

# **LAW ENFORCEMENT MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE**

## **A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON WOMEN IN POLICING**

**A RESEARCH PAPER**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

For more than half a century after the appointment of the first sworn female officer in 1910, women in policing were selected differently from men and were limited to performing primarily auxiliary services. These women were only assigned to work with female offenders and juveniles. The policewomen of this era did not feel they were real law officers. Rather, they viewed themselves as social workers.

There was little resistance to women role in policing until they were allowed on patrol. It was then that policewomen encountered many obstacles which challenged their capabilities to perform what was perceived by both their peers and supervisors, as well as the public, as "men's work." (Milton 1975; Johns 1979; Homant 1983; Lord 1986; Balkin 1988). Some of these obstacles include stereotyping, negative attitudes, and lack of opportunities for advancement.

As women rise in the ranks, these obstacles become even greater. For example, female managers are less likely than their male counterparts to have mentors, are more likely than the men to adopt a supervisory style that others regard as too unassertive or too bossy, and tend to be challenged by male subordinates who resent a woman telling them what

to do. In spite of these circumstances, women are making progress in upper level management positions.

Although obstacles for women are prevalent in policing, laws and legislation have enabled women to advance in the field. The expansion of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA) in 1972 to include public as well private organizations served as a catalyst for women to enter police patrol work. The Crime Control Act of 1973 amended the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 so that any police agency discriminating against women could not receive grant money.

Since 1972, policewomen have slowly integrated police departments. In 1978, policewomen constituted 4.20 percent of sworn personnel in cities of 50,000 or larger. (Sulton and Townsey 1981). At the end of 1986, women made of 8.8 percent of sworn personnel in cities of 50,000 and 9.5 percent of sworn personnel in cities with populations greater than 250,000. In addition, women now routinely serve on patrol as officers and supervisors and work in virtually all other assignments in police departments across the United States. (Martin 1990)

Women in policing have made progress but not in substantial numbers. Even with laws and legislation, the obstacles continue to affect women adversely. What may be needed is a new perspective which views women's qualities such as their less confrontational style, as



positive and an asset to policing, instead of perhaps a deficiency. Further, women have not generally been thought of, or utilized as leaders because those qualities characteristically associated with females were not deemed appropriate for leaders. However, the trend toward quality policing today should incorporate quality leadership. Accordingly, quality leadership may be defined by those characteristics associated with females. For example, women leaders encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work. (Naisbitt 1984) These qualities should prove to be beneficial in an ever-changing workforce.

This paper will examine the evolution of women in policing with an emphasis on women in managerial positions. Specific topics addressed will be the historical development of women in policing which will provide an overview of women in nontraditional occupations. The obstacles faced by women in law enforcement, as they have moved into this male-dominated profession, will be discussed. A review of the laws and legislation which enabled greater numbers of women to enter police work and which counteracted some of the obstacles faced by women will be carried out. From the standpoint of this discussion, a new perspective on women in policing will be offered along with recommendations for the recruitment, retention, and promotion of women in policing.

## HISTORY OF WOMEN IN POLICING

Women have made important strides in policing. Although women entered policing in the late 1800s, it was not apparent until the turn of the century what role these women would play. The rationale for hiring women, a rationale advanced foremost by the women themselves, was that there were certain aspects of police work which are inappropriate for men to perform. The rationale maintained that women were especially suited to specific tasks and had a special contribution to make. Women were argued to be uniquely qualified to deal with cases involving women and children; they were also skilled at defusing family fights and doing undercover work on vice squads that called for women. Some men argued that women, "naturally", were better at routine clerical details. (Lunneborg 1989:5)

These first women police, matrons and sworn officers tended to be upper middle class, well-educated, reform-minded social workers. They were service-oriented and were considered idealists. The women had no difficulty arguing that they were better than men at social welfare tasks because of women's presumed natural tendencies and abilities. The women police of this era did not feel they were "real cops," but, instead, viewed themselves as social workers. But, to them, "true" police work was social work. (Lunneborg 1989:5)

