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ACADEMY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SCIENCES

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'Revisiting Gender Issues: Continuing Police Reform'

Abstract:

This paper will discuss continuing police reform and gender issues and how the organizational culture can be moved from misogynist to inclusive. In addition, it will discuss how the community policing philosophy has caused special populations, (gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans-gender), who under the professional model were often marginalized, can be dealt with in a manner devoid of bias or prejudice. The role of police women in the 21st century will also be discussed in relation to the feminist writers' perspective as the police accept that their role has a duty of care and is not solely about crime fighting.

Keywords: police, gender, policewomen, law enforcement employment data

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A History of Women in Policing in the US

Following the introduction of the London (England) Metropolitan Police in 1829, Sir Robert Peel wrote his *Nine Principles of Policing* (Appendix A). The development of policing in the United States tended to follow the London model which introduced a concept of societal support and co-operation and a duty of care. That underlying duty of care was later to evolve with changing societal norms that was to accept the emancipation of women and their role and contribution to society (Heidensohn, 1992; Schulz, 1995, Pollock, 1995a).

In the United States the development of policing followed a similar pattern. Many women activists were motivated by a passion arguing that women contributed a positive, feminine approach to addressing society's ills. A literature review identifies that the American Female Moral Reform Society campaigned for matron positions to be created to provide appropriate care. In the mid-19th century women who were working in the reformist movements started to turn their attention to the issue of prison reform. Early advocates of criminal justice reform urged prison administrators to hire women in order that they could stem the numerous reports of abuse that incarcerated women faced by men guarding them in prison. It is argued that "No civilian occupation in the United States (with the possible exception of firefighting) is more identified with masculine stereotypes than policing, and no facet of policing is viewed as more of a male preserve than uniform patrol." (Schulz, 1995, Introduction). The history of women in policing represents a continuum of women's involvement in the police environment, first in their uniquely female role as matrons and today in a unisex role with male colleagues of officer. In a brief historical review the move from matron duties to a limited, specialized role based on gender, and the roles associated with crimes against women and children, to the inclusive role of police officer will be outlined

In the early decades of the nineteenth century female prisoners lived in poor conditions and there was neglect and sexual exploitation by male prison staff. In the period from the 1820s, volunteer Quaker women entered penal institutions with the dual role of providing religious and secular training for women inmates. Their concerns evolved into a new profession for women –prison matrons and until the 1870s, this remained the only, position in corrections for open for women. The demands for women in policing can be traced to this period (Pollock, 1995b).

At the end of the Civil War (1861-65), another group of women took the philosophy of women's role in societal order maintenance beyond the jails and prisons. The new and emerging definition of municipal housekeeping encompassed virtually all activities that placed government agencies into contact with women and children. This included the emerging police agencies because there was a requirement for those in police custody: a duty of care. This was because police stations often functioned in the role of homeless

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shelters. In that capacity the majority of those who sought refuge were women and their children. By societal evolution, well-connected, upper-middle class women turned their attention to religious, temperance, and benevolent associations. There was a need for women to care for women and children in police custody; however, it was not until the 1880s that police matrons had brought custodial care into police station as a societal and organizational norm (Pollock, 1995b).

In 1845, New York City officials hired two women to work as matrons in the city's two jails. It was anticipated that the police administrators would hire matrons for the police stations; however the police department itself blocked this. The development of women in the role of police remained static until Mary Owens received the rank of police officer from the Chicago Police Department in 1893. This was unusual because she was a widow whose husband had been an officer for the department. This was achieved because, on occasions, a department would employ widows as a type of death benefit for their husbands. In that period police departments seldom offered death benefits and hiring widows was a way of compensating them, and the cost of employing females was cheaper than employing a male (Schulz, 1995).

Mary Owens worked for thirty years for the department; she assisted on cases involving women and children. This was a natural development because of societal expectation of what women should be involved with and the empathetic maternal duty of care associated with women. However, it was not until 1905 that Mary Owens became the first woman to receive arrest powers. In that same year (1905) Lola Baldwin was given police powers and put in charge of a group of social workers in order to aid the Portland, Oregon Police Department during the Lewis and Clark Exposition. She was the first woman to work as a sworn police officer in the United States. This was because Portland City leaders felt that some measures had to be taken to protect the "moral safety" of the young women of Portland. The program was successful and this led to the introduction in 1908 of the Department of Public Safety for the Protection Young Girls and Women, making Baldwin the director of the program (Schulz, 1995).

1910 – 1920

In 1910 the Los Angeles Police Department employed Alice Stebbin Wells as a sworn officer and she was referred to as the first woman to be called a policewoman. However, there has been some disagreement as to who is more accurately referred to as the "first woman police officer" in the U.S. There are many historians who have argued that Lola Baldwin should be considered the first policewoman. The argument is academic and not that important because it is simply semantics. The difficulty in asserting a "first" is that from the onset, the job description for women officers was varied and often contained reference to tasks that fell outside of traditional policing tasks. The allocated tasks were related to issues of societal development, deprivation

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and morality identified in the discipline of criminology and now considered to be part of the discipline of social work rather than law enforcement duties.

The role of women was considered that of matrons, social workers, and women working for private organizations all worked in positions of some authority for the moral betterment of society. The policewoman's movement overlapped and ultimately obscured the matron movement by expanding and professionalizing women's roles within police departments. The policewomen who served from 1910 until the post-Depression years were not working-class immigrants, but, usually upper middle class, college educated social workers (Pollock, 1995b).

