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# Black And White Women In Blue: A Case Study Of Policewomen

Danielle Marie Teunion-Smith
*Wayne State University*

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**BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN IN BLUE:**
**A CASE STUDY OF POLICEWOMEN**

by

**DANIELLE MARIE TEUNION-SMITH**

**DISSERTATION**

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of Wayne State University,

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Approved by:

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Advisor                 Date

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## DEDICATION

For the loves of my life:

My husband Rick

And our children

Hunter and Laura

And my inspiration:

My late mother who believed in me

More than I believed in myself

Gwen Laurie Stowe

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## Chapter1

## Introduction

*"You are never going to get them women to tell you what you want. They are cops, so they are secretive; on top of that, half of them are black and you're white, and that's a double dose of nothing."*

After this comment by a retired detective friend who asked about my dissertation topic, I responded that I had been a police officer and was sure that other women officers would talk to me. He responded, "Don't matter; you're not one anymore."

His well-intentioned statement did not surprise me. Police officers are said to operate within a "code" of secrecy (Kappeler et al., 1995, Crank, 1998, 2004). This secrecy is directed at the "brass" (superior officers) and anyone who is not "on the force." Officers do not expect anyone not on the force to understand real-life police situations. This concealment or secrecy is learned during probationary status in and out-of-academy police culture.

The other issue raised by my friend concerned my race and the fact that half the subjects of my study were black policewomen. (1984:12) echoes this point when she critiques academic feminism as a "white culture" and identifies that as part of the problem in research. hooks argues that as a white female researcher, researching women of color, that I may be "concerned about racism, but not free from the paternalism endemic to white supremacist ideology." This idea was forever present in the background of my research thoughts.

During my time as a trooper there was an unspoken understanding among my working partners of what could and could not be shared with "outsiders" of policing. A seasoned, twenty-three year trooper explained it to me this way when I was a probationary trooper: "There is an unspoken agreement between us and the public. They do not understand 'real' world policing and they don't want to understand. We deal with the things that they don't want to deal with; that

is why they call us in the first place. Most of the time they don't care how it's resolved…just resolve it. So, then you deal with it and end up with Monday-morning-quarterback public or sergeants, critiquing your actions after the fact…and they don't get it."

This study examines and attempts to foster a deeper understanding of the "lived" everyday experiences, perceptions, commitment, and attitudes of African-American and white female police officers working together in a single department. Much of the historical and contemporary literature regarding women in law enforcement presupposes that white and African-American women are a single aggregate in terms of policing experiences, attitudes, and perspectives. It is often the fact that research that examines policing or law enforcement is accomplished through examining national or cross-department differentiation surveys. This masks the fact that departments, depending on size, level, location, and composition are very different. There is a certain similarity in terms of formal police structure (Crank, 2003), but it is the informal structures and the police culture that can be strikingly different (Crank, 2003; Paoline, 2003). This is an especially salient issue when you consider that females make up roughly 11% of the national law enforcement population and less than that in available research.

An additional problem when attempting to examine the literature on race and gender simultaneously is that it is neither prevalent nor available. There is research that examines policing experiences, which focus on race *or* sex differences (Bolton, 2003; Collins, 2004; National Center for Women and Policing; Pogrebin, 2001; Peak, 1997; Texiera, 2002). The focus of this research is to examine relationships, experiences, differences, behaviors, and perceptions between the black and white female officers, with the purpose of understanding possible similarities and differences. During the research stage it became obvious that the organization, environment and members with whom these women officers worked influenced and prejudiced

their policing experiences causing discontent, negativity, and troublesome interactions with each other. It is appropriate to refer to Dennison (1996) when describing "environment," which is also referred to as "climate." If climate refers to "a situation and its links to thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of organizational members, it is temporal, subjective, and often subject to direct manipulation by people with power and influence" (644). At the beginning of this research, the climate of the department in question was unknown, but became increasingly apparent as the project proceeded.

This project combines the available literature with the lived experiences of women in policing, examining the entry of women into law enforcement, their struggles of equality in a male-dominated occupation, the public perceptions and stereotypes surrounding policewomen, and the different cultural images hinging on a policewoman's race. The literature also suggests that women bring different talents to policing in the form of empathy and an ethic of care, which has not been traditionally defined as "real policing," and which often forces women officers to choose between their feminine instincts and an image of professionalism. In order to understand their present day struggles, if is necessary to know the history of women in policing.

The presence of women in policing traces back to the nineteenth century. Understanding their earliest presence in policing lays the foundation for understanding contemporary law enforcement social structure. Images of policewomen have historically been fashioned and enforced by police culture that is divided according to gender and sex. The first women to "assist" law enforcement were expected to provide religious and secular training to "fallen" women inmates and children in penal institutions. The women who were part of this institutional reform were upper-class and educated women. A majority of these imprisoned women and children had been physically and sexually abused by their male keepers (Belknap, 2001; Schultz,

1995). These early official women, known as "city mothers," were considered "morally superior" to most male officers. The women matrons were expected to remain separate from male police officers and any possible male police roles (Schultz, 1995, Balkin, 1988). Women officers or matrons were continually placed in positions of caring for women and children that had been "corrupted" by the influences of the city and men (Feinman, 1980; Schultz, 1995).

Women's law enforcement capacities and defined roles remained custodial and focused on women and juveniles well into the 1970's in the United States (Schultz, 1995).. When women started on patrol—encroaching on the male territory of policing—there was great debate about "appropriate" assignments and responsibilities based on ongoing debates concerning their skills and abilities. Several anti-discrimination laws, designed to even the playing field between men and women officers, were passed in the 1960's: the Equal Pay Act (1963), the Omnibus Civil Rights (1964), and a Safe Streets Act 1968/1973 (Schultz, 2000). Other legislation that supported women followed shortly: the 1972 Civil Rights legislation, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, as well as various affirmative action policies and court orders (Alozie & Ramirez, 1999; Lewis, 1987). These laws changed hiring policies, but they didn't change cultural perceptions and expectations, or the negative attitudes toward women entering law enforcement. The same charitable and nurturing attributes that brought women into policing in the early nineteenth century impede policewomen's acceptance into policing today. It is these defined gender characteristics, or "doing gender," that facilitate and shape the image of sexuality and procreation in our society and place women in the "other" and "difference" role (Garcia, 2003). In policing, the "other" role means other than the male model of assertiveness, independence, and physical prowess, consequently relegating women to nurturing and submissive roles (Berg & Budnick, 1986).

Contemporary and historical literature has focused largely on women's physical abilities to perform police work. The widely accepted argument that woman do not possess the necessary physical attributes (Garcia, 2003), despite evidence to the contrary, continues to undermine women's positions and roles in law enforcement. The upper-middle-class feminist is a replica of the past; contemporary policewomen are middle-class, high school educated, similar to male officers and the people they serve (Heidensohn, 1989). Research indicates that women can and do perform the role of policing as "crime fighters" just as well as their male partners (Bartlett & Rosenblum, 1977; Bell, 1982; Block and Anderson, 1974a; California Highway Patrol, 1976; Dantzker, 1998; Elias, 1984; Molden, 1985; Seligson, 1985; Sherman, 1975; Sichel, Friedman, Quint, & Smith, 1978; Townsey, 1982). The literature also indicates that even with this evidence, women have continually faced substantial opposition from male co-workers and administration (Belknap and Kastens, 1992; Berg and Budnick, 1986; Gossett and Williams, 1998; Haarr, 1997; Martin, 1991, 1994; Breci, 1997; Crank, 2004). Preoccupation with the dangerous aspects of policing and crime-fighter images mask the lack of data or research identifying routine physical demands and the level of fitness needed by officers to perform their tasks (Bell, 1982; Birzer and Craig, 1996, Gaines, Falkenbery and Gambino, 1993, Hatteberg, 1992; Jones, 1986; Paoline & Terril, 2004).

The arguments against policewomen in law enforcement all encircle what Kessler-Harris (1987) calls women's orientation or standpoint. The policewomen's orientation or standpoint is determined socio-culturally. Women are highly socialized with qualities of being supportive and nurturing, qualities which are part of the "doing gender." "Doing gender" describes the processes, practices, images, ideologies, and distribution of power that situate women with experiences and knowledge specific to her labor, race, and class (Denzin, 2000; Garcia, 2003). It

is this "doing gender" and gender norms that hinder women's acceptance or advancement in policing by males. Furthermore, when women do become police officers, they are categorized and subsequently perceived and treated differently than their male co-workers. Policewomen who are deemed competent are "defeminized" and considered threatening; those women who are traditionally feminine are considered less threatening, but also less competent and therefore rejected as partners (Hunt, 1990; Kessler-Harris, 1987: 567-568; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Walklate, 1992). Other ways that women are categorized by male police officers that minimizes women's effectiveness and value are stereotypic categories such as "seductress," "mother," "dyke," "butch," or "lesbian" (Balkin, 1988; Carlin et.al., 2009; Crank, 2004, DeJong, 2004; Fielding and Fielding, 1992; Garcia, 2003; Hale and Wyland, 1993; Hunt, 1990, Martin, 1979,1980,1989,1990, 1993; Pike, 1985; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). These categories are perpetuated and secured through a police culture that holds fast to ingrained organizational ideologies (Martin, 1990; Morash and Haarr, 1995; Worden, 1993; Crank, 2004; Lonsway, 2007). Most of these images and categories of female police officers overlap considerably.

According to Hunt (1990) and Martin & Jurik, (1996), male resistance is based on protecting male integrity in police organizations and reinforcing male bonds, usually achieved by exclusion and harassment strategies. Research also indicates that male police officer resistance is also associated with their anxiety that surfaces when gender roles and cultural values are challenged by strong women (Balkin, 1988). Additionally, male officers may prefer feminine policewomen and consider female officers with "masculine" traits not real women (Hernandez, 1982; Remmington, 1983; Walklate, 1992). Recent literature indicates that male officer acceptance of policewomen (Austin & Hummer, 1999) increases with education (Breci, 1997),

however this was refuted by Pope's (1986) evaluation which concluded that it was the officer's social orientation that influenced attitudes, not education.

The most common argument concerning the physical weakness of female officers is that males must protect them (Van Wormer, 1981). This is where the literature begins to deviate according to the race of the female officer. According to Martin (1994), stereotypic paternalistic overprotection is reserved for white policewomen. Black female officers suffer different stereotypes than their white sisters in uniform, ranging from being welfare recipients and sexual promiscuous to emasculating and uneducated (Collins, 1990; Dill, 1979; Essed, 1991; hooks, 1981; Roberts, 1994). These images of black and white female officers reflect not only the argument of physical weakness, but also the threat that women pose to the masculine police culture (Balkin, 1988; Crank, 2004; Dantzker, 1998; Garcia, 2003; Gossett and Williams, 1998; Martin, 1990; Miller, 1998; Wexler and Logan, 1983). These differences, stereotypes, and perceptions cause exclusion from networking, interaction, and the informal police culture that assist officers in their organizations (Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990; Morash and Haarr, 1995; Bennett, 1984).

There is considerable research that proves that women police officers bring advantages to and differences in policing to law enforcement. The new community policing ideals, when examined, have a feminine construct. Community policing, or community-oriented policing, entails improving relationships and fostering partnerships between the police and community by instituting foot patrols, developing problem-solving strategies, and enhancing the overall peacefulness and quality of life in neighborhoods. This is done through creating positive attitudes toward police and the creation of citizen academies of residents working with officers (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990). This emphasis on community and peaceful neighborhoods

was not part of the job description for police officers during much of law enforcement's history, which adhered to the professional crime-fighting figure that focused on solving traditional crimes, such as murder, rape, and burglary, and capturing offenders, the same traits that kept women outside of the crime-fighter model (Garcia; 2003; Miller, 1999; Sykes, 1986). This "soft" community form of policing has its critics for the same reasons females do, because it is not part of the traditional masculine policing image. New York City's former mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani criticized his city's community policing program, saying that "officers [are] doing too much social work and making too few of arrests" (Criminal Justice Newsletter, 1994).

Law enforcement traditions, ideologies, exclusions, histories, and images have a long history. Women enter the policing occupation knowing that these constructs do not include them, and understanding that they are usually considered unwelcome guests. Policewomen even understand that men create, enforce and interpret laws. Understanding all of this, women entering law enforcement continue to bring and develop different perspectives, attitudes, and broader definitions of right and wrong with them. This "outsider" world generally has a different voice, approach, construct, reaction, and sense of justice. It is because of this difference that policewomen police others and themselves categorically. This "outsider" perspective, accepted by the women, creates varied justice parameters and reactions. It is this perspective that produces a different sense of justice, or as revealed by Rabe-Hemp (2008), a sense of responsibility.

Justice was defined by Plato as a 'morality' and 'righteousness' and the quality of our souls, with a duty as individuals to conduct ourselves this way toward others. Christian morality considers justice to be the golden rule of "doing unto others as you would have them to unto you." It is often the absence of justice that defines justice best. The idea of justice for each policewoman was shaped by what they believed was a moral rightness and "the right thing to

do." Interestingly, their sense of justice was oftentimes used to describe and separate themselves from their male partners and what they considered to be traditional law enforcement standards. Because of the differences in their views of the role of the police, women tend to believe that different issues should be considered in policing. For example women are more likely to consider an "appropriate resolution" of a policing situation to include consideration by a police officer of the perspectives of the participants, and an attempt to resolve differences. These views are generally considered to be "too soft" by male officers. This differential "sense of justice" will be an important issue in discussions with female police officers.

The purpose of this study is to understand the varied police experiences and the real life decisions, attitudes, and perceptions of the black and white policewomen participants. Hopefully, through the descriptions and perceptions of these women officers, a better understanding of how women police, experience policing, and navigate as a female in a traditionally male occupation will emerge. Chapter two of this research is an in-depth literature review on women in law enforcement that illustrates the history of women's entry into the police occupation and the fundamental issues that confront women in law enforcement. Chapter three discusses the diversity of voices presented and the educational theories, such as social construction of race and gender, experiential racism, intersectional theory, stereotypes, sex-role spillover, standpoint and insider perspective, all of which have influenced and shaped how policewomen have been viewed in past research.

In chapter four, methodological approaches are discussed. This chapter also covers justification for the research, data collection, instrumentation, confidentiality, data analysis, limitations and assumptions. The chapter starts with an explanation for interest in this topic, followed by descriptions of the face-to-face interviews and responses. This sample of fourteen

policewomen, seven black and seven white, provided a unique opportunity to listen to how gender and race created similarity and diversity between and among the policewomen participants. The approach of each case study was not to generalize, but to appreciate the case within its own world. It is the dynamics of the policewomen's race and gender that seem to shape their exclusions, discrimination, images, stereotypes, attitudes and perspectives.

Chapter six focuses on themes, perspectives and reactions that were derived from the policewomen's interviews. In this chapter the black and white policewomen discuss family obligations and being a mother, while at the same time being a police officer. The policewomen also discuss how the organizational culture of law enforcement supports masculine values and does not support family obligations and expectations. In chapter six African-American policewomen discuss their marginality and the prevalence of racism and sexism in their police department. The black policewomen describe this marginality as a "double whammy" or "double jeopardy." Furthermore, this chapter addresses affirmative action perceptions and reverse discrimination lawsuits that are currently happening in their department. The last part of this chapter explores how the possible internal and external experiences and cultural underpinnings, comingled with gender and race, define women's justice positions, policing roles, challenges, and perceptions.

There were five research questions and areas that helped form the basis and focus of this study. The questions are broad, and at times overlapping, but they were an attempt to add missing information about possible differences between black and white policewomen's policing perspectives, attitudes, and policing positions.

1. Do generalized or widely shared cultural stereotypes/images/representations of African-American and white policewomen in law enforcement differ from each other?

2. Do African-American and white policewomen have similar or different advantages and disadvantages in law enforcement?

3. African-American women come to policing with race and gender differences; when does the (race and gender) combination contribute to disadvantage or advantage in law enforcement?

4. Do African-American and white female police officers feel that they experience discrimination within their departments in the same way?

5. Do policewomen's distinctive vantage points (gender/race), both culturally and in policing, create a different sense of justice in policing?

These five research questions attempted to get to the center of how white and black policewomen see and describe their policing perspectives and selves. We often describe and understand ourselves as compared to others. We understand our positions and determine our paths based on advantage and disadvantage throughout our lives. Law enforcement is a traditionally male occupation and the structure, rules, policies, uniforms, laws, and training are enforced by males, primarily white males. Black and white policewomen learn and understand these power dynamics when they enter the law enforcement profession; it is how they decide to define themselves, compared to male counterparts and each other, that creates their sense of self, responsibility and justice.

As mentioned, the research questions, broad and overlapping, was an attempt to ask the questions in several different ways that would allow the policewomen to contribute their

perspectives on many levels. The first research question explored whether the generalized cultural images, representations and stereotypes were different in policing for black and white policewomen. This question provoked a complex array of feelings and descriptions, generally based on the woman's race. There were significant views of how Black female and White female officers felt about each other's positions, attitudes, perceptions, and status in policing. This question is listed as number one, but was often discussed later in the interviews.

The second research question addresses whether black or white policewomen have different advantages or disadvantages based on their race. Interestingly enough, affirmative action was brought up by both black and white women. There have been numerous affirmative action lawsuits in recent years, including one in the department under study. Although it was never described explicitly by any of the policewomen as a current problem, the lawsuit was well known and mentioned often. Other issues continually brought up by both black and white policewomen were the political nature of the department and the belief that most positions and promotions were based on the color of the mayor and the chief of police. This department currently has an open reverse discrimination class action suit that seems to be a new wedge between the black and white officers, male and female.

The third research question addresses whether African-American policewomen have more advantages or disadvantages in law enforcement. There is literature that indicates that there is a belief that black females have greater advantage in law enforcement in regard to hiring and promotion because they are both African-American and female, thus assisted by affirmative action policies. This was mentioned by both black and white female officers.

The fourth research question received some interesting comments by both black and white policewomen. This question asked the policewomen who they believed experienced

discrimination in their department the most, black or white females. Do they feel equally disadvantaged? Or does each group have a different perspective in this regard.

The last research question addresses whether race and/or gender creates a different sense of justice in policing. Several of the policewomen described themselves as "outsiders" during these explanations of justice. This "outsider" world was generally described as a different voice, approach, construct, and set of expectations enveloped by their gender. What is a different voice? How do the policewomen describe different expectations and approaches based on their gender?

<u>Need for study:</u>

It is important to listen and hear black and white policewomen's voices on several issues within the traditionally male domain of policing. The policewomen's voices describe their roles and perceptions and ultimately create their policing positions, perspectives, and/or sense of justice/responsibility. The research approach is a feminist case study of black and white policewomen. The three purposes of feminist case studies, besides generating theory, are to analyze change of phenomenon over time, to analyze the significance of a phenomenon for future events, and lastly to analyze the relation among parts of a phenomenon (Reinharz, 1992, p.164).

The numerous ways that female officers could benefit law enforcement also need to be explored. There are arguments that diversity, specifically gender and race, in the police workforce would encourage tolerance in interactions with a diverse community, promote trust and fairness in policing, improve cooperation with police and a fusion of standpoints and ideas on what doing "good" police work is for these officers (National Research Council, 2004; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Miller (1999) argues that increasing the number of women in law enforcement improves community relations and parallels the "friendly and service-oriented"

ideals of community policing. An outside and controversial reason for more women in policing would be the economic rational. The National Center of Women Police (NCWP) suggests that the cost to taxpayers for excessive liability lawsuits by male officers would be lessened with the addition of an equal number of female officers (Heidensohn, 2003:29). This same idea of increased presence and numbers of women officers limiting corruption, misconduct, and mismanagement was uncovered in the Fitzgerald Report (1989), an Australian research project which referred to women as "change agents" able to erode the existing "police code."

Such salient issues as policewomen's exclusions, distortions, erasures, discrimination, stereotypes, harassment, images, and missing information define the shape and enforcement of their policing, perspectives, attitudes, and sense of justice. A significant problem of creating and maintaining a diverse police workforce, with increased representation of racial minorities and women is that these individuals receive, or more importantly, perceive unequal treatment. It is these perceptions that lead to negative outcomes, employee turnover, deterring people from the field, absenteeism, lawsuits, poor productivity and personal officer consequences (Anderson, Litzenberger, & Plecas, 2002; Crank, Regoli, Hewitt, & Culbertson, 1995; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Haarr & Morash, 1999; Peak, 1997; Texeira, 2002). All of these relevant issues are covered in the following chapters.

Limitations and Assumptions:

The findings in this research should be evaluated according to the methodological limitations. This was a qualitative case study of black and white policewomen in a chosen police department. There are several limitations that exist in this research, including limited existing literature, difficulty getting participants, researcher's race and assumptions, sample dynamics, insider bias, secretiveness, and methodological design. These limitations are discussed in depth

in chapter four. As well intentioned as this research was executed, there is always the tendency to isolate and separate people with common experiences because of race and cultural experiences. The research objective was to confront and acknowledge African-American and white policewomen's experiences and perspectives, without claiming or over-generalizing a theory of injustice or inequality among them. The research is limited to white (Caucasian) and black (African-American) female police officers. This research is modeled to study only black and white policewomen, thus it is limited in understanding other women of color within law enforcement.

My race is considered a limitation within this research. bell hooks (1884:12) stated her disapproval of this very effort by stating, "Even though they [white researchers] may be sincerely concerned about racism, their methodology suggests they are not yet free of the type of paternalism endemic to white supremacist ideology." I was conscientious in my attempts to eliminate barriers in this study in regard to my race. In addition to my race, there were limitations in regard to the research sample due to lack of participation, age of policewomen participants, various shifts worked by the responding women, and family situations [all but one female had children]. All the policewomen in this research had a minimum of eleven years and a maximum of twenty-six years in law enforcement. The median age of the policewomen [range = 30 – 51] was 39 years old. It can be argued that a younger sample, with less years of experience and no children, would yield very different responses and themes. The dynamics of this sample were partially shaped by the unstable economic conditions of the state.