At the end of World War II, poor police working conditions and low wages created significant police labor shortages in many southern police departments. Lacking sufficient men, departments hired women to perform the tasks of traffic control and parking enforcement. The solution was so successful that it led to the employment of women by departments in many other jurisdictions throughout the United States. Although the job the women were hired to perform was basically traffic duty, it provided movement in the right direction for those women wanting to enter law enforcement. (Milton 1972; Horne 1980)

In 1910, Alice Stebbins Wells, a social worker, petitioned and addressed the Los Angeles city council and the Police Commissioner concerning the problems the city was facing dealing with women and children and the need for female personnel to handle these problems. Wells was convincing and was appointed to the Los Angeles Police Department to work with women and children, but was not permitted to perform field-work outside police facilities. However, this breakthrough created opportunities for women to be hired by police departments throughout the United States. (Martin 1989)

Another major breakthrough took place in 1914 when the city of Milford, Ohio, appointed Mrs. Dolly Spencer as the first female police chief in the United States. A more recent improvement for policewomen

occurred in Houston, Texas, when Elizabeth M. Watson was appointed chief of police by Mayor Kathryn Whitmire in 1990. An 18 year veteran, Watson was the first female to command a police department serving the fourth largest city in the United States. She was one of the first females appointed to lead a major metropolitan police department. Although, the total number of women appointed, however, remains small, and women's impact on the male-dominated profession has been strenuous. (Williams 1993) The gains women made in the early years of this century were dissipated with the reduction in police personnel caused by the Great Depression of the 1930s. (Buwalda 1945; Perlstein 1971; Milton 1972; Crites 1973; Connolly 1975; Horne 1980; and Linn and Price 1985; Muraskin 1993)

For some major police departments, the transition from administrative clerical tasks to mainstream police work have been slow because of traditional practices as well as stereotypical perceptions of women. For example, before the mid-1970s, women were not allowed to join the Houston Police Department if they had school-age children, or if they were married to a Houston Police Officer. (Hair 1992) In spite of the decline in women functioning as social-workers in policing and the fact that they have become actively engaged in more typical police field work, there are still barriers to full integration of women in this male-

dominated profession, specifically, traditional practices, social change process and attitudes of male officers, lack of role models, stereotyping and interactional and lack of promotional opportunities.

Research has demonstrated that policewomen are as capable as policemen in patrol assignments. Research has also shown that women bring some unique capabilities and perspectives to police work. Having determined that women can capably function as police officers, the next obvious question, is why are there so few females in the profession?

### **OBSTACLES FACING POLICEWOMEN**

Policewomen entering occupations dominated by men and closely associated with masculinity face formidable obstacles. They have to cope with organizational policies and practices that create disadvantages for them. This section will explore some of the obstacles such as traditional practices, social change processes, attitudes of male officers, lack of role models, stereotyping and interactional dilemmas, and lack of promotional opportunities which prevent women from entering policing and advancing to managerial positions within police organizations.

Should women be in policing? Can women succeed as managers in this male-dominated profession? The opportunity for women to develop and fulfill different occupational roles has never been greater.

However, obstacles still exist for women who desire to pursue previously male-dominated occupations, such as policing. Women have been reared to fulfill the role in which society cast them. Traditionally, women occupied only a domestic role as mother and housekeeper, with limited career opportunities in a small number of female-dominated occupations. Women were expected to enjoy and be attentive to the home and family life while a majority held jobs such as teachers, nurses, or secretaries. The role of women in contemporary society presently exists in a state of flux and transition. (Gordon and Hall 1974)

Being a newcomer or a person who has not been part of that traditional group, may be problematic for women. The pressure is great on someone trying to grow in an arena where there are no role models. Breaking into a role dominated by the majority is stressful. There are many more tensions on the few people who break through because they suddenly become the role models for the rest. Women entering the male-dominated occupation of policing are likely to face an array of stressors not usually experienced by men (Yarmey 1990), including sexual harassment, negative attitudes of male officers and supervisors, working as the sole female officer, and lack of role models.