None of these women who pursued these roles had the same status as the men working as police officers. These women did challenge the inequality and argued for opportunities for women to pursue a career in law enforcement. This was part of the emancipation of women and the struggle toward women's equality. The International Association of Policewomen was created in 1915 in an attempt to help organize a broad base of support for women choosing a career in policing.

The societal development of the first two decades of the 20th century saw an acceptance that women's inherent nurturing qualities should be harnessed and focused on fixing societal problems associated with moral weakness. As a result, numerous specialist women's departments were introduced. These departments focused the women employed to work on cases relating to women and children, such as child abuse, runaways, minor larceny, and prostitution. In 1919 Gerogina Robinson was the first African American police woman employed by Los Angeles Police Department.

1930 – 1940

The Great Depression of the 1930s saw changes in societal attitudes and perceptions. How employment was viewed changed and women's employment suffered because of this. The role of women was now perceived to be that of the home maker and mother: they should not be employed. A married woman who was employed was seen as preventing a married man with a family from providing for his family. As employment became scarce, women's career aspirations suffered. During this period there was a change in how law enforcement officers perceived their social role. In the mid-1930s the FBI was formed, and law enforcement officers began to project a role of "combatant of crime," turning away from the idea that police should work as social agents against moral decline or destitution. This was the organizational norm of law enforcement until the introduction of the community policing paradigm. In 1932 The International Association of Policewomen was discontinued until it was reinstated in 1956.

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World War II brought societal changes and the war effort allowed women to demonstrate that they could take on the previously male only roles of engineering, truck driving, aircraft pilots; roles were no longer defined by gender. The police role was being challenged (Pollock, 1995a). More women were hired during the war, but most of these women were limited in their role and confined to auxiliary work. Their role during this period was to assist new men employed, who could not join the military, in their duties. Their role was to be deployed as dispatchers or clerical workers within the departments, whereas men still had patrol duties and worked as the crime fighters. Women worked primarily as either helper to the men or they worked cases relating to women and children, such as child abuse, runaways, minor larceny, and prostitution. The role that women police officers originally filled as social workers still strongly defined how women were used in the police force.

After World War II

The 1950s saw an increase in the number of women in law enforcement in the United States. Although the overall number of women making up law enforcement officers remained relatively low. The late 1950s and early 1960s for some women brought about a change in how women police officers saw their advancement in the profession. There was a need to advance women in the profession through integration with the men but also to accommodate those women who wanted to work in the same departments with men, doing the same work. This time period saw the re-establishment of the International Association of Women Police and an increased enthusiasm for the profession as a career distinct from that of social worker. All these changes led to greater demands for equality and in 1968 Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal of the Indianapolis Police department were allowed to go on patrol duty as police officers without gender bias as to what they could deal with

Milton *et al* (1974) identified that in 1971 the number of policewomen on patrol in the United States only about one dozen and there were only a few women in police supervisory positions. In 1974 there were close to 1,000 policewomen on patrol with several hundred women sergeants, lieutenants and captains supervising male and female patrol officers and detectives.

This change was brought about for two reasons. First, the law initiated change through legal actions in the courts and others came about because police administrators had to modify their hiring and assignment practices before the courts did it for them. In addition, some administrators saw potential benefits for their departments and communities in having a work force more representative, in race, ethnicity and gender of the communities being served.

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This change in police administrators' policy was because of the historical challenge to societal norms due to the Civil Rights movement of the previous decade and the expanded role of women in policing must be seen in the context of the decade that witnessed urban riots, campus demonstrations and higher crime rates. These issues raised many questions about the police mission, departmental policies and procedures and, perhaps more importantly, societies expectation because the police were isolated from the community. Milton *et al* (1974 p. v), asked: "Were the police isolated from the community? Was policing in fact simply a game of "cops and robbers?" When should a department use "force" and what oversight was there? What were the alternatives to the use of force? Did the noncriminal aspects of police work have any utility in fulfilling the primary mission of law enforcement? How important was it to have community representation in police agencies? What effect did the organizational structure of a police agency have on officer performance? What kinds of people should be recruited as police officers?"

There was also the challenge to the male police officers' opined statement that policing was not a job for women. The Police Foundation asked whether women could perform effectively as police officers and, to improve police personnel. In addition the question was raised; would overall departmental effectiveness improve if the recruitment and selection pools were expanded to include women?

The argument and counter argument were stated as follows. On the one hand it was said that women were too weak or too emotional to handle the tasks of patrol officers. In addition, they could not command citizen respect, and their presence would place fellow male officers in positions of danger. On the other hand it was said that women could handle conflict situations better than men. They would diffuse violence and be less threatening than men. Their presence would reassure citizens and improve police-community relations. The integration of women into the police department would challenge and change the police stereotype from one of violence, coarseness and insensitivity to one of responsiveness, understanding and empathy which supported the newly emerging police paradigm of community policing (Milton *et al* 1974; Alderson 1979 and Palmiotto 2000).

This was the catalyst for a change in policing that would have a dramatic effect on women in law enforcement everywhere. The women's movement as well as advances in the law helped to change how women were able to meet and excel in law enforcement throughout the 70's and 80's.

That development was assisted by the introduction in 1972 of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which was expanded to include public agencies. As a result police departments were prohibited by law from discriminating against women in hiring, recruiting, promotions, and working conditions. In addition, in the same period, two laws,

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the Revenue Sharing Act (1964 amendments), and the Crime Control Act (1973 amendments), both concentrated on withholding funds from departments that discriminated. From 1960 to 1980 the percentage of women in police agencies doubled and the greater numbers brought greater opportunities and challenges. From the 70's into the 90's women in law enforcement agencies have worked for an equal role in all facets of policing, on patrol, in command positions, and in promoting and recruiting officers. However, it was not until 1985 that Penny Harrington became the first woman to be named Chief of Police for a major city, Portland, Oregon. It was nearly a decade later in 1994, that Beverly J. Harvard became the first African American woman to be made Chief of Police of Atlanta, Georgia.