An additional limitation for feminist qualitative researchers is the question of "voice" and, by implication, the nature of the participant's account. Merely letting the tape recorder run and presenting the respondent's voice does not overcome the problem of representation. During

the research I continually analyzed the policewomen's voices, attempting to place them within specific contexts. Even using several follow-up conversations for accuracy of their framed voices, some nuances and/or ideas of what the policewomen conveyed may be lost in my translation of their voices.

An additional limitation, which can also be considered an advantage, is having an "insider" perspective, having previously been a policewoman. The research advantage of insider gained me easier access and the ability of entering the interview in a conversational tone and understanding familiar issues and situations discussed by the policewomen. The insider advantage can also create unwanted prejudices by carrying over personal biases from previous law enforcement experience. Lorber (2005) criticized the insider reliance on knowledge by stating that knowledge can be "severely shaken" if it is assumed that women understand all other women because they are women. This is especially a salient issue when examining African-American policewomen as a white female researcher. Even employing the insider perspective to acquire more quality information than would be available otherwise, there was some degree of secrecy from several policewomen because of my non-police status. According to Crank (1998, 2004), police see themselves as outsiders, different from citizens, apart and special. Despite these limitations, the research presents an approach to studying African-American and white policewomen in a different way, which prior research has referred to as being needed.

Even after listing and considering the limitations of this particular study, it doesn't take away from the very valid descriptions, perceptions, attitudes, and truths that were revealed by the valiant policewomen who participated in this study. These truths, within the confines of university and research guidelines, contributed to their "real life" stories, which I write today. The participant's secretiveness, the validity of research findings, the way their voices are framed,

and the possible bias posed by being an "insider" or limited by race—these factors will always change and reshape conclusions. What is important is to continually use these collective accounts to stretch the boundaries for future research.

## Chapter 2

## Literature On policewomen

Over the past 25 years, there has been a considerable amount of literature written about the history of women's entry into law enforcement. Other areas covered to some extent are studies that discuss the attitudes of the public, male police officers' opinions about women officers, training differences and physical strength, and policing histories. It has only been recently that the object of attention, women in policing, has been of interest for study, including their attitudes, beliefs, and stressors. The identities of policewomen have been shaped and understood through the reflection of social structures and the context of policing, which is divided by gender. After reviewing the literature, it is obvious that there is a considerable gap in the literature on women in policing in the area of women of color and possible policing differences.

There is limited research that describes African-American women's entry into policing. The current literature and studies available that examine race within law enforcement show that there is still considerable prejudice and discrimination within the occupation of policing (Burns, 1985; del Carmen et. al, 2007; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Teahan, 1975; Kuykendall and Leinen, 1984; Martin, 1994; Palmiotto, 2005; Texeira, 2002). A brief look at white women's entry into policing is significant because the way women entered policing has contributed to the prevailing attitudes formed about them. Early studies and contemporary literature indicate that women entering a traditionally male occupation have faced a significant amount of opposition from white males, along with discriminatory hiring practices (Carlin, 2009; Crank, 2004; Franklin, 2005; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Kanter, 1977; Schultz, 1995, 2000).

The history of women in policing can be traced back to the nineteenth century. Quaker women entered the penal institutions to provide religious and secular training for women inmates. Their concerns of neglect and sexual exploitation by male keepers evolved into a new profession for women—prison matrons (Schultz, 1995). It was the abuse, physical and sexual, suffered at the hands of male keepers that caused women to be assigned to police departments for supervision of women and children in custody. The women entering these fields were upper-middle class, college educated, and native born, assisting poor, immigrant women, undesirables, and children. "City mothers" was the label assigned to these specialized social workers (Balkin, 1988; Schultz, 1995). The purpose of women in this role was to aid and assist police officers, not replace them.

It was women's "city mother" role and the historical period that stressed the moral superiority of women over men. These women keepers wanted to be separate from male police officers and elements of the police world they viewed as hampering their mission. They saw their role as above policemen, based on both gender and class, and they consciously sought to be peripheral and accept assignments men did not want (Levine, 1994; Schulz, 2000:375). There were African-American policewomen, a minority within a minority, hired to work with African-American women and juveniles, sharing many of the same characteristics as their white sisters. They, too, were better educated than the average African-American man or woman, holding some status in their segregated neighborhoods (Schulz, 1995, 2000).

These women reformers were aware of the poor conditions under which these "fallen women" served their prison terms; they attributed a large portion of the neglect to the fact that men supervised the female inmates, and many became pregnant by other male inmates or male keepers (Schulz, 1995, 2000). Considering this background and the motives of the women who

first entered police work, it is not surprising that policewomen were regarded as specialized social workers. Clarice Feinman (1980), who has chronicled the history of women in corrections, stated that these women reformers believed that women criminals could be saved if they were removed from the corrupting influences of cities and men.

Early policewomen had to meet higher standards for employment than men did, received lower wages, and were restricted to special units, which were either clerical, juvenile, guard duty and vice work (Schulz, 1985). Their only promotional opportunities were within their own special units and they were not permitted to take the same promotional test as male police officers. Probably most detrimental to achieving success in policing, women were not allowed to perform basic patrol duties, thus eliminating them from the experience needed to advance in policing (Price and Galvin, 1982).

It was not until the 1950s that assignments and responsibilities for women police officers expanded, bringing a different type of woman to policing. These postwar women were middle-class careerists, not upper-class feminists or child-savers. Policewomen's duties remained custodial and focused on females and juveniles into the 1970's. Internal and external factors finally altered the perception of women in law enforcement. The passage of civil rights legislation in 1972 allowed women to be part of actual road patrol. There were a number of laws and orders that prohibited discrimination based on sex, race, color, religion, and national origin that came to the forefront in the early 1960's. The 1963 Equal Pay Act passed by Congress was followed by the Omnibus Civil Rights Law's Title VII in 1964, the 1969 Executive order 11478 issued by President Richard Nixon, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and an amended version in 1973, along with the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

(LEAA). All of these promotional rights and legislative supports helped policewomen, in theory, to move forward in policing (McCoy, 1993; Schultz, 2000).

Balkin (1988) and Bell (1982) attribute negative attitudes toward policewomen to the ways in which women entered policing. There is little doubt that early policewomen were assigned to handle children and their problems because of the female nurturing role and cultural expectations. Hale (1992) states it is a role which coincides with societal values that made women responsible for children growing up to be good citizens. It is these "special" charity skills of dealing with women and children that have possibly undercut arguments for equality in general police work. Women have, and still do, face obstacles in being accepted as police officers.  It is this role of "other" that Garcia (2003:331) believes is a gender characteristic defined as social achievements and shaped by societal modes of organizing sexuality and procreation.

Women not suited for police work and studies to the contrary:

Historical and contemporary images of women in policing portray them as physically and emotionally unfit for police work, except in limited circumstances, such as working with female offenders, victims, and children (Berg & Budnick, 1986; Franklin, 2005; Grennan, 2000; Martin, 1995; Schultz, 1995; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). These debates began when women started encroaching on traditionally male duties of patrol. Several police departments have taken it upon themselves to test and study the issue of women in policing throughout the years. The research conducted by these departments concluded, in general, that policemen and policewomen performed similarly. No differences were found in performance in situations where citizens were agitated or where there were indications of danger; policing style; interactions with citizens; self-control; activities

restraining violent citizens; types of arrests or conviction rates; and performance ratings by supervisors (Balkin, 1988; Carlan, 2009; Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

Contemporary literature has focused primarily on women's physical, mental, and emotional capabilities to perform police work. There is a considerable amount of research that has tested these prescribed female limitations, which indicate that women are as capable as men to perform the job as a police officer. This research indicates that women continually face substantial opposition from their male co-workers and administration (Belknap and Kastens 1992; Berg and Budnick 1986; Charles 1982; Felkenes and Schroedel 1993; Gaines, Falkenberg and Gambino 1993; Gossett and Williams 1998; Gould and Funk 1995; Haarr 1997; Martin 1991, 1994; Morash and Haarr 1995; Nichols 1995; Sass 1999; Worden 1993; Crank, 1998; Miller, 199; Garcia, 2003; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). One of the first studies, by Bloch and Anderson (1974a), delineated women's capabilities in patrol work along with citizen satisfaction with policewomen (Sherman 1975, Townsey 1982), favorable evaluations from police chiefs (Seligson, 1985), exemplary academic performance (Elias, 1984), successful physical training and handling of violent confrontations (Herrington, 1997; Martin, 1980; Martin & Jurick, 1996; Moldon, 1985; Paoline & Terrill, 2004).

Traditionally, it has been the opinion and assumptions of many male police officers that women are not physically or psychologically strong enough to meet the demands of the police profession (Archbold, 2008; Balkin 1988; Belcamp and Kastens 1992; Bell 1982; Breci 1997; Carlin, 2009; Cuadrado 1995; Lord 1986; Martin 1979, 1994, 1997; Nichols 1995; Niederhoffer, 1978). Evidence suggests that this perception is incorrect. Many of these assumptions and the opinions of male officers can be traced back to established police culture (Crank, 1998, 2004; Fielding, 1994; Herrington, 1997; Martin and Jurik, 1996). There have been numerous studies of

policewomen on patrol which evaluate their effectiveness and refute the claim that substantial strength is needed to perform the duties of a police officer (Bell, 1982; Dantzker, 1998). It should be noted that there are several researchers who criticize the need for physical strength in police officers. Previous research is quite dated and the focus is usually centered on excessive force and/or inappropriate force.

One of the first studies of female police officers' patrols was done in 1973 in Washington D.C. It was a study to evaluate policewomen's effectiveness. Eighty-six newly trained female officers and 86 newly trained policemen were matched for experience (they came from the same training classes), general backgrounds of education and similar civil service test scores. The patrol evaluations of the male and female officers lasted for one year. The study found that men and women performed patrol work in a generally similar manner and had similar results handling violent citizens. The differences observed were that women made fewer arrests and issued fewer traffic citations. The women seemed more effective than the men in defusing potentially violent situations and were evaluated as less aggressive. The men were more often guilty of unbecoming conduct (Bloch and Anderson, 1973, 1974).

The next major study was the St. Louis County Police Department in 1975. The study evaluated policewomen patrolling alone in a suburban area. The findings were that women performed patrol duties as well as men and there were no critical incidents where women were reported unable to do their job satisfactorily. Among the differences reported was that the women's policing style was less aggressive and citizens felt policewomen handled domestic fights better than policemen (Stalans & Finn, 2000; Sherman 1975).

An evaluation done in New York City in 1978 was comparable to Bloch and Anderson (1973, 1974) and St. Louis County Police Department in methodological sophistication and

thoroughness.  Forty-one policemen and 41 policewomen were studied for seven months. In general, the study found the policemen and policewomen performed similarly. The concluding research indicated that there were no differences found in their performance in situations where citizens were agitated or where there was indication of danger. Observed differences were that policemen did more strenuous work and were better shots. The policewomen made fewer arrests and took more sick time (Sichel, 1978).

The New York City Police Department in their 1983 study showed that male officers expressed their opinion that women lack the physical strength, stamina, and aggressiveness necessary to handle a violent confrontation.  Yet the research indicated that the female officer participated in strenuous activities at almost the same rate as the male officers.  The study was comprised of male/male, male/female, and female/female patrol teams from January 1, 1983, to December 31, 1983. Violent confrontations of three-hundred and ninety one male and female patrol officers were examined for injuries to officers. The results indicated that 207 males and 184 females were injured. These findings were not significant. The women officers were not hurt any more than their male partners were. This finding is contrary to the expectations or perceptions within law enforcement in the United States (Bell 1982; Martin 1980).  This study also found that women police officers, in most cases, are far more emotionally stable than their male counterpart, lack a need to project the "macho" image, and were less likely to discharge their firearms than their male partners.

Additional significant studies which have produced no important differences between policemen and policewomen regarding physical force include Pennsylvania State Police 1973; California Highway Patrol, 1976; Denver Police Department, 1976-77; Dayton Police Department 1976; The International Criminal Police Organization, 1978; Illinois State Troopers

1978; Los Angeles Police Department, 1983; and Philadelphia Police Department, 1980. Finally, there have been three major national reports on police since World War II, all of which recommended hiring more women (U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968; U.S. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973; U. S. President's Commission, 1968).

The image of policing portrayed through popular television shows and movies is a crime fighting occupation, fraught with hand-to-hand combat, violent fights, and multiple gun battles per shift. This crime fighting image, which highlights a tough masculine, aggressive, violent, physical strength, emotional detachment, and a striking difference between good and bad, situates this as an occupation that is based on physical strength. It is this socially constructed image of law enforcement as masculine that creates dominance for men and subordination for women.  Police organizations are sites of hegemonic masculinity as evidenced by the division of labor relegating policewomen to "women's issues" (Barlow &Barlow, 2000; Crank, 1998; Garcia, 2003; Schultz, 1995). This hegemonic masculinity in policing is preserved through authority, heterosexism, displays of force, and subordination of women (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). According to Davis & Rouse (2004),  women who adopt a "women's work" mentality in policing are maintaining law enforcement hegemonic masculinity; those women who challenge policing roles are isolated and harassed (Garcia, 2003; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990; Miller, 1999;  Kessler-Harris, 1987, 1990; Wood, Davis & Rouse, 2004), and are not respected as equals by their male partners (Garcia, 2003; Jones, 1986; Paoline & Terrill, 2004; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Worden, 1993).

What exactly is the police job?

      As mentioned previously, the media has tainted the public's perception of what true policing entails on a daily basis. The socially constructed image of policing as a constant battle between good and evil is fodder for television. Estimates are that 80 to 90 percent of a police officer's time is spent on non-criminal or service functions requiring a minimal amount of physical strength or activity (Bell, 1982). The patrol capabilities of female officers have been under serious study since the 1970's. These studies, addressed earlier, looked at the advantages and disadvantages of hiring women on an equal basis with men and the effects of employing women. None of the research reported incidents that cast doubt on women's ability to perform patrol work satisfactorily. It is also suggested, in a majority of the studies cited, that women were respected by the public, often had more positive dealings with crime victims, and were less aggressive, thus receiving fewer complaints (Balkin, 1988; Bell, 1982; Breci, 1997; Carlan, 2009; Homant, 1983; Kennedy &; McDowell, 1992; Leger, 1997; Rabe-Hemp, 2007, 2008). It is significant to note that there was no mention of race in regards to women in the referenced evaluations performed by police departments. The research did not indicate any race difference among the evaluated women.

      Unfortunately, there is little scientific effort directed at assessing the physical demands of policing or the degree of fitness needed by officers to perform their task as police officers. The lack of quantitative data on the physical requirements of policing has allowed qualitative judgments, which remain tainted by male police officer's preoccupation with the dangerous aspects of policing (Charles 1981; Crank, 1998; Garcia, 2003). While there is modest scientific research identifying the physical attributes needed to be a patrol officer, there are numerous indications suggesting that the job of a patrol officer is mostly a sedentary occupation. Research

on the physical use of force among women, compared to males, suffers from small samples (Morash and Greene, 1986) and is somewhat dated.

The leading reason, as mentioned earlier, given by police officers for their negative attitudes towards policewomen is the women's relative lack of physical strength. Research has not indicated that physical strength is related to police functioning or that it is necessary for officers to manage a dangerous situation successfully (Bell 1982; Birzer and Craig 1996; Charles 1981, 1982; Gaines, Falkenberg and Gambino 1993; Hatteberg 1992; Miller, 1999). One must assume that the policemen who complain about the insufficient strength of policewomen are doing so on the basis of their beliefs.

It seems that the argument is not really about policewomen being able to do the job, but the general resistance to women doing this job. Other studies have suggested that there are alternatives preferable to physical strength within policing. Horne (1980) states that the evidence does not support the assumption that strength equals police officer safety. Agility and dexterity may be more important; even the ability to defuse a violent situation through communication is preferable to strength. There is police literature that indicates that policewomen are more skilled at de-escalating violence as a result of their communication and verbal skills (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Bell, 1982; Lonsway, 2001; Martin & Jurick, 1996; Miller, 1998). Community policing has started to challenge the physical strength and might of policing by promoting new models of policing, such as foot patrol, public relations, and problem solving. These were not part of the traditional crime fighting tools of the past. It is the feminine traits necessary for community policing that are now embraced by some in law enforcement (Miller, 1999; Moore & Trojanowicz, 1998; Garcia, 2003). Recent research has argued that women may be better qualified for these community policing tasks because they are traditionally better communicators

and problem solvers (Grant, 2000; Lonsway, 2001; Wood, & Spiller, 2002). With the advent of community policing, zero tolerance, and problem-solving-policing, there have been many shifts in law enforcement ideology and changes to training. It can be argued that even through all the changes in policing, the roles and expectations of policewomen have not changed that much.

Police physical agility testing:

The diversity of policing roles makes it difficult to classify the physical nature of the job. Several studies have suggested that most police departments implement physical standards testing which does not reflect the actual physical tasks personnel will perform on the job, favors male applicants, and has an adverse impact on female applicants (Charles 1982; Birzer and Craig 1996; Potts 1983; Gaines, Falkenberg and Gambino, 1993; Sass 1999). The police have long considered their vocation physically demanding and unsuitable for women, thus justifying strength in the selection process (Carlan, 2009; Crank, 2004; Cuadrado, 1995; Felkenes & Schroedel, 1993; Morash & Haarr, 1995). Police officers are occasionally called to fight resisting suspects, pull people from cars and chase fleeing suspects. On the other hand, they also spend large amounts of time sitting at desks or in patrol cars completing reports and simply observing or communicating. This diversity makes it difficult to classify the physical nature of police work and to develop physical agility selection criteria that effectively distinguish applicants who can adequately perform the job from those who cannot (Maher, 1988).

Initially police departments implemented height and weight requirements as a mechanism by which police screened applicants. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act 1964 essentially eliminated the height requirements. Such requirements tended to discriminate against female and some ethnic applicants. The decision in *Vanguard Justice Society v. Hughes (1979)* concluded that Baltimore's minimum height requirement of 5'7'' excluded 95 percent of the female

population while eliminating 32 percent of the male population. In the case of *Dorthard v. Rawlinson* (1977: 433 US 321), the US Supreme Court encouraged occupations with specific physical demands to develop physical ability or agility tests that were objective, realistic and nondiscriminatory.

Martin (1990) found that by 1990, 80 percent of municipal departments and 84 percent of state-level departments replaced height and weight requirements with some other physical agility or fitness screening. This process has been slow and achieved strictly through court decisions. Generally the departments took one of two directions in fitness screening: athletic type examinations or performance-based agility screening. The athletic exam consisted of push-ups, sit-ups, pull-ups, balance test, and running. These examinations do not sample job tasks, and only infer strength to perform the job. The performance-based agility screening consists of events that simulate actual events or activities. The physical agility tests, however, encountered a number of gender discrimination problems and litigation. The tests washed out a much larger percentage of female applicants than males.

Numerous court cases focused on the issue of a department's validation process and link to the job of police officer. In *Officers for Justice v. Civil Service of San Francisco* (1975), the department's physical agility test resulted in only two of 166 eligible female applicants passing, while 573 of the 906 eligible male applicants passed. Another critical issue relative to physical agility tests is how passing scores are determined. The courts have demanded that physical requirements be related to "job performance." In many cases, the "experts" would review the performance of the incumbents and applicants and then make "intuitive" decisions.

There are those critical incidents that will result in the saving or loss of human life, but improved training measures and the incorporation of maintenance fitness programs for women

and men could prepare individuals of both sexes for police work.  While women generally may not be as physically strong as men, they can train to achieve a level of fitness well within the normal demands of the policing profession. Training should be designed with specificity in mind. Alongside this is an effort to motivate officers to train for fitness and maintain a fitness program. As a side note, researchers have discovered that officers injured or killed in the line of duty are not victims because of a lack of physical strength, but rather due to circumstances beyond their control, or because of poor judgment (Charles, 1981).

Other Measures which Hold Women Back:

In policing, supervisors at all levels are selected from a pool of officers within the department and rise from the ranks through standardized written and oral examinations. The importance of prior experience, supervisor recommendation, informal political influence, and networking vary across departments. Some male officers regard themselves as victims of affirmative action programs, which resulted in some promotions in which the woman scored lower than they did on the exam. Normally not mentioned were the inequalities that arise from assignments attributable to informal sponsorship by powerful mentors or from membership in "old boy networks."  Thus the instrument of discrimination is the decision-making process related to a specific opportunity or position, particularly when there are formalized rules that award advantage to a class rather than individuals (Acker 1990; Garcia, 2003; Heidensohn, 1992; Sims, 2003).

Studies have shown that both men and women enter policing for similar reasons: a desire to help other people, pay, and job security (Carpenter and Raza, 1987; Gould and Funk, 1995; Inwald and Shusman, 1984; Kremmel & Gormley, 2003; Lonsway, 2007; Meagher and Yentes, 1986; Worden, 1993; Yim & Schafer, 2009).  Policewomen have not been and are not judged by

the same standards as men, especially when attempting to enter a profession traditionally held by men. It is the stereotypes, images, and myths about what is considered "men's work" and "women's work," that continually hinder policewomen and their goal of being successful police officers (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

According to Kessler-Harris (1987) women's orientation, or standpoint, is determined socio-culturally. They have not entered the labor market with individualistic, achievement orientations. Her research attributes this to historical perceptions and images of women as highly socialized with qualities of being supportive and nurturing. This "doing gender" is always relevant to social interaction and defines women and men's work through gendered activities. Gendered institutions, such as policing, are institutions that have symbols of gender in its processes, practices, images, ideologies, and distributions of power. These very processes and practices of gender norms help to keep women out of male occupations by refusing to see women as competent and assist in lack of recruitment and women in the occupation (Martin and Jurik, 1996; Jurik and Martin, 2001; Kessler-Harris, 1990: 567-568). Since policing is considered very gender specific and creates policies and informal practices based on this gender specificity, policewomen face dilemmas and barriers that start in the academy and continue throughout their careers (Morash and Haarr, 1995).