Example of obstacles faced by women in policing may be found in research done by Wexler and Logan (1983) in which they interviewed 25

female patrol officers in a large metropolitan police department in Northern California. They found that the officers mentioned organizational stressors and stressors associated with being female in male-dominated departments most often during interviews. Inadequate training, rumors about them within the department, and lack of promotional opportunities were the organizational stressors mentioned most frequently. Negative attitudes of the male officers, lack of role models, and group blame (one poorly performing female officer prompts men to generalize to all female officers) were the second group of stressors mentioned. (Wexler and Logan 1983)

Why have women not made greater advancements in policing? Review of the literature made it readily apparent that policemen and policewomen are comparable in their performance, and that the public perceives them as equally effective. The primary obstacles to women in policing are the attitudes of male officers (Milton 1975; Horne 1979; Johns and Barclay 1979), and discrimination from within police departments. (Bell 1982) Sex role conceptions are also a "severe obstacle" to women seeking law enforcement careers. (Steffensmeier 1979:41)



In answer to the question of why women have not made greater advancements in policing, Price and Gavin (1982) theorize that there are two major sources of resistance:

- (1) the social change process and the critical role that attitudes play in it; and
- (2) the impact of police attitudes shaped by the organizational structure, and in turn, reinforcing its social structure. (404-405)

Another important aspect of police officers' attitudes toward their work is the deep-rooted conviction that police work is men's work, requiring physical strength and bravery. Historically, the police task was defined as "maintaining order by intimidation." (Price and Gavin 1982) Those officers who are performing according to those criteria may be responsible for propagating this traditional attitude, rather than acknowledging the fact that 80 to 85 percent of police work today is composed of service-related tasks in which women have proven themselves to be equally capable. (Price and Gavin 1982)

Balkin (1988) indicates that policemen do not like policewomen because of cultural values about sex roles and work. He asserts that changes in policemen's attitudes comes with changes in culture. Male officers' attitudes-not policewomen's performance appear to be a major problem in introducing and retaining women into law enforcement.



(Golden 1981) Resistance to women in policing is attributed to the social change process and the attitudes of both policemen and police management. (Price and Gavin 1982) Any society associates particular characteristics with males and females for the purpose of enhancing performance in traditional sex roles. The stereotypical images of the achieving male and nurturant female were and to some degree still are powerful forces in the socialization of children as they grow into adulthood. (Lewis 1978)

Stereotypes are another reason why opportunities are not available. According to Bell (1982) and Van Wormer and Whaley (1982), the stereotypical perception of women in policing is that police women are not authoritative, aggressive, or physically strong enough to handle police work, especially work involving the violent offender. Police women are also thought to be unable to handle shift work. In addition, a perception exists that if male and female police officer are partners, they may become involved in sexual and emotional situations. (Cordner and Hale 1992)

In addition to traditional practices and stereotyping, some other the barriers are (Baskerville 1991:37):

- Management being averse to taking risks with women in line responsibility.

- Lack of careful career planning and planned job assignments.
- Exclusion from the informal network of communications.
- Counterproductive behavior of male colleagues.

Lack of acceptance or key assignments are other obstacles that exist for women in policing. This is evident in a study of Fortune 100 companies in which researchers had a difficult time finding women at management levels in the heavy industrial companies. Instead, they were found in higher concentrations in service companies. This is also the case with female managers in policing. According to research, the highest level of any concentration of females is at the lower management level. (Martin 1989)

There are many obstacles which affect women in policing. As women rise in the ranks, these obstacles become even greater. Morrison, White and Van Velsor (1987) assessed experiences of successful women, how they differed from male counterparts and how their male supervisors perceived them. The barriers include:

- A lack of acceptance of women as part of senior management.

