

ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FEMALE AND MALE POLICE
CADETS/OFFICERS IN TAIWAN: THE NEXUS BETWEEN GENDER,
IMMIGRATION, AND CRIME

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to Amanda, Kenna, and Emmie for their constant love and support through it all.

ABSTRACT

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Immigration is an increasingly salient issue throughout the world as the number of foreign residents continues to rise in many countries. In Taiwan, the foreign population has consistently increased in recent years. Immigrants in Taiwan are marginalized and are often subject to negative stereotypes from the media and public. As members of the public, police cadets/officers may be affected by such sentiments, but they should also maintain a neutral perspective and ensure equal treatment in various criminal justice processes. In particular, attitudes may differ based on cadet/officer gender. Males and females may have unique experiences in policing and inherent attitudinal differences. Overall, cadet/officer attitudes toward immigrants and immigration were positive, however, differences were observed between certain sociodemographic groups. In particular, generational and gender differences are examined. Policy implications, generally, and for Taiwan, in particular, are discussed.

KEY WORDS: Policing, Gender, Taiwan, Immigration, Attitudinal differences

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Police officers have a unique responsibility to maintain order, protect, and serve the public. They are granted immense discretion to make decisions that have potentially lasting impacts. Police officers are a unique group because of their capacity to use coercive force (Bittner, 1980). Because of an officer's governmentally granted authority to use force, they are often the subject of study and public scrutiny. Police officer behavior and attitudes have been frequently examined by researchers. Regularly, comparisons are made between male and female officers. Comparisons have been made between male and female officers in terms of use of force, stress and burnout, motivation for becoming a police officer, attitudes toward the role of police, community policing attitudes, and attitudes toward policing domestic violence (Hoffman & Hickey, 2005; McCartney, Zhao, & Garland, 2007; Morash & Harr, 1995; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Seklecki & Paynich, 2007). Examining differences between male and female police officers has garnered attention, perhaps, because of the nature of policing. Policing has been described as a gendered institution where female officers face an array of challenges (Acker, 1992). Still, in a time where females have made strides in many different professions, policing remains largely male dominated. Because of their exclusive membership, female officers are a unique subset, one that has seldom been a focus of research (Sun & Chu, 2008a; 2008c). Taiwanese police officer attitudes toward immigration and immigrants, particularly, an analysis of male and female differences have not been examined at length.

If police officers exhibit disparate treatment and possess negative attitudes toward a particular group, this would be concerning, given that police officers have an equal duty to all citizens. One segment of the population that is increasing in many countries throughout the world, including Taiwan, is the foreign born (R.O.C. National Immigration Agency). Immigrants are often believed to be linked to crime (Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013; Sohoni & Sohoni, 2014). Research, however, has suggested that immigrant populations may be less prone to crime than native born citizens (Hagan, Levi, & Dinovitzer, 2008; Sampson, 2008; Sohoni & Sohoni, 2014; Wortley, 2009). Despite the empirical evidence suggesting immigrants are not prone to criminal activity, public opinion and governmental policies continue to be overwhelmingly negative and restrictive. Overall, immigrants in Taiwan have faced similar assimilation challenges to immigrants in the United States, namely, dealing with non-inclusive policies and unfavorable media depictions (Cheng, 2016; Tierney, 2011). As police officers have been exposed to negative immigration sentiments and representations, their attitudes toward immigrants may be predominately negative. Ideally, police officers should maintain a neutral approach, treating each individual equally, but this may not be the case when an immigrant is easily recognizable to an officer who retains negative feelings. While attitude and behavior are not directly linked, negative attitudes toward immigrants could result in disparate treatment. The current study focuses on Taiwanese police cadets' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. With a specific focus on how female attitudes compare to male counterparts.

The relationship between immigrants and police has been examined by scholars, but these studies have usually assessed the immigrants' perspective. Factors that may

influence immigrant opinions about law enforcement may include their own experiences in their country of origin, previous contact with immigration officials, and information from others (Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004). Those who have had a positive interaction or experience with police have been shown to hold a more favorable attitude (Chu & Hung, 2010; Torres & Vogel, 2001; Wu, Sun, & Smith, 2011). Immigrants with little to no experience may hold more positive views toward police than those with a negative experience. In other words, the quality of the experience is most significant (Chu & Song, 2008; Chu, Song, & Dombink, 2005). In one study, satisfaction of prior police conduct was found to be the most significant predictor of perceptions of police (Wu, Triplett, and Sun, 2012).

Overall, immigrants' attitudes toward police could be characterized as positive. Most of these studies, however, are based in the United States. Immigrants in the U.S. have been found to be more satisfied with their police conduct and have viewed police in the U.S. as being more effective (Davis & Hendricks, 2007). These positive attitudes may relate to the source countries that many immigrants in the U.S. originate from, where police misconduct and corruption are likely more widespread. Positive attitudes toward police officers in the U.S. have been found among Vietnamese, Hispanic immigrants of Mexican descent, Latinos, and Chinese immigrants (Roles, Moak, & Bensel, 2015; Torres & Vogel, 2001; Wu et al., 2012). Conversely, questions remain concerning police officers' attitudes toward immigrant groups. While the public perception is helpful and can provide meaningful feedback, the officers' perspective and attitude also merit examination. One study found, through survey responses from criminal justice officials, including police chiefs, that these individuals recognized the difficulties immigrants face.

Many indicated a problem with immigrants failing to report crime. Additional observations include the additional challenges immigrants may face during interactions with the police, such as, differences in language and expectations, and differential treatment (Davis & Erez, 1998). Few studies have examined police cadets' attitudes toward immigrants. Egharevba & White's (2007) study analyzed responses from Finnish police cadets who were asked about their attitudes toward African immigrants in Finland. In their study, the majority of cadets retained positive views toward African immigrants and few cadets actually had regular contact with African immigrants. The current immigration situation in Taiwan is notably different from Finland.

The current study seeks to expand the limited body of literature on police officer attitudes toward immigrants by examining a sample of Taiwanese police cadets. Based on 2019 statistics, Taiwan has a population of approximately 23.5 million people (R.O.C. Statistical Bureau). The number of immigrants in Taiwan has steadily increased in recent years, with the majority of immigrants hailing from Southeast Asian countries (Huang, 2018). Although not technically classified as immigrants and not included in foreign resident statistics because of unique political circumstances, individuals from mainland China may garner similar attitudes as immigrants from other countries (Huang, 2018). The number of foreign residents has more than doubled in the past 18 years, with 383,663 foreign residents in 2001 and 794,974 in 2019 (R.O.C. National Immigration Agency, 2020).

Individuals from Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Malaysia make up a significant number of immigrants in Taiwan. While each circumstance and motivations for immigrating to Taiwan differ, economic factors have played a role.

Taiwan has comparatively higher wages and a need for blue collar workers, but many immigrants have been poorly compensated for dangerous work and treated negatively by state institutions (Cheng, 2016; Tierney, 2011). Similar to media depictions in the U.S., immigrants in Taiwan are typically portrayed negatively in the media (Cheng, 2016). Immigrant workers have been described with a language of criminality and the media has stated that foreign brides are a social problem (Cheng, 2016; Hsia, 2008). Many immigrants can be classified as either an immigrant worker or a foreign bride (Hsia, 2008). Both groups face significant cultural and legal obstacles to assimilation.

Attitudes among police officers may differ based on gender. Attitudinal differences between male and female police officers have been examined in prior research, but the results are somewhat mixed (Poteyeva & Sun, 2009). Differences have been found, however, there are also many similarities. Occupational socialization is an important factor that can influence similar attitudes, but societal gender norms or inherent differences could create unique attitudes from female officers. Female officers' attitudes are increasingly important as they gain similar responsibilities to males and as police departments shift to a community policing orientation (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Despite the fact that the number of female officers has increased, policing remains a male dominated profession (Acker, 1992; Garcia, 2003; Martin, 1999; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Shelley, Morabito, & Tobin-Gurley, 2011; Sklecki & Paynich, 2007). Policing often associates stereotypical, crime fighting qualities as necessities. Necessities that female officers do not inherently possess. The stereotypical perception of a police officer as a crime fighter who must be tough, strong, stern, stoic, and possess a physical prowess in order to be a successful police officer is pervasive (Garcia, 2003). In society, females are often

expected to be the opposite. Females are typically thought of as emotional, loving, and caring by nature (Martin, 1980; Schuck, 2014). Female officers are presented with the challenge of navigating a male dominated profession that devalues their feminine characteristics.

The current study is concerned with overall attitudes about immigrants among all Taiwanese cadets, but also about whether there are differences between male and female cadet attitudes. Taiwanese women were not regularly recruited into the police department until 1977 (Chu, 2013). Given the ubiquity of the traditional patriarchal order, female officers may find it challenging to integrate into such a male dominated profession and may be treated differently than male counterparts (Cao, Huang, & Sun, 2016a). There is reason to believe that female officers' attitudes and opinions may differ from males because of their unique socialization and integration experiences. Results from the current study will not only provide insight on Taiwanese police cadets' attitudes about immigrants but will inform as to whether there are any significant attitudinal gender differences among the police cadets in the sample. Examining attitudes toward immigrants is imperative, as these attitudes may correlate with behavior. Police officers have a responsibility to immigrant and non-immigrant groups alike. Pinpointing the potential cause of differing attitudes between male and female police cadets is beyond the scope of this study but comparisons will lend support to either the sameness or difference approach (Poteyeva & Sun, 2009).

Summary

Police officer attitudes toward the citizens they interact with are largely unexamined. Mostly, citizen attitudes toward officers have been examined. There is also

a dearth of literature that focuses on female officers. Public perception is often consistent with the idea that immigrants are linked to crime, little is known whether this has permeated into attitudes of law enforcement personnel and most of these studies have been conducted in the United States. Taiwan has a foreign population of approximately 800,000, a figure that has nearly doubled over the past decade (National Immigration Agency). The purpose of this thesis is to examine Taiwanese police cadets' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Particularly, the current study seeks to examine whether there are significant attitudinal differences between male and female Taiwanese cadets. Although female officers constitute a small number of total officers, the number of female cadets and officers is increasing and gender integration in policing is slowly advancing (Chu & Tsao, 2014). Research in Taiwan suggests that male and female cadets/officers may have differing attitudes on various subjects (Chu, 2013; Chu & Sun, 2007a; Chu & Sun, 2014; Sun & Chu, 2008c). Additionally, female officers in Taiwan may demonstrate attitudes that are in accordance with stereotypical feminine qualities such as being more caring, loving, empathetic, and understanding (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck, 2014). The current study uses a sample of 538 Taiwanese police cadets from the Central Police University (CPU) and the Taiwan Police College (TPC). This sample consists of 174 (32.3%) females and 364 (67.7%) males.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

Gender in Policing

Eagly, Wood, and Diekmann (2000) posited that gender roles influence differences in behavior. Social role theory “assumes that gender roles reflect a society’s distribution of men and women into breadwinner and homemaker roles and into occupation” (p. 124). Diverse social roles, then, can help explain gender differences in behavior. There is a cultural assumption or stereotype ascribed to males and females. Actions by each group are influenced by societal expectations. Gender differences in behavior are often aligned with stereotypical views. Importantly, conforming to these stereotypes is more widely accepted than rejecting them. Women are expected to be nurturing, submissive, and emotional. Men are expected to be strong, assertive, and stoic. According to social role theory, the development of these traits leads individuals to certain careers where their traits are most relevant. For example, female traits are appropriate within nursing or social service careers. Policing, however, is a male dominated profession and men, more so than women, have long been perceived to possess the ideal qualities to become a successful police officer. Police organizations have been referred to as gendered institutions and female officers face an array of challenges integrating into this male-dominated profession (Acker, 1992).