The 2000 status of Women in Policing Survey, conducted by the National Center for Women and Policing, identified that women make up just 13% of all sworn law enforcement officer. A decade later surveys identified that women make up just 12% of all sworn law enforcement officers. Although the statistics were not drawn from exactly the same source data they are comparable and in 2011 the figure is generally stated as being around 14%. Even accepting the higher figure this still raises the question why are women not better represented in law enforcement?

The problems encountered en route to acceptance as police officers

The resistance to the entry of women as fully fledged police officers is in part related to the particular nature of police work and the anticipated impact of women on it. Historically police work was a male occupation that has developed its own culture and subcultures, complete with "a distinctive set of values, norms, lifestyles, and even language" (Brinkerhoff and White, 1991 p.68). The existence of such an organizational culture and associated subcultures, with misogynist attitudes, is enhanced by the fact that the "police operate in an aura of isolationism, secrecy, strong in-group loyalties, sacred symbols, common language, and a sense of estrangement" (Holden 1992, p.160). There is a need for change but the police organization is reluctant to embrace change and when police reformers such as O.W. Wilson (cited in Walker 1977 p.110) argued, that "a woman was not qualified to head the juvenile unit. A male police officer would have wider police experience, would understand the activities of other units, and thereby would be better able to secure their cooperation... Moreover, men are "less likely to become irritable and overcritical under emotional stress and are likely to be more effective as supervisors of women," the role of women in policing was denied. Such statements support and allow misogynist attitudes to survive in the culture and will only be changed when they are challenged and rejected (Kingshott, 2009; 2006; 2004a).

The resistance identifies arrogance, ego and misogynist attitudes by male officers. "The integration of women into police patrol work as co-workers threatens to compromise the

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work, the way of life, the social status, and the self-image of the men in one of the most stereotypically masculine occupations in our society” Martin (1980, p.79).

The combination of danger and authority, plus organizational pressure for efficiency, has resulted in a unique “working personality” characteristic of police (Skolnick, 1967). Faced with danger, they become suspicious; even paranoid, feared by ordinary citizens, they often become isolated. Allegedly misunderstood, set apart from the larger world, they turn to their occupational group for support, solidarity, physical protection, and social identity that is masculine. The job becomes a way of life and the occupational group and its norms provide a morality and self-conception from a masculine perspective. Those officers that do not adhere to the principal norms of policing, as defined by the males, such as the rule of silence, the requirement that an officer physically back up another officer, - face ostracism, the silent treatment, and outright rejection as a partner and fellow police officer. (Westley,1970). The introduction of women police officers would change those organizational norms: albeit for the better.

Discrimination and Harassment

In the data collected and analyzed by the Police Foundation (1990) the interviews identified that most women officers have experienced both sex discrimination and sexual harassment in the policing environment. Two-thirds of the women interviewed identified at least one instance of discriminatory treatment (while denying their victimization); an additional 8 percent claimed victimization due to racially discriminatory behaviors towards them.

PERCENT OF WOMEN OFFICERS EXPERIENCING DISCRIMINATION AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT By YEAR OF ENTRY

YEAR OF ENTRY	VICTIM OF SEX DISCRIMINATION (N = 72)	VICTIM OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT (N =71)
Before 1975	83%	77%
1975-1980	73%	76%
1985-1986	27%	67%
MEAN	67%	75%

Source: *The Status of Women in Policing: Police Foundation, 1990 p.140 Table 8.1*

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The nature of the discriminatory behavior women reported ranged: from “typical male lechery” to constant, open harassment by a supervisor determined to drive women from the department. Descriptions of harassment recounted by the first group of women on patrol indicated that frequently it was blatant, malicious and widespread (Police Foundation, 1990). In the face of such hostilities the women had to identify coping strategies to pursue their careers.

Women’s Coping Strategies

In any hostile environment there will be coping mechanisms and in the policing environment women adopted a variety of coping strategies. Some women officers were overwhelmed with feelings of helplessness or the desire to remain a “lady”; accepted the stereotypic seductress, mother, pet, and helpless maiden sex roles into which they were cast (Kanter, 1977). In contrast, other women officers who resisted those sexual stereotypes were demeaned and labeled “dyke” or “bitch” (Martin, 1980).

Resisting gender role stereotypes is not new. Jurik (1988, p.292) found that women prison guards sought to “strike a balance” between accepting the stereotypes into which men pressed them and the “opposite but equally negative gender stereotype.” Their balancing strategies included projecting a professional image, demonstrating unique skills, emphasizing a team approach, using humor to develop camaraderie and thwart unwelcome advances, and using sponsorship to enhance positive visibility. In a similar approach, police woman projected professionalism by proving themselves physically capable, by showing courage and by skillfully talking their way out of potentially violent confrontations. Humor was used to effectively rebut unacceptable behaviors while avoiding a perceived and predictable feminine reaction or ignoring the harassment directed towards them by misogynist centered males (Police Foundation, 1990).