- The myriad roles women must play are conflicting and exhausting.
- The infrastructure tends not to support women throughout the system.
- Women experience burnout and become demoralized because they are blocked or hemmed in and isolated.

Solomon compares the obstacles faced by women to a "glass ceiling." Policewomen, like other women in the labor force, face a variety of disadvantages stemming from their token status or overt sex bias. (Solomon 1990) They are more likely than men to perceive the presence of a "glass ceiling and glass wall." The terms glass ceiling and glass wall are new concepts that many people are not familiar with. These terms as defined are:

A glass ceiling is an impenetrable barrier that's invisible, and a glass wall denies lateral movement as well as upward mobility. Those two terms describe what women and minorities encounter as they're barred from moving up the ranks toward top management positions or laterally into line positions that traditionally have been held by the dominant work group - Caucasian males.(1)

Some of the issues that create the glass ceiling - the lack of career development, experiences and risk taking on the part of management

affect both policewomen and women working in the private sector. However, the organizational issues may differ from one organization to another and must be handled differently.

Unlike blatant discrimination, most individuals do not see this invisible wall until they are directly affected by it. Many people contend that neither the glass ceiling nor discrimination and harassment exist.

As indicated in this section, women have encountered many obstacles entering the field of policing. The effect of these obstacles has been lessened by the impact of laws and legislation which will be discussed in the following section.

### **IMPACT OF LAWS AND LEGISLATION**

There have been several obstacles faced by women in law enforcement as they have moved into this male-dominated profession, and many of these obstacles continue to exist. However, the implementation of new case laws and legislation such as Title VII of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA) and the Crime Control Act counteracted some of those obstacles and enabled greater numbers of women to enter police work.

The early 1900s saw many legislative changes and court decisions that allow women to begin gaining equality in the policing. The Griggs v.

Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424 (1971) case established the principle that a plaintiff in a job-discrimination case need not prove discriminatory intent. Instead, the Supreme court held, once it is evident that job qualifications appear out of proportion in relation to a group or class of people, the employer must prove that the said requirement is a "bona fide occupational qualification" (BFOQ) that is directly related to the occupation and that no other standards could reasonably replace this criterion. Sex could not be proven as a BFOQ, simply because many police departments had never hired women, and thus had no way of comparing the performances of men and women. (Milton 1972; Martin 1980; Horne 1980; Remington 1981; Keefe 1981; Muraskin 1993)

Another instrumental case which provided for a substantial increase in the numbers of women on police forces was Reed vs Reed, 404 U.S. 71, 30 L.Ed 2d. 225 (1971). In this case, the Supreme Court clarified that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution applied to women as a class. Under this cause for action, the Supreme Court struck down an Idaho statute which gave preference to men over women as administrators of decedents' estates. (Martin 1990)

According to Horne (1980:32-35), 1972 was the start of the Modern Era for women in policing. Several things happened that year.

Equal Rights Amendment was proposed by a two-thirds of Congress, the Federal Bureau of Investigations appointed its first female Special Agent, and women began in patrol in Washington, D.C., and New York City for the first time.

The most important thing that happened that year was that Congress passed the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972. This expanded the coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include public as well as private employers. State and local government agencies, including police departments, were prohibited from employment practices which discriminated on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin, and sex with regards to compensation, terms, and conditions or privileges of employment. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 is perhaps the most important law to which women who experience job discrimination have as recourse to unfair treatment. (Martin 1990)

Under the provisions of Title VII the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created in 1968 as the federal regulatory agency responsible for monitoring compliance with the law. It was the EEOC's function to see that any job was open to both men and women unless it could be proven that sex was a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ). To justify discriminatory requirements, employers had to show

that discrimination was necessary for the safe and efficient operation of a business. (Martin 1990)