Acker (1992) suggested that in many careers and institutions, women have made significant progress in terms of their representation. One realm where their progress is lacking is within police departments. Acker (1992) argued that overt decisions are made

to exclude women because of their gender. Images, symbols, and ideologies of hegemonic masculinity pervade police departments. The image of police officers as crime fighters engaging in ‘real police work’ is consistently found in departments and in advertisements to potential police recruits. Furthermore, these advertisements are unlikely to feature female officers, again reinforcing the image of policing as a male profession (Shelley, Morabito, & Tobin-Gurley, 2011). Control and segregation of female officers are also mechanisms employed by police departments. It may be difficult for female officers to integrate into a culture that has been shown to be prone to excluding, or demeaning women. Male officers have been found to create a sexualized workspace in an attempt to “convey male dominance” (Shelley et al., 2011, p. 355).

Research suggests that the roles of the “policeWOMEN” and “POLICEwomen” are incorporated on a daily basis (Martin, 1980; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Schuck, 2014). However, balancing opposing expectations is difficult. These terms were first used by Martin (1980) and refer to the challenge female officers are often confronted with. The term “POLICEwomen” describes officers who deviate from the stereotypical, emotional female officer and embrace more masculine police traits. Conversely, “policeWOMEN” embrace the emotional, supportive characteristics of female officers (Scheck, 2014). In any given situation, one of these polarized perspectives may be more accepted than the other. Policewomen are often in a situation where they cannot win. “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, p. 341). Female officers are generally expected to adhere to stereotypical gender roles by engaging in emotion-related tasks. At the same time, they can be undervalued because police

organizations value masculinity. Women officers may feel pressured to adopt more masculine values but simultaneously deal with the expectation that they should act feminine. They are often conflicted with “role and identity ambiguity,” making it difficult to be accepted (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007, p. 20). Receiving open peer support and integrating into the police subculture are arduous tasks for female officers. In fact, female officers have reported feeling ostracized by their departments and receiving unfair treatment compared to male counterparts (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007). Female officers can be viewed as a threat to the current masculine police image and be less readily accepted. Based on research from several countries, there are indications that female officers are at a disadvantage in terms of recruitment, selection, promotion, evaluation, and assignment (Chan, Doran, & Marel, 2010).

Society often creates distinctions among its members based on sex, race, and class. Female Taiwanese police cadets/officers may be influenced by stereotypically feminine assumptions. Female officers may have a unique perspective due to differential socialization and biological differences (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Only recently has Taiwan begun to follow democratic policing principles, but the notion of equality in policing undermines longstanding traditional gender beliefs. With the adaptation of new policing paradigms, there has been a shift toward equal gender roles in policing. The actual implementation of female officers into policing, however, is occurring slowly. Grant (2000) examined the public’s perception of gender differences in policing and found that stereotypical views are prevalent. The public was generally supportive of hiring more female officers, but that did not change the gender stereotypes they hold. While much of the public is supportive of female integration, many posit policewomen are less able.

Women are generally thought to be “more aware of their emotions and the emotions of others, and their decision making is believed to be motivated by a caring perspective” (Schuck, 2014, p. 164). Although similarities certainly exist between male and female officers, differences have also been found. For example, female officers have been found to be less likely to resort to physical force, have differing responses to domestic violence, receive fewer complaints about use of force, and may be better at avoiding violent confrontations (Schuck, 2014). While there may be nothing inherently wrong with identifiable differences between men and women, disparate treatment in policing, based on gender, would be concerning. Garcia (2003) asserts, “inequality is reinforced in a way that definitions of women’s work reinforce the orientation of women as naturally nurturant, subservient, and sexy” (p. 332). Women lack “the necessary masculine traits of rationality, aggressiveness, bravery, objectivity, suspicion, and brutality required of good cops to fight crime and apprehend the enemy” (p. 337). In sum, women are perceived not to have the necessary physical strength to accomplish the job, despite the empirical evidence that demonstrates otherwise (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Gender stereotypes in policing are prevalent, even female officers often possess stereotypical views concerning differences between men and women in policing (Schuck, 2014). Female officers are frequently associated with “feminine moral virtue, the domestic realm, social service, formal rules, administration, cleanliness, and emotions” (Prokos & Padavic, 2002, p. 442). These assumptions may make it more difficult for women to integrate into the male dominated policing profession. Dejong (2005) claims that rather than emphasizing how similar male and female officers are concerning their performance, a finding that is consistent throughout the literature, an emphasis should be placed on

how male and female officers differ. The gauges of success should shift from the number of arrests and traffic stops, to citizen-police relationships. Adopting this approach would better align with community oriented policing philosophies.

Hiring more female officers may be a positive for a police department, as the presence of these officers would “result in a cumulative chain of decisions that increases the likelihood that the citizen will be cooperative and thus decreases the likelihood that the encounter will negatively affect the organization” (Schuck, 2014, p. 167). Police work is not predominately comprised of active crime fighting as many members of the public believe. Social interactions with individuals not actively involved in criminal activity are more common (Schuck, 2014).

Difference and Sameness Approaches

Poteyeva and Sun (2009) claim that, broadly, there are two approaches understanding gender differences in policing: the sameness approach and the difference approach. Some research suggests that the appropriate perspective is the sameness approach, claiming there are more similarities between male and female officers concerning their attitudes or behaviors (Dejong, 2005; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; Schuck, 2014). Indeed, some research suggests that female officers are equally competent performing patrol duties and receive fewer complaints (Grant, 2000). Contrarily, there are several studies that have demonstrated differences in behavior and attitudes between male and female officers.

In their analysis of 33 recent articles, Poteyeva and Sun (2009) focused on differential attitudes among police officers based on gender. These studies focused on various topics including the officers’ attitudes toward community policing, job stress, job

satisfaction, policing domestic violence, and overall police role. While there was some support for the difference approach regarding officer attitudes, most of the results from these studies suggest the sameness approach is more appropriate. Results demonstrated the following:

“A greater volume of studies that claimed attitudinal similarities between female and male officers, potentially signaling that occupational socialization is more powerful in modeling officers’ traits and attitudes than gender predisposition or that women and men do not differ significantly in occupation attitudes” (Poteyeva & Sun, 2009, p. 516).

Overall, results from this analysis demonstrate mixed findings. Several studies found support for the difference approach and the majority in this sample supported the sameness approach. The current study seeks to expand on this body of literature by assessing officer attitudes toward immigrants, a subject that has not been thoroughly examined.

Importantly, women should not be expected to behave the exact same way or possess the exact same qualities as men in order to receive equal treatment. Considering many departments are now adopting a community-oriented policing approach, qualities that were once considered to be irrelevant to police work are now being used to improve police work (i.e., communication skills). Masculine and feminine traits can coexist in working environments. In fact, more feminine characteristics may be stressed and desired in some police departments. These characteristics are thought to help maintain a positive relationship with the public (Dejong, 2005). Despite the knowledge that women are essentially equal to men in terms of their abilities to do the job of policing, combined with the fact that many departments are recognizing the significant contributions of

female officers, progress is slow. Within the community policing paradigm, some have suggested that female officers may be better equipped than male officers due to their skills as efficient communicators and problem solvers (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Women are often still perceived as “more people focused, socially skilled, and emotionally sensitive than men and more likely to engage in caring behavior” (Schuck, 2014, p. 160). Assuming women possess these general feminine characteristics and skills, it could be argued that women officers are the ideal recruits for law enforcement organizations wanting to adhere to community and problem-oriented policing paradigms.

One argument that has been outlined by scholars claims that difference should be accepted (Kessler-Harris, 1987). Policewomen and departments should value and emphasize differences in an effort to reduce bias against female officers. However, this is not the case in many police departments (Garcia, 2003). Policing is often associated with fighting crime, locking individuals up, and chasing felons. Police are to prevent crime and that is a job that should be spearheaded by male officers. Stereotypes of police work primarily consisting of action-packed crime fighting are perpetuated by media, television, and movies. These factors, among others, have created a misconception that to become a proficient police officer an individual should possess a certain physical prowess and toughness, qualities typically associated with men. In actuality, occasions requiring the typically male associated traits (i.e., physical strength, aggression) are seldom needed. Police recruits and the general public have a notion that policework consists of an 80-20 ratio; fighting crime 80% of the time and doing paperwork or social-work related tasks 20% of the time. The opposite is true, policework largely consists of tasks not associated with crime fighting (Garcia, 2003).

Therefore, female officers, who are widely understood and perceived to be more efficient communicators and have better emotional skills compared to males, make a strong case for integration into departments that are looking to improve police-citizen interactions. Martin (1999) claims that police work is an emotional endeavor, emphasizing that when police fail to manage their emotions, public relations may suffer. Hiring more female officers should be a positive for the department as a whole, as the presence of these officers would “result in a cumulative chain of decisions that increases the likelihood that the citizen will be cooperative and thus decreases the likelihood that the encounter will negatively affect the organization” (Schuck, 2014, p. 167). Police work is not predominately comprised of active crime fighting as many members of the public may perceive, rather, it involves order maintenance type interactions. Daily social interactions with individuals not actively involved in criminal activity are more common (Schuck, 2014).

Differences in Officer Behavior and Motivation

Gender comparisons in policing experiences have often been examined. McCarty et al. (2007) examined work-related stress and burnout. Females were thought to exhibit differences due to their membership in a potentially “unfavorable organizational environment” (McCarty et al., 2007, p. 676). Previous research suggests that women in conventionally male occupations may exhibit higher levels of stress because of their work environment. The aforementioned study found that although there were some differences observed concerning work-related stress and burnout between male and female officers, there were no significant differences. The finding that officer stress does not significantly differ between genders is important. Female officers have reported unique stressors

compared to male officers, but these did not result in higher levels of stress (Morash & Haarr, 1995). Officers differed in the contributors to stress, but not necessarily in the levels of stress experienced. Other studies have found mixed results concerning stress differences. For example, He, Zhao, and Archbold (2002) found that female officers have significantly higher levels of somatization and depression, but there were no differences in anxiety. Male and female officers in their sample also differed in their coping strategies. Female officers were more likely to rely on family members or a spouse to cope.

In an attempt to assess the validity of the stereotypical assumption that female officers do not use coercion as much as males, making them inferior police officers, Paoline and Terrill (2005) used observational data gathered by trained observers to investigate the extent to which female officers use verbal and physical force in citizen encounters. Although policewomen are often perceived as unlikely to use coercive authority, there were no significant differences in the use of force rates between male and female officers. Males and females typically relied on verbal force in their encounters. These results suggest that females are capable of using coercion at the same level as male counterparts, despite the general assumption that they are not. Others have also found that gender has little impact on decisions to arrest (Novak, Brown, & Frank, 2010). Similarly, some research has examined use of force through longitudinal studies and found no statistical differences in the overall rates of force between male and female officers (Hoffman & Hickey, 2005). Conversely, Shuck and Rabe-Hemp (2007) found that female officers differ in their use of force from male officers. In their study, the officer's gender was considered, as well as the gender of the partner officer. The female officers alone and

the female-female officer pairs used less force than males. When a female was involved, the use of force was mitigated. The authors assert these findings have significant implications for departments, specifically departments with excessive use of force issues. Increasing the number of female officers in a department may result in fewer complaints of excessive force. Overall, the results appear mixed regarding gender differences in police officer behavior.