The Meanings of Acceptance

The term ‘acceptance’ has both positive and negative connotations usually based upon gender assumptions. From the male perspective, the opposition for the entry of women to patrol was centered on the argument that women could not handle the physical aspects of the work or act with authority. Underlying these concerns, which were based on assumption rather than fact, was the fear that the women would make their work more difficult, dangerous, and less rewarding. Martin (1980) identified that work group cohesiveness was threatened by the presence of women inhibiting “male” language, (a euphemism for coarseness and profanity), creating competition for female attention, and forcing men to relate to women in new ways. To support an untenable position it was cited that women were unaggressive, undependable, and physically weaker, and therefore a liability. Underlying their allegedly rational arguments was a diffuse anger at

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the weakening of the traditional cohesive macho police culture, resulting in part, from gender and racial integration within the organization.

The term 'acceptance' from a feminist perspective identifies that there are opposing views about the extent and nature of the change. Some believe that it is merely cosmetic; men have not altered their attitudes or underlying values and are less confrontational and circumspect in their words and actions. Others assert that blanket stereotyping and rejection has been replaced by greater willingness to accept an individual woman on the basis of her role performance. The women who see least change in men's attitudes and behavior tend to stereotype the men as both chauvinists and misogynists.

Do double Standards Still Exist?

Sexual harassment among police officers is a problem (Gratch, 1995). Double standards related to gender role performance also affect language, sexual behavior and innuendo, appearance, and demeanor. Women still face the language dilemmas of whether to curse or not and whether to tolerate coarse and profane language from their male colleagues. In addition, the dilemma exists as whether to challenge those males who frequently refer, inappropriately, to women officers as "girls" or call them "hon" or "sweetheart." A male supervisor's appearance or overweight condition may be ignored in the interviews or role assessment: this is often not the case when a female officer is under similar review. "In a profession sworn to uphold the law and defend the civil and constitutional rights of all persons, it [is] the ultimate paradox" that sexual harassment—a form of discrimination based on gender—occurs among the ranks of the police" (Higginbotham 1988, p.24).

Explaining the Change

It is argued that the positive change over the past decades can be attributed to changes in police departments' formal and practices; personnel turnover (retirement of older officers who resisted change); the formal and informal organizational culture and sub-cultures; and the law, public attitudes, and the changing gender role norms in the society at large. These changes and the evolution of the policing role and societal expectations have resulted in greater power and opportunities for women and a reduction in tokenism and its detrimental consequences.

Department Policies and Practices

The changes that were initiated in the 1970s have continued to alter the occupational expectation, role and work environment of police. These include (1) the move towards the professionalization of the police: it is no longer an artisan occupation; (2) societal expectations of gender, sexual, racial, and ethnic integration in an organization that is

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representative of the society being policed; (3) emphasis on a policing paradigm that emphasizes community relations and the service aspects of police work; (4) and emphasis on the service role with de-emphasis on the violent and physical aspects of the police role; and (5) creation of procedural safeguards for police officers through police unions, and Equal Employment Opportunity legislation.

The Impact of Time

Many of the most outspoken opponents of women's presence in police departments have retired and change is linked to the cyclical nature of policing with 30 year career cycles allowing for change to be a slow process. With the passage of time, women officers have accumulated seniority; age and maturity also have reduced the need to be accepted that the first generation of women sought. In addition, other women viewed the change as a result of the combination of maturity, self-confidence, rank and the availability of mechanisms through which to assert legal rights (Hale & Bennett 1995). The passing of time will also be a factor in changing the negative aspects, (bias, prejudice, discrimination, misogyny and bullying), of organizational culture and emphasizing the positive aspects, (support, empathy, sensitivity, and encouragement), of that culture and personal and organizational ethics are an important element of that change (Kingshott, 2009; 2006; 2004a; 2004b; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 1999a; 1999b).

Change in the Formal and Informal Culture of Policing

The view of culture is that it is a social phenomenon: a combination of norms, values and rules based on tradition and current practice that help people to provide order in a given social group; the police organization is such a group (Crank, 2004, Kingshott 2009; 2006; 2004a; Hale and Bennett, 1995). It is because it requires human action to enact culture, it has the ability to evolve and change but will only do so within the conservative restraint that each generation holds the culture in trust for the next. "*The values, customs and acceptable modes of behaviour that characterize a society or social groups within a society ... that are learned and internalized by people rather than being genetically transmitted*" (Marsh and Keating 2006, p.20).

There are three factors that play a significant role in sustaining a culture: the selection process, the actions of management (policies and procedures) and the socialization methods (Kingshott, 2009; 2006; 2004a). The socialization is the process through which employees learn the prerequisite cultural values, norms, beliefs, assumptions, and required behaviors necessary for them to participate as effective members of an organization (Kingshott, 2009; 2006; 2004a; Robbins 1991; Reuss-Ianni 1993). Employees learn the organization's culture through anecdotal stories, rituals, material symbols (uniform, gun, badge), special language (dispatch codes) and terms that describe policewomen (Kingshott 2009; Pike 1992). It is because male officers

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often perceive females as sex objects, they are not comfortable socializing with female officers on the job; thus, there is a lack of camaraderie between men and women on the job. This discussion on the socialization process and transmission of culture supports researchers' conclusions that the biggest obstacles to women in police work are their peers and supervisors (Milton *et al* 1974; Horne 1979; Golden 1981; Balkin 1988; Pike 1992; Hunt, 1990; and Martin 1992.) The lack of acceptance women as patrol officers is not unusual: male officers are either reluctant or unwilling to work with female counterparts (Kingshott 2004a; Hunt 1990; Pike 1992; Martin 1992). The change in the organizational culture of the police can be achieved when inappropriate behaviors are rejected, and organizational structures support ethical behaviors (Crank & Caldero, 2000, Kingshott, 2004a; 2006: 2009).

The Optimal Personality and Management Traits of a Community Police Officer

There are no personality traits and attributes that define the ideal police officer, or even if such an animal exists. However, it may be argued that following attributes and skills are desirable.