There are role dilemmas in policing that shape women and define them, such as women who are deemed competent partners, but are "defeminized" and often threatening, and traditionally feminine women, who are less competent and liked better, but are still rejected as partners (Bell 1982; Berg and Budnick, 1986; Carlin, 2009; Carpenter, 1986; Franklin, 2005; Gross, 1984; Lonsway, 2007; Martin, 1979, 1980; Miller, 1999; Pike, 1985). Jacobs (1987) found that female officers who stated they are close to the male officers defined "close" in

several different ways including: imagined as a sister, treated as a woman and not as a police officer, and seen as a mother figure. Each of these reflects traditional male-female relations. This is consistent with what Hunt (1990) suggested concerning male officers' failure to view women as co-workers: Men resolve the ambiguity of women's presence by placing them into stereotypic categories such as "seductress," "mother," or "lesbian."

These categorizations that are constructed in the law enforcement realm help to safeguard familiar interaction between the dominants (white males) and the tokens (Archbold, & Schultz, 2008; Jurik, 1988; Yoder, 1991). This ambiguity in categorizing female officers is supported by much literature (Fielding and Fielding, 1992; Garcia, 2003; Hale and Wyland, 1993; Hunt, 1984; Martin, 1979, 1980, 1989, 1990). It is noted by Hunt (1990) that these assumed female roles are fluid and situational, depending on behavioral negotiations and reactions from policemen.

Most of the categories that attempt to place policewomen in types are bipolar and overlap considerably. These classifications are based on seen characteristics which overlook why women joined or belong to different groups. Lanier (1996) explores these typologies, looking at policewomen's particular experiences and stresses found in contemporary policing, looking past the simplistic one-dimensional depictions to create realistic typologies. Lanier (1996) categorizes policewomen, including education, motivation for entering policing, length of employment and ambitions for career. The three separate groups comprise pioneers (first female officers), settlers officers of 70s and 80s), and opportunists (present day female officers). These categories were surprisingly accurate in terms of this research. It is the continued persistence of stereotypic categories that devalue policewomen, and are often a means of attempting to control them (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

In Black and White:

Stereotypic paternalistic overprotection is reserved for white policewomen (Martin, 1994), as is sexualization (MacCorquodale and Jensen, 1993). African-American women firefighters, like African-American policewomen, reported dealing with different stereotypes than their white female partners, often being viewed as welfare recipients and "beasts of burden" (Dill, 1979). Martin (1994) states that black policewomen do not have any expectations of being accepted by white male officers by "being one of the boys." This strategy of being one of the boys is an attempt to go out after work together, have drinks, tell war stories, and criticize supervisors. White females, in policing and in the military, are more welcome to play the game of "being one of the boys" in order to be part of the blue circle. This is not an option for most black female officers. White policewomen also seem to distance themselves from black policewomen, providing themselves opportunity to align themselves with white male officers with racial similarity. There is a general lack of gender solidarity among women in policing (Martin, 1992, 1994, 1996).

The stereotypes and myths surrounding women in general, and policewomen in particular, are that women are physically and emotionally weaker, difficult to supervise, poor supervisors, sick every month during menstruation, more apt to cry, expect special treatment, become sexually and romantically involved with their partners and are more likely to use deadly force (Hunt, 1990; Koenig, 1978; Martin, 1980;; Martin & Jurik, 1996; Molden 1985; Palombo, 1992). Research has also found that policemen do not feel that policewomen are competent for "police tasks" or are as capable as their male counterparts (Carlan, 2009; Pope and Pope, 1986; Rabe-Hemp, 2007, 2008). Alongside these issues, researchers also indicate that black and white policewomen are considered a threat to the "masculinity" of police officers (Balkin, 1988; Garcia, 2003; Wexler and Logan, 1983).

White and black policewomen must learn to survive in an environment where they are expected to fail and where they are implicitly or explicitly told they are not wanted (Bell, 1982; Hunt, 1990; Lonsway, 2007; Martin, 1980). The police occupational culture preserves a combined set of traditional Anglo-American masculine values (Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). The stereotypical police culture often accepts violence as a means of resolving disputes and promotes competition to establish formal and informal hierarchies of authority and dominance (Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990). It supports displays of masculinity, sexism, and aggression (Barlow & Barlow, 2000; Crank, 1998, 2004; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Garcia, 2003; Hunt, 1990; Kraska and Kappeler, 1995; Martin 1990), and typically, others, such as women, African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians, are not welcome into the informal policing culture (Bennett, 1984; Crank, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1990; Palmiotto, 2005).

Researchers have found that women and racial minorities who enter policing face sexist and racist attitudes to the extreme of sexual and racial discrimination and harassment, along with exclusion from the informal police culture and interaction (Bennett, 1984; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990; Morash and Haarr, 1995). Martin (1990), Morash and Haarr (1995), and Worden (1993), agree that the link between the sexist, masculine, organizational ideology of policing and cultural barriers affects women's integration into policing. There is a police subculture in which police officers make choices within an organizational setting that defines their mores and norms—the police occupational culture (Crank, 1998, 2004).

Albert Cohen (1955) defined the idea of "subculture" in his analysis of youth street gangs. He defined gangs as "part of, but set off from, the dominant American culture." It seems fitting to include Smith and Gray's (1983) "cult of masculinity" that pervades the police officer's working personality. This would include "manliness" activities such as heavy drinking, physical

tests of courage, and the exclusion of female officers who challenge the subculture. In short, the police subculture of masculinity is only a microcosm of general masculine attitudes found in society. Although police forces do not "produce" these attitudes, they certainly have a tendency to reproduce them (Crank, 1998, 2004).

<u>"Difference"</u>

Traditionally, there are three categories of how justice is defined when considering individuals and government. There is communicative justice, which has to do with relations between individuals and one-on-one transactions; distributive justice refers to the government and social benefits and burdens; and lastly, legal justice defines an individual's obligations to society (Brady, 1998). These three categories fail to take into consideration the multifaceted present-day relationships that necessitate justice today. The justice that speaks to this study is a form of interpersonal justice, our responsibility to others and social justice, with responsibility for the well being of the vulnerable (powerless, victims of crime, poor etc.) through the critique of established social structures and social institutions (Brady, 1998:94). In this research women police officers speak of being different and defining how they police differently than their male partners. It is this idea that speaks to a possibly different sense of justice or responsibility.

The feminine constructs and perceptions of justice or responsibility are quite evident within the new genre of policing called "community policing." Considerable research has shown that policewomen bring advantages to policing, such as improved relations with and support from the citizens, a less aggressive policing style, and desirable traits and behavior, including their responses to rape victims, juveniles, and battered women (Bell, 1982; Carlan, 2009; Garcia, 2003; Grennan, 1987; Rabe-Hemp, 2007, 2008). According to Palombo (1992),

research has indicated policewomen are as capable as their male partners and in many settings are better at the actual job of policing.

Men create, enforce, and interpret laws. Missing from these interpretations and definitions are policewomen, who bring different perspectives, attitudes, and definitions of their own. This creates an outsider's critical perspective, which may engender women's greater empathy for subordinated groups and their learned attention to caring, in general, and relationships (Miller, 1998; West, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987; Rabe-Hemp, 2007, 2008). There is a need to examine the relevance of the female's different voice, responsibility, and sense of justice within policing. The belief that women and men approach police work differently is not a new argument, but the implications of difference on institutional culture, effectiveness and public perceptions, can be positive or negative.

The "difference hypothesis" asserts that with a greater number of women in the legal system, change will be positive, and an increasing number of female officers will create substantive positive change in police work at both the organizational and individual levels (Garcia, 2003; Menkel-Meadow, 1987; Rabe-Hemp, 2007, 2008). Martin (1980, 1990) also discusses how women's greater role flexibility, drawing from feminine and masculine ways of communicating, would have a positive impact on policing. Lunnebory (1989) and DeCarlo (1985) reiterate this by stating that female police officers' different style of policing fits the current policing philosophy, from crime control to more of an emphasis on community oriented communication and preventive approaches. This approach, women as different, has historically been a negative for women in the male-dominated occupation of law enforcement and now perceived as a different policing style.

The idea of difference and justice was also put to the test in a survey of female officers—

85% believed that there were gender differences in the way female and male officers perform work; there were responses stating that female officers are "more communicative, less violent, and more respectful of citizens than policemen" (Belknap and Shelley, 1992; Garcia, 2003). Contemporary research supports the supposition that gender stereotypes, both favorable and unfavorable, shape public expectations of female officers. This can be explained as a negative by policewomen who describe experiences where citizens refused to speak to them and requested a male officer, or ignored and disrespected them when male officers were present (Gossett and Williams, 1998). It is these gender attributes or social constructions that set up women in policing to differentiate from their male partners. This same ideology of difference may contribute to differences between white and black policewomen's different policing perspectives or perceived responsibilities.

This difference in policing perspectives cannot be generalized or seen as universal among female officers. Black and white females bring different histories, cultural expectations, and personal perceptions, to mention a few, to policing with them. It is the black female's traditional positions that follow them into policing. Just the history of white females in policing shape their roles and create barriers, black female histories shape their roles, expectations and barriers differently.

Race, gender, stereotypes, and myths of black women:

According to Patricia Hill Collins (1991:6-8), the historical suppression of black women comes from their former condition as slaves. Collins claims that black women's oppression is structured along three interdependent dimensions: the exploitation of their labor and long-standing "ghettoization" in the service industry, and the continuation of economic exploitation today; the political oppression that has denied black women rights and privileges (voting rights,

public office, education) routinely extended to white males and females; and lastly, the controlling ideological images and dimensions of black women, historically and contemporarily, as mammies, jezebels, breeder women, Aunt Jemimas, maids, prostitutes, matriarchs, and welfare queens.

These stereotypical images, pathological labels and mythologies, have been fundamental to African-American women's oppression. Collins (1991) criticizes several feminist studies, such as Nancy Chodorow's (1974, 1978) on sex role socialization and Carol Gilligan's (1982) study of moral development of women, as not universal, but as white and middle-class. Kennelly (1999:169) states that white employers view black men differently from how they view black females and that these employers often use stereotypes about black women in the labor market. These images are often very negative. Kennelly goes on to say that these typifications of white women and of blacks generally differ from images of black females indicating that this group may stand at a unique disadvantage to all other racial and gender groups. It is this complexity of racism and sexism tangled together, along with classism, which conjures up several disparaging images of black women.

Many of the identified stereotypes referencing black women that are prevalent in the United States include reliance on welfare, sexual promiscuity, "emasculating" tendencies, uneducated, and single mothers (Collins, 1990; Davis, 1981; Essed, 1991; hooks, 1981; Morton, 1991, Roberts, 1994; Sims-Wood, 1988). These stereotypes, among others, have harmful effects for African-American women as employees and potential employers. It does not matter if the stereotypes are gross overgeneralizations, or supported by evidence and research, these views about groups of people are understood to predict which will be good employees. "Statistical

discrimination" is the process of using group characteristics as substitutes for information about individuals (Bielby and Baron, 1986).

If an employer believes that a higher percentage of black women, as compared to white women, are single mothers, the information generates inequality. Statistical discrimination is used to look at gender difference in turnover rates or other factors that employers use to hire, fire, promote or pay better. This discrimination affects women because employers tend to think of most women in the workforce as mothers (Hochschild, 1997). This workforce image of mothers leads others to think that women will be late or absent from work because of childcare duties. Additional stereotypes and speculations are that the perceived deficiencies, such as education and morality, are caused by children being raised by single mothers, often equated to having poor mothering skills, which again falls back into what employers are thinking about the African-American female workforce (Weitz and Gordon, 1993). These cultural assumptions and stereotypes positioning black women as single mothers have the negative effect of maintaining stratified workplaces and enabling the status quo. We only have to look at the current controversy surrounding the confirmation of our first Hispanic Supreme Court Justice, Sonia Sotomayor, to witness stereotypes that do not require evidence. The belief is that she went to Princeton because of affirmative action. So despite her enviable achievements as summa cum laude and her outstanding academic success in a competitive high school, she is considered intellectually suspect and is accused of being influenced by her personal background, weaknesses which she will bring to the Supreme Court (Cose, 2009, May).

According to hooks (2004: 149) there are additional complexities for African-American women within the black community because of the norm of putting sexism on the back burner of major concerns, and concentrating on racism, which is declared the root cause of the precarious

condition for blacks. She indicates that black males' concern is to maintain the racial credo: For unity's sake, we must address racism first. Hook calls this the informal organization, the Black Men's Club (BMC), a not too-distant cousin of the White Men's Club (WMC). Just as the WMC implicitly accepts that white men maintain a privileged position when it comes to power, prestige, and status, the BMC needs to assert authority within the black community, being the forefront of the public eye and setting the political agenda for the black community, relocating black women to the historical legacy role of helper.

hooks (2004) uses the example of the Clarence Thomas Supreme Court confirmation hearings and Anita Hill's allegation of sexual harassment as a painful reminder of the complexity of understanding of racism and sexism within the black community, and how the community and other black males will come to the aid of another black man in trouble by manipulating the harsh realities of the black male experience, using their victimization as an excuse for their dysfunctional behavior toward black women. hooks (2004:154) contends that black women are born into the Order of Black Womanhood and a practiced code of silence directly related to protecting, or at least not adding to, the already fragile status of black men. The effort is not to place greater jeopardy on black men in the white power structure. This practiced silence results in not speaking out against being victims of either sexism or sexual harassment by black men.

Historically, African-American women's unique consciousness, referenced at the intersection of race and gender, has not positioned them to be participants in feminist organizations or thought (Collins, 1998, 1991; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Wallace, 1978). hooks states that black women have been excluded from dominant academic discourse and white feminist thought, along with not being represented in black social and political thought, a situation that she states is exacerbated by masculine bias. The parallel affects of gender and race

have been researched in reference to women police officers. Diane Pike (1992:275-276) states that "being black, as opposed to being female, generates a very different organizational adaptation and response," because "black men do not challenge the quintessential police officer role in the same way women do." Yet this research overlooked black women officers' distinctive situation.

According to Crenshaw (1995), there are three ways that race and gender intersect for women of color—structurally, representationally, and politically; structurally, in the low position of black women with regard to racism and sexism; representationally, by being depicted by media negatively as either sexualized, promiscuous, or emasculating; and politically, with the tension of supporting black people's goals or women as a group. Although there is literature to support that black females identify more with racial identity over gender (Gay and Tate, 1998), it should be understood that the experience of this unique discrimination of gender and race is difficult for women and researchers to disentangle.

Other powerful historical images and myths perhaps have an impact on how black women are perceived. In Diane Roberts's book "The Myth of Aunt Jemima," she presents the idea that the powerful stories and meaning of black skin were and are continually developed and constructed by a vigilant and creative white world, which must continually reinvent and redraw racial categories and boundaries. She argues that there is a conjunction of blackness and female sexuality that defines these myths of black women as lasciviousness and full of lust that are powerful and ultimately disempowering. Cultural images play a rather large role in the creation of images and stereotypes for black and white women in policing and the business sector. Contemporary and historical perceptions shape and distort black and white women's images and realities. White female police officers are often protected by white males, relegating them to

"ladies" who must be protected, and black female officers as jezebels (i.e., sexually aggressive women) or welfare mothers (i.e., likely to get pregnant and take advantage of "light duty") (Collins, 1991).

Research indicates that it is unclear whether racism or sexism in policing is the principal cause of the differential treatment of black females (Martin, 1994; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Martin (1994), who studied social and work relations of black policewomen, found that that 77 percent of white policewomen reported sex discrimination from male officers while 61 percent of black females reported racial discrimination and 55 percent reported sex discrimination. It is the double discrimination and degrading stereotypes that contribute to black females leaving policing at a higher rate than other women do. Doener (1995) states that one important reason for black policewomen leaving policing, usually by their fourth year, is a direct result of exclusionary practices that black women experience in a white male working environment.

Additional stressors that black policewomen experience, as well as white females, are exclusion from informal channels of support, ostracism, peer hostility, over-supervision, and inadequate back-up by male officers (Martin, 1994; Morash & Haarr, 1995; Pogrebin & Poole, 1998; Palmiotto, 2005). Black policewomen experience similar discrimination and treatment from both black and white male officers. Male officers of both races share similar gender attitudes going back to physical strength. These images and stressors, along with affirmative action and welfare as shaping forces, are fundamental to African-American women's continued oppression. A perception of white males about females and male minorities who are hired into policing as the direct result of affirmative action guidelines is the belief that they are unqualified for most positions and could not measure up adequately for patrol duty (Pogrebin et al., 2000). Many politicians and citizens argue that racial minorities have the same chance of making it in

the job market as whites do. This argument maintains that any preferences for minorities in employment constitute discrimination against whites. What many of these attacks on affirmative action disregard is that a majority of those hired for organizations are white (Kennelly, 1999). A substantial literature base indicates that whites no longer believe that minorities are naturally inferior to them, but that a large number of whites do continue to harbor racist beliefs and make racist decisions based on an apparent economic threat (Berg, 1984; Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Farley et al., 1994).

It is more important for black and white females in policing to be accepted by males of the same race than by other women in policing. This is true for a number of reasons, but mainly because males in policing are the majority, have more policing experience, and the policewomen must depend on them for backup. In addition to this, men of both races control "their" women's on-duty behavior by threatening them with social isolation both on and off the job or by categorizing them as lesbians (Martin, 1994). Another tactic used to control and subordinate women and keep them in their place is sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is a mechanism used to help construct masculine dominance and is prevalent in policing. African-American policewomen are in a difficult position, and the line between racial and sexual harassment can be at times somewhat blurred. Comments about a black female's sexuality are linked to racist images of black women as sexually promiscuous (Collins, 1991; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; Bell, 2004). Sexual harassment is a way of reinforcing and placing women police as outsiders and subordinates in the organization; approximately 53 to 77% of women in U.S. law enforcement are sexually harassed by behavior or remarks (Bartol, Bergen, Volckens, & Knoras, 1992; Haar, 1997; Martin, 1994; Nichols, 1995; Spraga & O'Donohue, 2000; Timmins & Hainsworth, 1989).

There are other forms of sex discrimination that are experienced by policewomen in law enforcement. Male police officers' negative attitudes toward their female partners are a big stressor for policewomen, examples being threats of not backing them up, refusing to work with them, not letting them drive, and indecent behavior (Timmins & Hainsworth, 1989; Wexlor & Logan, 1983). This is in addition to poor training, a double-standard of proving themselves, isolation, lack of promotions and mentoring, inflexible work schedules and policies that disadvantage them (Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Morash & Haar, 1995; Wexler & Logan, 1983). These problems and stressors cause policewomen to leave law enforcement at much higher rates than their male partners (Dantzker & Kubin, 1998; Felkenes & Schroedel, 1993).

Policing history, as well as black and white women's entry into policing, reinforces the entrenched ideas of what policing is and who should "own" policing, along with perpetuating the subculture, stereotypes, images, bias, discrimination, inequalities and other cultural beliefs, that are important to understanding African-American policewomen and white policewomen's place in contemporary law enforcement. Race, gender and class have powerful effects on how women are perceived and how they understand their places in policing. These intertwined contemporary ideas and historical attitudes were examined and explored in an attempt to see if African-American policewomen's and white policewomen's experiences, perspectives, attitudes, and created sense of justice or responsibility are that different from each other.

**Chapter 3**

**Relevant Theories**

According to Creswell (1998), qualitative case studies utilize theory in various ways—it may be completely absent from the study focusing on a description of the case and its issues; employed as a guide to explain the study; or included in the end of the study as a "theory-after" perspective. Theory in this research actually helps shape the direction in a "behind-the-scenes" frame of reference. The theories that will be stated and explained are all backdrops to the policewomen's perspectives and lived experiences. The examination of African-American and white policewomen's experiences in the male-dominated law enforcement occupation is fertile ground for study because of the diverse stereotypes and images surrounding the policewomen's lives. There are many theories that can assist the researcher, as well as the reader, in understanding these women's lives, in and out of policing, and how social construction of race and gender may shape their perspectives and experiences.

The various theories that lend to dissecting the ideas and perspective introduced by the women police officers delve into sensitive public issues and shape our conscious and unconscious thoughts, regardless of our intentions. There are theoretical complexities and empirical impossibilities explored within this research, like a lot of qualitative studies. It is impractical to think that there is a single voice or overall generalization concerning this topic. There is a multiplicity of voices presented here and an attempt to produce less partial representations, without making any claims, about what is true for these policewomen. The research about policewomen's perspectives can be understood against the backdrop theories of social construction of race and gender, experiential racism, intersectional, stereotypes, and sex-

role spillover. These ideas are explored with the insight of feminist, standpoint, and insider perspectives.

Standpoint Theory:

Feminist researchers have a commitment to maintain the integrity of the phenomena and preserving the viewpoint of the subjects, as expressed in their everyday language and actions. The benefits of this approach are that it provides a greater insight into respondent-participant, encourages the policewomen to control the sequencing and the language of the interview, and allows them the freedom of open-end responses. According to Haraway (1997: 304), "standpoints are cognitive-emotional-political achievements, crafted out of located social-historical-bodily experience—itself always constituted through fraught, non-innocent, discursive, material, collective practice."

Oakley (1981) suggests that interviewing is a masculine paradigm embedded in a masculine culture stressing masculine traits, while at the same time, excluding from interviewing culturally viewed feminine traits such as sensitivity, emotionality, and others. She further says that there is a growing reluctance among female researchers to continue interviewing women as objects with little or no regard for them as individuals. Thus, the emphasis is shifting to allow the development of a closer relation between interviewer and respondent, attempting to minimize status difference, and doing away with the traditional hierarchical situation in interviewing.

Graham (1984) states that this feminist ethic of interviewing leads to "informant-structured interviews," which she also calls narratives and self-surveys, in which the researcher communicates to the interviewee that she cares about her as a human being. Under these circumstances, it is improper for interpretation and the final analysis to remain the responsibility and prerogative of the researcher. Methodologically, this new approach provides a greater

spectrum of responses and greater insight into respondents. It is a method consistent with a feminist research program, which seeks to involve women in the faithful recording of the experiences of women. Standpoint avoids the hierarchical pitfall because it encourages respondents to control the sequencing and the language of the interview and allows them the freedom of open-ended responses. Thus, the policewomen are encouraged to uncover the details of their personal histories.