Male and female officers can differ in terms of motivation for becoming police officers. Women may join law enforcement because of their desire to help people, while men are attracted to the job security (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007). Officer experiences and interactions with the public can also be quite different. Male officers are more likely to experience compliance with male and female victims. Conversely, female officers experience a lack of compliance when interacting with a male citizen. A male citizen may not readily submit to the orders or control of a female officer. Female citizens tend to cooperate more with female officers, and they draw on similarities (Martin, 1999). Male and female officers may experience policing uniquely and have differing attitudes on a variety of topics.

Immigrants, the Public, and the Police

Public Opinion About Immigrants

To this point, theoretical perspectives and approaches have been discussed, as well as male and female differences and gender assumptions in policing. The following section transitions from male and female differences and similarities to literature that deals with public opinion about immigrants and police. As the purpose of this thesis is to examine cadet/officer attitudes toward immigrants, a review of public opinion and

previous findings from studies examining the relationship between police and immigrants is necessary.

Public perception about immigrants is often negative and can be misinformed. Researchers have noted an incongruity between actual crime rates and public perception of the prevalence of criminal activity perpetrated by immigrants (Sohoni & Sohoni, 2014). In their analysis of public opinion surveys conducted in various nations, Simon and Sikich (2007) conclude that “most respondents favored decreasing the number of immigrants allowed into their country” (p. 961). Surveys showed that attitudes toward immigrants varied based on country, but overall results suggest an overwhelming negative perception regarding immigrants and crime, as well as their innovative abilities. A widely held public viewpoint that cannot be dismissed is the idea that increased immigration and a larger number of immigrants leads to more crime. In an examination of Chicago neighborhoods, Sampson (2008) found that regardless of the severity of poverty within the community, areas diversified with a foreign-born population boasted lower levels of violence. In fact, “immigrants appear in general to be less violent than people born in America, particularly when they live in neighborhoods with high numbers of immigrants” (p. 30). Not only were immigrants less inclined to criminal activity than native born individuals, highly concentrated groups of immigrants are particularly law-abiding (Hagan et al., 2008). Some scholars have argued that increased immigration was actually a factor that led to the drop of U.S. crime rates that began in the 1990s (Wortley, 2009).

The recent body of literature has demonstrated that immigrants are less likely to be involved in criminal activity than native born citizens. In the U.S., Hispanic

immigrants have been found to be less likely to engage in criminal activity. This finding is consistent on an individual and macro level analysis of neighborhoods (Sohoni & Sohoni, 2014). Public opinion polls suggest that many U.S. citizens are leery of immigration, associating increased immigration with increased crime rates. Many respondents in these surveys have expressed unwarranted concern over increased immigration. Prior to 9/11, public attitudes toward immigrants were largely positive, viewing them as a benefit to society. Post-9/11, there has been an increased level of scrutiny toward immigrants. The number of deportations of illegal immigrants has trended upwards, especially for those who are not criminals (Kirk, Papachristos, Fagan & Tyler, 2012). Many arguments in favor of strict immigration policies and practices reference the need to protect the U.S. from foreign terrorism.

Public sentiment regarding immigrants is typically influenced by media portrayals and political rhetoric. The way the media frames and presents arguments plays an important role in how immigration issues are discussed and how people respond (Fryberg et al., 2012). In a time where immigrants are widespread and more people reside outside their country of birth than ever before, a level of hostility remains. Some debate arises over concerns for public safety. Immigrants and refugees in many Western nations can be portrayed as threatening enemies. They are often perceived as potential physical, economic, and cultural threats (Esses et al., 2013). Media portrayals of immigrants as threats, or invasions have long been evident. In recent decades, a sense of concern over the negative impact of immigrants has been increasingly documented in magazine covers and news programs within the U.S. This phenomenon has also been examined in other countries (i.e., Australia, Canada). The majority of terms used by media to describe

immigrants in these countries are negative, pronouncing them as threats or problems (Esses et al., 2013).

These negative portrayals significantly impact public perception of immigrants, some have argued that these descriptions could be considered dehumanization. Indeed, “the media may not only promote dehumanization of immigrants and refugees through depictions that highlight potential threats to the host society but provide ready justifications for the dehumanization and consequent outcomes” (Esses et al., 2013, p. 531). Not all immigrant groups are considered threats, however. Targeted groups vary from country to country. For example, immigrants to the U.S. from Latin America are often associated with illegal immigration and crime in recent media depictions. This portrayal has produced a more negative sentiment toward anyone immigrating from these countries. Immigrants hailing from more developed countries in Europe may not be perceived as threats or linked to crime in the same manner. Additionally, outstanding examples of misconduct and criminal activity garner increased attention when immigrants are involved. Heinous crimes such as a murder or a drunk-driving death perpetrated by an immigrant will receive notoriety in the media. Oftentimes, it is emphasized that if there were stricter immigration policies in place that these crimes would have been avoided. An analysis of newspaper articles printed in a U.S. city revealed that the terms “immigrants” and “Hispanics” were used interchangeably with “illegal immigrants”. As long as there continues to be an emphasis on framing immigrants as criminals, public opinion will likely continue to associate the two (Sohoni & Sohoni, 2014). Reducing the amount of negative attention given to immigrant groups may

improve public attitudes which would be beneficial to the given society as a whole. Media plays an imperative role in disseminating this message to the public.

Theories of group threat are often used to explain a predominant anti-immigrant sentiment; claiming members of the dominant group are threatened by subordinate groups. Two main threats are associated with this perspective: economic and symbolic. From the economic perspective, increased immigration may lead to an increased concern over the lack of limited resources (i.e., jobs, wages, housing, social services) which can lead to increased perceptions of threat. The symbolic perspective focuses on “out-group stereotyping as people strive to denigrate the status of ‘others’” (Fitzgerald, Curtis, & Corliss, 2012, p. 482). Immigrants become perceived threats, eliciting fear, anxiety, and prejudice (Fryberg et al., 2012). Fitzgerald et al. (2012) found that fear of crime is a significant predictor of concerns regarding immigration. The perception of immigrants as threatening groups may only persist among certain social groups, however.

One study found that cosmopolitans who are highly educated, have white-collar jobs, and have been exposed to other cultures by living abroad are more likely to view immigrants positively (Haubert & Fussell, 2006). These groups appear not to perceive immigrant populations as threats, perhaps due to their high social status that would largely be unaffected by an increased presence of immigrants. Positive attitudes toward high-skilled immigrants were common among this U.S. population. More negative attitudes toward immigrants are common when they are portrayed as asylum seekers and permanent immigrants. Individuals who perceive immigrants in these ways are more likely to support reducing immigration. British media has frequently referred to immigrants in these ways. U.S. media often portrays immigrants in a similar fashion,

resulting in negative sentiments (Blinder, 2015). Although many studies have examined the issue of immigration and crime within the context of the U.S., the connection between immigrants and crime has been found among populations in Australia, Japan, Canada, and South Africa (Fitzgerald, et al., 2012).

Native-born citizens across the world have expressed their concern over immigrants. Negative stereotypes are common but may be unjustified. Media portrayals of immigrants as criminals or threats have intensified public awareness and often result in a negative sentiment. Similar to other aforementioned nations, immigrants in Taiwan have been negatively depicted in media representations (Cheng, 2016). One goal of this study is to determine the prevalence of such sentiments among Taiwanese police cadets.

Immigrants and Police

Immigrants' perception of police is a topic that has been investigated among several populations with racial and cultural heterogeneity (Chu & Hung, 2010; Chu & Song, 2015; Chu et al., 2005; Correia, 2010; Davis & Hendricks, 2007; Egharevba, 2009; Khondaker, Wu, & Lambert., 2017; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Roles et al., 2015; Sun & Wu, 2015; Torres & Vogel, 2001; Wu, Sun, & Smith, 2011). An immigrant's perception of the police varies based on a number of factors. Menjivar and Bejarano (2004) provide insight on three important factors that may influence opinion: an individual's experiences with police in their country of origin, contact with immigration officials, and the information transmitted to them through social networks. Some studies have found that immigrants arrive and continue to maintain a positive attitude toward police (Torres & Vogel, 2001; Wu et. al, 2011). Other studies have shown attitudinal differences in perceptions of police officers based on previous contact. A positive

experience is a strong predictor of immigrants having favorable attitudes (Chu & Hung, 2010). Immigrants with no previous contact have viewed police more favorably than those with some type of prior contact and quality of police contact rather than quantity has shown to be the most significant to respondents (Chu & Song, 2008; Chu et al., 2005). Personal experience influences an individual's perception of police officers. Individuals with little or no police interaction have shown to maintain a more positive perception of the police. Frequent, negative experiences with officers will adversely influence public opinion.

Additional concerns have been expressed over the potential language barriers between police officers and immigrant citizens (Chu & Song, 2008). Police authorities may be increasingly leery of immigrants who are not as proficient in the native language, which has resulted in some officers perceiving immigrants as “uncooperative and suspicious” (Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004, p. 139). Local law enforcement's ability to make immigration arrests has been hypothesized as an influencing factor on immigrants' perception of police. Immigrants from the Middle East and Asian countries have been subject to arrest or deportation (Wishnie, 2004). Many of these studies have been conducted in the United States, but there is an absence of research addressing the “rapid growth of the Asian population in the USA” (Wu et al., 2011, p. 748). In one of the few studies that focuses on Asian Americans, Wu et al. (2012) concentrated their efforts on Chinese immigrants within the U.S. Based on their findings, Chinese immigrants experience a higher rate of contact with police when compared to the general public. Previous encounters with police were found to be important in shaping the immigrants' perception of police. Satisfaction of prior police contact proved to be “the single most

significant variable in determining their general perceptions of the police” (p. 755). The authors also found that media exposure and portrayal of police had a “significant effect on Chinese immigrants’ global satisfaction with the police” (p. 755).

Immigrants in the United States have, in several studies, held overall positive views towards police officers. Davis and Hendricks (2007) suggest immigrants held more positive views toward police compared to native U.S. citizens. Immigrants ranked police higher in terms of effectiveness, misconduct, and satisfaction regarding police contact. Roles et al., (2015) focused on a sample of Hispanic immigrants of Mexican descent. Interestingly, participants generally expressed positive dispositions towards police. In an experiment involving community policing strategies, Torres and Vogel (2001) concluded that not only were attitudes of Vietnamese and Latino immigrants positive based on results from the post-test, findings from the pretest show that initial attitudes toward police were equally positive. While there are cases where discontent and negative encounters affect immigrants’ perceptions of police, there are also examples of large immigrant groups who appear to have a positive perception of police. The bulk of these studies have been conducted among U.S. immigrants originating from less developed countries. Many immigrants may have been motivated to migrate to the U.S. with the hopes of a higher quality of life, therefore, first-generation immigrants tend to valorize their presence in the U.S. and are less likely to become criminally involved, potentially hindering an opportunity (Kirk et al., 2012). The susceptibility to police corruption in other countries may play a role in the development of an overall favorable view of U.S. police officers. Nevertheless, studies have found that many immigrants have favorable views towards law enforcement officers.

Taiwan as a Research Setting

History and Politics of Taiwan

In 1626, Taiwan was briefly seized by Spanish forces. Dutch forces would later drive out the Spanish and reestablish control over the island. Under Dutch control Taiwan was governed by the Dutch East India Trading Company. During this time under the Dutch, immigration from China was encouraged. The Taiwanese aboriginal population during this period greatly outnumbered the Chinese population. By 1662 the Dutch presence in Taiwan was driven out and a large number of Chinese began residing there. In late 1890s, Taiwan became a colony under Japanese rule. Japan was successful in establishing order on Taiwan, the island became one of the more advanced places in East Asia. Taiwan was strictly ruled by Japanese forces. The island was viewed as essential for the military developments of Japan during times of war with China in the 1930s (Copper, 2019).