1. Understanding the nature of human systems: individual, group, organization, community and society, and their major interactions.
2. Understanding the conditions which promote or limit optimal functioning and classes of deviations from desired functioning in the major human systems
3. Demonstrate skill in identifying and selecting interventions which promote growth and goal attainment of both the organization and the community being served.
4. Demonstrate competent problem analysis skills and to select those strategies, services or interventions that are appropriate to help the community attain a desired outcome. Those interventions may include assistance, referral, advocacy, or direct counseling.
5. Demonstrate skill in planning, implementing and evaluating interventions. The officer will be able to design a plan of action for an identified problem and implement the plan in a systematic way. This requires an understanding of problems analysis, decision-analysis, and design of work plans. This generic skill can be used with all social systems and adapted for use with individual clients or organizations. Skill in evaluating the interventions is essential.
6. Consistent behavior in selecting interventions which are congruent with the values of one's self, the organization being represented and the community being served. This cluster requires awareness of one's own value orientation, an understanding of organizational values as expressed in the mandate or goal statement of the organization, ethics and an appreciation of the community's values and goals.

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7. The officer must be skillful in verbal and oral communication, interpersonal relationships and other related personal skills, such as self-discipline and time management. It requires that the officer be interested in and motivated to conduct the role that they have agreed to fulfill and to apply themselves to all aspects of the work that the role requires.

The personality traits and attributes identified by the author are **not** gender specific and do not simply refer to the policing role. It may be argued that such personality traits and attributes can be used to effect in any organization and in any role. It is accepted that the above list relates to the authors perceptions of optimal personality traits and attributes and although the author had a police career of 32 years it is acknowledged that the list may inadvertently introduce a personal bias.

The literature review identifies other personality traits and attributes that should not be ignored, The changes in traditional gender roles that have taken place over the past four decades in our society have made it possible for women to enter traditionally masculine-typed fields, as demonstrated by the data contained within the US Bureau of Statistics, *Women in the Labor Force: A Databook (2009 Edition)*, and includes law enforcement., However, despite numerous research findings that show women police officers perform their job as effectively as men, men are still believed to be more competent (Lunneborg, 1989; Martin, 1990). Men are thought to have more of the directive, assertive personality traits necessary for the job of police officer. Women, who are thought to possess more accommodating personality traits, are believed to be less effective as police officers. This is not supported other than by anecdotal, apocryphal misogynist rhetoric. Gerber (2001) argues that these beliefs about men's and women's personalities reflect stereotypes that are held within the larger society and that despite the social changes of recent years, that relate to women's occupational roles, people still believe that women and men have different personality traits (Spence, Deaux, & Helmreich, 1985).

In the policing there is power and status which raises the question do women's and men's perceptions of their personality traits vary with their status? The status model of gender stereotyping maintains that they do. Or do men and women really have different personality attributes, as the gender-specific model contends? Gerber (2001) argues that according to the status model, officers' perceptions of their personality traits vary with their status. The critical test of the model involves individual status—the status of each officer vis-à-vis the partner. The status model predicts that the high-status officer in each partnership type will be perceived as having more instrumentally oriented (dominating and instrumental) traits and the low-status officer will be seen as having more expressive traits. In addition, the status model predicts that officers' perceptions of

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their personality traits will be affected by group status—the overall status of their partnership in relation to other kinds of partnerships. These behavioral nuances can become the norms of the organizational culture if accepted and in a male dominated police service they often are.

Gerber (2001) argues that men and women only appear to have different personalities because men have higher status than women. These status differences would be particularly evident when a man and a woman work together as police partners. The higher-status man would act as leader in the partnership because men are more assertive and decisive and that women are more accommodating and considerate of others (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973). Even women who work in highly masculine-typed occupations such as policing are thought to have uniquely “feminine” qualities such as warmth, concern, and accommodation to others.

Gerber (2001) in her study identified that police officers as a group, both female and male, are characterized by very high levels of the instrumental traits— attributes that often have been viewed as the defining characteristics for men (Spence, Deaux, & Helmreich, 1985). These findings indicate that police officers are seen as decisive and assertive—most probably because police officers need to possess these qualities in order to enforce the law (Manning, 1997; Storms, Penn, & Tenzell, 1990). There is no evidence that women in policing cannot be authoritative, autocratic, decisive and assertive when the situation demands it.

The acceptance of women in the workplace

The role of women in society has significantly changed and this can be observed in societal acceptance of new and challenging roles in industry, the arts and humanities. They are no longer constrained by rigid societal parameters that identified ‘appropriate female’ roles of parent and housekeeper. That statement is confirmed by data from the US Department of Labor statistics. The personality traits and attributes previously identified are demonstrable in the selected occupations that make up **Figure 1 (Appendix B)**. The selected occupations require skills that are transferable to the community policing paradigm, although it is accepted that the selection may contain unintended inherent bias.

The community policing paradigm, and developing 21st century policing paradigms, emphasize that the duty of care and focus on quality of life issues will impact the crime rate and the fear of crime for citizens. The community policing philosophy is inclusive whereas under earlier policing paradigms special populations, (gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans-gender, prostitutes, ethnic minorities, the mentally ill and the homeless), were often marginalized, and discriminated against with bias and prejudice rife in many police

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departments. It has been argued that under the community policing philosophy the police department should reflect the society being policed where the police accept that their role has a duty of care and is not solely about crime fighting. There should be ethnic, racial, religious and cultural diversity in the department. In addition, as society has approximately equal numbers of males and females should that also not be reflected within the department?