Another additional piece of civil rights legislation that benefitted women in policing even more directly was the Crime Control Act of 1973. This Act amended the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 so that any police agency discriminating against women could not receive grant money from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), an agency of the U. S. Department of Justice, was established under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to provide financial assistance for the improvement of law enforcement. This meant granting approximately one billion dollars to some 40,000 police departments in the United States. The significance of this for women in policing was that the recipients of LEAA grants funds were prohibited from discriminating against women in employment practices by the Crime Control Action of 1973. LEAA grantees were required to formulate an equal opportunity program for women. LEAA also required grantees to eliminate any minimum height requirement for police officers which had previously adversely affected female applicants. (Martin 1989)

Laws and legislation have provided incentive to increase the opportunities for women in policing. Despite the unique characteristics

they possess, women in policing still have not been afforded the same opportunities to advance to leadership positions as male officers. What is needed is a new perspective which focuses on women's distinctive qualities which can be invaluable assets to modern law enforcement. Their present role should be broadened, and qualified policewomen should be utilized in all areas of police work.

#### **A NEW PERSPECTIVE: FEMALE OFFICERS ROLE**

In spite of the traditional view of women and the obstacles they face, women have a place in policing and have made a positive impact on police work. Lois Higgins (1961:24-40) asserted that female police officers possessed instinctive maternal kindness and sympathy. As interrogators and interviewers, individuals should have a wide range of interests, be observant and intellectually, and keenly interested in how the human mind works. A woman's maternal tendencies and inherent affection for children were thought to keep the atmosphere friendly, while interrogating children. Women's naturally kind, sympathetic approach was only acquired by male officers after long study and experience. Higgins seemed to regard women's personalities as one of their strengths for specialist police duties, with friendliness being their most indispensable trait. (Higgins 1961:24-40)



Research has also shown that women remain calm, composed, and unimpressed when female suspects tried to elicit sympathy by resorting to tears and self-pity. Men, on the other hand, tend to be confused and lose control in such situations. (Higgins 1961:31)

In addition to women's calming effect in hostile situations, women rely on their verbal communication skills, and are less likely than men to get into physical confrontations. When confronted with hostile situations, women tend to use reasoning, non-aggressiveness, and negotiation to control situations and keep from getting hurt. (Wexler and Logan 1983)

Women have proven to be the equal of males in the police profession. Women, however, have not attained equal representation in the ranks of police management. Although there are obstacles for women in policing throughout the ranks, obstacles are more apparent and perhaps greater, for women in higher level positions in the organization. These obstacles are apparent not only for women in policing, but also for female managers in the private sector.

While statistics show more women holding management positions than ever before in the United States, these statistics also reflect a dearth of female representation in upper level managerial positions. The U. S. Department of Labor shows a 13% increase in female managers over the past decade, up from 27% in 1978. This is overshadowed by the fact

that less than 5% of female managers are senior-level executives. Black women account for only 5% of all managers and increased a mere 0.2% during that same period. A 1990 study, conducted by Catalyst, a New York-based nonprofit research firm, of the nation's largest private companies, found that the majority of females in senior management positions are actually in staff roles. Unlike line positions, these staff roles do not traditionally lead to executive advancement. (Baskerville 1991)

This absence of female representation in management is also prevalent in the police organization. For example, in one major police department, of the 4,749 police positions, only 11% (496) were filled by females. Of this number, only 1.7% (72) of the females were in a supervisory position compared to 23.5% (1,001) of males in supervisory positions. (Houston Police Department's Coin Report 1993)

Several studies have revealed numerous factors that may affect the advancement of women to managerial positions. One of these factors is the origin of the ego style in females. Ego style consists of the characteristics expressed by an individual in interpersonal relations. According to Bardwick (1971), the origins of ego style in the female lie in an empathetic, intuitive, person-oriented style of perception. This type of ego style has hampered the advancement of some women, as many male managerial role models do not express or encourage this ego style.