After some tumultuous years of uncertainty, Taiwan became under the control of the Republic of China (ROC). The Nationalist party of China (KMT) leadership of the ROC was defeated in the Chinese Civil War and fled to Taiwan. After the ROC government forces were defeated by the Chinese Communists, a regime led by the KMT established Taiwan as their base. With masses of Nationalist Party members entering Taiwan, the island saw a huge influx of people which put a strain on the local economy. The People's Republic of China (PRC) in mainland China was now led by Mao Zedong. From this point forward, Taiwan began their current period of de facto independence from mainland China (Mack, 2019).

Taiwan's economy recuperated and the country enjoyed some economic prosperity starting in the 1960s. The United Nations seat was held by the ROC regime in Taiwan until 1971 when Beijing replaced Taipei. The U.S. subsequently began to focus on their relationship with mainland China and in 1979 they ended their military alliance with the ROC in Taiwan. However, U.S. Congress did pass the Taiwan Relations Act in an effort to defend Taiwan from the PRC (Copper, 2019). Taiwan experienced its first real opposition party to the KMT in the early 1980s, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Martial law came to a halt in 1987 and shortly after in 1996 the country as it witnessed its first-ever election involving two parties. The inaugural direct election was won by the KMT. The first DPP candidate was not victorious until the year 2000. Meanwhile, leaders in mainland China were concerned over Taiwan's propensity for independence and passed an Anti-Secession Law in 2005. This law authorized the use of force to thwart Taiwan from legal separation. Taiwan experienced a significant milestone in 2016 with the election of Tsai Ing-wen, the country's first woman president. Taiwan continues to retain its de facto independence from mainland China with many Taiwanese supporting the status quo (Mack, 2019).

Taiwanese Immigration

Commencing with the migrant populations of Dutch and Japanese populations, Taiwan has long been impacted by immigrants. Refugees from China migrated to Taiwan after the civil war. Shortly thereafter, a growing concern over the potential threat of communist infiltration emerged. In an effort to squander any threats, Taiwan enacted strict immigration policies including not permitting its own citizens to freely travel without governmental permission (Wang, 2011). In the late 1970s, some of these travel

restrictions were lifted due to increased globalization in the region. During this time, Taiwan experienced an increased foreign population. Many of these individuals can be classified as labor and marriage immigrants.

Immigration policies are significantly impacted by the patriarchal *jus sanguinis* principle, the concern over ‘population quality’, and concerns over national security (i.e., communism). Many immigrants seeking to become permanent residents of Taiwan are women from Southeast Asia and China. The patriarchal ideology was especially notable prior to 1999 when only descendants of male Taiwanese passport holders could apply to become a naturalized citizen. After adjustments to the Nationality Act, children of all ROC citizens can apply for naturalization. However, “to remain in Taiwan before naturalization, a marriage immigrant must have an attachment to a Taiwanese national, either a spouse or child. Otherwise, the marriage immigrant has to leave when the temporary residency permit expires” (Wang, 2011, p. 182).

The Taiwanese government has previously expressed concern regarding the types of individuals entering Taiwan. A ‘good quality’ population is the goal and those categorized as ‘low quality’ are closely monitored. Immigration policies reflect a class-based ideology (Wang, 2011). Low-skilled migrant workers and children of immigrant women hailing from Southeast Asian countries are typically not granted the opportunity to become Taiwanese citizens, “no matter how long they have stayed in Taiwan” (Wang, 2011, p. 182). Additionally, concern over PRC Chinese immigrants remains high. Migrants from mainland China can be denied entry if they are thought to be a potential threat and are not allowed to work until permanent residency is gained, which takes approximately six years (Wang, 2011).

The majority of studies examining immigration issues as it relates to crime or criminal justice actors have taken place in the U.S. Comparatively, Taiwan has a more homogenous population than the U.S., fewer immigrants, and its own unique set of immigration laws. However, economic factors (i.e., higher wages, opening of foreign labor market) are attracting immigrants from China and Southeast Asia contributing to what can be characterized as a “huge immigrant population from East Asian countries” (Huang, 2018, p. 225). Individuals from Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia constitute “more than 90 percent of the foreign population” (Huang, 2018, p. 226). Despite immigrants’ positive contributions to society through legally obtained blue collar jobs such as construction or factory workers, a stigma persists. In addition, many female workers undertake roles in social welfare. These are primarily caregiver roles, with the majority of foreign females taking jobs as nursing workers or home-maids (Taiwan MOL). Many foreign workers fill vacancies that are unwanted by locals but needed to be filled. Immigrant workers often take on the more dangerous and dirty jobs and perform these needed services despite local law which allows them to be compensated less than Taiwanese nationals (Cheng, 2016). The Council of Labor Affairs (CLA), a state-run institution overseeing the guest worker program, has done little to help immigrant workers. Tierney (2011) argues that the CLA portrays undocumented immigrants as “a threat to public safety”, stating immigrants are “linked to crime” (p. 304). The situation has even been described as racism against immigrant workers. Injustices against immigrants have occurred at the hands of the CLA as it has sought to keep the temporary immigrant minimum wage as low as possible and the police “have enforced these provisions, often violently” (p. 310). Taiwanese immigrants often

experience an environment where they are exploited and marginalized. Table 1 shows the foreign population in Taiwan by gender, and the number of individuals in Taiwan who perform foreign labor. The current gender composition is similar to that of the U.S., based on legal immigration data (Pew Research Center, 2006). Subsequently, Table 2 contains information regarding the large population of immigrants from Southeast Asia. Table 3 demonstrates the number of foreign workers in a productive industry (i.e., agriculture, forestry, fishing and animal husbandry, manufacturing, construction) and those in social welfare (i.e., nursing workers, home-maids). Almost all foreign male workers are involved in productive industries, with the bulk of males performing manufacturing jobs. Conversely, the majority of foreign female workers work in social welfare, as nursing workers or in-house maids.

Table 1

<i>Statistics of Foreign Population in Taiwan, 2010-2019</i>					
Year	Total		Female	Individuals in Taiwan for Foreign Labor	(% of Total Foreign Residents)
	Foreign Residents	Male			
2010	418,802	160,963	257,839	325,527	77.7%
2011	466,206	190,237	275,969	367,666	78.9%
2012	483,921	201,194	282,727	388,842	80.4%
2013	525,109	225,905	299,204	428,897	81.7%
2014	629,633	278,452	351,181	526,578	83.6%
2015	637,843	285,378	352,465	533,869	83.7%
2016	671,375	300,157	371,218	563,418	83.9%
2017	717,736	326,658	391,078	602,366	83.9%
2018	758,583	350,496	408,087	631,017	83.2%
2019	794,974	367,436	427,538	651,233	81.9%

Note. Retrieved from R.O.C. Taiwan National Immigration Agency.

Table 2

Statistics of Foreign Residents by Nationality

Year	Subtotal	% of Total Foreign Population	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Thailand	Vietnam
2013	469,202	89.4%	188,229	13,438	83,630	66,531	117,374
2014	570,959	90.7%	218,051	16,995	113,185	72,983	149,745
2015	591,844	92.8%	220,071	17,870	123,815	66,220	163,868
2016	620,526	92.4%	224,371	19,474	137,660	64,327	174,694
2017	673,980	93.9%	239,153	21,169	148,599	66,247	198,812
2018	715,156	94.3%	250,192	21,571	154,306	66,008	223,079
2019	737,313	92.7%	262,090	21,224	157,296	64,645	232,058

Note. Table includes Southeast Asian countries with the highest number of foreign residents. Retrieved from R.O.C. Taiwan National Immigration Agency.

Table 3

Foreign Workers in Productive Industries and Social Welfare by Gender

Year	Total	Male		Female	
		Productive Industries	Social Welfare	Productive Industries	Social Welfare
2013	489,134	199,252	1,711	79,667	208,504
2014	551,596	232,530	1,774	99,055	218,237
2015	587,940	255,667	1,659	107,917	222,328
2016	624,768	272,585	1,724	114,892	235,567

2017	676,142	300,470	1,698	125,515	248,459
2018	706,850	319,430	1,832	129,323	256,265
2019	718,058	324,929	2,016	131,672	259,441

Note. Retrieved from the Workforce Development Agency, MOL.

The media's portrayal of immigrant workers in Taiwan has shown to be mostly negative. Cheng (2016) reviewed 506 news articles and found that only 5 portrayed immigrant workers as "contributing agents by showing how they offer assistance to Taiwanese society" (p. 2521). Media portrays foreign workers as cultural others who disrupt the local culture. Cheng (2016) asserts, "the language of criminality and legality permeates most news on foreign migrant workers" (p. 2516). Males are portrayed as aggressive perpetrators of crime, particularly sexual violence, and females are often talked of as mere sexual objects. Perception and internalization of negative stereotypes have been found to affect Taiwanese immigrants. One study of immigrant women found an increased perceived discrimination, resulting in negative mental health implications (Yang et al., 2014).

Taiwan's arguably exclusionary practices of immigrants have not only affected immigrant workers, so called 'foreign brides' also face an array of challenges assimilating into Taiwanese society. According to 2008 statistics, one of every four new marriages is between a Taiwanese citizen and a foreigner, 30.6% of these foreign spouses are from Southeast Asia and 63.3% are from Mainland China (Hsia, 2008). 'Foreign brides' are construed by governmental agencies, the general public, and media as a "social problem" (p. 191). Although some improvements have been made to the Nationality Act; it remains difficult for foreigners to gain citizenship. The status of wife

to a Taiwanese man is a prerequisite of citizenship, introducing a host of challenges for immigrant women (Hsia, 2008). As marriage immigrants continue to flock to Taiwan from Southeast Asia and Mainland China, the government has acted by adding “more barriers for marriage migrants to acquire citizenship” (p. 193).

Immigrants who are experiencing a new country for the first time often confront challenges assimilating into destination countries, Taiwan is no different. Similar to the United States and other countries around the world, there seems to be a negative stigma surrounding immigrant populations. These negative sentiments have certainly influenced immigrant’s ability to transition into what is likely an unfamiliar area. In the U.S., for example, trepidation towards immigrants has “facilitated the passage of restrictive immigration policies in American history” (Huang, 2018, p. 225). Immigrant groups in Taiwan have not been explored to such an extent, but many immigrants continue to reside in there. Police have a responsibility to naturalized citizens and citizens alike. Law enforcement also has a responsibility to those immigrants who are facing challenges obtaining legal citizenship. As an integral part of the Taiwanese police force, cadets’ opinions of often-marginalized groups, in this case immigrants, are imperative.

Policing in Taiwan

Policing in Taiwan is unique in its own rights. The police force is largely under the direction of the National Police Agency (NPA), a centralized force comprised of approximately 1,600 local police stations that operate in cities and counties across the country (Chu & Sun, 2014; Sun & Chu, 2006). This differs greatly from the U.S. concept of policing. Police in the U.S. are dispersed into thousands of autonomous departments at the local, state, and federal levels. Each department has its own specific set of rules,

regulations, and norms that officers adhere to. Policing in Taiwan is more uniform in the sense that the same policies and practices are applicable to officers across the country.

