarkably, interviews with twenty-seven women police officers indicated that two-thirds ($n = 17$) reported any sex discrimination (Gossett and Williams, 1998). This is remarkable in that a third of the women reported *no* sex discrimination. One respondent reported that for a woman police officer to think she had never been discriminated against, she would have to be in a dream world (ibid., 62). This study indicates that most of the sex discrimination by fellow

officers, supervisors, and administration is less frequent and less severe (ibid.). A common complaint was that of not being taken seriously or treated the same as men who had gone through the same training. Certainly, some still reported serious sexually discriminating statements by coworkers, and some women reported discrimination for being pregnant (ibid.). Although the actual rates were not reported, the majority of the sample also reported sex discrimination from citizens. Unlike other studies, there were no racial or ethnic differences among the women officers concerning their reports of sex discrimination (ibid.).

Similar to women working in prisons and jails, however, women in policing are generally pessimistic about the likelihood of their own and other women's advancements and promotions (Harrington and Lonsway, 2004; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Poole and Pogrebin, 1988). This is particularly acute for African American women (Dodge and Pogrebin, 2001; Harrington and Lonsway, 2004; Martin, 1994; Pogrebin, Dodge, and Chatman, 2000; Townsey, 1982b), other women of color, and lesbians (Harrington and Lonsway, 2004). Ironically, male police officers view women police officers as receiving unfair advantages in their promotional climbs and assignments; this view is at least partly due to the male police officers' negative attitudes about affirmative action (Weisheit, 1987). Despite the positive influence affirmative action has had on hiring and promoting women in the field of policing, women still have greater turnover rates and shorter policing careers than their male counterparts, which has been attributed to "an unrealistic view of police work when they enter policing and to rotating shifts and uncertain hours that are particularly problematic for women with child-care responsibilities" (Martin, 1990, xvi).

SUMMARY

It is clear that while sex stereotyping in policing and prison work for women professionals has improved over the past three decades, it is still in existence. However, some of the war stories from the pioneering women post-Title VII are valuable. Notably, as is evident in the classifications of women police officers (Martin, 1980) and of women guards (Zimmer, 1986) of these post-Title VII women, we cannot assume all these path-breaking workers were feminists. Indeed, their tenure with their male coworkers is likely much easier when they are not viewed as feminists. For women to work as true equals, then, legislation must be far reaching, and even then it cannot guarantee that everyone's behavior will be open and nonsexist. Although more-recent research indicates improved tolerance and even acceptance of women police officers by the male administration and male coworkers, a comparative study of the United States and England stresses the importance of understanding that women officers have varied and complex experiences (Heidensohn, 1992, 129). More specifically, some reported more extreme experiences with sexism and sexual harassment than did others. Whatever their experience, however hard they had tried to be just "one of the boys," all had had to face questions about their role and status, simply

because they were women (ibid.). But women police officers are still viewed as different, and such a view sometimes makes it difficult for women police officers to "do gender" in difficult job situations where they are subordinated and where resistance to the subordination results in conflict (Garcia, 2003). And, unfortunately, sexual harassment is still an all-too-frequent occurrence for women police officers (Brown, 1998). Moreover, the most current research highlights the unique and additional stress faced by African American women police officers, who report considerable alienation on the job (e.g., Dodge and Pogrebin, 2001; Martin, 1994, 2004; Pogrebin, Dodge, and Chatman, 2000).

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