Consequently, some women may incorrectly assume they do not have the emotional qualification to become managers. (Bardwick 1971)

Gordon and Hall (1974) conducted a study in which they surveyed 229 college-educated women concerning: (a) self-image, (b) the female image of a feminine women, and (c) the female perception of the man's image of a feminine woman. They found that the women's perception of the male's stereotype of femininity was the best predictor of various types of the role conflicts females experience. Gordon and Hall state:

With regard to self-related conflicts, the perceived male stereotype of femininity had relatively the strongest influence of the variables measured. This finding lends support to the arguments of women activists that men control women not only through discriminating behavior, but also through their impact on women's attitudes and inner conflicts. (24)

Gordon and Hall (1974) indicate that the best predictor of a woman's happiness and satisfaction is her self-image. Interestingly, the more potent, supportive, and unemotional a woman feels (predominately masculine characteristics), the more satisfied and happy she reports herself to be. E. Maccoby (1963), however, found in his study that males were aggressive and career-oriented. Females, on the other hand, were less aggressive and more family-oriented than males.

Further research by d'Andrade (1966) indicates that impressive cross cultural similarities exist concerning sex appropriate forms of behavior. He noted:

The majority of societies around the world organize their social institutions around males, and in most cultures men are more aggressive and dominating, have greater authority and are more deferred than women. They are generally assigned the physically strenuous, dangerous tasks and those requiring long periods of travel. Women, on the other hand, generally carry out established routines, ministering to the needs of others, cooking, and carrying water. (707-708)

A major stumbling block to women's advancement in policing is the traditional belief that women cannot lead men. The belief is that men will not respect a woman's supervision and will not follow her orders. It is also believed that women do not possess the authority, strength, size and political savvy that is required to supervise officers and manage a police organization. (Martin 1989)

These beliefs have been changed with the increased occurrence of females in police supervisory roles. A female chief of police of a major police department, was once denied a supervisor's job because administrators thought that the job would be too tough for a woman. The female supervisor described her experience by saying, "When I made lieutenant, there was a lot of booing and hissing, but it did not take long for a couple of sergeants to notice I was working very hard, even if they

did not like me." (Naisbitt 1984) Given the opportunity to become a supervisor, females work hard to show that they are indeed capable of being in that role.

Price and Gavin (1980) point out that the police management hierarchy is rigid and very narrow at the top, with a limited number of middle-management and administrative positions. Often promotions are based on crime fighting ability and having a good arrest record. The pyramid organizational structure of police agencies, and the current emphasis for promotion serve to "perpetuate the attitudes about policing being man's work." (Price and Gavin 1982:406)

Women are still dealing with stereotypes, such as women not being emotionally stable; they want families, not careers. (Baskerville 1991) As stereotypical biases still exist against female police managers, it must also be realized that females often approach managerial situations in different ways than males.

A study by Judy B. Rosener concluded that men see job performance as a series of transactions, rewards for services rendered, or punishment for inadequate performance. Male supervisors are what James McGreory Burns would call "transactional leaders." (Naisbitt 1984) In contrast, female leaders try to transform people's self-interest into organizational goals. In Burns's terminology they are "transformational

leaders" (though Rosener prefers the term "interactive leadership"). (Naisbitt 1984) Women leaders encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work. (Naisbitt 1984)

Many of the attributes for which women's leadership is praised are rooted in women's socialized roles. The traditional female value of caring for others, balanced with sufficient objectivity, is often the basis of female management skills. The female managerial practice of supporting and encouraging people often brings out the best in male and female employees. (Naisbitt 1984)

In the future, a manager's top responsibility will be "creating a nourishing environment for personal growth." (Naisbitt 1984) The female managerial style supports this requirement. Descriptions of the "manager of the future" uncannily match those of female leadership.