To become a police officer in Taiwan, a recruit enters one of two institutions responsible for educating and training potential officers: the Taiwan Police College (TPC) or the Central Police University (CPU). The Taiwanese system is a two-track system “in which Taiwan Police College is responsible for training low ranking police personnel, whereas Central Police University is responsible for educating police management personnel” (Cao et al., 2016a, p. 531). In alignment with the Taiwanese culture, education is stressed as equally important to training and both are done simultaneously. Male and female recruits are admitted, both receive the same curriculum and physical training (Sun & Chu, 2008c). The Taiwan Police College “admits high school graduates for a two-year course” (Sun & Chu, 2008c, p. 432). Potential recruits take an entrance exam, followed by a civil service examination upon termination of their training. Cadets are accepted into five departments: Department of Police Administration, Department of Disaster Management, Department of Traffic Management, Department of Criminal Investigation, and Department of Maritime Police (Cao et al., 2016a). Over the course of the two years cadets engage in classroom and field training. TPC graduates “constitute 80% of Taiwan’s subaltern police personnel, forming the core foundation of the force” (Cao et al., 2016a, p. 535). The types of students in the Central Police University vary but can be divided into three categories. The first type of cadet enrolls in a four-year program terminating with a bachelor’s degree. These individuals will “enter the force at the rank of lieutenant” (Sun and Chu, 2008c, p. 433). Commissioned police officers are also provided the opportunity to pursue a higher academic degree through the

CPU, thus providing a chance for promotional advancement. A third type of student, referred to as 'special tested students' may also be accepted but have not been received particularly well (Cao et al., 2016a). There is a concern that the current system has, "a strong connection between academic degree and career upward mobility" which will lead to "neglecting basic skills and police professionalism" (p. 540). Additional concern has been expressed over the acceptance, application, and internalization of democratic values (Cao, Huang, & Sun, 2016b).

Taiwan has undergone changes in national wealth, family structure, and the availability of consumer goods among other things. As these changes have occurred, police have been forced to confront challenges concerning "technological change, redefinition of police responsibilities, public support, morale and integrity, education and research, and organizational restructuring" (O'Leary and Sheu, 1992, p. 118). The transition to democratic policing has been rife with challenges. Police officers have grappled with the departure from an authoritarian ideology under martial law, to democratic ideals after the lifting of martial law. Potential Issues facing the police include political neutrality, democratic control, and social impartiality (Cao et al., 2016). In these respects, democratic policing differs greatly from policing under martial law. A democracy is comprised of officers who are loyal to fair laws and a constitution, are transparent, and are part of a demilitarized culture. Conversely, police officers under martial law were loyal to a sole political party (the KMT), had little oversight, and maintained certain information was classified (Cao et al., 2016b). Although police officers receive adequate training, "the integration of democratic norms and processes into the policing systems has proven to be complex and difficult" (Cao et al., 2016b, p.

655). Police officers are required to embrace a new policing rationale, one where it works with the public. Community policing has been adopted as the “dominant policing theme to reemphasize the importance of citizen cooperation and rebuild the strong tie between the police and local residents” (Sun & Chu, 2008c, p. 432).

Sun and Chu (2006) claim policing in Taiwan can be divided into three phases: the installment of central government from 1949 to the early 1970s, the shift to managing increased social disorder and crime from the early 1970s to late 1980s, and the current phase, featuring the adaptation of community policing philosophies, which began in the early 1990s. The first phase begins with the “re-establishment of the central government in Taiwan by the nationalist party (i.e. *Kuomintang* or KMT)” (Sun & Chu, 2006, p. 191). During this phase, law enforcement had a focus on recovering from mainland China and identifying backers of communism. Nearly all police officers were part of the KMT and one of their primary goals was to protect the KMT regime (Cao et al., 2016b). The paranoia of communist China led to laws that “infringed upon human rights” and police were granted “tremendous authority” (Sun & Chu, 2006, p. 192). Even in the case of minor offenses, criminals were often punished severely by police who exercised a wide range of discretion. In the 1970s, Taiwan experienced several setbacks that prompted governmental and policing changes. For example, Taiwan’s seat in the United Nations Security council was assumed by China. The government seemed to come to terms with the fact that their focus on mainland China was folly. Developments such as a successful economy and industrialization also occurred in the first phase (Sun & Chu, 2006).

During the second phase of policing from the early 1970s to the late 1980s, police focused on increasing crime rates in a rapidly changing society. The KMT maintained

complete control over police, military, media, and government (Cao et al., 2016b). Free speech and political demonstrations were forbidden. Taiwanese citizens lived in a world of strict police control (Sun & Chu, 2006). This phase is also characterized by increasing interactions between police and citizens due to various protests and demonstrations. The unprepared police force was faced with violent protests, new types of crime, and an increase of crime by more than 40 percent (Sun & Chu, 2006). To deal with these challenges, improved training was emphasized. Prior to the lifting of martial law police operated under a centralized, authoritarian system. When martial law was lifted in 1987, the police relied on previously gained experience to more appropriately deal with citizens and protests without relying on force.

The final phase of Taiwanese police development began in the 1990s and continues today. During this phase, Taiwan experienced political diversity for the first time and held its first presidential election. The current policing practices are concentrated on promoting education and training, establishing specialized units, and improving police accountability and integrity (Sun & Chu, 2006). While Taiwan has undergone a widely successful transition to democratic policing, many “aspects of the centralized national police force remain largely intact” (Cao et al., 2016a, p. 533).

The transition to democratic policing has prompted comparisons between Taiwanese and American police officers. Chu and Sun (2007a) empirically analyzed attitudinal differences among police supervisors from two American and two Taiwanese departments. Results suggest that attitudes differ, Taiwanese supervisors were characterized as having “a broad role orientation, positive attitudes toward aggressive law enforcement and legal restrictions, and negative attitudes toward citizens” (p. 63). The

results of this study and others may be indicative of attitudes of Taiwanese police officers, but further research is needed. Comparisons among officers have also been made concerning their perception of community-oriented policing. American officers were found to be more open to community-oriented policing and citizen involvement (Gingerich & Chu, 2006; Sun & Chu, 2006). One comparative study utilized data collected from two Taiwanese cities, Taipei and Kaohsiung and two American cities, Indianapolis and St. Petersburg to assess attitudinal differences among officers. The primary concerns were differences in perceptions of community building, distrust of citizens, selective enforcement, and order maintenance (Sun & Chu, 2008b). Additionally, stress and mental health are major concerns for Taiwanese police departments, similar to their U.S. counterparts. These have also been investigated by researchers. Police officers who suffer from high levels of stress can become detrimental, efficiency and production at work may suffer (Chen, 2009; Chen et al., 2006; Chueh, Yen, Lu, & Yang, 2011, Kou & Wu, 2016; Wu, 2009).

Taiwanese Women in Policing

Women were first employed in the police squad in the Taipei City Police Department in 1952 (Chu & Sun, 2007b). However, they were not regularly recruited until 1977 (Chu, 2013). Prospective female police officers depend on the Taiwan Police College (TPC) and Central Police University (CPU), the two institutions responsible for the educating and training of police officers, but adhere to “a tradition of patriarchal and hierarchical order and the maintenance of an authoritarian atmosphere” (Cao et al., 2016a, p. 538). Given the ubiquity of the traditional patriarchal order, females may find it

challenging to successfully integrate into police departments (Cao et al., 2016b). It is evident that gender equality remains an issue in Taiwan.

Despite its issues and challenges concerning gender equality, Taiwan has recently increased its numbers of females in the police force. As of 2010, female police officers made up approximately 5.82 percent of Taiwanese officers (Chu & Tsao, 2014). Based on Taiwan National Police Agency statistics from 2019, the percentage of female officers has increased to 11.52 percent. As Taiwan has fairly recently adopted democratic policing, several studies have made attitudinal comparisons between Taiwanese police officers and police officers in the United States (Chu & Sun, 2007a, 2007b; Gingerich & Chu, 2006; Sun & Chu, 2006; Sun & Chu, 2008a, 2008b). Attitudes toward legal restrictions, citizen support, role orientation, aggressive patrol, and community policing were some of the subjects examined.

Attitudes toward gender integration have become more common in recent years, but it remains an ongoing process (Chu & Tsao, 2014; Sun & Chu, 2008c). Under certain circumstances, female officers have been assigned to similar duties as males (i.e., street patrol duties, managerial positions). Prior to the recent developments of women policing in Taiwan, policewomen were subject to very gender restricted roles. For example, female officers were often tasked to deal with female offender issues (Chu & Tsao, 2014). Despite some progress, female officers are still tasked with stereotypical assignments such as domestic violence cases, traffic management, child protection, and taking on cases with female offenders (Chu & Sun, 2007a). It seems that a tenuous relationship between male and female officers persists (Sun & Chu, 2008c). Notwithstanding these developments toward gender equality, “it is unlikely that the

Taiwanese police will soon evolve into a fully integrated force with equal deployment opportunities for female officers” (Chu & Sun, 2014, p. 219).

Male cadets have shown to be reluctant to support female counterparts’ physical capabilities (Chu & Tsao, 2014). Male cadets were found to be supportive of similar assignments while females were more likely to favor special policing assignments. Female responses demonstrated their reluctance to accept women’s equal integration in policing (Chu & Tsao, 2014; Chu, 2013). Longstanding traditional gender roles may have an impact. Despite the apparent reluctance, female cadets did perceive themselves as equally competent. In a more recent study, Kim and Gerber (2019) examined attitudes toward female officer integration among police cadets from three different colleges in China, but their findings help explain those of Chu and Tsao (2014). They found that, contrary to Chu and Tsao’s (2014) study, there were no significant gender differences in attitudes toward gender integration. The study by Kim and Gerber (2019) also revealed that male and female cadets supported the notion that either gender can be successful in different police work. Although culturally similar in many ways, these findings support the idea that Taiwanese are likely to hold more traditional attitudes than Chinese (Kim & Gerber, 2019). Attitudinal differences toward responses to domestic violence have also garnered attention (Chu & Sun, 2014; Sun & Chu, 2010). Male and female officers have varied concerning the ideal approach.

Purpose of Current Study

A review of relevant literature suggests that, in terms of policing, results are mixed regarding differences between males and females. A host of subjects and topics have been studied, and many studies have demonstrated more similarities than

differences between male and female officers' attitudes and behavior, meanwhile, other studies have focused on differences. This thesis will examine whether differences exist between male and female cadets/officers concerning their attitudes toward immigration and immigrants. Immigrant populations generally have positive opinions and attitudes toward the police, but less is known about police attitudes toward immigrants. Taiwan is an important research setting, as its foreign population continues to increase. In addition, the number of female officers in Taiwan is also increasing. Because of longstanding cultural norms and Taiwan's relatively recent shift to democratic policing, there may also be attitudinal differences between officers based on experience. As such, factors such as cadet/officer gender and experience may be especially salient in determining attitudes toward immigrants, as group experiences are likely to differ. Examining these intersections is important to better understand general and gender policing developments in Taiwan, and the potential treatment of an often-marginalized group, namely, immigrants to Taiwan.

Research Hypotheses

Based on previous literature, results are somewhat mixed as to whether female and male police officers have significantly different attitudes. Attitudes toward various topics have been explored but little research has been done on police cadet/officer attitudes toward immigration, specifically with Taiwan as the research setting. The research hypotheses aim to examine cadets' overall attitudes toward immigration, whether there are significant attitudinal differences between males and females, specifically, whether female cadets demonstrate more positive attitudes toward immigrants, and if cadets and officers differ in their attitudes.

Hypothesis 1: Taiwanese police cadets'/officers' overall attitudes toward immigrants and immigration will be positive.

Hypothesis 2: Female attitudes toward immigrants and immigration will be more positive than male attitudes.

Hypothesis 3: Officers with 20 or more years of experience will have more negative attitudes than cadets with no experience.