Standpoint theory claims that "all knowledge attempts are socially situated and that some of these objective social locations are better than others for knowledge projects" (Harding, 1993:56). It views all knowledge as situated, socially located, and the "everyday world as problematic, continually created and shaped, and known by women within it and its organization, which is shaped by external material factors or textually mediated relations" (Smith, 1987:91). The black and white policewomen's lives are continually shaped by external factors and mediated without considering relevance to their lives. Their stories are continually shaped by everyday problems within their policing world and how it is attached to their personal lives. This is especially salient when considering several transcripts by black females.

West and Fenstermaker (1995) conceptualize gender, race and class as "doing difference," stating that all three are relevant and work simultaneously to organize women's lives. They argue that they have varying degrees of salience within different social contexts and that all three affect all social exchanges. Haraway (1997:304) calls these same standpoints cognitive-emotional-political achievements, which are crafted out of located social-historical-bodily experience. It is these standpoints and differences that the female officers speak of when attempting to describe their daily struggles and successes within law enforcement. Sometimes these standpoints position the respondents almost "outside" of themselves in describing what

they do or how they see themselves. Their responses were a continual reminder that these women felt like "outsiders" in their own organizations.

Smith (1987) advocates that research begin with the experiences of actual women. She asserts that this standpoint is essential, because women are missing from classical sociological studies in the qualitative tradition, and that common language, as found in theory as well as in the general culture, may not reflect women's experiences. Although the researchers listed fall under standpoint theory, their positions on this theoretical position are not all alike, but they are all relevant when doing qualitative feminist research. Harding (1993:70-71) argues that individual researchers should critically examine their own personal and historical commitments with which they construct their work tempered with "strong objectivity."

Experiential Race Theory:

It is paramount to reflect on the meaning of race within the history of the United States. The category of "race" is a social construction of power relations and cultural processes, and its meaning continually changes over time, always unstable and provisional. There is a political and social reality to this social construction. These same ideas can be applied to the social construction of gender. According to Omi and Winant (1986), the United States is broken into three stages of thoughts about race. The first stage encompasses the arguments of biological inferiority, which justified economic and political inequalities. In the second stage, "ethnicity" replaced "race," and although biology continued to define, it was also understood behaviorally. The nation's need for racial equality to achieve an ideal democracy was the rhetoric of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The notion of differentness from white culture became a new cultural feature. The third and last stage is class-and nation-based paradigms, and this was considered a motivation for the second-wave of feminism, the "women's liberation" movement in the United

States, which failed to address racism within its discourse. It is these processes that speak to the theory of experiential racism.

Experiential racism research (Essed, 1991; Feagin and Sikes, 1994) argues that race and racism are a process which operates concurrently at several levels such as structural, ideological, institutional, and individual. The processes are systematically integrated into all aspects of our everyday lives and are the basis for the meanings and feelings we attribute to situations and topics. The authors assert that individual descriptions of racism are indications of a group's general knowledge of racism, not isolated incidents. "Experiential-racism scholars argue that individual experiences are cumulative and collective; individuals accumulate experiences and discuss them with other group members. These collective experiences form the basis of group members' knowledge of race and racism" (Bolten Jr., 2003:387). The idea of process, socially constructed racial ideas and individual descriptions of racism possibly lend itself to the black policewomen developing a different sense of justice or at least policing perspectives, and therefore is relevant to this research.

Intersectional:

Intersectional theoretical framework can also be utilized to examine how race and gender intersect and depend on each other for meaning in our culture. Racial and gender contexts shape all of our experiences and life choices. Intersectionality is a theoretical framework that examines how constructed categories, such as race and gender, are shaped socially and culturally, creating inequality, and how they consequently shape social hierarchies. This theoretical approach considers how race and gender generate distinctive positions and experiences (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2000; 1993; Hurtado, 1989). The intersection of race and gender is especially salient to studying black females because of the multifaceted political and social context that they

experience in the United States (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). This theoretical construct does not ignore other identities held by black and white female officers, such as age and social class, but is especially conscious of black female's experiences.

Although black policewomen can be expected to experience numerous difficulties, it is also pertinent to understand positive benefits that they may perceive; multiple identities provide positive and negative experiences. Black females may experience disadvantage because of political reasons, but they may benefit from a sense of pride as both a woman and a black person. This idea speaks to the relevancy in which to explore policewomen, black and white, using racial and gender intersectionality framework. Alongside and within this theoretical framework is an examination of the unique stereotypes, encompassing race, gender, motherhood, and roles that shape and enclose women. It is this encircling or marginalization that sets women up as "other."

According to Collins (1986), marginalized groups gain a status of being "other." You are other if you are different from societal schema of an average white male. The term "othering," as used by Gloria Anzaldua, is establishing a person as unacceptable based on certain criteria that fail to be met (Ritzer, 2007:205). Research on the role of gender stereotypes associated with men and women suggest that competency, assertiveness, technical proficiency, and rationality are masculine traits, while caregiving, emotionality, and subservience characterize women. "Feminine" and "masculine" traits are differentially associated with particular everyday situations (Eckes, 1996) and occupations (Heilman, 1983). Embedded as such notions are in the cultural fabric, they provide normative expectations about gender roles and aptitudes. Thus, when women cross over into masculine jobs they suffer the consequences of gender and occupational role conflicts. The stereotype identified and discussed by Brown (1998) finds not only that male police officers are more likely than the public to hold traditional views about the

role of women in society, but that this attitude also carries over into the police-working environment.

Stereotypes or "other"

Stereotypes are still quite plentiful and documented in policing by women officers. There are many firsthand accounts by female officers about their experiences with sexual harassment, sexism, and discrimination (hooks, 1982; Martin, 1980; Martin and Jurik, 1996; Schulz, 1995; Wexler and Logan, 1983; Berg & Budnick, 1986; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Carlan, 2009). This discrimination and harassment comes in many forms in policing, one that speaks to the idea of difference and is relevant throughout this research. There is evidence that the historical and contemporary stereotype of women as mothers and caregivers shape their policing experiences and how other officers perceive them. The notion, or cult of true womanhood, grew out of the mid-1800s, when white women were viewed as pure, modest, and domestic, and their primary role was mother. Black women were not seen as "true" women, but contrasted to the white middleclass women. They were seen as animalistic and hypersexed; this was to justify enslavement and rape (Collins, 2000; Perkins, 1983; West, 2004).

The research and evidence to support these historical categories and stereotypes are plentiful. These same perceptions and expectations are carried over into traditional and non-traditional occupations for women. These historical stereotypes and differences in gender role norms possibly help maintain stratification of black and white policewomen. The gender roles of white women were defined and shaped by historical family expectations of working until marriage and motherhood, at which point they would leave the labor force to take care of their families. Contrast this probability to the expectation of black females, who were expected to work while taking care of their families (Pascale, 2001; Collins, 2000). According to Glenn

(1992), "reproductive labor" and care of children by women is racialized. He indicates that traditionally black women have always been relegated to less valued and "dirtier" jobs and white women to more skilled positions, thus these differences in work and family norms set black and white women up to view womanhood and roles differently.

The idea "difference" implicated in gender differences and moral beingness goes back to Carol Gilligan's (1982) controversial study of young girl's moral development. Gilligan links and characterizes females with a moral voice and ethic of care, rooted in primacy of human relationships from childhood to adolescence. Gilligan's moral development, or "different voice," separates moral orientations between genders, relegating females to "care reasoning" and males to "justice reasoning." She doesn't view these positions as opposites, but diverse ways of understanding human dilemmas. Charlene Seigfried (1996:206) rejects and criticizes Gilligan's two moral divisions linking socially constructed gender with a "simplistic equation of women with care and nurturance and men with justice and autonomy." She believes gender is a process of negotiating cultural expectations of masculinity and femininity, contextualized by relationships.

Patricia Hill Collins (1998:7) states that racial discrimination combined with gender are essentially an "outsider-within" position, which she describes as "social locations or border spaces occupied by groups of unequal power." Hill goes on to explain that "outsiders-within" possess both the credentials for admittance and the rights of formal membership, and gain knowledge about the dominant group without gaining full power accorded to members of that group. Hill's idea of "outsider-within" came from the examination of black women domestic workers and their gained knowledge of white middle-class families, while being full insiders within African America communities, a group that is largely hidden from white people.

<u>Sex-role spillover theory:</u>

Historically, gender has been placed neatly in an analytic category, with portrayal of fixed opposites of sex differences and sex-roles. Gender is one of many social constructs that shape these policewomen's lives, along with race, class, regions, and culture. It is important to mention that these gender constructs are especially shaped by work, which is where the sex-role spillover affects the policewomen in this research. Sex-role spillover is defined as the carryover into the workplace of gender-based expectations for behavior that are irrelevant or inappropriate to work (Gutek and Morasch, 1982). Historical work patterns suggest that it is the inappropriate transpositions of stereotyped sexual role behavior into the workplace that accounts for discrimination and sexual harassment. In other words, expectations about women's roles as wives and mothers transfer seamlessly from home to the world of work where there is an expectation to undertake caregiving and domestic responsibilities.

The policewomen are treated differently from their male partners; they are aware of this differential treatment, and at times feel it is directed at them individually, rather than as work-role occupants. They are considered "role deviates" (Gutek and Morasch, 1982). The sex roles with the majority gender become incorporated into the work roles, thus aggressiveness and rationality are emphasized and nurturance and caregiving relegated as "women's work (Gutek and Cohen, 1987). This affects the assignment of tasks to women at work. At the same time, there is an expectation to project their sexuality through their behavior at work (Brown, 1998). This particular theory was added after the data collection for this research. Many of the policewomen made statements about how they were treated by male officers or how they were expected to act as women officers.

The Insider Perspective:

The insider doctrine holds that one has monopolistic or privileged access to knowledge, or is excluded from it, by virtue of one's group membership or social position. Insiders are capable of special insight into matters that are often obscure to others (Merton, 1972). According to the doctrine of the insider, the outsider, no matter how careful and talented, is excluded on principle from gaining access to the social and cultural truth. The outsider has not been socialized into the group nor engaged in the run of experience that makes up its life. Only through continued socialization in the life of a group can one become fully aware of its symbolisms and meanings of behavior, feelings, and values; only so can one decipher the unwritten grammar of conduct and the nuances of cultural language (Merton, 1972).

Zinn (1978) says the unique methodological advantage of insider field research is that it is less apt to encourage distrust and hostility, while the experience of exclusion from communities allows the outsider to see only what people want them to see. In that the police community has developed so many self-protective behaviors for dealing with outsiders, it is quite reasonable to question whether real behaviors and meanings are assessable to outsiders. The issue is not only that policewomen would consciously mislead researchers, but also that those researchers often lack insight into the nuances of behavior. The insider perspective was helpful for seeing nuances and behavior related to police procedure and protocol in familiar and routine police situations. My intention was not to generalize about women police officers, especially African-American policewomen. As mentioned in the research limitations section, I am limited in possible interactions and understandings by mere race alone. I am a white female researcher attempting to understand the policing world, perspectives, and sense of justice of black and white policewomen, according to their words and meaning.

Definitions: Barrier, male-dominated structure, and sense of justice:

The words "barrier," "male-dominated structure," and "sense of justice" are unclear and the definitions will follow. Kanter (1977), states that a "barrier" is a structural approach identifying power, opportunity, and group representation, as key determinants of occupational behavior and work-related contingencies in work organizations. Inequalities in opportunities for mobility and the distribution of power within an organization lead some members toward success and shift others to failure. In addition, "tokens," are described by Kanter (1977) as individuals who are underrepresented in a majority-dominated group, face barriers to occupational achievement including performance pressure, are excluded as 'outsiders,' and treated according to familiar stereotypes. She associated negative processes for three token representations: visibility, which entailed heightened directed attention toward tokens; contrast, which refers to exaggeration of differences between tokens and dominants; and role encapsulation, which describes how one is restrained by stereotyped roles.

Yoder's research (1991) indicates that there are four factors needed for token status: numeric imbalance; status variables such as gender; occupational gender-inappropriateness; and gender composition changes of the occupation as a whole. Earlier research by Laws (1975) also understood the importance of gender and occupational appropriateness, using the concept "double deviant" to describe women who deviated from femaleness and occupational gender norms. Yoder's (1994) research indicates that denigration of tokens will only occur for token women in masculine occupations. Research suggests that tokenism's negative experiences will affect women more than men, even when both groups are underrepresented, because of

patriarchal ideas of women as lower status (Crocker and McGraw, 1984; Laws, 1975; Ott, 1989; Yoder, 1991).

Kanter's (1977a, 1977b) argument is that if gender group representations proportionality increased within organizations, it will reduce the processes that affect tokenism negatively. This argument is refuted by Reskin (1988) and Deaux and Lewis (1983, 1984), who state that since tokenism processes are not just about numbers alone, but processes that happen to women in nontraditional occupations, then gender discrimination and occupational stereotyping must be addressed to reduce negative token outcomes.

The literature suggests that female police officers face many barriers or actors which prevent their achieving success in the police environment, including the lack of recruitment, promotion, peer networks, and sexual harassment. While these types of responses are expected, the questions in the interview schedule left the definition of barrier open to the policewomen, so that they may include other potential barriers not previously mentioned or perceived. If a respondent asked "What is meant by the term barrier?" the response was "What are the things that hold you back?" This question, however, was never asked by any of the participants. They seemed to be well aware of what "barrier" meant to them professionally and/or personally.

The work of Martin (1994), who references the prior work of Toch (1976), defines and describes the "male dominated structure" thus: "…policing is dominated by male values, in which physical prowess dominates the criteria of worth." Given the maleness of policing, for policewomen to have impact, the integrity of her sex-role (with its de-emphasis of physical prowess and combativeness as indexes of status) is a critical variable. Moreover, in the context of police occupational culture, there is a collective emphasis on the importance of street experience, and the support provided by socializing with fellow officers. For women, it has

proved difficult to break in and enter working in the environment of policemen (Toch, 1976:44-45).

Menkel-Meadow (1985) and West (1988) state that law is created, enforced, interpreted, and punished by men, who cannot begin to fathom women's experience and knowledge. It is through this women's perspective that we may be able to understand part of Carol Gilligan's different voice construct (Gilligan, 1982). Female and male voices are cast as opposing ethical styles used in resolving conflict and dilemmas: men prioritize individual rights, autonomy, and impartiality, whereas women reject male values of objectivity and detachment and instead honor and emphasize care, responsibility, and affective connections. Gilligan's different voice and different feminism research has been criticized by Christina Hoff Summers (2000) who insists that there are no differences between males and females. Summers states that Gilligan failed to produce data for research, used anecdotal evidence and a small sample, and that researchers have been unable to duplicate her research.

These criticisms are noteworthy, but when establishing a definition of "different sense of justice" without previous research of this construct, the definition is part of many theories and perspectives, until process or perspective is defined by the policewomen being researched. The previous research mentioned, along with explanation of gender role socialization theories, that socialization is a process by which families, peers, schools, and the media teach a society's expectations of "appropriate" dress, speech, personality, leisure activities, and aspirations for each sex (Weitzman, 1979). Weitzman (1979) states that gender role socialization contributes to unequal workplace outcomes in several ways: first, that women are seen as oriented more to families than their jobs; secondly, that men and women hold different values that will affect their work in regards to job position, authority, and money; and finally, that men and women are

socialized to expect a sexual division of labor that reserves them to certain jobs, promotions, authority, and higher pay.

Dubber (2007), "The Sense of Justice: Empathy in Law and Punishment," uses the sense of justice concept to describe varied ways it is used and abused in American penal law and legal discourse, within substantive and procedural law, in definitions of norms to their imposition and the infliction of sanctions to "moral" or "reasonable" human beings. Dubber (2007) also defines sense of justice as a sentiment, sensibility or empathy with our fellow human beings as equal to us and assessing whether one has treated another as an equal, a form of empathetic role-taking. The second definition reflects more of how the female officers in this study describe their process and sense of justice within law enforcement. This can be problematic when attempting to define their "justices" differently because of differences in definition of power and authority in law enforcement, which is shaped by tradition, class, race, gender and process, to mention a few. These theories, concepts, processes and other disparities, such as cultural factors, sex stereotypes, persistence of exclusion, coping strategies, preservation of male advantage, and employer discrimination, attempt to create what, where, and how a "sense of justice" or "moral competence" and subsequently a policing perspective was developed, defined and ultimately justified by African-American and white policewomen.

## Chapter 4

## Methods

The impetus for this study began in the fall of 2001 when I sat down to interview an African-American female Inspector, with twenty-four years policing experience, to discuss women police officers' occupational barriers, their successes, and their possible different sense of justice, as well as how women's perceived societal role as caregivers might distort and hinder or possibly augment their policing roles and images. Several of her insights and comments contributed to my interest in this subject and helped form the research questions and questions asked of the women in this study. This two-hour interview, a graduate course assignment, turned into a commanding interest. (IRB approval class 2001) and created a different policing paradigm in my mind.

This policing paradigm forced me to see differences of inequality, images, stereotypes, and treatment of African-American policewomen and their unbalanced relationship and unnamed in-between space within law enforcement and with fellow white policewomen. It helped create questions about black and white policewomen's different social locations possibly creating a different sense of justice or responsibility, perspectives, responsibilities, sensitivities, and position in policing. This current research explores African-American and white policewomen's perspectives, positions, attitudes, opinions, and sense of justice. It is through this qualitative dissertation development that fourteen valiant women answered several difficult questions, many unguarded and others with veiled meanings. There was an expectation that I would come away with a better understanding of these women's perspectives, perceptions, attitudes, and sense of justice, but I knew with all probability that I would generate numerous new questions for future research.

It can be argued that the completion of any sociological study can never be replicated, nor described as it actually occurred, because each study is unique to the researcher's methods, perceptions, integrity, and order of events. So, whatever conclusions are drawn from later analysis of the data cannot be accomplished by another study. Clifford (1986) states that all methodological research is the personal equation supplied by the setting of each individual's unique setting. Research is a scholarly format for what is meaningful for one, which very well may not be meaningful for another. There are many competing realities and numerous possible theoretical perspectives that could be used for this particular research on black and white women in policing. This research is a case study. "The bulk of case study work is done by individuals who have intrinsic interest in the case and little interest in the advance of science…attempting to understand what is important about that case within its own world (Denzin, 2000:39)."

This assumption "case within its own world" underlies the use of a contemporary feminist perspective as the theoretical framework guiding this research study. In addition, the insider perspective informs this study. The insider doctrine holds that insiders have monopolistic or privileged access to knowledge of a group. Furthermore, the insider has special insight into matters necessarily obscure to others, thus possessed with a penetrating discernment (Merton, 1972). Although this insider perspective can be an effective tool in research, there are limitations imposed by differences such as race. Explanations concerning race and exclusion will follow.

The research process for this study is considered qualitative. Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. A researcher can transform the surroundings into a series of representations using field notes, interviews, recordings, pictures and just plain observation. Qualitative researchers study and approach things in their natural

settings, hoping to understand the subject matter better. Qualitative research is in effect creating a patchwork quilt. The research is multi-method in an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of your subject within his/her world (Denzin, 2000).

This qualitative exploratory case study focuses on black and white policewomen's perceptions and everyday descriptions of their positions and awareness in policing. While there is existing literature on black and white women's different experiences in regards to sexism, harassment, discrimination and health, among others, there is no research on black and white policewomen's thoughts and feelings about their policing experiences and how it possibly shapes who they are, their positions and perceptions, and their potential sense of justice. With this research I hoped to develop a better understanding of black and white women in policing. By looking at how people talk about their gender and race we can find contradictions and inconsistencies that shape identities, meanings, and perspectives. It is these findings that underlie identities that create different policing strategies, responsibilities and justices.

The policewomen interviewed are currently employed in an urban law enforcement agency in a specific geographical area in Michigan. Confidentiality requirements prevent the specific identification of the area. A snowball sample was used for this study. The snowball sampling technique includes an initial contact person who is asked to identify others interested in participating in the research (Singleton and Straits, 1999). The following measure was utilized for selection of the policewomen: 1) women; 2) currently employed full time within the chosen research location; and 3) a willingness to participate in the research. All the women participants in this research were selected in accord with these guidelines. The research requirement of an equal number of black and white female policewomen was not a factor in the decision of being interviewed. If a female volunteered and followed through they were included in this research.

The final sample was shaped by several factors, including policewomen wanting to participate, shift scheduling difficulties, participants' lack of interest and volunteering, department size, layoffs, and morale.

Data collection:

Following approval from Wayne State University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects [See appendix A], the recruitment of policewomen participants began. A gatekeeper at the research location notified all black and white policewomen that there was a research opportunity for them to participate in. The policewomen that indicated an interest in participating allowed the gatekeeper to call me and give me their contact information.  Each participant was verbally contacted via phone asking if she was interested in participating in a research project. After each woman agreed, she was sent a participant letter for consent [Appendix C] and a research information form [Appendix B]. Upon obtaining verbal or written informed consent, a meeting was scheduled to conduct the interview.

Thirty-five female officers were asked to partake in the research and fourteen women agreed to participate. The final sample size for this qualitative study was 14 participants, seven white policewomen and seven African-American policewomen.   Their police employment ranged from 11 to 26 years. The median age of the policewomen [range $= 30 - 51$] was 39 years old. Their educational background varied from high school to post-graduate degrees. More than half of the policewomen had attended or graduated from college. There was only one female that was actively taking college courses in a master's program during this research.

It is relevant to mention that there were limitations in regards to the final policewoman sample. As previously mentioned the policewomen in this sample had a minimum of eleven years and a maximum of twenty-six years in law enforcement.   Thirteen of the fourteen

policewomen had children ranging from one child to four children. Only one white female had a child that was under ten years old at the time of the interviews. It can be argued that a younger sample, with less years of experience, and no children, would yield very different responses and themes.

The limitations encountered with my final sample of women were shaped by several factors. The most obvious limitation was the lack of female police officers who were willing to participate in the research. There were also an inadequate number of younger policewomen available to be part of the research because of the economic conditions within the state. Over 30 officers had been laid off prior to and during the stage of recruiting research participants for this research. It was stated by several female officers that an additional 40 officers were slated to be laid off the following year. Another dilemma was scheduling interview times for the policewomen because many of the women worked different shifts. Several of the women showed interest after contact with my gatekeeper and myself, but then would not call back to set up a time for an interview. I made numerous follow-up phone calls, along with the gatekeeper's assistance, with many policewomen, but they were not interested or stated that they did not have time. There were several interview times that were scheduled and then cancelled and two women failed to show up for the scheduled meeting and did not participate in the research.