The following statistics relating to women in law enforcement were gathered from Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Table 1. Percent and number of full-time sworn officers who are women, by federal law enforcement agencies employing 500 or more full-time officers, 1998 and 2008

Agency	Percent		Number	
	1998	2008	1998	2008
Internal Revenue Service, Criminal Investigation	25	32	848	835
U.S. Postal Inspection Service	15	22	513	516
Federal Bureau of Investigation	16	19	1,816	2,428
National Park Service - Ranger Division	15	19	230	263
U.S. Capitol Police	18	19	189	303
USDA Forest Service	16	16	97	103
Federal Bureau of Prisons	12	14	1,545	2,304
National Park Service - U.S. Park Police	9	13	62	72
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms & Explosives	12	13	211	333
State Department, Bureau of Diplomatic Security	8	11	33	113
Drug Enforcement Administration	8	10	261	421
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service	10	9	84	50
Veterans Health Administration	9	8	24	248

Note: Does not include U.S Customs and Border Protection and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement because these did not exist in 1998. U.S. Marshals Service and U.S. Secret Service did not provide 2008 data on the sex of officers and the Pentagon Force Protection Agency and Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts did not provide 1998 data on the sex of officers; these four agencies are also excluded from the table.

Report title: Women in Law Enforcement, 1987-2008, NCJ 230521

Data sources: Census of Federal Law Enforcement Officers, 1998 and 2008

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In general terms, over a ten year cycle the number of full time sworn officers in federal law enforcement agencies', employing not less than 500 full time officers, remained static or rose insignificantly.

Figure 2. Percent of full-time sworn law enforcement officers who are women among local and State police departments, and sheriffs' offices , 1987-2007

Percent of officers who are women

Year	Local police	Sheriffs' offices	State police or highway patrol
1987	7.6 %	12.6 %	3.8 %
1990	8.1	15.4	4.8
1993	8.8	14.5	5.4
1997	10	15.6	6.3
2000	10.6	12.5	6.5
2003	11.3	12.9	6.7
2007	11.9	11.2	6.5

Report title: Women in Law Enforcement, 1987-2008, NCJ 230521

Data sources: Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics Survey, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2007; Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2007

Note: Data on state highway patrol and state police agencies were obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports.

Data on local police departments and sheriffs' offices obtained from the BJS Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) series

In order to identify any trends that may support or rebut the discussion on the role of women in policing the employment data of women in law enforcement, both sworn and support personnel were extrapolated from data that covered the years 2005 to 2009. A summary of the findings are provided and the full data set may be found in Appendix B.

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Summary of Data

The Full-time Law Enforcement Employees by Population Group

Year	Female Officers	Male Officers	Female Support	Male Support
2005	11.60%	88.40%	61.80%	38.20%
2006	11.80%	88.20%	61.80%	38.20%
2007	11.70%	88.30%	61.50%	38.50%
2008	11.90%	88.10%	61.60%	38.40%
2009	11.70%	88.30%	61.00%	39.00%

Figure 3 Percentage of Female Personnel in Full-time Law Enforcement
[Extrapolated from Table 2(74) 2005: Table 3(74) 2006: Table 4(74) 2007:
Table 5(74) 2008: Table 6(74) 2009 prepared by FBI.
Source: http://www2.fbi.gov/ucr/cius2008/police/population_group.html.]

An historical review of percentages of women in law enforcement is of value. The 1960 census reported 5,617 policewomen, comprising 2.3 percent of all public employed officers. This represented a doubling of the 1950 figures and was the largest increase (both numerically and percentage) since the creation of the concept and title policewoman.

In the 1970s the Police Foundation research on women in policing, along with changes in federal civil rights legislation and emerging case law, made a pivotal contribution to policing in America. The research concluded that women could effectively perform patrol duties from which they had been excluded because of their gender although changes in the law were designed and introduced to eliminate such discrimination.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the number of policewomen (a title that in many jurisdictions was replaced by the unisex rank of police officer), had doubled but the overall percentage increase was negligible and in 1981 women comprised just 5.5 percent of sworn personnel (Schulz, 1985).

A 1982 overview of the ten largest departments (in order of department size) had increased to 1,405 (5.7percent) in New York City; 457 (5.9 percent) in Philadelphia; 477 (11.3 percent) in Detroit; 323 (8.8 percent) in Washington, DC and 62 (3.7 percent) in Boston, (Linn and Price, 1985).

In the Police Foundation (1990) report Martin (1990, p.5) concluded; "Despite the barriers we have overcome, women still comprise under 10 percent of all police officers. Their

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representation in the supervisory and managerial ranks is even lower.”

As can be deduced from the data obtained from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (Women In the Labor Force: A Databook [2009 Edition]), women are accomplished members of the workforce showing diverse skills for the benefit of all. Even with the selected occupations taken from that data that make up Figure 1 their skill sets equals, and sometimes exceeds, that of their male counterparts. The author posits that the skills listed in Figure 1 are ideal skills for policing. The reason why the glass ceiling has limited women in policing is because of (i) the police organizational culture and (ii) the organizational structure and the policies and procedures imposed on the personnel.

The Problems Encountered: Now Resolved?

It would appear that many of the problems encountered have not been resolved and at best have been minimized. The gender issues can be dealt with by (1) changing the organizational culture from one of bias, prejudice and misogynist attitudes and, (2) change the organizational policies and procedures to be inclusive rather than exclusive (Kingshott 2009; 2006).