CHAPTER III

Methods

Data Collection and Sample

The data for this research are from a questionnaire used to assess police attitudes towards immigrants in Taiwan. Police officers/cadets are the subjects of this study. Since 2011, in an effort to expand representation, the police recruitment system has been diversified into two tracks. The first track consists of the more traditional cadets who pass an entrance examination and enter their respective programs. The second track consists of students who may have graduated from other universities who then take the national civil service exams. Students who pass the third-class police civil service exam take part in a one-year program at the CPU. Those who pass the fourth-class police civil service exam are required to take part in a one-year program in the TPC. The current study's sample is somewhat unique in that it is comprised of a large number of younger police cadets, with no police experience and a large number of older police officers from CPU, many of whom have over 20 years of experience. Therefore, there are both police cadets and current police officers in the sample. In addition, slightly over 30 percent of the sample are females. 29.1 percent of those from the CPU and 40.1 percent of those from the TPC are females. This percentage is fairly representative of the current number of females enrolled in the various programs within the CPU and TPC, including those in the traditional CPU bachelor program and those who have passed the third-class or fourth-class civil service exam who are required to enroll in a shortened term at one of the institutions. For example, in 2018, 20.1 percent of CPU's bachelor program was comprised of females. Over 20 percent of cadets in the fourth-class police civil service

exam and nearly 30 percent of those who passed the third-class police civil service exam were females.

Data were collected from TPC and CPU during June and July of 2019. The original survey was written in English and subsequently translated into Mandarin Chinese. Individuals participated on a voluntary basis with each respondent signing a consent form prior to participation. Randomly selected classes within the CPU and TPC were surveyed, resulting in a sample comprised of individuals from both institutions, various programs, and several different years of study within programs (i.e., Juniors, Seniors, 4-month Program). The paper surveys were administered to police cadets during class. The survey administrator was on site and surveys were promptly returned after completion. Access to the subjects was gained through a correspondent who serves as a faculty member of Central Police University. The research was approved by the Institutional Review Board of CPU.

Six hundred fifty surveys were distributed and 556 were returned, resulting in an 84 percent response rate. After accounting for missing data, the final number of cadets/officers included in the analysis based on listwise deletions was 538. Demographic characteristics of the survey respondents are portrayed in Table 4.

Table 4

Table 4. Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents (N=538)

Independent Variables	N	Percent (%)
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	364	67.7
Female	174	32.3
<i>Age</i>		
20-24	242	45.0
25-34	118	21.9
35-44	16	3.0
45 and Above	162	30.1

<i>Marital Status</i>		
Unmarried	368	68.4
Married	170	31.6
<i>Educational Background</i>		
High School	178	33.1
Some College	137	25.5
Bachelor's Degree	188	34.9
Master's Degree	35	6.5
<i>Institution</i>		
Taiwan Police College (TPC)	157	29.2
Central Police University (CPU)	381	70.8
<i>Years of Service</i>		
Have yet to serve	377	70.1
More than 20 years	161	29.2

Instrumentation

Officers/Cadets were asked a series of questions about their perceptions of and exposure to immigrants in Taiwan. The survey presented questions centered on perceptions of and attitudes towards immigrants and crime, immigrants in general, police work, and police organizations. Participants responded to 54 questions using a five-point Likert type scale (1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neither agree nor disagree, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree). The survey was organized into four sections: section one asked respondents to provide responses addressing immigrants in Taiwan and crime; section two dealt with general attitudes towards immigrants; section three principally consisted of items assessing the cadet's perspective toward fellow police officers and law enforcement organizations, and section four centered on demographic information. Respondents indicated their level of agreement to statements that ranged from whether

immigrants contributed to Taiwanese society, to whether immigration has led to an increase in crime.

Independent Variables

Participant gender was a dichotomous measure, either male or female. Participant age was measured by four categories: 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, or 45 and above. Marital status was a dichotomous measure, unmarried or married. Previous years of service originally had several categories. Due to 97.5% of the sample pertaining to two categories, the variable was recoded as dichotomous. The majority of individuals in the sample are police cadets with no prior years of service. These cadets are from TPC and CPU. Those with more than 20 years of experience are officers attending CPU. Educational background was measured by four categories reflecting the highest level of completion: high school, some college, bachelor's degree, master's degree. Institution was a dichotomous measure, TPC or CPU.

Dependent Variables

Dependent variables in the analysis are factor scores derived from an exploratory factor analysis. Surveys administered to cadets/officers contained several items in order to gain a better understanding of attitudes toward immigrants. A five-point Likert type scale was used to assess respondents' attitudes. Items asked respondents to indicate whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, neither agreed nor disagreed, agreed, or strongly agreed to various statements. Survey items were adapted from a variety of sources, but in particular from Egharevba and White's (2007) study focused on Finnish police cadets' attitudes toward African immigrants. Survey items focused on several aspects of immigration, for example, "immigration in Taiwan has led to an increase in

crime,” “Taiwan should encourage immigration,” “immigrants receive harsh treatment from the police,” and “immigrants negatively affect the standard of living in Taiwan.” An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to examine the extent of measurement overlap, as a data reduction method, and to search for and define underlying constructs (Mertler & Reinhart, 2017). Four factors and their corresponding factor scores are the dependent variables of the current study. These composite factor scores are categorized as (1) immigrants and crime, (2) encouragement of immigration, (3) police treatment of immigrants, and (4) interactions with and perceptions of immigrants. For each individual, as well as group comparisons, a higher score indicates more positive, open, and caring attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Conversely, a lower mean indicates more negative attitudes toward immigrants. Where appropriate, survey responses were reverse-coded to reflect that a higher score corresponds to a higher level of agreement, tolerance, and receptiveness to immigrants and immigration.

Analytic Strategy

Descriptive statistics were examined to understand basic sample measurements and dispersions. Individual responses for items were assessed using contingency tables and percentages. Subsequently, exploratory factor analysis was used to detect similar constructs. Factor analysis can be used to condense a large number of related variables into smaller composite measures and to determine the extent of measurement overlap (Mertler & Reinhart, 2017). Additionally, factor analysis is used to test whether conceptually related survey items are, in fact, sufficiently related. Reliability tests were conducted, and Cronbach’s alpha values produced. Several combinations of items with related themes were tested for reliability, but only those combinations that produced a

Cronbach's alpha score greater than 0.7 were retained. After analyzing various combinations of items within the Likert scale and testing for reliability, four principal factors with the necessary Cronbach's alpha of 0.7 were attained. Literature suggests that an adequate Cronbach's Alpha be at least 0.7 (Peterson, 1994). Considering the good internal consistency and reliability of the constructs, factor scores were generated by adding item scores together and dividing by the number of items in each factor. For example, for the factor Police Treatment of Immigrants, a participant who strongly agreed with the survey item "immigrants are subject to increased bias within the Taiwanese police force," and strongly agreed with the statement "immigrants receive harsh treatment from the police," would have a combined score of 10, which would then be divided by the number of items (2). A composite mean score was calculated for each individual, for all four dependent variables/factors examined.

General distributions of responses are discussed. To gain an understanding of overall attitudes toward immigrants, group differences between male and female cadets and other socio-demographic variables were examined using a multivariate analysis of variance. Multivariate analysis of variance can be used to test for significant group differences, but multiple dependent variables can be included. Thus, the overarching dependent variable, cadets' attitudes toward immigrants, was able to be examined using the four factors derived from factor analysis. In addition, to examine significant differences between different levels of the independent variables, follow up t-tests or analysis of variance using post hoc analysis were conducted.

Chapter IV

Results

Data Screening and Missing Data

Prior to statistical analyses, data were screened using SPSS version 25.0. Of the 556 surveys original surveys, four were removed due to missing data. In addition, 14 cases were dropped with the recoding of the 'years of service' variable or because the cases were considered multivariate outliers. The total number of survey respondents in the analysis was 538 cadets/officers. Each cell category contains a sufficient number of individuals, about 20 in the smallest cell, to ensure robustness and not violate univariate and multivariate normality. Multivariate normality and linearity were assessed using bivariate scatterplots, revealing that they were approximately elliptical. The assumption of homoscedasticity or equality of covariance matrices was assessed by interpreting the results of Box's test (Mertler & Reinhart, 2017). Results were not significant, indicating that the homogeneity of covariance matrices assumption was not violated.

Multicollinearity was assessed by examining correlations between the dependent variables. In MANOVA, multicollinearity is not considered an issue if correlations are below 0.80. Additionally, the variables were sufficiently related to proceed with the MANOVA.

General Description

Table 5 demonstrates that, overall, cadets/officers agreed to some extent that Taiwan should encourage immigration more than they disagreed. Many respondents were neutral on the matter. However, cadet/officer attitudes toward immigration from Southeast Asian countries differed. They were much less receptive to the idea of

immigration from Southeast Asia. The majority of cadets/officers were supportive of foreign immigration, but when the immigrant groups were described as originating from Southeast Asia, this support dwindled. As for police treatment of immigrants, the majority agreed that immigrants face increased bias but did not agree that immigrants receive harsher treatment from the police. A majority of cadets/officers disagreed with some of the most blatantly negative items, such as “immigrants negatively affect the standard of living in Taiwan,” and “I would describe my interactions with immigrants as unpleasant.” Cadets/officers tended to disagree that immigrants negatively affect the standard of living, that they are unpleasant, and that they are strange or dirty. Percentages of the respondents’ answers to the survey items suggest that cadets/officers are retain more positive views rather than negative. To examine statistically significant differences, Chi-square tests were performed in order to compare those who strongly disagree or disagree with those who agree or strongly agree to survey items. Significant differences are indicated in Table 5. In sum, overall attitudes toward immigrants and immigration appear to be more positive and neutral, not negative. Table 5 also contains further information concerning the percentages of respondents’ answers to the survey questions.

Table 5

Percentages of Respondents’ Answers to Survey Items (N=538)

Items	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Immigrants commit more crime in Taiwan than is generally perceived. *	10.2%	51.1%	18.0%	18.6%	2.0%
Immigration in Taiwan has led to an increase in crime.	7.6%	38.3%	20.3%	30.9%	3.0%

If there were less immigrants in Taiwan, then crime rates would decrease. *	13.2%	43.1%	20.8%	19.7%	3.2%
Taiwan should encourage immigration.	7.2%	24.5%	36.1%	24.9%	7.2%
Taiwan should encourage immigration from Southeast Asian countries.	8.2%	28.8%	40.0%	18.0%	5.0%
Overall, I support foreign immigration to Taiwan.	5.8%	17.8%	28.1%	39.0%	9.3%
Immigrants are subject to increased police bias within the Taiwanese police force. *	8.0%	24.2%	30.5%	33.5%	3.9%
Immigrants receive harsh treatment from the police.*	8.9%	34.4%	26.0%	27.1%	3.5%
Immigrants negatively affect the standard of living in Taiwan. *	12.6%	43.3%	24.7%	16.7%	2.6%
Immigrants in Taiwan are typically dirty people with strange habits and views. *	14.1%	42.6%	22.9%	17.7%	2.8%
I would describe my interactions with immigrants as unpleasant.	11.9%	40.0%	33.8%	12.8%	1.5%
Immigrants are mostly unclean and unpleasant. *	11.9%	44.6%	28.3%	13.2%	2.0%

*Note. *Denotes a statistically significant difference at the $p < 0.05$ level, based on Pearson Chi-square.*

Results of Factor Analysis

Principal components extraction method utilizing a varimax rotation was used to analyze related components in factor analysis. Components retained yielded eigenvalues

greater than one, in accordance to *Kaiser's rule* (Mertler & Reinhart, 2017). Additionally, the percent of variance accounted for by the component, for each factor, was sufficiently large, with each factor accounting for approximately 70% of the variance or higher. As a result of an appropriate Cronbach's alpha (0.70 or higher), an eigenvalue greater than one, and a large percent of total variance explained, the combination of items was determined to be adequate factors. The four factors relating to cadets' attitudes towards immigrants were: (1) perceptions of immigrants and crime, (2) encouragement of immigration, (3) police treatment of immigrants, and (4) interactions with and perceptions of immigrants.