Each policewoman chose the location and time for her individual interview. At the start of each meeting, we discussed the research purpose, participation confidentiality, the right to withdraw from the study, and possible re-contacts in the future. Lastly, permission was obtained from each participant to audiotape our interview sessions. They were each assured that the audible tape would be destroyed after transcriptions were completed and that they would be coded without names, eliminating any possibility for future identification. Each of the female

participants gave me permission to use any personal quotes from the interviews within the final research. After all the participants' questions and concerns were addressed, we began the interview.

Each initial audiotaped interview was approximately 60-90 minutes long. Interviewing took place over a one-year period, starting in June 2008, in the participant's police agency, home, a public establishment, or patrol car, depending on the contingencies of scheduling and their willingness to participate. Audiotaped interviews allowed the women's actual words to be used to guarantee faithful representation of ideas and maximum description. The interview schedule consisted of open-ended statements, asking each woman to describe her contemporary work experiences and work histories. The interviews began with an abbreviated explanation and purpose of the study and ended with any questions or concerns they might have that had not been previously mentioned or discussed.

An informal interview guide [Appendix D] was used to assist in conducting each of the interviews. There were additional probing questions used to focus or elaborate on important themes the policewomen perceived as shaping their experiences in policing. The policewomen were re-contacted after each of their interviews was transcribed. The purpose of the follow-up calls was to speak to the policewomen about the recorded interviews, initial observations, final transcriptions, and for each participant to verify the accuracy of the themes, and/or to provide further clarification of the meaning of her transcribed words or actions.

Instrumentation:

All policewomen in the study completed a demographic questionnaire prior to beginning our initial interview [Appendix D]. This information was obtained to assist possible research questions and/or possible disparities in final responses and analysis. The questionnaires

contained questions that addressed age, education level and degree(s) obtained, when they became a police officer, department promotions or demotions, possible prior military experience, policing history and whether any family members were in policing. I also explored why each policewoman agreed to participate in this research. The policewomen's reasons for participating in the research varied and were very interesting.

Several of the policewomen stated that they were taking time to be part of the study because of my friendship with the female officer [gatekeeper] who "got my foot in the door." One white female officer said, "Hey, any friend of _____ is someone that can be trusted. I have known her for twenty-five years, so I told her I would hook you up with some juice on women in policing." Another white female stated, "I will be honest with you, I owe _____ a favor and that is why I am here. She asked me and I owed her, so what do you need?" This particular policewoman provided some of the most direct and candid conversation about her policing experiences. Three black female officers indicated that they agreed to participate in the study after speaking with one of the previous black females that had been interviewed. They told me that they were assured by the female that it wasn't bad and that I seemed "alright." Two black females stated that they wanted to participate so that they could tell their stories and hopefully make it better for other black female officers in the future.

After they completed the initial questionnaire, each policewoman was asked questions from a semi-structured interview guide [Appendix D] utilizing a standard written protocol with open-ended questions. This design allowed for flexibility in asking follow-up questions and bringing participants back to topic. The interview guide consisted of an initial warm-up section, allowing me to explore why each of the women wanted to be a police officer and what attributes she believes makes an excellent police officer. These discussions were very interesting and

allowed for the women to relate their stories and give examples about fellow officers they perceived as positive policing models.

The stories of what made an excellent officer and why they became a police officer ranged from needing excellent communication skills, showing compassion, being able to really listen and help people to "I needed a job, there was an opening, and here I am eighteen years later." Research indicates that men and women enter policing for similar reasons, motivations and expectations and that there are no meaningful differences (Meagher & Yentes, 1986; Jones, 1986; Weisheit, 1987). This research point of coming to policing for similar reasons as males was reiterated by one of the black females when she said, "Policing is a great way to be part of a community, help people, great benefits, and not have to work inside of four walls all day long."

The second section of the semi-structured interview consisted of questions pertaining to black and white policewomen differences and similarities, current and past controversies, working relationships, barriers, opportunities, perceptions, and discrimination. The concluding section was the participant's area to elaborate on previous topics or talk about something she believed was missed within our discussion. This was a very interesting section and several issues were mentioned on topics that need to be explored in other research opportunities. Some of the additional topics stated were pregnancy issues, lack of mentoring for black and white females, gender communication differences, officer education requirements, and recruitment/retention problems related to policewomen.

Confidentiality of Research Participants:

Research code of ethics and Wayne State University insist on safeguarding research participant's identities and research locations. All participants' information is safeguarded in a locked file cabinet in my home office. Each participant is a research number code and the

research location has been disguised. All audio tapes of policewomen interviews were destroyed after transcription was completed. Each participant was advised of these confidentiality measures before and after each interview.

Data Analysis:

During all interviews of the policewomen, notes were taken, and each interview was recorded. I typed each of the interviews verbatim for data analysis. Each of the interviews and all follow-up questions were completed by me. Each of the transcripts was analyzed for emerging themes and familiar or similar phrases. The themes were marked in broad categories (i.e., gender, policewomen perceptions, and race). Following the method described by Taylor and Bogdan (1998), qualitative analysis was used partially to process and interpret the data from the verbatim interview transcriptions for this case study. This method involves three phases: discovering themes and patterns in the data, coding the data, and interpreting the data. I read and reread the transcripts several times. The first reading provided a comprehensive view of responses. While reading the interviews the second time, notes were taken on themes and topics common to the policewomen. This process continued through subsequent readings of and reflection on the data. It was during this process that I would see questions that were not fully answered or notice silences or admissions that needed further examination. These questions and concerns resulted in follow-up phone conversations and elaboration.

The transcript data was examined to see if there was anything in the original description not considered in the themes and whether this process suggested something that was not in the transcripts (Stake, 1995). The data analysis in this case study uses a categorical aggregation, which consists of compiling a collection of instances from the data, seeking out issue-relevant patterns, with meaning from participant's discussion. The participants were advised, and all were

in agreement, that many of their direct quotes from the interview conversation would be used when describing possible themes between policewomen in the final paper. Additionally, three readers independently read through each of the transcribed interviews to identify themes and contributing quotes. Notes were taken in conjunction with each of these themes, and there were two meetings discussing themes to assure a consensus between additional readers and myself.

It is important to ensure reliability of qualitative studies. Open-ended interviews offer an opportunity for a genuine and realistic look into the meaning, understanding, and/or perspective of another person. This in-depth rhetoric treats each interview as "description of their worlds" data. Gubrium & Holstein (1997) calls this a narrative approach, not treating respondents' accounts as potentially "true" pictures of "reality," but rather as an analysis of the culturally rich perceptions of the interviewers and interviewees in concert, which provides varying but plausible accounts of the world. This approach is also called a "methodology for listening," or seeing the world from your subject's perspective, by Miller and Glassner (1997).

This approach was very applicable to the policewomen's stories because of their work and life locations and the culturally significant meanings of these locations. As previously mentioned, policing has a secretive aspect to the culture and is often hidden from the general public, except through many unrealistic media portrayals. Miller and Glassner (1997) suggest that it is how respondents use culturally available resources to construct their stories. Richardson (1990: 24) states that "Participation in a culture includes participation in the narratives of that culture, a general understanding of the stock of meanings and their relationships to each other." The interviewees explained their actions through narratives to help others to understand what may not be understood by someone outside of policing, thus creating cultural stories.

Additional data was collected from personal field notes taken during interviews, initial participant questionnaire forms, and follow-up phone conversations after each interview was transcribed. The rich field notes data was important for understanding lulls, silences, body language, words, and other nuances taking place during the audiotaped interview.  The field notes also included my initial feelings about each participant's body language, eye contact, and other actions upon meeting me, during our interview, and at the end of the interview. Supplementary detailed field notes were taken during our follow-up phone conversations and interviews.

Many women continued to speak to me about the research topic, their feelings, or my life, after the audio recorder was turned off. It didn't feel appropriate at this point to turn the recorder back on so I wrote down as much as possible when they were gone. Several policewomen seemed at ease with the recorder off and just conversing with me. During several of these post-recorder conversations, I took limited notes while we spoke to remind me of conversation topics and issues after-the-fact.  These conversation notes were an attempt to keep them in context so I could add to the data and analyze later with the typed transcripts. It was particularly important to me that I describe what occurred during each of the interviews. The self-reflexive reporting and recording of this interview process reveals replication of the policewomen's worlds of experience and reality. This is vital in understanding their personal narratives, experiential truths and standpoints accurately during the interviews and after, because oftentimes, language is not enough.

Limitations and Assumptions:

There are several limitations that exist in this research, including limitation of existing literature, difficulty getting participants, researcher's race, sample dynamics, participant's voice,

insider bias, secretiveness of topic and methodological design. Current literature on women in law enforcement is generally dominated by concerns, problems, and progress of white female police officers, but directed as if encompassing all policewomen. Collins (1991) criticizes feminist theory as being static and ethnocentric for examining notions of equality, which challenge whether women as a group are the same as men as a group, and posits that the differences may be a consequence of historical male domination. As well-intentioned as the execution of this research was, there is always the tendency to isolate and separate people with common experiences because of race and cultural experiences. The research objective was to confront and acknowledge African-American and white policewomen's experiences, without claiming or over-generalizing a theory of injustice or inequality among them. The research is limited to white (Caucasian) and black (African-American) female police officers. This research is modeled to study only black and white policewomen; thus it is limited in understanding other women of color within law enforcement.

Patricia Bell Scott (1977) argues that research must be more empirical and include cross-cultural investigations of the life experiences of women. She emphasizes that we, as feminist researchers, must go outside the perspectives of white, middle-class, or professional women. Her criticism also encompasses overcoming the male orientation of studying women within societies. Baca, Zinn and Dill (1996) champion this same idea with their "multiracial feminism," which goes beyond the recognition of difference to examine structures of domination and multiple hierarchies within the social construction of gender, specifically examining the power of race. They theorize that we must contextualize gender and discard a search for women as universal. These theoretical positions parallel the methodological choices of data collection for this research.

As a white researcher attempting to study and understand black females in policing, I am reminded that my race may be a limitation. I was diligent in my attempts to eliminate any barriers to this study in regard to race. Even with this constant vigilance about my race and its possible research limitations, there were still some differences observed and subsequently noted in this paper. The process of a white female researching a black woman's experiences in policing is fraught with many dimensions of difference, structured around the intersecting relations of race, class, sexuality, and professional relations (Harding, 1993; Lewis, 1996). When explaining my research to the black policewomen I tried to position myself as an "insider" in terms of policing, but explained to them that I am an "outsider" of their experiences of racism, but at the same time an "insider" of oppression as a woman and able to identify with institutional assumptions and practices. This idea coincides with Aitken and Burman's (1999) research that reflects on the process of a white woman researching a black woman's experiences.

Researched and Researcher:

A continuing problem and additional limitation for feminist qualitative researchers is the question of "voice" and, by implication, the nature of the account. Merely letting the tape recorder run and presenting the respondent's voice does not overcome the problem of representation, because the respondent's comments are already mediated when they are made in the interview (Lewin, 1991) and the researcher usually has the final responsibility for the text (Lincoln, 1997). Moreover, the choice of audience shapes how voice is perceived. During the research I continually critically analyzed the policewomen's voices, attempting to understand the specific contexts and articulate how, and how not, and within what limits, their voices were framed. These interviews were followed up with several interviews, either by phone or face-to-face, to state the themes that were implicit from their initial interviews. These follow-up

conversations allowed the women to verify the accuracy of the interview themes, and/or to provide further clarification of the meaning of their transcribed words.

During this qualitative research there were many issues that came up in terms of being an "insider" and how much I should share my life and experiences with the policewomen I was interviewing. There are many different positions on this topic within the research process. There are those who claim that personal experience is not a self-authenticating claim to knowledge and talk about the risk of confidence on this experience (O'Leary, 1997 or Scott, 1991: 779), stating "experience is at once already an interpretation and in need of interpretation." I tend to side with Haraway (1988; 1987), recognizing and intertwining my situated knowledge, accountability, and partial truths, and viewing the policewomen objectively, but with multiple fresh combinations and possibilities. Understanding that my position as an "insider" allowed me access and recognition to the women's perspectives, I made it clear that I too had been a police officer. I believe that telling the women I had been an officer and offering limited information allowed me better access to them and their perspectives, and definitely benefited this research.

As advantageous and valuable as this position sounds, it is also burdened with ways that can limit and angle assumptions of the research. I chose a topic, like many other feminist researchers, that is significant and central to my own experience. There is always the researcher's apprehension of possibly distorting participant's narratives or interpretation to fit her own understanding. This uneasiness is outlined by Barbara Du Bois (1983:105):

> The closer our subject matter to our own life and experience, the more we can probably expect our own beliefs about the world to enter into and shape our work – to influence the very questions we pose, our conception of how to approach those questions, and the interpretations we generate from our findings.

It is not surprising to me that my social positioning, in the past and present, could or would possibly shape my research perspective or interpretation, but it is these same truths that I expect

to shape the policewomen's perspectives and narratives to my questions. It is this awareness that separates academic and research "truths" and real life "truths."

It was with the problem of voice, possible insider bias, and my race that also concerned me about my research. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, I was keenly aware of my position as a researcher attempting to examine and analyze another person's experiences. We bring multiple selves and positions to the research process, just as much as the person being researched brings, blurring some boundaries between both of us. This blurring phenomena of boundaries, between researched and researcher, has been discussed by other researchers (Behar, 1993; Ellis, 1995). Collins' (1986) "insider" knowledge was encompassed in this idea of boundary. I constantly reminded myself that even though I shared several attributes with some of the participants, it didn't allow me full access to their knowledge, culture, or experiences. This research process was fluid and forever changing for me and the research participants.

It was interesting to meet each of the female policewomen without knowing anything about them, besides each being a police officer in a certain police department. We both came to the interview not knowing what the other one looked like, besides race and gender. The potential policewomen had very limited information about me as a person, my academic endeavor, or the purpose and direction of the research they were participating in. I came to our meeting, 'holding all the cards' per se. There was always stillness on the phone after I asked them where they would like to meet. One of the black policewomen said, "Oh…you mean I can tell you where we can meet?" I explained to her that she was doing me a favor by participating in the study and that I would accommodate her and her schedule. The discomfort I felt after her remark caused a "shift" inside of me and my looming research. It was complicated and left me feeling concerned.

I was unable to put my finger on this shifted perspective. Eventually I understood that some of the women had created assumptions of "who" I was and what I "wanted" from them.

The focus of the research into the policing experiences, perspectives, and inner dilemmas of the black and white policewomen, was to somehow create a relationship of trust, or what is referred to as transparency, in feminist research. Lather (1988) and Opie (1992) speak of this transparency as a commitment to developing an honest and open relationship with research participants. This open relationship would reveal and lay claim to ourselves, our positions outside dominant institutions, and acknowledge our power and privilege to choose how to identify ourselves to research participants.

It was the fractional information that I shared with the policewomen over the phone about the research, the mailed consent forms weighed down with academic language of confidentiality, risks and benefits, and procedures, along with scant information on me as a researcher, that in all probability, created uneasiness for the initial policewomen participants. I say initial, because several of the females mentioned to me that they had heard about this research from women officers who had already been interviewed or called by me. When I asked them if they were unsure about doing the interview one black female officer stated, "What did I have to lose? I would love the bullshit that happens in this department to come to light." I asked, "What type of bullshit?" She stated, "I guess you will have to wait and see until the end of our interview."

Each of the women was asked during our initial phone conversation if they would prefer to be interviewed at their homes, department, or another venue of their choice. Three black females suggested being interviewed in the city public library; two black females suggested and were interviewed in restaurants, one chose a patrol car, and the last one chose her police

department. Four of the white females initially suggested and were interviewed in their homes, two chose restaurants and one was interviewed in her patrol car.

When I was introducing myself on the phone to the policewomen I found it compulsory to establish my credibility at the beginning of the conversation. I communicated the fact that I was a female graduate student at Wayne State University doing research on women police officers. I would then mention hastily that I became interested in this topic because I am a retired Michigan State Trooper. This speedy proclamation was, with any luck, going to gain me possible legitimacy and trust in the eyes of the policewomen. After these semi-revealing remarks I would share limited information on what type of research I was doing. It was during this research description that I would always mention that I was interested in white and black women officer's perspectives on policing and that this was often ignored in policing literature. Many of the questions addressed to me after this information was shared had to do with how I knew the "gatekeeper," my inside policewoman, how long the interview would take and who would read the final research.

I was aware that just listening to me on the phone set up assumptions about me. The women's expectations were established based on my race, educational level, and prior policing experience. In all honesty, I was using the prior policing "insider" position as my trump card to get my foot in the door, along with being a friend of the gatekeeper. As mentioned, there is certain secrecy within law enforcement that outsiders are not privy to. I am an "outsider" for all practical purposes, but have a "ticket" to the back door, that other researchers or civilians do not have access to because of being a retired trooper. They would also set up other assumptions, that I had no control over, reference what my "real" motives were and why I chose their department.

It was my hope that my gatekeeper had established some sort of credibility about me through our relationship.

My gatekeeper told me that if the policewomen asked about me she told them that I was a childhood friend, had been a police officer, she trusted me, I lived over an hour away from the department, and that I was married with children. I asked her why it was important that she tell them that I was married with children and she stated, "Well, it seemed important to who you are, what you are, and maybe even what you are doing; it's important." This was a very interesting revelation: I am who I am in the eyes of others because I am married with children. This comment was made by the only female officer in the study who didn't have children. I then asked her if she told them I was white. She stated, "No, but I am white, I said childhood friend, and most whites grow up with other whites. Plus, once they talk to you they will know that you are white." She laughed after this and said, "You don't have any black-hood in you, girl."

It has been over eight years that I have been engaged in researching women in policing and I spent eight years being a trooper. So, after sixteen years of policing and researching policewomen, I can identify several contradictions to my research identity and how my acknowledgement of policewomen's realities have been shaped and reshaped. It was my limited policewoman "insider" identity that allowed me access to the women physically, my gender "insider" that allowed me access to some shared women's feelings, but some of the contradiction comes from both of these statuses as police officer and woman. These same contradictions are shaped by police culture based on department location and type of police.

In policing there is disconnect between police departments with regard to many dimensions, such as if you are a county, city, state, or federal police officer. There are also differences that are established based on whether you are a rural or urban police officer. Officers

develop a certain loyalty to their own department, training, and tradition. This needed to be mentioned, because one of the white females that I interviewed stated prior to our interview, "So, you were a statey (state trooper). What brings you slumming this way with the city cops?" She laughed after this comment and I asked her to explain. She stated, "You know, the whole idea that state police is varsity and everything else is JV to you guys." She added, "I'm sure you were not an asshole like the male troopers though." The contradiction can be found in this remark. Police culture and ideas of other departments is established in the academy, after-academy with field training officers, road patrol, and police subculture, but this officer indicated that gender would trump my professional experience, by not being one of the male troopers.

Another black female officer stated, "Does the state police even recruit or hire black females or black males for that matter? She then laughed and said, "I have only seen one (black female trooper) and she was in Detroit, go figure. State boys are (state police) different sort of cop….don't you think?" This comment, along with the other statements, indicates that my research position and assumptions about me, by the policewomen, are possibly shaped by my previous policing experience, not necessarily positively in the policewomen's eyes. The other contradiction was the thought that my gender would help create an "insider" status. I found myself falling back on these two positions to find my voice in our interviews. I realized that my status and position was not consistent nor systematic, but somewhat fluid. There were many times that I caught myself attempting to help the women finish their sentences, based on my own assumption of what I thought they were experiencing or trying to tell me.

After transcribing the first two interviews, I realized that I had preconceived ideas and was attempting to make the research easy, thinking that I understood the policewomen's ideas and thoughts, thus attempting to finish their sentences. I then approached the remaining twelve

interviews and follow-up phone conversations with more of an interviewee-guided, woman to woman talk, suggested by Marjorie DeVault (1990). She suggests using categories that women do and are, such as positions in the family. According to DeVault, in order for women to be understood, it is necessary to be interviewed by a woman, although there is no mention about how race could shape these conversations differently. These ideas enable women to speak freely developing ideas, constructing meanings, and using their own language to say what they mean. I don't necessarily agree with DeVault's statement, but can appreciate the position.

There were numerous times during the interviews when the policewomen would say, "You know…and…I know you know what I mean here." I always felt trapped after this statement, because it was a set-up for me to make assumptions. They didn't do it on purpose; it was a figure of speech often used in conversation. As a researcher, I was getting caught up in wanting to get through the preset interview schedule. I would jump in initially saying, "Yes I do," then giving immediate feedback. With discipline and vigilance I stopped this and would ask them to clarify or describe what it was they were explaining, letting the policewomen's responses determine the direction of the next question. This certainly made it more difficult for the final data analysis, in terms of finding ordered responses to several of the themes. This allowed for pauses and silence after questions, this hesitation allowed the women to speak with their real voices, space, and language. It also caused me to slow down and really listen to their responses and watch them answer.

It was during this transformation, in the interview process, that it became apparent to me what concerned bell hooks when she stated, "Even though they (white researchers) may be sincerely concerned about racism, their methodology suggests, they are not yet free of the type of paternalism endemic to white supremacist ideology" (hooks, 1984:12). The idea she is implying

is that a white researcher can never really know what a black woman knows and experiences. hook's words could be construed to be somewhat harsh, but I found truth to it. In hindsight, I am aware that I brought some of my white female upbringing and prior officer experiences into the context of black female officer's experiences. What I realized after several comments from one black policewoman was that I was the "they" that she was speaking about, but in her eyes, I was somehow outside of whom she considered to be "them."

This "they" position created an ambiguity in my position. Several black females described situations with white females, but put me in a different circle than the other white women. When one black female stated, "They [white policewomen] walk around this place like they deserve to be here and that they are somehow better than us [black females]." I asked her for clarification and said, "You are talking about the white policewomen?" and she said, "Yes, of course, that is who I am talking about." When she spoke of "they," it was as if I was not part of "them" and somehow outside of that context. I was continually aware of this position and one time somewhat uncomfortable. According to Aitken & Burman (1999), in their research on the process of a white woman researching black women's experiences in clinical psychology, the "they" is positioned by the black person using several different arrangements. They explained that this position was a way to avoid social difficulty and not wanting to confront the researcher with racism, which I believe was their position. In addition to this, they may look at the research relationship as a token, and lastly, looking at the relationship between researcher and researched as developing differently than those other relationships.