Women, however, are not strategically placed in organizations where they are visible. In other words, female police supervisors are placed in administrative positions where they are most likely to supervise civilian personnel engaged in support activities. This exclusion from supervising line personnel does not allow the female supervisor to gain experience in supervising operational activities. In addition, the managerial skills of these female supervisors may not be regularly

exposed to upper level administrators who are responsible for future promotions, as they are hidden in obscure assignments. (Martin 1982)

In the past, male officers who have been unofficially deemed to be promotable, have often been placed in a mentoring relationship with a supervising officer. The mentor typically served as a role model and teacher for the aspiring male supervisor. Female officers have historically not been afforded this opportunity. (Martin 1990) Research suggests that most of the increase in female police supervisors has occurred at the rank of sergeant. In general, the higher the rank, the smaller the percentage of women in it. (Martin 1989) Therefore, female upper level administrative role models may not exist for female sergeants. Consequently, any mentoring relationships would depend upon male supervisors. Added to this dilemma is the fact that female supervisors are under pressure to perform well, and are often excluded from the informal networks that are essential for success. (Martin 1989)

Women's contribution to policing and their positive attributes as managers should be appreciated and embraced by police administration. Police organizations must take steps to encourage and support female employees in their aspirations towards managerial positions. The following section will consist of recommendations which may be helpful in supporting females in all levels of police work.



## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

In the past two decades women have entered police work in growing numbers, have been assigned to patrol as well as specialized units, and have been promoted to supervisory positions. The first generation of female patrol officers had to face a variety of barriers, including the absence of uniforms and bathroom facilities, inadequate training, overt hostility from partners, supervisors, and citizens, overprotection, discrimination in assignments, sexual harassment, and exclusions from informative "old boy networks" that often are the keys to organizational influence. Nevertheless, many of these women proved themselves to be effective officers and gained acceptance from male peers. Some also received promotions and attained informal influence. The initial barriers to the integration of women into policing have been lowered, but not eliminated. (Martin 1990)

The next decade promises further progress for women and continuing challenges for police departments to recruit, retain, and promote qualified female officers. Projected demographic shifts suggest that the labor pool of those 18 to 25 years old from which police agencies draw will become smaller, better educated, and made up of increasing proportions of females and minorities. Police agencies will face



significant turnovers as the generation of police recruited from the military in the late 1960's and early 1970's will retire in the next few years. (Martin 1990)

To meet personnel needs, agencies will have to identify, train, and retain large number of officers, including a growing proportion of women. Organizations will also have to change the pattern of assignments that result in a disproportionate number of women officers and supervisors being removed from line responsibilities. In addition, organizations should actively implement equal employment policies in order to met personnel needs. There is a need to make it clear that room exists for women in police work.

Despite the progress women have made in policing, many of the barriers women officers face are built into formal organizational structures and the information occupational culture of policing, as well as the culturally prescribed patterns of male/female interaction which remain strong. Major alterations in both occupational structures and culturally defined patterns of behavior are needed to eliminate these barriers. These changes are underway, but at a slow and uneven pace. Change can and should be fostered by department leadership.

Police administrators should adhere to the following policies and practices regarding recruitment, training and career development to

accelerate the increase of women in policing and upward mobility for females in management.

According to Martin (1990), the following recommendations should improve the recruitment and training of female officers:

- Departmental leaders must make a commitment to increase the number of women officers and actively integrate them into all aspects of police work.

Martin (1989) states that " . . .women have higher turnover rates than men, and thus more women are needed to enter policing even to maintain current sex ratios" (7). This high turnover rate can be reduced if police departments take the time to create a professional and affirmative work environment for both male and female officers.

- They must plan and implement programs designed to recruit, train, integrate, and retain women officers. The best way to increase the representation of women is by intensifying recruitment efforts to broaden the pool of qualified female applicants.

Recruiters should encourage women to consider a police career, and at the same time, present a realistic picture of patrol assignments and other opportunities.

- Recruit training should include physical fitness exercises and self defense tactics to ensure that officers are able to function effectively and safely on the street. Training in defensive tactics should include a variety of holds and techniques suited to individuals of different sizes.
- Departments should provide recruits with visible and accessible female role models. Outstanding women officers should be assigned to the training academy staff, serve as class officers, and be selected as field training officers. Such women can help female rookies develop skills and self-confidence. They also are likely to reduce the men's reluctance to work with and for women.
- The academy curriculum should include informal discussion sessions in which trainees meet with experienced male and female officers.