Cadets'/officers' perceptions of immigrants and crime were measured by three items: "Immigrants commit more crime in Taiwan than is generally perceived", "Immigration in Taiwan has led to an increase in crime", and "If there were less immigrants in Taiwan, then crime rates would decrease" (eigenvalue=2.279). Whether cadets/officers encourage immigration was measured by three items: "Taiwan should encourage immigration", "Taiwan should encourage immigration from Southeast Asian countries", and "Overall, I support foreign immigration to Taiwan" (eigenvalue=2.353). Whether immigrants are subject to harsh treatment from police was measured by two items: "Immigrants are subject to increased police bias within the Taiwanese police force," and "Immigrants receive harsh treatment from the police" (eigenvalue=1.694). Attitudes regarding interactions with immigrants were measured by the following items: "Immigrants negatively affect the standard of living in Taiwan", "Immigrants in Taiwan are typically dirty people with strange habits and views", "I would describe my interactions with immigrants as unpleasant", and "Immigrants are mostly unclean and

unpleasant” (eigenvalue=2.762). Factor loadings, Cronbach’s alpha, and the percentage of explained variance are portrayed in Table 6.

Table 6
Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis

Items	Loadings	α	Explained Variance (%)
<i>Immigrants and Crime</i>		0.84	75.97
Immigrants commit more crime in Taiwan than is generally perceived.	0.86		
Immigration in Taiwan has led to an increase in crime.	0.89		
If there were less immigrants in Taiwan, then crime rates would decrease.	0.87		
<i>Encouragement of Immigration</i>		0.86	78.42
Taiwan should encourage immigration.	0.91		
Taiwan should encourage immigration from Southeast Asian countries.	0.90		
Overall, I support foreign immigration to Taiwan.	0.85		
<i>Police Treatment of Immigrants</i>		0.82	84.72
Immigrants are subject to increased police bias by the Taiwanese police force.	0.92		
Immigrants receive harsh treatment from the police.	0.92		
<i>Interactions with and Perceptions of Immigrants</i>		0.85	69.04
Immigrants negatively affect the standard of living in Taiwan.	0.78		
Immigrants in Taiwan are typically dirty people with strange habits and views.	0.84		

I would describe my interactions with immigrants as unpleasant.	0.82
Immigrants are mostly unclean and unpleasant.	0.88

Due to the insufficient and unequal sample sizes from three of the categories assessing prior years of cadet/officer service, service years was recoded into a new dichotomous variable of those who have yet to serve and those with more than 20 years of service. These two groups constitute 97.5 percent of the sample. The variable assessing the type of program each cadet is enrolled in has 12 distinct categories. For clarification, the program type and class within the program variable was recoded into either pertaining to the CPU or the TPC.

Comparison of Male and Female Cadets

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine gender differences in attitudes toward immigrants and crime, encouragement of immigration, police treatment of immigrants, immigrant reliability, and interactions with and perceptions of immigrants.¹ The results indicated significant attitudinal differences between males and females. MANOVA results revealed that male and female cadets/officers demonstrated significantly different attitudes based on the linear combination of the dependent variables [Wilks' $\Lambda = .940$, $F(4, 532) = 8.53$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .060$]. Female cadets/officers in the sample exhibited more positive attitudes compared to male counterparts. In addition, t-tests were conducted for each dependent variable as a follow-up test to MANOVA. At the $\alpha = .05$ level, significant

¹ Similarly, results of a preliminary two-way MANOVA suggest several independent variables significantly affect the combined DV. However, based on the current research questions and focus on male and female attitudinal differences, results from the one-way MANOVA analysis are discussed.

differences between gender groups were present for immigrants and crime [$t(394.4) = 3.20, p = .001$], police treatment of immigrants [$t(536) = 3.23, p = .001$], and interactions with and perceptions of immigrants [$t(536) = 4.49, p < .001$]. Male and female cadets/officers did not exhibit significantly different attitudes in their levels of encouragement for immigration [$t(536) = 1.64, p = .102$]. Independent samples t-test results are displayed in Table 7.

Table 7
Independent Samples t-test results (Gender)

	<i>t</i>	df	Mean Difference
Immigrants and Crime	3.20**	394.4	0.247
Encouragement of Immigration	1.64	536	0.136
Police Treatment of Immigrants	3.23**	536	0.281
Interactions with and Perceptions of Immigrants	4.49***	536	0.328

Note. (* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$).

Generational Differences

To further examine the attitudes of female cadets/officers, comparisons were made between genders, by officer type. A composite measure between the two variables was created. As the sample is comprised of many cadets with no prior years of service and officers with 20 plus years of experience, there may be generational differences between these groups. Attitudes may differ between male and female cadets/officers, but these gender differences may largely be explained by whether the individual is a cadet or an officer. Generational differences between groups may exist, as older cadets may more strictly adhere to cultural gender norms and attitudes. Significant differences were

observed among the gender and officer type categories on the dependent variables [Wilks' $\Lambda = .794$, $F(12, 1402.54) = 10.62$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .074$]. Analysis of variance was conducted as a follow-up test. To counteract the potential of an inflated error rate, the overall alpha level ($\alpha = .05$) was divided by the number of dependent variables ($.05/5 = .01$) (Mertler & Reinhart, 2017). Group differences were significant for immigrants and crime [$F(3, 534) = 5.76$, $p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .031$], encouragement of immigration [$F(3, 534) = 12.47$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .086$], police treatment of immigrants [$F(3, 534) = 19.94$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .101$], and interactions with and perceptions of immigrants [$F(3, 534) = 16.00$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .083$]. The Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed no significant differences between female and male cadets. In addition, only concerning police treatment of immigrants was there a significant difference between female cadets and female officers. The majority of female cadets agreed that immigrants receive harsh treatment from the police, whereas female officers disagreed. Most female cadets concurred that immigrants are subject to increased police bias; however, male officers did not share that sentiment. Male cadets' attitudes did not significantly differ from female cadets or female officers on any of the dependent variables. There were no significant differences between male officers and female officers. As for comparisons between male officers and male cadets, they exhibited significantly different attitudes concerning encouragement of immigration, police treatment of immigrants, immigrant reliability, and interactions with and perceptions of immigrants. There were no significant differences between male cadets and male officers in terms of their attitudes toward immigrants and crime. Mean differences and

corresponding significance levels from ANOVA, with gender and officer type as the independent variable, are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8
ANOVA (Gender/Officer Type)

	Mean Difference
<i>Immigrants and Crime</i>	
Female Cadet	-0.397**
Female Officer	0.087
Male Cadet	-0.181
<i>Encouragement of Immigration</i>	
Female Cadet	-0.540***
Female Officer	-0.081
Male Cadet	-0.608***
<i>Police Treatment of Immigrants</i>	
Female Cadet	-0.708***
Female Officer	0.029
Male Cadet	-0.607***
<i>Interactions with and Perceptions of Immigrants</i>	
Female Cadet	-0.597***
Female Officer	-0.061
Male Cadet	-0.373***

Note. (* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$).

Other Sociodemographic Variables

Additional one-way multivariate analysis of variance tests were conducted for each of the socio-demographic independent variables. The results revealed significant differences among the age categories on the dependent variables [Wilks' $\Lambda = .794$, $F(12, 1402.54) = 10.66$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .074$]. Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed several significant differences between the oldest age demographic, those 45 and older,

and all other ages. Those 45 and older were found to disagree with the encouragement of immigration, that immigrants are subject to harsh police treatment, that they are reliable, and they retained negative perceptions of immigrants. In addition, significant differences were found for the variable of marital status [Wilks' $\Lambda = .853$, $F(4, 532) = 22.92$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .147$]. These results come as no surprise, as approximately 90 percent of married individuals pertain to the 45 and older group.

MANOVA results revealed significant differences among the various categories of educational attainment on the dependent variables [Wilks' $\Lambda = .852$, $F(12, 1402.54) = 7.31$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .052$]. Within the differing levels of educational attainment, the most significant differences were found between the group that had completed some college. Based on the Bonferroni post hoc analysis, significant attitudinal differences toward encouragement of immigration, police treatment of immigrants, and interactions with and perceptions of immigrants were observed for the group of cadets/officers that has some college. Similar to those cadets/officers who are male and those who are 45 and older, those whose highest level of educational attainment is college, but do not have a bachelor's degree, demonstrate more negative attitudes toward immigrants. Cadets who have yet to serve and officers who have more than 20 years of service also expressed significantly different attitudes for each of the factors examined [Wilks' $\Lambda = .823$, $F(4, 532) = 28.63$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .177$]. Lastly, no significant differences were found between cadets in the TPC and those in the CPU [Wilks' $\Lambda = .991$, $F(4, 532) = 1.23$, $p = .299$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .009$]. MANOVA results are displayed in Table 9.

Table 9
Means, Standard Deviations, and F-values for Dependent Variables by Gender, Age, Martial Status, Educational Background, Institution Years of Service, and Gender/Officer Type.

	Immigrants and Crime		Encouragement of Immigration		Police Treatment of Immigrants		Interactions with and Perceptions of Immigrants		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Gender									8.53*
Female	3.53	.79	3.13	.86	3.11	.90	3.71	.78	
Male	3.28	.93	2.99	.92	2.83	.96	3.38	.79	
Age									10.66*
20-24	3.37	.90	3.20	.87	3.12	.92	3.52	.80	
25-34	3.58	.81	3.23	.87	3.17	.87	3.80	.73	
35-44	3.75	.83	3.13	.95	2.56	.95	3.75	.71	
45+	3.16	.90	2.65	.85	2.46	.89	3.17	.74	
Marital Status									22.92*
Unmarried	3.45	.88	3.19	.88	3.10	.92	3.62	.80	
Married	3.18	.90	2.71	.86	2.52	.90	3.19	.73	
Educational Background									7.31*
High School	3.27	.87	3.13	.86	3.09	.93	3.44	.77	
Some College	3.14	.91	2.69	.89	2.52	.92	3.19	.76	
Bachelor's Degree	3.54	.87	3.16	.88	3.02	.91	3.66	.80	
Master's Degree	3.79	.77	3.27	.97	3.06	1.00	3.93	.71	
Institution									1.23
TPC	3.33	.92	3.05	.88	2.99	.87	3.55	.86	
CPU	3.38	.88	3.03	.91	2.89	.98	3.46	.78	
Years of Service									28.63*
Yet to Serve	3.45	.88	3.21	.87	3.11	.91	3.62	.79	
20+ Years of Experience	3.17	.90	2.64	.84	2.46	.89	3.16	.73	
Gender/Officer Type									10.62*
Female Cadet	3.58	.77	3.17	.86	3.17	.89	3.75	.77	
Female Officer	3.09	.86	2.71	.81	2.43	.59	3.22	.74	
Male Cadet	3.36	.94	3.24	.89	3.07	.92	3.53	.80	
Male Officer	3.18	.90	2.63	.84	2.46	.92	3.16	.73	

Note. *p<.001

Chapter V

Discussion

This thesis has explored Taiwanese police cadet/officer attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. Certainly, immigration in Taiwan is not as significant an issue as it is in the United States in terms of sheer numbers. However, the population of immigrants has been steadily increasing in recent years, and the issue has been large enough to illicit overwhelmingly negative media attention (Cheng, 2016). Police cadet/officer attitudes toward immigrants have seldom been examined. Egharevba and White's (2007) study examined attitudes toward immigrants among Finnish police cadets, but utilizing Taiwan as a research setting, where immigration seems to be a more significant issue, is appropriate. While one of the goals of the current study was to assess overall attitudes, a primary focus was on the female cadets/officers. Female officers are slowly integrating into the Taiwanese police force and as they do so, their attitudes will become increasingly salient. Attitudes of female officers in Taiwan have been examined, but these studies have typically explored job-related attitudes, attitudes toward the policing of domestic violence, and gender integration in policing (Chu, 2013; Chu & Sun, 2007a; Chu & Sun, 2014; Chu & Tsao, 2014). Based on a review of the literature, there is evidence that suggests female officers have a unique perspective compared to male counterparts (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Schuck, 2014). Female officers have been associated with feminine traits such as being empathetic, caring, emotional, and nurturing (Schuck, 2014; Garcia, 2003).