During the interview process when "they" was used to refer to white individuals, I understood it to mean that they were distancing me from the experience they were describing, somehow seeing me outside of this experience they were relating. I didn't challenge their

positioning of me because I didn't want to expose my social location and possible structural advantages to them, and I was attempting to establish a trusting and reciprocal relationship. I continued to try and position myself parallel to them, using my "insider" police status and being female. There were times when I realized that we were talking about very sensitive race issues, reading tension and stress in the women's body language, and I would deliberately back off, with intentions of rounding back asking the question in a different way. It was during these times that I remember feeling responsible for their feelings, well-being, and our precarious relationship and working to keep it constant. Even with all the work of re-shaping questions and being sensitive to race, I understood the black females to be "holding back" and something I could not get at in my research timeframe or maybe never.

After transcribing the interviews and deciphering and interpreting some of my feelings during the analysis part of the research, I realized that it is difficult to allow data to speak strictly for itself or that I could be "invisible" or "unbiased" during the research. Van Maanen's (1988), in describing his "confessional style," and Clough (1988) both speak about sociologist's problematic and contradictory, yet unspoken, influence of the researcher as author, and this must be mentioned within the research. It is the challenging feelings and awkward interview moments that I believe lends to the realism and veracity of this research. So this researcher and researched is a form of "deconstructionism" which exposes some biases and taken-for-granted notions of race and gender, yet portrays the themes, policewomen, and my concerns as honestly as possible. This does not constitute a lessening of the truths, only an alternative perspective.

Secretiveness of the topic:

As mentioned at the beginning of the research an additional problem and potential limitation is participant's secrecy. Some of the police participants' stories may be too personal to

get the "inside-her story." Even with employing the insider perspective to acquire more quality information than would be available otherwise, there was some degree of secrecy from several policewomen because of my current non-police status. According to Crank (1998, 2004), police see themselves as outsiders, different from citizens, apart and special. Their principal characteristics in regard to being outsiders are being secretive, lying low, invisibility and avoiding trouble. As outsiders, police tend to develop a "we-them" mentality where there is a shift from the criminal element to the public (Sherman, 1982).

The code of secrecy is common in policing. It protects line officers from organizational oversight and insulates them from citizens (Kappeler et al., 1995). This secrecy is refuted by Baker (1985) who said that secrecy was not the issue he had heard it would be from literature and found the police he interviewed to be gregarious and charming. There were several interviews that were quite brief initially, but expanded during follow-up telephone conversations, uncovering more information. It seemed at times that being on the other end of phone conversations allowed information that was more direct and not as much "around-the-topic" explanations or descriptions to be divulged. Despite these limitations, the research presents an approach to studying African-American and white policewomen in a different way, which prior research has referred to as being needed.

The research goal is to try to see and understand positions, perceptions, and experiences of all the policewomen participants. Understanding these limitations and utilizing feminist methodologies, university committee members, and common sense, the research will capture what is catchable within my abilities and the willingness of the policewomen to divulge. The sample of black and white policewomen is small and not necessarily representative of all

policewomen. The findings for this research are noteworthy and contain many directions for future studies, but should not be generalized to all policewomen.

<u>Internal Validity:</u>

Taylor and Bogdan (1998) state that qualitative data analysis is not as concerned with the reliability of coding procedures as commonly thought of in quantitative research. The validity of the findings is more the concern. Issues of external validity will be inherent in this type of qualitative approach in attempting to uncover black and white policewomen's voice, not found in previous research on this topic of study. This case study allows me to be a guest in the private spaces of black and white policewomen, providing me with their personal views and circumstances. The purpose is to represent the case, with specific and credible explanations, not to generalize about all women in policing.

Strategies that were used to combat arguments and limitations of validity within this case study were triangulation. This process used multiple policewomen's perceptions to clarify meaning, verify repeatability of observations and interpretation, but acknowledges that not all observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable. Triangulation also serves to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is seen (Silverman, 1993). According to Flick (1998: 230) triangulation is not a tool or a strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation. It is this strategy that Denzin (2000) refers to as description and explanation and whether the explanation fits the description. The policewomen's accounts and descriptions, many very similar, lend to validity of themes within this case study.

There are many challenges for researchers when they choose to do qualitative research. Qualitative researchers have been referred to as journalists or soft scientists and the criticisms range from being subjective, exploratory, and unscientific. It is these criticisms that were

explained, described, and listed as "limitations" within the methodology section of this research. It is imperative to understand that attempting to understand and describe policewomen's perceptions, judgments, and feelings cannot be adjusted and measured. The policewomen's experiences are socially constructed reality, revealed through a relationship with the researcher, studied through situational constraints. The next chapter will explore how policewomen are perceived as caregivers and mothers by their peers, civilians, and themselves.

## Chapter 5

## Policewomen as Caregivers, Mothers, and Others

Results from the interviews with the policewomen revealed several wide-ranging themes from the research questions.  These themes included: women as caregivers, white policewomen entitlement, black policewomen's double jeopardy status, continued gender discrimination in law enforcement, and "difference" in policewomen. It is these general themes that shaped their policing experiences of the subjects, perspectives, and relationships with each other. Some of the themes to be discussed were somewhat anticipated within this research, but what was surprising was the different perspectives and reactions from the policewomen. These responses are specific to these policewomen, within this particular police department, but when the women discussed these matters, they seemed to generalize these issues across law enforcement encompassing all policewomen.

New York City's first female officer, Mary E. Hamilton (1924), appointed in 1918, stated that women symbolize the "mother" and work toward protection of the home and family. Historically, women have been socially defined largely by their sexual and procreative labor. These traditional designations have defined women as mothers and sexual objects (Jaggar, 1988). It is these same patriarchal ideas of women's subordination, within the household as mother and caregiver, which has created and maintained women's subordination within policing. Alongside male colleagues' damaging attitudes, women officers face additional socially constructed problems that male partners do not encounter as much, such as family responsibilities (Martin, 1980, 1986, 1994), role strain and role conflict (Martin, 1980; Jacobs, 1987), and other less focused issues of competence and self worth. This was evident through several of the women's reasons for lack of networking and after-work socializing.

It was through the policewomen's responses to relationships and socialization with other policewomen, inside and outside of policing, that several of the comments surfaced about the distinctive position women often occupy in policing. Historically, occupational norms have been linked to work segregation by sex (Coser & Rockoff, 1971; Jacobs, 1989). These stereotypical sex type categorizations function and reinforce women's supportive, ancillary roles, rather than positions of independence, authority, and leadership in the work force. This research supports the idea that women are stereotyped as better caregivers, communicators, and empathizers. All of the policewomen, black and white, in this research indicated that they believed they were better police officers, as compared to their male partners, because of their ethic of care or experience of being a mother. Recent research supports the description of policewomen believing they are better than male officers because of the stereotypic caregiver role and gender-displaying behaviors (Garcia, 2003; Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

It was the policewomen's responses that indicated that they understood this position and that they were "different" from their male partners. One of the black female officers indicated that she believed male officers understood that women were better at certain parts of policing and that is why they discriminated against women and called them derogatory names and treated them badly. I asked her what type of derogatory names she had heard women being called by male officers.  She started naming them off and laughing in between each one. She started with "ho," "bitch," "dyke," "skank," "whore," "pussy," "crack-head," then stopped and said, "Would you like me to continue?" When I asked her if she had ever been called the names directly from one of the male officers or the community, she stated, "They ain't that brave. They say it behind your back, but it always gets back to you." Another white policewoman stated that several of her white male partners had told her that most of the black policewomen were "worthless bitches"

that were in the department because of the government interfering in law enforcement. She indicated that it seemed that he believed that she agreed with his judgment and that she was somehow a confidant, because she was white.

The responses regarding socializing and relationships inside and outside of policing did not differ between black and white female officers. Most of the responses were that there was not the luxury of "downing beers with the boys" after work because the female officers had children they needed to get home to. For example, this white female officer, mother of two, summed up why women officers are unable to socialize much after work by saying:

> Women are expected to be home at dinnertime. It is okay to be home late or well-after-the-fact if you are male, but not as a woman. I may be generalizing a bit, but there is a very big nugget of truth in what I just said. Women have to be there straight up, even if my husband is sitting right there in the room. I am busy with dinner or whatever; they [children] come to me for help or to do something. It is much easier for a male to socialize after work with buds than it is for any woman. I'm not saying that some women don't go to choir practice [slang in policing for drinking after work], but, for the most part, we are mothers first. We change in the eyes of male cops after we have babies. We change to them and, of course, we change to us.

The idea of somehow "metamorphosing" into something different, a mother, brought on complicated thoughts and feelings for the women. They wondered what the men believed they became or what they should become. One white female officer indicated that she had a great relationship with her white male partner, but when she came back from maternity leave, it was "just real different…I was different I suppose." I asked her if maybe it was different to her and that she somehow just thought of herself as different to her partner. She indicated that she believed she moved out of the ranks of fun-partner to a mother with defined boundaries for her male partner. Another white policewoman echoed this idea and stated:

> There is no question that women are doing great police work, but there are distractions that many men don't seem to have or acknowledge. It seems at times you never sleep a whole night when your kids are little and you are thinking of them when you work nights,

even when someone is there with them. It is different for mothers…it is just different, doesn't matter if you are black and white. You know…we are mothers. It is who we are.

There were two females that stated that younger female officers, without children or husbands, have an opportunity to socialize, but once this changes, all networking and after-work socializing with friends' changes for a woman and changes a woman. A black policewoman noted:

> What I learned, after becoming a mom, is that I would get off work and go straight home and do just that…be a mom. I had somewhat of a support system, but it is different for women than men. We have to go home…we are expected to go home, men aren't. Hey, when you don't have kids, there is some socializing, but that all changes with kids. We just change because we have to. They don't have to change. It starts before you even have the kids. You got about seven months to know your life is going to change…it don't happen in the delivery room.

A black female officer, with two grown daughters, was speaking about the difference between men and women that have children. She was explaining that men can go out after work even if they are a father. She stated:

> …but women can't do that like guys, for the most part. We can't. We have to go home because kids have to eat and be bathed. The guys even look at you different after you have kids, like they know you should go home. They sit there, they are fathers, but they somehow know they don't have to go home. Now, there are men that do go home…so, I am stereotyping a little bit.

The above comments speak to the gendered division of labor and work experiences and how possible "mixing in" and socializing can be limited by cultural norms of what is expected from women and mothers. The policewomen attempt to carry themselves like their male partners, but know they are different and speak of being different. One of the white female officers told me that when she went out after work once, after having her first child, her cell phone rang and one of the male officers yelled out, "Hey, she got a call from home from hubby and has to leave to go home and flip her titty out because the baby is hungry and crying." She told me she laughed at this remark at the time, but that it really bothered her later. She said that

he had been her partner for two years and that he hardly speaks to her now. These women see and feel the change and describe it as difference. This difference is a gender social construct with real implications for their perceptions and attitudes within policing. They know they are different, believe they are better, but understand that they are outside of what they were trying to get inside of.

This white female officer explained that black and white women have a common bond because of their outside-of-work responsibilities and being women. She described it as a strength and maturity level in policing and image.

> …In women…they have a common bond…women. Most here tend to be mothers or wives, and they tend to have a lot more going on outside of policing that they have to draw on. So I think that we do have some women who may be, "Look, I'm cool because I am a cop," but we don't tend to carry the job outside with the t-shirt that says "cop" across the back or the gun blatantly showing from the hip on our day off. As far as women, both black and white, they tend to be…well, there is more of a common ground. Some of the women that have really moved up in the ranks struggled within their own communities, as well as in the department….It is a struggle, no matter how easy some make it look. This struggle goes for both black and white women. We have to work at it more to make it work inside (work) and outside (home).

This difference, which the policewomen have a hard time naming, is presented in research as cultural barriers, coming from police organization and managerial structures, and societal beliefs about women and police work demands. Scholars have reported how police organizational culture is gendered by supporting these differences through promoting, and glorifying masculine values (Martin, 1979, 1996; Fielding, 1994; Garcia, 2003; Walklate, 1992, 1993). It is difficult for these women to mimic this policing culture when they don't have access to the same opportunities, nor do they necessarily want to be part of them. Several of the policewomen stated that they didn't want to be part of the "little boys" club after starting a family because they too realized they had changed. Oftentimes during these descriptions, the policewomen's words and demeanor gave the impression of being tough, but there seemed to be

an underlying "unspoken" sadness and regret for old days of policing, before becoming "different."

Not all the females were so happy or content to relinquish their after-work banter and beers with some of the boys. Two of the white females said that they tried to get back into the "policing swing of things" by going out after work. One of them stated that she "really loved hanging with her partner, but it just got too hard to do." She said that she worked second shift and that by the time she was done working and changed out of uniform, it was already midnight and she had to be up with the baby at five or six in the morning. She said, "By the time the baby started sleeping later in the morning, I was already out of the loop of partying and just too tired to do anything about it."

According to Yoder (1991) and Reiner (1992), policewomen are seen as intruders that have entered a male police officer's self-defined territory of brave, strong, and courageous protectors of the community and that women threaten the police image that law enforcement wants to maintain, causing difficulty in policing relationships and socialization. Rothman (2002), states in her book *Recreating Motherhood* that motherhood is based on caregiving and nurturance and that this true whether it is provided by a woman or a man. She reiterates that this position is, and always has been, overwhelmingly women, thus is a strong statement that caregivers in our society are still seriously disadvantaged. This idea is repeated over and over by female officers who feel defined by what culture believes a woman and mother should be.

Not at odds with Rothman's (2002) standpoint, but focusing on what she refers to as a paralyzing dilemma or "deep divide," Henry (1994) questions women's objectives of what they want and what they really do to achieve equality in our society. She states that women want equal pay, equal relationships, and the same opportunities, but at the same time vote against

female candidates who could fight for change, and will not champion or own the title of a feminist, yet identify with feminism's ideology of equality. This paradox seems fitting when women describe themselves as different, yet cling to this "weakened" difference in policing, considering it strength. An example of this is a comment from one black female officer with three children, "Hey, I am a mother first. If that ain't what they see as a police officer…well, I can't do nothin' about it." There were other comments from many women that there was nothing they could do and that they were tired of fighting for something that was never going to be won.

Past research on women in policing indicates that policewomen compared themselves to male officers and believed that they were "as good" as them (Block & Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1975; Sichel et al., 1988). Recent research indicates that they no longer believe they are "as good" as male officers, but that they are better because of being defined as weaker. It is the definition of "weakness"—being mothers, sympathizers, and caregivers—that most policewomen believe make them better than male officers (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; West &Fenstermaker, 1995). This argument of masculinity and femininity being part of men and women's nature was rejected by Goffman (1976). Goffman contends that masculinity and femininity are socially learned and patterned. The policewomen in this study never mentioned that they believed their caregiving or mother skills were socially learned or biological, only that it made them different, and they were treated differently.

The differences that many of the women speak of are within the realm of "caring," "nurturing," and "self-sacrificing," which are stereotypical attributes ascribed to women and mothers in our culture. These ascribed characteristics have a price that is paid in terms of time, family, and perceptions. The ideas that women have been liberated, but that mothers in our society have not, is explored in by Ann Crittenden (2001) in her book, *The Price of Motherhood*.

Crittenden speaks about how we glorify motherhood, but at the same time make the job of mother a second-class, invisible citizen without the pay or benefits of paid labor. It is these roles that many of the policewomen stated were special strengths they brought to policing, but also knew were undervalued by our culture and law enforcement (Teunion, 2003).

Hochschild (2003), in *Second Shift*, researched the challenges that women face after they have put in a full day of paid work outside the home. These challenges include housework and taking care of their families. She states that the average woman works an additional 15 hours longer than males each week.  It is these added hours that many of the policewomen spoke of when explaining that they could not socialize after work because of family obligations and responsibilities. Hochschild refers to this one-sided work time as the "leisure gap" between men and women.

This "second shift" was not referred to as the "leisure gap" by the policewomen by name, but was understood and spoken about as work-after-work. Many of the policewomen, black and white, indicated that they would work all day, then have to go home and work some more and that they were tired. One of the black policewomen said, "I work with some of the nastiest public all night, come home in the morning and get my kids ready for school, do some laundry, get to the store, sleep a couple hours, and get ready for them to come through the door from school." She pointed out that by the time she is done feeding them dinner she is ready to nap an hour or two before her police shift begins. She said that she is tired all the time, indicating that it would be so much easier if she could come home in the morning and just go to bed.

Several policewomen said they were personally criticized by their male partners for not being good mothers because of their chosen law enforcement positions. This marginalization is well documented in law enforcement literature. The law enforcement culture, or what is

mentioned in research as a "cult of masculinity," suggests that internal solidarity and social isolation continues to deny full access to women in policing (Balkin, 1988; Fielding, 1997; Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1990; and Reiner, 1992). A white policewoman, mother of three, described a conversation addressed to her while she was working in a dispatch center, pregnant with her second child, by a white male officer:

> "Your poor kids are going to be born with six legs and six arms because you are either in a patrol car or in front of a computer. Poor thing will never know its mother because she works different shifts. I worked three jobs so that my wife could stay home and not work, like a good mother should." I just turned around and said, "Well, isn't that tragic that 'your' kids will never know you as a father." That shut him up for awhile…he just couldn't see it the other way around.

The following interview excerpt by a white policewoman described her experience of being admonished by the "good ole boy" network, letting her know she should make a choice between the police job and being a mother.

> I'm a divorced mother and I share custody with my ex-husband. I only get my son every other week and now it is only a couple of hours in the day that I see him before I have to go to work, because they bumped me off of third shift. So I miss out on bathing him, feeding him dinner, putting him to bed, all that good stuff. So I filed a hardship, because I was on second shift, stating I preferred and would like to be considered for third or first shift, so that I can be home with my child. They wouldn't do it, even with an opening. They kind of laughed saying something about that not being a hardship.

Martin (1996), Gaston and Alexander (1997) have researched this persistence of family unfriendly police and the general social idea that policing is not appropriate for women. Teunion's (2003) research of women in policing indicated that the idea of family being an impediment was mentioned and discussed by several women. There was a particular officer in this study who faced the dilemma of either remaining a sergeant, moving up the policing ranks, making better money, or taking a demotion, so that she would have more time home with her young children and, in her own words, "being a better mom." One of the research questions

asked the policewoman what, if anything, had stopped her from being her best in policing. The officer went on to explain her barrier, as she understood it:

> Probably my barrier would be my family, but I don't really think of it that way or mean it the way it sounds. My kids mean more to me than my job. If I don't study hard for the test (promotional exam), which I haven't done, it is because I spent time with my kids instead. I don't think of it as a loss, but as my choice. I mean…I'm a mother and that comes first…always. I see it that way…not my department.

This point was duplicated by the following white female officer who explained that family obligations came first, this being what she believed to be one of her greatest strengths.

> According to policing, I am not my best right now. I don't think that it has anything to do with my work ethic or abilities. It's my personal life. If I wasn't married, had no children, I could go through more training schools. I could work different shifts that provide more opportunities; I could take more transfers and be promoted because of all of it. You can't move around with children and you have to be consistent. Males can do it all, because a majority of them have wives that will move along with them and it is the wives that would have to give something up.

It seems from the examples and previous research (Teunion, 2003), that women actively construct and reproduce some of the same cultural knowledge that they feel slows them down in the career of policing. It is this reproduction of cultural expectations that they believe create their inner strengths and that they believe would benefit policing. This idea does not strengthen the idea of policewoman as "other" in law enforcement, only that "other" is seen by women as advantageous. A white policewoman explained that as a woman and a mother, she was the "whole package" for policing. She stated that she "communicated well with citizens, cared about the citizens, and didn't start any shit on the street." She said, "Women know they are usually not as strong as most people they will encounter, so we don't go out and act like we can kick anyone's ass if they swear or look at us wrong, like some of the men." She stated, "Communication is the best tool any woman can bring to policing. That tool is so underestimated and undervalued in policing."

The following statement was made by a white policewoman, from previous research (Teunion, 2003), about how she believes the public places, or imagines, women in policing as caregivers, "soothsayer or need-a-hug" positions:

> …I don't know….I sometimes have this mothering effect or what. People feel more comfortable I think grabbin' onto a woman and crying on their shoulders sometimes than they do a man. Because I have had grown men do the same thing, because they have lost a relative or someone they love, where I don't believe they would be so apt to do it with a male officer that was there too. I think that it is natural though, overall, women are just looked at as having that mothering instinct. Women are more emotional, communicate better, and more nurturing and that's just a natural thing. I think of it as strength I have and they [men] don't.

Good Ole Boy Network

It was mentioned by several females during this research that it is a "good ole boy" network which keeps women on the outside or at "arm's-length," from command or leadership positions, which is reproduced, enforced, and regulated by males. Cockburn (1991) refers to this network as "gatekeepers" in search of owners and managers of organizations. Cockburn stated that these gatekeepers often exclude women if they are considered a threat to men's symbolic status. Differences in pay, social status, and power are evident even when women perform the same jobs as men (Acker, 1989, Martin, 1997; Martin & Jurik, 1996). According to Jurik (1988), work assignments in criminal justice are about access to power structures and higher profile assignments are more often assigned to men. Numerous comments made by black and white policewomen indicated that they believed that many of the males in their department, in decision making positions, were part of this network and were not concerned with "real" issues that women face, and even devalued them. One of the white females said, "Perhaps it is that male officers perceive policewomen supervisors as threatening, when they have more experience or knowledge in policing than them." She indicated that she believed this was at the heart of a male

officer's uncooperative and problematic behavior with policewomen supervisors. She then elaborated about lack of respect for policewomen in leadership positions:

> …A lot of male officers, black or white, don't think you know what you are talking about. First of all, they truly believe that the only reason that you are in a position of power over them is because of affirmative action or you screwed someone to get where you are at. It doesn't matter that I have over fifteen years of policing in various department capacities or that I have my masters…it is that I got here in a way that he couldn't, on my back or on my knees. They flat out don't follow your orders or at times, do the opposite. They are not scared of what might happen to them either…it is usually a minor slap on the wrist and then they can go tell their buddies about what they did and have a good laugh.