These sessions should permit experienced female officers to address the questions of women recruits, discuss some of the difficulties women are likely to face as tokens in many assignments, and make suggestions for gaining acceptance as an officer.

- Police departments should encourage women trainees to develop a support network to help them cope with problems incurred as women officers in predominantly male organizations.
- Academy curricula and field training programs should include instructional units on verbal and non-verbal communication to promote understanding of sexual and cultural differences. They should recognize and welcome the fact that some women may employ a less confrontational policing style to achieve the goals of policing.
- Departments should ensure that in-service training opportunities that are limited are distributed among interested officers on a basis that is free of sex discrimination.

- To overcome what is often viewed as handicap, i.e., generally smaller size, women should be encouraged to independently take additional training in self-defense tactics or karate.

According to Martin (1990) the following considerations for career development for women in policing should be made:

- Departments should encourage women to seek promotion by creating and maintaining an open and fair promotion process. When people believe they will be treated equitably, they are more likely to put forth the effort to study and compete for promotion.
- Those criteria, particularly seniority and veteran bonus points, that systematically disadvantage women in competing for promotions should be eliminated or reduced in weight in the promotion process, unless it can be shown that they are related to superior performance as supervisor.
- Police executives and managers should take steps to ensure that female supervisors and mid-level managers receive

diversified experiences within the parameters established by the agency's personnel guidelines.

- Mentors and informal networks are an important ingredient of organizational success. To help women supervisors cope with the performance pressures and stresses related to being "pioneers," department managers should encourage formal mentor relationships and facilitate participation in state and national professional women's organizations.

Police departments should make major efforts to recruit women and make organizational changes which would support women. To this, police departments could develop a Total Quality program which involves product, financial performance and a high caliber, diverse work force. James R. Houghton stated, regarding work force diversity, that the goal is to have a work force that "mirrors the national demographics", not only because it is right and moral, but because it makes good business sense (Solomon 1990)

By departments focusing on training to improve physical and psychological limitations and by sensitizing both peers and supervisors to the effectiveness of policewomen, progress can be made in facilitating

the full integration of policewomen into every aspect of modern police work. (Price and Gavin 1982)

Equally important to the successful integration of women into policing is the firm commitment of police leadership to this integration. Bouza (1975) stressed that all police personnel must be provided an opportunity to succeed and that it must be acknowledged that males as well as females sometimes fail in the performance of their duties. Goldstein (1977:270) similarly emphasized that police administration is responsible for providing "clear evidence that members of minority groups . . . will have equal opportunities regarding assignments and promotions."

Policing continues to be a male-dominated occupation and given the nature of the work, it is likely to remain so for many years. Nevertheless, a professional and positive work atmosphere should help change problematic attitudes and perhaps remove some obstacles for female officers in most police organizations.

## **CONCLUSION**

Despite evidence of continuing sex discrimination in the past decade, women have made progress in expanding their opportunities, power and numbers in policing. The assimilation of women into policing

is a continuation of changes set in motion in the two previous decades relative to society's law, norms, and values, and the informal police informal subculture, and departmental policies and practices. Also social changes have affected the status of women such as the increased proportion of women in the labor force, changing sex role norms, easing of the conflict female officers face between sex role expectations of them as women and occupational role demands of them as police officers. In addition, the impact of laws that outlawed sex discrimination and required employers to take affirmative action to ensure equal employment opportunities have helped to increase opportunities for women. Further, gradual implementation of legal changes has resulted in reduction of entrance requirements and selection standards that are not job related or have a disparate impact.

The obstacles of women in policing are built in to the formal and informal structures of the work organization and the culturally prescribed habits of male-female interaction. Therefore, major changes in patterns of behaviors are necessary to eliminate these obstacles. The changes appear to be underway at a slow and uneven pace; however, they can be fostered by department practice and policies which have been identified in this paper.



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