The findings in this study revealed that, overall, attitudes toward immigrants and immigration were more positive than negative. Cadets/officers tended to disagree that

immigrants were linked to crime, and the majority did not express negative attitudes toward their interactions with immigrants. Attitudes toward immigration from Southeast Asian countries, however, where the majority of immigrants in Taiwan originate, were especially negative. Immigrants from Southeast Asia are widespread in Taiwan, these groups often receive the most negative attention and treatment (Cheng, 2016; Hsia, 2008; Huang, 2018; Tierney, 2011; Wang, 2011). These immigrants most often hail from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. Cadet/officer responses were notably more negative and more neutral concerning immigration from these countries. Despite these negative attitudes, results suggest that most cadets/officers do not retain negative attitudes toward immigration in general. As law enforcement officials, maintaining a neutral view toward immigrant groups is imperative. Equitable treatment in various criminal justice processes that police officers are involved in should be a right for natural born citizens and immigrants alike. The treatment of immigrants in Taiwan has been called into question in other processes (i.e., access to citizenship, treatment of immigrant workers), and there are already a host challenges associated with immigration to a new country (Cheng, 2016; Tierney, 2011). It seems that Taiwanese police cadets/officers, as a whole, do not have an anti-immigrant sentiment. Additionally, a noteworthy finding is that the majority of police cadets/officers in the sample agreed that immigrants may be subject to increased police bias. Cadets/officers may recognize that potential biases exist, but the majority disagree that increased bias leads to harsh or disparate treatment. Attitudes are not always consistent with behavior, and in this case, that may be a positive. Situational factors may be more imperative than whether the individual is an immigrant (Tedin, Brady, & Vedlitz, 1977).

The relationships between minority groups and police have been characterized by strain and tension (Wu, Sun, & Cao, 2017). Literature examining the relationship between police officers and immigrant groups has focused primarily on assessing immigrant attitudes toward police (Chu & Hung, 2010; Chu & Song, 2015; Chu et al., 2005; Correia, 2010; Davis & Hendricks, 2007; Egharevba, 2009; Khondaker et al., 2017; Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004; Roles et al., 2015; Sun & Wu, 2015; Torres & Vogel, 2001; Wu et al., 2011). Conversely, this thesis has sought to examine police cadet/officer attitudes toward immigrants. Theoretical explanations are salient to research and future policy implications. It should be noted that the lack of guided theory is a limitation of studies examining immigrants' attitudes toward the police (Wu et al., 2017). Certainly, the same logic would apply to the current study's examination of cadet/officer attitudes toward immigrants. Theory can provide possible explanations concerning this relationship, however. While theories focused on this topic are postulated to explain the inverse relationship (i.e., immigrants' perceptions of the police), there may be some shared underpinnings. Group position theory essentially asserts that out-group stereotyping and perceived threat can contribute to the attitude that the dominant members of society are superior to minority groups, such as immigrants (Blumer, 1958; Bobo & Tuan, 2006). This explanation may be applicable to the relationship between Taiwanese police officers and immigrants in Taiwan. Indeed, immigrants in Taiwan can be subject to negative stereotypes, characterizing them as part of the out-group. Many immigrants are likely to hold stigmatized jobs, and immigrants can be paid less than Taiwanese nationals for the same work (Cheng, 2016). This theoretical perspective is a

possible framework that can help explain some of the negative sentiments toward immigrants among Taiwanese police cadets/officers.

In the examination of attitudinal differences between male and female cadets/officers, differences emerged when average responses were partitioned by gender. Female attitudes were much more positive than their male counterparts. Attitudes of the female cadets/officers in the sample were consistent with the caring perspective. Results indicate that male and female attitudes do significantly differ. We found support for the caring perspective, in other words, females' attitudes were more understanding, empathetic, caring, and positive toward immigrants. Conversely, male cadets/officers were less understanding, harsher, unsympathetic, and more negative toward immigrants. Overall, the females in the sample did view immigrants more positively than males. Female cadets/officers were more likely to encourage immigration. They were less likely to associate immigrants with crime and indicate that immigrants are unpleasant. These observed attitudinal differences lend support to the notion that female officers, due to inherent gender differences, differences in socialization, or some other reason, do differ from males. Male cadet/officer attitudes may be noticeably harsher and less understanding because these attitudes align more with typical male officer stereotypes. In policing, officers who show little emotion, along with other stereotypical masculine traits, may be viewed more favorably by peers and supervisors. Understanding, accepting, and caring attitudes toward immigrants may be perceived by some as possible weaknesses, resulting in many of the males portraying the opposite.

As for policy implications, these results suggest that an increase in the recruitment and hiring of female officers is advisable. Taiwanese society will likely rely on

immigrants more and more in the future. At the same time, Taiwanese policing has experienced reforms as Taiwan has become more democratic in recent decades. The differences in attitudes between males and females show that females are more in line with these changes. Hiring more females will likely affect Taiwanese police culture in a way that is consistent with societal changes. As a result, hiring more females makes Taiwanese policing stronger.

The generational differences are also noteworthy. Attitudes toward immigrants did not significantly differ between male and female cadets or male and female officers. This finding provides support for the notion of generational differences in attitudes toward immigrants and immigration. The group that experienced the most significant differences in comparison with other officer groups were the male officers. Male officers' attitudes were the most negative, harsh, and intolerant toward immigrants and immigration. Cadets' attitudes were more positive and open toward immigrants compared to officers in the sample. Female cadets maintained the most positive attitudes toward immigrants. In sum, male and female police cadets/officers differed in their attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, but there were no significant gender differences between officers of the same type, whether they be cadets or officers. These findings are both promising and concerning. They are promising because the majority of cadets who have yet to enter the field, those who will presumably be in positions within the police department for the foreseeable future, have the most positive attitudes toward immigrants. Their positive attitudes could bode well for the future relationship between police and the steadily increasing immigrant population in Taiwan. Contrarily, the finding that older male officers have the most negative attitudes toward immigrants and

immigration may cause some concern. Many of these officers are those that have a wealth of experience and are in a program within the CPU. Not only are they actively engaged in police-related duties, but they are more likely to occupy leadership roles. The CPU typically consists management personnel and those officers seeking an academic degree for some type of promotion or advancement (Cao et al., 2016b). The prevalence of negative attitudes among experienced leaders may not directly affect the relationship between immigrants and police, but it is unlikely that it fosters a better one. It should be noted, however, that many of these officers are likely close to retirement. A generational change in the types of Taiwanese officers is fairly imminent, a seemingly positive development in the police-immigrant relationship.

Limitations

This thesis is not without limitations. Suggestions and avenues for future research can be implied by examining current shortcomings. First, the current study is limited by solely examining attitudes. Attitudes can be an important determinant of behavior but the two are not always the same (Fazio, 1986). Cadets/officers who hold negative attitudes toward immigrants may act in accordance with their attitudes and they may act in an entirely different manner. However, an examination of attitudes seems to be an important starting place for this issue.

A social desirability scale was not included in the administered survey. It may be more socially desirable for cadets to be less critical of immigrants and immigration. Therefore, responses may be conservative estimates of actual attitudes. Participants were ensured that their responses would be confidential as a method to mitigate the likelihood of social desirability bias.

In addition, cadets/officers were not asked about their previous contact or exposure to immigrants. Some cadets/officers in the sample may have several encounters with immigrants, while on duty or otherwise. Conversely, there may be those that have had little to no interactions with immigrants. Attitudinal differences may exist between those who have numerous interactions with immigrants and those who have relatively few. Including a measure for previous immigrant contact and exposure would be beneficial to understanding whether interactions with immigrants result in more positive or negative attitudes. This would provide evidence as to whether attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are affected by personal experience, by other factors such as media representations of immigrants, or a combination of the two.

As Taiwan is the research setting for the current study, the generalization of findings is limited. Findings may be generalizable to Taiwan but may not be applicable to other countries with distinct cultures and norms (Chu, 2013).

Although the findings indicate that several cadets/officers possess negative attitudes toward immigrants, indeed, several individuals agreed with extremely negative and prejudicial statements, it is unclear what has caused such sentiments. Future research should conduct in-depth interviews with police officers to gain a better understanding of what underlying factors have contributed to their attitudes toward immigrants.

Additionally, future research should examine immigrant attitudes toward Taiwanese police officers. An examination of immigrants' perceptions of the police would add a necessary dimension to the findings that have been presented in the current study, thus painting a more complete picture of the police-immigrant relationship in Taiwan.

Despite the limitations, these findings provide valuable information and potential implications. For Taiwan, specifically, the current study has highlighted the need to further evaluate attitudes among the older generation of officers, particularly the older male officers with many years of experience. The prevalence of negative attitudes among this group is disconcerting, as many of them may be seeking promotion or advancement through furthering their education in the CPU. Ensuring that officers receive some type of cultural sensitivity training to police cadets, both in the CPU and TPC, is a potential step to quell negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Marion, 1998). As immigration in Taiwan continues to increase, the multicultural community that police officers interact with on a daily basis will continue to diversify, as this occurs, the salience of cultural sensitivity trainings should be emphasized.

Conclusion

The findings provide support for the notion that Taiwanese female and male cadets/officers differ in their attitudes toward immigrants, the female cadets/officers having more positive attitudes. The difference perspective states that, “women’s and men’s values, characteristics, and personalities are shaped by gender-role socialization enacted throughout their lives and perpetuated by various social institutions” (Poteyeva & Sun, 2009, p. 513). Female cadet/officer attitudes may well be shaped by the influence of long-standing traditional gender roles in Taiwan and further perpetuated by the male-dominated, gendered police department (Acker, 1992). Attitudes of female cadets/officers in Taiwan were consistent with the caring perspective, as they were much more accepting, less harsh, and more sympathetic toward immigrants. These findings, although often undervalued within traditional police departments, should not be overlooked. As

more departments adopt community policing strategies, female officers may be best fit for these assignments (Rabe-Hemp, 2009, Shuck, 2014). This is not to say, however, that female officers should be limited to community policing roles. Rather, female officers, who have completed the same training as male counterparts, should be provided equal opportunities for various roles within police departments. The current findings suggest that female officers can be exceptional representatives of the department, as they have exhibited more caring, sympathetic, understanding, and accepting attitudes toward an often-marginalized group. Certainly, an increased number of female officers in Taiwan can be viewed as a benefit to the police department and society as a whole.

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- 2018 **Representative**, SHSU Criminal Justice and Criminology, Graduate Student Organization. Aided in the annual Halloween Bake Sale Fundraiser.
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To the Community

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Representative, Dixie State University Men's Basketball Team. Aided in organizing and hosting an annual trunk-or-treat event for local children.

Representative, Dixie State University Men's Basketball Team. Collaboration between members of Dixie State University sponsored athletic teams and Student Government Organization to bag and distribute essential food storage items to local families.

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