The police work environment is both internal (within the police buildings and vehicles) and external (the policing environment within the community). Often the internal work environment is a hostile environment. “A hostile environment consists of unwelcome sexual behavior, such as “jokes”, cartoons, posters, banter, repeated requests for dates, requests for sexual favors, references to body parts, or physical touching that has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.” (Women and Policing Organization). Within the internal and external work environment women often have to deal with issues of sexual and gender harassment, which is different from gender discrimination.

Although gender issues can be dealt with under the remit of changing a negative organizational culture to a positive supportive culture that change does not only relate to gender issues but must address issues of bullying, prejudice, and bias towards religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation (Kingshott, 2009: 2006 2004a). The problems are not limited to gender differences and a police department that embraces diversity will be true society being policed (Alderson, 1977; Palmiotto, 2000; Morash and Ford, 2002; Crank, 2004).

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Gender Discrimination

The gender discrimination in the work place is not new and not limited to law enforcement personnel. The accusations of workplace discrimination, identified by workers who file for legal recourse when they think they have been unfairly treated based on their race, sex or other reasons, reached 99,922 in the year ended Sept. 30, 2010 in contrast to 93,277 in the previous year. That was an increase of 7.2 percent, and the highest level of new discrimination cases ever recorded (Rampell, 2011).

Gender discrimination occurs when the individual is subjected to unequal treatment in the workplace on the basis of gender. The below list are examples of what may constitute gender discrimination in the law enforcement environment:

- Women are assigned to jobs that deal with child abuse, juveniles, sex crimes, domestic violence, school programs and other "traditionally women's jobs" and are prevented from being assigned to SWAT teams, gang units, undercover work, narcotics, homicide and other "traditionally men's jobs." These assignments are based on prejudiced stereotypes.
- There are problems with Consistency, Validity, and Adverse Impact of Physical Agility Testing in Police Selection is exclusive rather than inclusive towards women.
- The tests for promotions or other job opportunities that are not skill/task related are exclusive rather than inclusive towards women.
- Women may not receive equal consideration for specialized training, conferences, specialty job assignments, etc. due to the perception that they will marry and fail to return to the department so do not invest in their future.
- Pregnant women are not given light duty, but men who are injured off-duty are often accommodated with light duty assignments.

(<http://www.womenandpolicing.org/workplace2~harrassment.asp>).

Women bring a new dynamic to policing that is not focused on the inappropriate use of force but upon verbalization and empathy to resolve an emotive issue. There are gender differences in police misconduct, unethical behavior and use of force whether those issues are measured by citizen complaints, substantiated or unsubstantiated allegations, or civil liability payouts. The anecdotal evidence of the inadequacy of women officers to 'do the job' is not supported by factual evidence.

The biggest failure to retain women officers' revolves around the issue of pregnancy and the issues that accompany a successful pregnancy. The 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) established federal minimum leave requirements for private, state,

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and local government employees, but falls short of the many issues that women in law enforcement face when they become pregnant. Many departments simply rely on the FMLA provisions and neglect to provide the necessary duty of care which can be achieved with the specific policies and procedures that address issues relating to the availability of light duty assignments, paid and unpaid leave benefits, range qualification for pregnant employees, maternity uniforms, and other issues that may relate to the individual. Pregnancy is a personal issue and that individuality requires attention to specific needs and a flexible, fair and transparent policy.

The US Supreme Court decision in *UAW v. Johnson Controls* (decided March 20, 1991), ruled that employers were prohibited from adopting fetal-protection policies that exclude women of child-bearing age from certain hazardous jobs. This decision as well as others has established that employers are prohibited from forcing a pregnant employee to take disability leave as long as the employee is still physically fit to work. In addition, in relation to law enforcement this also impacted range qualifications and the use of firearms for pregnant female officers. [*Automobile Workers v. Johnson Controls Inc.*, 499 US 187 (1991)].

Other issues include, but are not limited to, removal of pregnant female officers from their position without any accommodations made to allocate them light duty positions, Discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or a related medical condition is discrimination on the basis of sex. The FMLA provides agencies with a starting point for developing leave policies. This law contains provisions on such issues as employer coverage, employee eligibility, entitlement to leave, maintenance of health benefits during leave, job restoration after leave, notice and certification of the need for FMLA leave, and protection for employees who request or take FMLA leave.

Comprehensive Policies

The most important first step a department can take is to develop comprehensive supportive policies regarding pregnancy and childcare issues. It is suggested that an agency policy should cover, but are not limited to, the following areas:

- *Eligibility for and Duration of Pregnancy and Child Care Leave.* This should be a flexible, fair and transparent document.
- *Light Duty.* One of the most critical components of a pregnancy policy is inclusion of a light duty policy. Many pregnant women officers in law enforcement positions will want the option of moving to a light duty assignment at some point in their pregnancy. Without the option of a light duty assignment, many women may

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have to take unpaid leave, creating financial and emotional hardships that can be avoided through policies and procedures that address this issue. The best light duty policies are flexible; have no time limit on how long a pregnant woman can be assigned to light duty; leave the decision as to when to commence a light duty assignment with the pregnant officer and her physician; and stipulate that officers on light duty will continue to receive normal promotion and pay increases while in that status, and that retirement benefits will not be affected.