The most senior officer in the research sample, a white female with twenty-five years in the department talked about her career path. She stated that she had worked in four different divisions and was currently a detective in the homicide division. She stated that she came into the department in the early 1980's. She described the department as a "sponge that would grow, and then retract back, in regard to policies and how women, black and white, were treated in the department." She indicated that the "sponge" context was shaped by the "color" of the city mayor and chief of police. During our conversation it was obvious that she was a no-nonsense person, with only ten months left before her retirement, a "short-timer" is how she referred to herself. She indicated that she was tired of the politics and fighting female officer battles that could never be won. She stated that she had fought enough battles and was part of enough past lawsuits to last a lifetime and would be happy when it was behind her. She half-laughed, putting her hands behind her head, as if relaxed and comfortable, and said, "There isn't going to be no party, no tears, just 'here today, gone tomorrow' when I leave."

It should be noted that there was not a specific interview question that addressed, nor probed, the policewomen about a "good ole boy" network. This terminology and explanation was gathered from different interview conversations. The following interview excerpts are in

reference to the male power arrangement, which many of the policewomen referred to as the "good ole boy" network. The policewomen indicated that they understand the network to keep black and white policewomen and other minority police officers in their "place." I make every attempt in this research to explain the context of the questions addressed to specific females for each excerpt reference to the "good ole boy" network. The first quote comes from the white female, with twenty-five years in the department, noted above. She is explaining to me what it feels like to be a white female in her department:

> …I do believe the problem is that I am a female and the chief is a "*good ole boy.*," He continually wants me to know that maybe I am in the wrong profession. I have this many years in, twenty-five to be exact, and he still talks to me like I started yesterday. They did a good job of keeping me fighting for every step upward, which was the good fight for sure. I have made great strides in this department, won big battles through lawsuits, and proved myself, but it comes down to I am a woman that will fight every step of the way and will not lay down. So, I am a pain in the ass to them.

Wertsch's (1998) research indicates that most policewomen that come into law enforcement are aware of the disadvantage they will encounter. Several of the policewomen in this research stated that they knew they were in for some poor treatment, but mentioned that they didn't think that it would continue after they proved themselves. Belknap & Shelly's (1993) research results showed that experienced officers with more time expressed more pessimism because they understood that no amount of policewomen's accomplishments would prompt male acceptance. This pessimism or cynicism was quite apparent based on several of the policewomen's responses, especially the twenty-five year white female officer's last statement.

The next excerpt is from a black policewoman who was working the desk in a light duty position because of an on-duty injury she sustained while on patrol. She seemed very charismatic, educated and outspoken. Before answering each question she would lean back in her chair and appear to really think about her response. The following reply was a response to why

she wanted to be a motorcycle cop in the department. It was this position in the department that she was attempting to get prior to receiving her recent injury. She indicated that there had never been a black female motorcycle cop and stated, "Probably never will be one neither." She stated that she wasn't "pretty enough to be on that squad and was the wrong color or not light-skinned enough for sure."

> …You can't do it. You just can't do that as a black female. There are not enough of you in the game to do that. You know…even with like the boards or organizations in policing…like FOP [Fraternal Order of Police], police organizations and such. I mean look at all these boards and organizations, look at who is on them and stuff like that. These are the "*good ole boys*." I mean flat out…it is them. They are old and they are not giving up and they are set in their ways. There is not one speckle of color or blacks or women…

A white female detective with fifteen years in the department indicated that even though she worked every shift within several different divisions and had received her master's degree, most males still thought that she probably "screwed" her way to her current position. I asked if she was sour over this perception and she started laughing. She was very good-humored and smiled a lot. She stated, "I really don't care what those lazy bastards think, I am and have always been a hard worker." She indicated that she was "probably as far as they were ever going to allow her to rise in this department." She stated several times during our conversation and our follow-up phone conversation that she empathized with black females in this department, because as she stated, "they get it coming and going in this damn department." She then attempted to explain her perception of the "good ole boy" network when prompted about policewomen in leadership positions in the department.

> …I would also say that the "*good ole boy*" network is at work when it comes to promotions and networking. It is no secret for the most part that being a woman in a command position, over males in patrol, is like having an NFL female coach. It is not something most guys want. They aren't going to say it…but, it is out there. This goes for black and white women officers. Either way…the old perception is that she slept her way to the top…I say old…but it still works that way today. I think that black females

probably have it tougher in higher-ranking positions. You know they are there…but not really. You know she is probably on the outside circle….outside loop of what is really being said among all the high-ranking men. She is there, like a lot of women in those positions, but not really there…you know?

A white female officer brought up the "good ole boy" club when speaking about being accepted in the department or policing. She worried that if she didn't try to be part of it that her back-up on patrol some day would not be there. She said that it didn't take her long to realize that some of the after-work shift parties were not necessarily a good thing for a single woman. She stated that a female sergeant approached her when she was a younger officer and warned her that "hanging with the boys" too much could possibly follow her throughout her career and "not in a good way." She indicated she was not sure what the sergeant meant by "follow her" and inquired further. She said the female sergeant stated, "One day these stories will all be turned around. You will be seen in a bad light and not promoted in this department. It won't even matter if the story was true, screwing is screwing…doesn't matter by who…to who…trust me." This idea is supported by Cockburn (1991) who argues that male officer achievement is attributed to skill and women's accomplishments are often seen and explained as the result of sexual favors or reverse discrimination.

Other female officers also indicated that it was easy to be labeled "loose," "slut," "hole," "lesbian" and "whore," if you "hooked up" with one of the male cops, and that it would follow you indefinitely. This form of resistance to policewomen in the shape of harassment, sexism, isolation, discrimination, rumors and gossip about their sexuality is well documented in the policing literature (Garcia, 2003; Harrington, 2002; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1980, 1990, 1994). The twenty-five year white policewomen said, "It will be there, usually exaggerated in a way that turned heads." This female went on to say it is the same "double standard sex crap that women have always put up with, but one-hundred fold in law enforcement." She said, "You are not

wanted here by many male officers, so the stories help to put all women in a bad light. One

horrible policewoman equals ten other policewomen in the department…or probably all of

them." She explained further:

> … It is called the "good ole boy" club. You go to shift parties because you got to fit
> in….you don't fit in, they might not back you up. If they don't like you and you're a
> rookie, you are screwed.  You go to shift parties and then…..fortunately, I didn't go to
> them too long, before I started seeing things that I didn't want to see. I think that there are
> many other younger women that have to play the game a little bit and are afraid to make
> complaints….because then you are labeled. The sad thing is you are never going to be
> part of that club. You are always going to be labeled because it doesn't matter. Actually,
> it is not so sad…I wouldn't want to be anything like them [men].

The following excerpt was from a divorced white female officer, who shared joint

custody of her son with her ex-husband. The way she spoke during our conversation seemed very

deliberate, serious, and educated. Currently she was the only female officer that was in college

working on her master's degree.  She was very reserved with her humor, for the first hour of our

conversation, and then she appeared to become more comfortable with the research content and

me and would occasionally laugh. She restated, three times, that she was not the type of officer

to complain, but that at times "this department tests all of my boundaries and every ounce of my

patience." She was a road patrol sergeant over an all-male second shift. She said that she was

aware that they (males on second shift) didn't necessarily respect her, but had to listen to her for

the most part. She stated that she had heard from another male that several of the officers had

spoken about running her out of the position after she was first promoted to patrol sergeant. I

asked her if they were succeeding, she smiled and said "It will take more than a handful of

immature, ignorant males to run me out of this position." She then continued,

> … My biggest thing about being treated different than any other person in the
> department, it is difficult being a female supervisor. I often think it is because of the
> "*good ole boy*" network that works at keeping you down. It isn't as bad as it used to be
> and I understand this…but, I think that it is more difficult to gain respect from the
> officers as their supervisor, being a female and their supervisor. They see a woman, not a

police leader, it doesn't matter what I do. I am on the outside most of the time, but I just keep coming to work and doing my job.

The next interview excerpt comes from a black policewoman. She seemed very reserved and short with a majority of her answers. I continually had to probe her for follow-up conversation. It was not until the last half hour of the interview that she appeared to open up and show some emotion and interest in the topic. She was speaking to me about the department not having any African-Americans in supervisory positions. She stated that "promotion is done through testing, but it is no secret that they 'groom' certain individuals for coveted positions in the department." She described how individuals are groomed, "They get a lot of testing help and tutoring from the upper supervisors, and make sure that the positions are filled by 'like-minded' people." It was understood that many of the women and blacks that were in supervisory positions were still outside the small "like-minded club." The "like-minded club" phrase was just another way of referring to the "good ole boy" network.  She continues with her perception of this club:

> … They are going to have to promote [a black person] otherwise it is going to look real bad or a bad perception thing for the department. I do believe that there are secret meetings that are done to figure out how and who they will promote in the "*good ole boy*" network or whatever you want to call them. It is definitely a strategy of who gets through to where. It is right there in your face…the discrimination…but, when the promotion came…it wasn't no black person. There is a level of strategy that promotions are done for black people in the department. There are chances to be promoted…one or two steps, but you are not getting all the way up there in this department. I imagine some will and have…but a majority of them will not.

These policewomen, when talking about the "good ole boy" network, did not appear visibly perturbed, but spoke of it as if this happens and they have no control over it. A lot of their voice and body language during the interviews, when speaking of the male network, appeared very composed. I asked one of the black policewomen if this network angered her and she responded:

> Seriously, what the hell can I do about it? The thousands of women officers before me were not able to change it and thousands of policewomen after me will not be able to change it. It just is. If I got pissed off every time I was dissed in this department, I would be pissed 365 days a year, 24-7…it just ain't worth my grief. Sure I get pissed occasionally, get my blood pressure whacked out, but in the end I can't do nothin' about it. Just do your work and go home and work some more.

I responded, "But, isn't that what they want and what possibly enables this 'good ole boy' network to continue?" She stated:

> Yep. It is exactly what they want, I imagine. I am only one woman trying to keep a job to feed my family. There are not enough of us to fight this battle. They know they have it won. You only have to hire so many minorities or women to keep the peace…you know, enough to keep the public happy, the government off your back, and women away from the door, so…I don't see it changing in my lifetime. There have been women that fought and won…but, these took years and years…and I don't want no part of that crap.

The following excerpt comes from a second follow-up interview with a black female officer. We had spoken on the phone two other times and she seemed incredibly comfortable with me. She laughed out loud, kicking back in her chair, when I asked if women wanted to be part of the "good ole boy" network or have their own "good ole girl" network in policing. She explained the difference between males and females using a child's movie as an analogy.

> …There is no subculture of women in policing. Women are autonomous individuals; they don't flock in groups in elite subcultures like men do. Males need that bonding thing. They have to have pride, like the Lion King thing. Somewhat of a king to look up to I suppose. That's why they have their beers and slang after work and topless bars and stuff like that. I should say though, the culture is changing because men are changing to be more family oriented. …Women hang out with one or two friends, but not usually as a group. They have families and don't have time for that. Women are just more autonomous and family is paramount…I guess, it has to be.

There is research that indicates that minorities and women officers do not have the same access to information, role models, and informal networks to assist them in maneuvering through an organization (Bell, 1990; Haarr & Morash, 1999; Nkomo & Cox, 1989). Several of the women referred to the "good ole boy" network as a very important informal network that was not available to them when it came to promotional testing and horizontal advancement within the

department. Additional comments were made by several white females indicating that they were allowed to be "one of the boys" to a certain extent and enjoyed this camaraderie with their male partners. One of the white female officers stated, "I mean…that is the draw to this job…camaraderie…the blue thin line stuff."

Through the interviews and literature it became evident that "being one of the boys" was more of an opportunity or strategy for white policewomen, not necessarily black policewomen. Black policewomen appear to be excluded from the majority of traditional police subculture. According to Martin (1994) black female officers do not expect to be "one of the boys," whereas some white policewomen envision achieving this status. Martin states this may possibly be the reason for black female's strategy of distancing themselves off duty, with both black and white male officers. This study lends to this research and would append distancing themselves from white female officers as well.

A white policewoman had a different take on why she believes that women are their "own worst enemies." She described her aversion to socializing with other female officers, as more of what policewomen are pushed into, somehow shaped and created by outside forces. She believed that this was not just a problem women encounter in policing, but in all types of employment and organizations.

> …I think that there is an underlying competitiveness of being a female cop. I hate saying this, but I think that we are pushed to be just that, top cops. We have to continually prove ourselves from day one. We are scrutinized and categorized based on women before and after us. We are always chasing something that we will never be allowed to be…a good cop. You know, we have to be "one of the boys" to even get to play the game. Even then, you are only part of the game. It takes years and years and years before you really allow yourself to accept your femininity, which definitely changes over time, maybe not in a guy's eye. I have twenty-five years now; I stopped playing with the boys and became me, a woman and a cop, and a long time ago. We are different, we police different, we see things different, and we should be different….This is some of the reason that females critique each other instead of empower each other in all organizations. We fall into what

is happening to us and tear each other down. On top of this...we are expected to be super moms too...and keep the personal lives on the up and up.

The last quote is confirmed in literature that women would often distance themselves from female group membership and align with the dominant police group (Martin, 1980; Wexler, 1985). According to hooks (1994), this "othering" is a common experience in marginalized groups. "Othering" is the idea that some women are stereotyped and there is the position of being both different and inferior to themselves. West and Fenstermaker (1995) talk about the risk of policewomen identifying with subordinate groups, even when they are part of that group. In Rabe-Hemp's (2008) research, she indicated that women supporting other women, often referred to as "estrogen mafia," can cost them further isolation and reproached by male officers. This marginalizing of other women ultimately marginalizes all women in the police culture.

Work Family Conflict (WFC):

There is law enforcement research that indicates that work/family relationships are a major source of stress. The personal lives of police officers are affected by the unique nature of police work, causing them to perceive their job as psychologically stressful, causing burnout (Burke, 1989; 1993; 1994). According to Martin (1980, 1996), these demands are even greater for female officers, because of domestic roles as mother and wife. Loerch's (1989) research also indicates that women, when compared to men in regards to strain and behavior-based conflict, had greater time-based conflicts to deal with. The time based conflicts research by Couter (1984) and Schwartz (1989) deals with women being affected by having children and being responsible for childcare arrangements, shouldering more responsibility for family than their male counterparts. It should be noted that there are very few studies that empirically examine stress and its effects, regarding gender and police work.

There is literature on understanding work/family conflict and general levels of stress concerning attitudes and behavior (Frone, 1992), organizational commitment (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985) and job turnover (Cohen, 1997), but all these studies do not address the unique factors that are traditionally found and specific to policing, such as danger, shift work, and stress, nor did they address race. There are additional stressors experienced by women differently than men in policing, because of entering a traditionally male occupation and the token processes mentioned earlier. There is research that indicates that senior policewomen in leadership positions viewed personnel as women and men with spouses and dependent children requiring energy, affection and time, which shares common goals with "feminist practice." These policewomen did not perceive their styles as "feminist," but alternative, holistic, and transformative (Bartlett, 1990; Ryan, 1989). The reasons stated for not considering this "feminist ways of working," in any sense, is important considering appropriate police identity and socialization, which adheres to "calm disengagement, affectless order, an unquestioning obeisance; there is presumption that rational thinking can exist in a pure state devoid of emotional content (Drodge &Murphy, 2002:425). There is a need for supplementary research on work/family conflict and its effects on women and men in policing, with the inclusion of race, class, and ethnicity.

It was mentioned in several different contexts by the policewomen that policing was a great job, but seemingly easier before they became mothers. None of the women spoke in a tone or way that indicated that they wished their status at home was different, only indicating that they were tired and usually responsible for children's extra-curricular school activities, children's doctor appointments, groceries in the house, cleaning the house, and meals. One black female officer and mother of two stated, "It is like having a second job after your paying job, there is

just not enough time. It is the unexpected stuff like kids being sick or needing to go to the doctor."

These home responsibilities weigh on the minds of policewomen during work and free time. When asked about help from spouses, several policewomen indicated that they (husbands/others) too had jobs and were also strapped for time, but one white female officer quickly added, "You know and I know, they just expect me, as the mother, to know the family agenda and who needs what for school or whatever." Another white policewoman, mother of two mentioned, "Guys don't get it. It doesn't matter how many times you tell them you need more help, they think that what they do is the majority, or somehow more difficult or more important." According to Crouter's (1984) research on family-to-work positive and negative spillover, it is suggested that women with young children at home experience more negative spillover.

This negative work spillover is described as traditional family responsibilities that are assigned to women, such as caring for sick children. These family roles are frequently cited with considerable evidence to be factors in workplace absenteeism (Steers & Rhodes, 1978; Waite, 1980, Crouter 1984). Examples of positive spillover would be supportive family relationships and useful skills and attitudes acquired at home to use in other settings. It was the useful skills and attitudes that many of the policewomen used to describe their communication skills on the job and how they handled situations "better" than their male partners. According to Crouter (1984) it is women with young children that suffer negative family spillover impact. This idea was very prevalent throughout the policewomen's description of their daily lives and responsibilities besides policing. These negative aspects include family responsibilities such as tardy/absenteeism, inefficiency, or inability to accept new responsibilities at work. She argues that this pattern changes the family-to-work negative influence when women have older children.

Crouter's (1984) point of the family pattern changing when children grow older was reiterated by a white policewoman who had been married two times and mother of three children. She was explaining to me that she had been recently promoted to lieutenant and had attended several instrumental police schools, but that this had not been possible until her children were grown and on their own. She stated, "Hell, I had over 12 years in the department before I was able to really shake and move in my career. A lot of women aren't going to hang on that long or they just lose interest." She indicated that there is a certain "respect" that comes with being a "mature woman officer."

> Understand…I really did have a very blessed career in the department. I ended up being on several national advisory committees in several different places…in spite of things. I was on an advisory committee for the FBI. …and at one point I was on a steering committee when they were building the drug court for the county and asked to sit as a law enforcement representative. Supposedly at this point they are concerned with my well-being and said, 'you know you are getting spread pretty thin…I think that we are going to send someone else in your place.' I explained that I didn't have a problem and that I had time because of my family is in other places and kids are grown. I then said, 'I have so much free time, I'm thinking of going back and working on my PhD.' I thought that he was going to fall out of his chair. He kind of just sat there and glared at me. I made it a point to be educated and to put myself out there in many different capacities and to continually learn.

The following white policewoman, divorced, mother of three, was describing how she was not able to move up in the police department because she had children at home and didn't have a strong support system with her family. She stated:

> Oh, I would have loved to be a road patrol sergeant or undercover, or any other of the special assignments, but you can't do that if you need to be home to catch your kid coming off the bus, take them to their sport practices, see any of their games, put a dinner on the table once in awhile. It isn't easy being a woman in policing. I can't drop everything to go to a school out of town; I have to be home with my kids. You know, one day they will be grown up and gone and I can do that…but, I will probably be too damn old or don't give a damn at that point.

Steers and Rhodes (1987) also suggest that absenteeism for working women declines throughout their career and as childhood responsibilities decline. It is the sex roles inside and

outside of the family domain that seem to shape women's career choices, as well as their work experiences. An example of this idea was stated by this black female officer, mother of two: "When my babies were young and at home I had to lean on my parents all the time, but once they were in high school, I was able to take different shifts, assignments, and go to several training schools." I asked her if it helped her move up in policing. "Hell no, I'm still on patrol, but…there is at least options."

It can be assumed that as long as women are culturally seen as the main caregivers for children and managers of household responsibilities, they will probably experience negative spillover from family, preoccupation with family-related matters, absenteeism, tardiness, and will be unable to accept possible career-enhancing responsibilities. This case study does not directly explore family-to-work spillover experiences of policewomen. The women's responses to family-to-work spillover were reiterated during the questions related to women's lack of socialization after work with peers. Nor does this research explore men's experience with family-to-work spillover. It is thought that this may be a changing phenomenon as gender roles and family responsibilities change for males and females. The same could be said for the addition of race, class, and ethnicity, in examining spillover of family to work.

The comments and discussion by the women regarding family-to-work spillover speaks to one of the black policewoman's comments about her attitude or commitment when she is at work. She stated that her sergeant didn't have any kids and "just didn't get it." I asked her what he didn't get and she stated, "You know…he is not a father and doesn't even have a clue what I have to do as a mother, just to get out of the house in the evening. I mean, it isn't just getting a shower and going to work." Another white female officer stated, "You just can't leave a sick kid at home, you have to stay home with them. It isn't that hard to understand, or maybe it

is…because they don't get it and they don't have to get it." The following white policewoman,

mother of one, explains why she has had to miss work several times.

> …I'm ready to go and realize he (her young son) has a fever, and then he is saying he is
> going to throw up. He won't be going to school. I need to be to work in one hour. I start
> to scramble to find someone to come over to the house to stay with him. You know how
> it is; he started to cry and wanted me to stay home. It is my baby crying for me to stay
> with him, what you think that I am going to do. Hell yes I'm staying home. My husband
> and I work the same shift, he had already left. I called in and the sergeant said, 'oh, sick
> kid again?' I'm not making this up; he is eight for God's sake.

There is a plethora of literature that supports the general social belief that policing is not

an appropriate job for women and that it is a gendered institution, not a family-friendly

environment, being supported by masculine values (Fielding, 1994; Gaston and Alexander, 1997;

Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1979, 1996; Silvestri, 2007; Walklate, 1992, 1993).

It is possible that these gendered positions and meanings can affect attitudinal commitment by

policewomen to their particular organizations and departments. The research is quite limited

when attempting to understand police commitment among male and female police officers. What

is known is that there is a bias by police management toward women's advancement in most law

enforcement organizations (Seklecki & Paynich, 2007; Silvestri, 2007). This doesn't necessarily

mean that since women put family first that they are not committed to their departments; quite

the opposite was shown by Metcalfe and Dick's (2002) research.