- *Range Qualification.* The US Supreme Court decision in *UAW v. Johnson Controls* (decided March 20, 1991) supports the fact that the exposure to lead poisoning may be harmful to the fetus. In addition, the noise from firing firearms may also be harmful. Policies should be introduced that acknowledge these issues and are supportive of the officer. The range qualifications can be resumed when officers return to work, whereupon they can be tested.
- *Uniforms.* Providing pregnant employees who wear uniforms on a day-to-day basis with maternity uniforms is critical to making pregnant women feel valued by their department. Alternatively, when the officer can no longer comfortably wear her standard uniform she should be given the option wear normal maternity clothes. On this issue, the wishes of the employee should be given the utmost possible consideration.
- *Flexible Duties and Job Share Policy* When a female officer is ready to return to duty there should be accommodations made because parental responsibilities could impact inflexible duty scheme. Grampian Police (Scotland) operates a Job Share Policy. Job sharing generally takes place where two people (of either gender) voluntarily share the duties and responsibilities of an existing full-time job. All jobs, unless specifically stated otherwise, are considered suitable for job share. The salary and benefits of the full-time post are shared between them in proportion to the percentage of hours each week. Such an agreement reflects the intention of the department to offer more flexible working opportunities, especially for those who for one reason or another, are not able to seek or continue with full-time work.

Women are valued members of the policing community and bring a dynamic that is recognized by the community but not always by the police management. Their special needs should be recognized and accommodations made. The problem of accepting women into the police service would appear, from the literature review, to be global with bias, prejudice, misogyny, working environments, shift systems and a reluctance to allow job sharing for those officers who want to take time out to raise a family.

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Continuing the Police Reform

The question raised is what is police reform? Police reform relates to the need to change working practices to meet the expectation of the society being policed. That will require both organizational change and by extension changes in the formal and informal organizational norms exhibited and followed by the organizational member (Hale and Bennett, 1995). A literature review identifies that the police organization rank and file have not been the source of significant reform ideas. Innovation has not been a bottom-up process within police organizations: police reform has not been self-generated. The reform has been instigated by individuals, or events, that have occurred in the policing environments. Included in that organizational reform are the societal and cultural changes that have occurred in the society being policed.

Changes in the gender role socialization of youth have somewhat eased the transition to police-work, as understood from media reports, for the newer cohort of women. Men's prior socialization gives them an advantage over women when they enter police work. Males are more likely to have played "cops and robbers" as youngsters, have fantasized about police work, used firearms and participated in contact sports, which introduced them to the police subculture such as the controlled use of force, teamwork and group loyalty. Females on the other hand may have the advantage of skills in verbal manipulation but not physical assertiveness (Martin, 1980). Although these differences remain, the definitions of acceptable "masculine" and "feminine" behavior have expanded and increasingly overlap. Males now learn that sensitivity, empathy and expressiveness are desirable traits devoid of gender bias. Increased public acceptance of women officers has diffused some of the men's fear that females would be resisted by citizens and thus undermines the authority of the officer. Instead, male officers discovered that citizens often feel less threatened by a female officer and that their presence defuses situations. The move towards a policing paradigm that emphasizes service as well as law and order maintenance fulfills societal expectations.

Conclusion

The advantages of increasing the role of policewomen in the 21st century are the provision of a broader range of qualified applicants for police posts which will enhance our ability to protect and provide services to the community. Moreover, the police forces have moved closer to the philosophy of the community policing model by reflecting more broadly both the ethnic, racial and gender composition and the values of the society being policed (Alderson, 1977; Palmiotto, 2000).

The problem of accepting women into the police service would appear, from the literature review, to be global with bias, prejudice, misogyny, working environments, shift systems and a reluctance to allow job sharing for those officers who want to take

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time out to raise a family (Pagon, 1996, 2000; Brown 1996; Price 1996; Pagon and Lobnikar, 1996; Hazenberg, 1996; Richter, 2000; Nestertsova, 2000). Police reform must address these issues because women have proved that they are not only competent in all aspects of police work and in all supervisory and management roles but they bring a caring and empathetic dynamic to the organization that benefits the organization and the communities' they serve.

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Appendix A

The nine principles by Sir Robert Peel

1. The basic mission for which the police exist is to prevent crime and disorder.
2. The ability of the police to perform their duties is dependent upon public approval of police actions.
3. Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public in voluntary observance of the law to be able to secure and maintain the respect of the public.
4. The degree of co-operation of the public that can be secured diminishes proportionately to the necessity of the use of physical force.
5. Police seek and preserve public favour not by catering to public opinion but by constantly demonstrating absolute impartial service to the law.
6. Police use physical force to the extent necessary to secure observance of the law or to restore order only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient.
7. Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence
8. Police should always direct their action strictly towards their functions and never appear to usurp the powers of the judiciary.
9. The test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with it.

These principles listed above may have been Sir Robert Peel's principles. However, the Metropolitan Police's founding principles and, *de facto* the founding principles of all other modern (post 1829) UK police forces, was summarised by Sir Richard Mayne (the first commissioner) in 1829 in the following terms:

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The nine principles by Sir Richard Mayne

1. To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
2. To recognise always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent on public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour and on their ability to secure and maintain public respect.
3. To recognise always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of laws.
4. To recognise always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes proportionately the necessity of the use of physical force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
5. To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion; but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of the substance of individual laws, by ready offering of individual service and friendship to all members of the public without regard to their wealth or social standing, by ready exercise of courtesy and friendly good humour; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
6. To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to secure observance of law or to restore order, and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.
7. To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are the police, the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.
8. To recognise always the need for strict adherence to police-executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the State, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
9. To recognise always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

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Appendix B - Data File

Table 1 – (1998 – 2008)

Table 2 (74) – 2005

Table 3 (74) - 2006

Table 4 (74) - 2007

Table 5 (74) - 2008

Table 6 (74) – 2009

Figure 1: Employed persons by detailed occupation and sex
2007 & 2009 annual averages

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics:

Women in the Labor Force: A Databook (2009 Edition)

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