Metcalfe and Dick's (2002) survey research indicates that male and female police

officers' commitment to policing is shaped by the same variables. They argue that there are few

differences in men and women's levels of commitment. It is believed that commitment is linked

to lower absenteeism and turnover in organizations, along with more positive contributions by

committed workers (Aven et al., 1993). The definition and components of commitment include

strong belief and commitment to organization's goals; willingness to exert effort on behalf of

organization; and strong desire to retain membership of organization (Porter et al., 1974). This model of commitment fails to understand how police and other organizations are included in many other memberships, internationally and at the local level. In policing there are organizations at every level such as International Association of Women Police, American Association of State Troopers, National Center for Women and Policing, American Police Veterans, Fraternal Order of Police in each state, and numerous labor organizations and unions.

Male and female commitment is discussed by gender model theorists because of the cultural differences in family obligations and responsibilities, while considering reproductive function and childcare. It is mentioned that organizations may have to compete for women's loyalty, because of these family responsibilities. It is the different social orientation that possibly affects women's identity at work. The gender model argues that women will place primary emphasis on family roles, whereas men's socialization pushes them to be assertive, independent and goal-oriented (Wajcman, 1996). This idea was reiterated and supported by the policewomen in this research when they were discussing reasons for not socializing after work with other women or men.

The gender model and women's loyalty, being placed elsewhere, is not supported by Marsden and Kalleberg (1993). They argue that commitment was improved by job-related variables, not differences between men and women or family roles. This job theory was supported by their research in regard to motivation and work behaviors. There is very limited research on commitment by female officers in policing. As previously mentioned the masculine culture, entrenched in policing, possibly assists in reproducing gendered expectations and social status in law enforcement for females (Brown et al., 1993; Martin, 1996; Walklate, 1993).

According to Metcalf and Dick's (2002) research, overall support and organizational commitment between male and female officers were quite equal.

Martin (1996:526) contributed the fact that, even though women usually support and accept cultural norms and managerial behaviors in policing, they believe that macho and sexist practices and values contribute to a "continuing denigration and stereotyping of women generally." Within these gender and job model theories, and discussion of commitment, there were no dialogue or research references regarding how race or ethnicity may also play a role within organizations. The intersection of both race and gender for black policewomen socially locates them outside of policing more than white policewomen. It could be argued that they may have a very different perspective or level of commitment. The literature throughout this section of research about commitment to policing, cultural differences in family obligations, and family-to-work spillover, do not address the differences between white and black women in policing and seem to generalize all women. This research didn't uncover many differences, according to the policewomen's statements, about discrepancy in terms of black and white motherhood differentness. This doesn't mean there are/were no racial differences, only that motherhood for black and white police women was not a focus of this particular research. This would be beneficial and valuable information for research pertaining to recruitment and retention of future policewomen in law enforcement.

## Chapter 6

## Black Policewomen and Marginality

Belknap and Shelley (1992) and Palmiotto et al (2005) found that minority females were less likely than white females to be recognized for good police work. They also concluded that black female officers experience double marginality and face additional obstacles associated with gender discrimination. This feeling or idea of double marginality was indicated by several women within the following interview excerpts and research provided. Collins (1990) argues that males use racism and sexism to dominate women in traditionally male defined occupations, such as policing. There are times when the females in the case study were not sure if it was their race or gender that created the most tension for them at work. According to the literature, when sexism and racism are prevalent in a department, it is sometimes indistinguishable as to which attribute is the primary reason for the discriminatory behavior (Martin, 1994; West & Fenstermaker, 1995).

Several black policewomen in this research discussed the idea of double marginality or as they referred to it as "double-whammy." During the interviews all the policewomen were asked who they believed experienced more discrimination in policing or their department, black or white female officers. The following interview excerpts are from black policewoman describing their positions on the question of discrimination within their department.

> …Well, it isn't no party being a black female in policing. You don't have the support of black or white males. The white females don't want nothin' to do with you most of the time. You know, we are on the bottom of this thing…you know…the bottom of the totem pole in terms of status. A double-whammy deal. Sometimes you wonder, is it because I am a woman or a black? It is hard to tell for the most part. They will say that they can fill two affirmative action spots with one person…a black and a woman. I don't want to sound like a victim, but you hear what is said. They don't consider us real police officers; it is like we just come here to work separately from most of the rest. I just do my job and go home. It doesn't matter how good of cop I am, they see what they want to see.

During the interviews it was obvious that they were aware of this double marginality, but were unsure at times how to define and describe it. At times I felt that they were describing it, somehow masking the anger. Their descriptions appeared weak without much emphasis. I remember thinking that if I was a black female I would be irate at times. It was at this time that I did question my status as a white researcher and wondering if their responses would be different if I was a black female researcher. This researcher limitation was discussed in the methods data analysis section. The concepts of double marginality of racism and sexism or other terminology used for black females status in the work world, "double whammy" or "double jeopardy," was first explored and analyzed during the 1960s and 1970s (Beale, 1970; Ladner, 1972). The following interview excerpt is from a black female officer who is describing her idea of what double jeopardy feels like in her department.

> …To me it feels like you are just at the bottom of the barrel. It just doesn't get any lower you know. It feels like they put the white females higher than us and we are already at the bottom in everyone's eyes, so then being a black female on top of this. It is just like more and more pressure and double minority stuff and pressure. That is what I feel like and it is like…whatever most of the time. I get mad sometimes, but it doesn't help. I'm still here and it is crazy.

Another black policewoman indicated that being a black female in the department was no different than being a white policewoman in their department; both are looked at in the same way by the males. She mentioned that "It isn't just a black thing going on, it's a female thing. I truly believe this as fact." She stated, "We may be black, that is a strike, but we don't have a penis, and that is a bigger strike for all women." We both had a good laugh over this remark. After the comment and laughter subsided, she emphasized it was funny, but it was the "sad and solid truth." Here the same black female continues talking about the idea that it is female thing and not just a black thing for males in this department.

…Overall, I think that men look at women as one thing—just a girl. Both races experience sexism. A lot of men think that women should not be here [in policing]. They just figure that women are one thing and should stay that one thing…should be home in the kitchen having babies and stuff like that…that stuff is still real. Sounds funny, but it is so real. It don't matter if you are standing up doing something great; saving someone, putting yourself out there…you are still a woman. Black…white…you are still only a woman to them [men].

Minority and female police officers experience exclusion from promotional opportunities within the department, which they described and considered "back door," and were limited in regards to informal channels, information and support. Law enforcement research literature indicates that black and white policewomen experience exclusion in a variety of formats, such as poor instruction, communication, peer hostility, over-supervision, and inadequate back-up by male officers (Martin, 1994). These, along with strained relationships within departments, cause special stressors (Yoder, et al. 1983). There was an example of hostility by a white male officer toward one of the black policewoman participants. She described to me that she had been dispatched to back up an officer who was dealing with a man-with-gun incident. She stated that it was a local agency requesting the backup. She was dispatched to that location because she was closest to the location of the crime in progress. She describes the incident:

…I responded to the man with a gun incident inside of a store. I backed up the other officer (white male). We ended up arresting the individual together and then I left. When I got back to my department later in the day, there was a note on my car. It was from a person that was at the store during the incident that wanted me to call him. I called him right away, he stated that once I left the store the other officer started throwing a fit and going crazy, saying out loud, 'I can't believe that they sent a female to back me up with a man with a gun call and then on top of that, they sent a black one.' This complaint was actually made by two people that were not officers…and they were both white males.

This officer stated that she was really caught off-guard by this remark and actions of the other officer, because it was her first experience with outright overt racism and sexism. She said that she was surprised that someone, outside of policing, even told her about the incident after the fact. She indicated that at first she wasn't going to do anything about it, but other females,

who had heard about the incident from the other officer's department, pushed her to make a formal complaint against the offending officer. She made the complaint to her boss about the reported incident. Her chief in turn made a complaint with the other department, against the white male officer. She explained that the other department did not do anything about the reported public discriminatory comments until they were later pressured by her boss. She stated that her chief had to threaten the other department that he was going to go to outside sources to investigate this incident and see that something was done. Here she describes her feelings in the end:

> …You see, I'm the type that you could do something to me today, and I will not trust you again, but I will leave it alone. I would still back him up, but not trust him. I told them that I didn't want to see him fired over this, but I did want him to have some discipline to let him know that this is not acceptable. He was disciplined and had mandatory re-training. This situation really caught me off-guard. He had done this before to women in his department. That is why they (other women officers) were pushing me to go after him.

There is literature that explores the entwinement of racism and sexism of black women's experiences. Black women often experience racism that is mixed with gender discrimination. Essed (1991) used the concept "gendered racism" to describe black women's racial oppression influenced and biased by gender roles. Her contention was that most of a black female's personal experiences of racism were forms of gendered racism and that it was difficult to disentangle the two forms of discrimination. "Ethgender" is a term used by Ransford and Miller (1983) to describe the intersection of ethnic and gender statuses, explaining that black females occupy a subordinate position in both social hierarchies, and this causes a unique type of discrimination. They also emphasized that individuals occupy different positions in social hierarchies, such as gender, ethnicity, class, and age, and that there are multiple distributions of power and prestige based on one's position within these categories

Taking into consideration "ethgender" and "gendered racism," it would be expected that at the intersection of the individual's status positions in policing, white males would have high-status positions and low-status positions would be occupied by African-American women. According to Ransford's (1980) multiple jeopardy-advantage hypotheses, an individual's personal outcomes must be evaluated taking the intersection of their status dimensions into consideration. Considering status dimensions, black female officers occupy a unique position in regard to multiple disadvantages and oppression. It is unrealistic to understand the relations of race and gender in policing without taking into consideration the interactions and relations between blacks and whites, which are possibly infused with stereotypes and prejudice. This is an important area to explore further in future policing research.

Many of the policewomen in this study expressed how they just became disengaged with their work and work relationships. Several of the black policewomen commented about simply doing their work and going home, forgetting about it until the next day. The following black policewoman was talking about having almost twenty years in the department and feeling quite disgruntled at the treatment within the department. She stated that she was not alone when she referred to some of the white officers and certain supervisors in the department as, "undercover racists."

> …I have had to change my attitude from bad to good. I'm here to pretty much do my time and am pretty much…whatever…I don't even want to deal with it. I come in…do my job and go home. I don't have time for this crap. I just have to put it behind me and go home. If I complained it just falls on deaf ears anyway….we laugh sometimes and refer to some of the whites as undercover racists. If the shoe fits…you know?

The following black female officer, with 18 years of experience, explained her position in policing like this:

> …I love my job…I really do…I love my co-workers for the most part…however it is just easier to do your job, do it right, and stay away from what can make your job difficult. I use distance and I'm ok with it. I'm the type of person of what you see is what you get. I don't play games, and will be treated accordingly. I don't play games after work and I will call you out. That is it…go home and forget the job.

When probed further on what she meant by "play games," she stated that she was tired of department politics and what she referred to as "high school" mentality. She said that some of the officers and their "behind-the-back" tactics and cliques were too much for her. I asked her why she had said earlier that she loved her co-workers after all this. She laughed and said, "There is actually only a handful of them that I give a damn about." She stated, "No, they aren't all black," and laughed before I had the chance to ask about the handful of friends.

It was interesting to see a pattern develop, among black and white female officers, using distance from the policing organization and co-workers as a coping strategy. While I used the word "coping" to describe what I perceived the females were saying to me, one black policewoman referred to it as "getting by." This tactic was employed to disconnect from what one white female officer referred to as a "toxic environment," which she explained was "unhealthy for my delicate psyche." It is comments like this, from a majority of the women in this research, which possibly sheds a new light on the need to re-examine law enforcement cultural literature.

Much of the police culture literature does not address how minority officers define and see themselves in their day-to-day policing world and socialization with other officers. There is a surplus of literature on police culture that addresses many other issues, such as Skolnick's (1994) working personality, Crank's (1998, 2004) understanding police culture, Sykes (1996) and Reuss-Ianni's (1983) working personalities. Each of these works attempt to understand and describe police culture, but fail to understand the limitations of such culture on "outsiders"

(minorities) who are on the "inside" of policing. This research did not ask questions specific to police culture and can only add to the literature, through small glimpses derived from black and white policewomen's comments, within this particular case study. There is limited literature on how black women cope with racism and sexism. According to Shorter-Gooden (2004), whose research is not specific to policing, African-American women appear to rely on several different strategies, which involve internal and external resources, to deal with racist or sexist situations or environments. After reviewing several descriptions of the different distancing or "coping" strategies, it appears that the policewomen in this research identify more with avoidance.

Avoiding is a strategy of staying away from situations, people, and discussions that will likely lead to biases and prejudices. The research states that this strategy is usually a response to racial oppression, but rarely used in instances of gender oppression (Shorter-Gooden, 2004). Understanding the policewomen's responses to racism or sexism in this research is limited because they were not directly asked about how they deal with these problems. The initial focus was not on policewomen's coping strategies in law enforcement, so using direct questions in the interview may have yielded different responses. Regardless of this study's limitations, it is understood that there is a need for future research concerning coping strategies of black and white female officers in law enforcement when confronted with racism and sexism.

Affirmative Action:

There is research that supports the existence of covert racism, sexism, and other prejudices (Benokraitis, 1997; Swim, Aiken, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). There are terms such as "symbolic racism" and "everyday racism," that are considered less direct and more common types of racism (Essed, 1991; Pfeifer & Ogloff, 1991; Swim et al., 1995). There were comments during the study by black and white female policewomen about affirmative action and how this

policy was "supposedly" an advantage for black females, because of both race and gender social positions. The often "hidden" assumption was that the black policewomen attained law enforcement employment and positions because of this advantageous status. The literature did not support this assumption.  In fact, research indicates that white females, not women of color, were more often the beneficiaries of these programs (Bell, 1992; Malveaux, 1985; Nkomo, 1988).

Affirmative action policies were implemented in the early 1970s. The "supposed" myth of a "two-fer" advantage—being black and female—was initiated during this decade. The myth of double advantage still persists today, according to comments made by black and white female officers in this department. This double-advantage status perception enjoyed by black females is not supported by affirmative action guidelines research (Sokoloff, 1992), nor by employment information (Fulbright, 1986). According to Sanchez-Hucles (1997), the strategy of maintaining the myth of black women's advantage in employment is by comparing them to other disadvantaged groups, rather than comparing them to white men. The first method would indicate that black women have made great strides in employment status, but comparing black women to white men visibly demonstrates the reality that oppressed groups and women have a long way to go before gaining a fair share of employment benefits.

There were some non-direct comments made about affirmative action policy by white female officers. Most of the references tend to refer to a "possible" advantage for black policewomen, but it appeared that this subject was somewhat taboo to discuss.  Even when prodded with the term "affirmative action," black and white females did not elaborate too much. There were several females who referred to the policy, but they didn't discuss its implications

using the policy name. The following white female officer explains her thoughts on black females' double minority status and how she believes other white females feel about it:

> I think some white females feel like black females get more discrimination because they have two strikes against them. There is the other thought though, that I know some (white women officers) feel and that is there is some reverse discrimination idea. So they (black policewomen) are given more opportunities, because they are more of a minority. I don't know if that is true or not, but I know that in our department whenever a transfer comes out or a load of transfers, someone will say, 'How did that person end up in special ops?' and someone will [she brushes her arm], this meaning skin color. So officers in the department feel like there is not necessarily a set quota, but an unsaid quota of different race and genders in each squad to even things out.

Black females have struggled with persistent stereotypes, tokenism, discrimination and harassment, but at the same time are perceived by others to enjoy an advantaged status because of race and gender. This advantage is perceived to allow for employment and policing positions.

According to Sanchez-Hucles (1997), this myth of advantaged status of African-American women actually functions to maintain white male privilege and creates divisive forces among groups of individuals in the work force. This is done by highlighting the dual liabilities of black women, allowing white women to benefit from privileged racial status and black men to capitalize on their privileged gender status, all by disassociating themselves form African-American Women. This allows them to see African-American females as different and easier for them to define and leads to a solidarity between white women and white male officers. The advantaged double minority status, of black females being more successful and marketable than white females and black males, developed in the 1970s, still persists today. The following interview excerpt is what a white policewoman had to say, based on her perceptions, about black females benefiting from double minority status.

> …That goes back to what I was saying about reverse discrimination. Where I only have one-strike against me as a white female, black females have two-strikes against them, so they are more apt to get a position to fill a quota. If you put a black female in homicide, just as an example, you are now meeting an 'unsaid' quota of race and gender in one

shot…but, I can only fill the position with gender…you may still need black to keep the peace or meet city or federal guidelines. So, it is a two-for-one shot that the department can do and not have to worry about other females.

It is this dual status that Hill-Collins (1991) refers to as an "outsider within." Collins (1991) describes this position as social locations or individuals in marginal locations occupied by groups of unequal power. Persons in this location possess credentials and rights of formal membership, but this does not necessarily translate into belonging. So, although black women have access because of dual status, they don't necessarily have access to opportunities of career advancement. According to Ray & Davis (1988), it isn't the "glass ceiling" phenomenon that white women crash into on the way up the organization ladder, for black and white women; rather it is a "cement wall." Yoder (1997) also talks about this "outsider-within" in her research of African-American women firefighters. She concludes her research by challenging the extensive literature on subordination and token difference which are blind to race. She also adds that subordination does not take on the form of protection, co-optation, and sexualization, as documented with white women and white men. Her research paralleled Martin's (1994) research with policewomen, identifying insufficient instruction, coworker hostility, silence, over-supervision, lack of support, stereotyping and differential treatment as ongoing problems.

This next interview excerpt is from a white female officer explaining black female "supposed" double-advantage, referring to possible stereotypes that hinder black females.

I think that the only stereotype, with my experience with black female officers, is a lot of people think that, if they are successful and promoted, that they got it (promotion) because they are a black female. The idea was that they are a supervisor, because they needed to put a woman there, and a black one to boot. You know…thinking they had to fill a so-called quota. This idea does not just affect black females, but white women too. But, you definitely hear it when a black woman officer gets it (promotion).

This following white policewoman commented about the community's perception and possible stereotypes and images she believes black policewomen have to tolerate.

I think that they [black policewomen] really have to go up against….in my area…of the region…I think that the black women have to fight against the stereotype, that a lot of people don't like the police where we are at. It is like going to the other side for black females. It is like they are considered to be siding with 'the man'….you know, policing as the man. A lot of them [black policewomen] have to overcome that. I am talking about the community too. The community, this community, is very, you know, they do not trust the police. So, black females get it sometimes from the black community. What is that called…I think an Uncle Tom thing.

Another white policewoman, who was becoming impatient with the interview questions I was asking her stated that she was tired of the topic about women and deserved department positions. She stated that "White males are always bitching about women in the department, white and black women, and it doesn't matter what the women do to deserve it." According to her, some male conversation is about women being in different department positions because "In their eyes, they [women] slept their way there or some policy [affirmative action] got them there." She said, "It is never that she or they are a good cop thing, it is about it [promotions and positions] being given to her for something else. So, white or black…we supposedly sucked our way there."

This particular white female officer mentioned that white male officers will slam black female officers about being, "worthless and non-deserving," of their jobs right to her face. She said she asked the male making this demeaning comment, "Are you referring to all black female officers or just one that must have pissed you off?" She stated that he said, "All them bitches are worthless." She told me that at times she feels that the white males think that we [white female officers] feel the same way about the black females and we are "somehow in cahoots with them [the men] or a team." This same female indicated later in the conversation that she "doesn't care one way or the other what the males think," nor does she "give a damn about what the other women think," she is "just happy to have a job, does it, and stays out of it."

Several white female officers described white male officers as having bad attitudes about black female officers. One of the white females said she often hears her white male partners stating that they [black females] do not deserve to be officers in this department because they are not qualified and that police expectations and test scores had to be lowered to allow them in the department. One of the black policewomen stated that she had heard from a white female officer, that several of the white male officers believed that she didn't deserve her promotion to sergeant; later she was demoted because of layoffs. She said, "I didn't deserve to be a supervisor because I am a black woman. And a black woman is obviously…well, hell, I just don't belong here, but…they had to do it…right?" She seemed to be bordering on real anger at this point so I backed off.

It was interesting to hear the white female officers speak about how the white male officers felt they could express themselves comfortably and confidentially to the white females about their judgments of black female officers. The following interview excerpt is from a white policewoman who said that she had been exposed to white male officers making very sexist and racist comments about black female patrol officers. She told me about what a white male officer had said to her recently:

> …Just two weeks ago a male was talking about how stupid the black females were that work here in our department. He was talking about the ones that had recently retired or were laid off and saying that they were pieces of shit. I said, 'So do you think that all the black women officers are useless or pieces of shit here…really?' He said, 'Yes, I'll tell you who is useless.' When he named them all off…they were all black females…they were worthless to him. Now, behind my back, probably all white females are worthless to him too…who knows. I was going to argue with him but thought 'no…the guy is an idiot.'

The following white female officer, with twenty-five years in the department, states that they [white male officers] "bad-mouth" black females right to her face all the time, like they [the

males] have some sort of alliance with her. The following is what she had to say about confronting them about such comments.

> Ummm…ummm…the white males…yes, they feel comfortable with saying all kinds of shit…until you say something back. If you check them on it…if you say, 'Why do you feel that way or why just black females?' they just kind of look at you. I have checked them on this before and they just look at you…then they just stop.  I think that they look at it….that I am checking them because I'm female and they [black women officers] are female, not because they are black. Ok. Do you know what I mean? Ok. If it is a white male speaking to me…he feels that I'm checking him based on the fact that she is a female…and I am protecting a female…not….a black female. He would not think that I was protecting her because of her race; he would think gender…that is what I think.

It was at the end of this particular interview that I started thinking about the comments and idea that white male officers thought that they could count on white female officer's support and agreement about black female officers being "worthless" or not good officers. I wondered if the same was true about black male officers in policing. After reviewing the transcripts I realized that there were very few statements about black males made by black or white policewomen in this research. This led me to search for literature on the black male police officers absence or possible exclusion.

Invisible Black Male Officers:

White and black females make mention of white males in many different context throughout this case study. What was particularly interesting was that black males were, more or less, invisible in this study. Black males were mentioned, in passing, when women mentioned or discussed the past and current department lawsuits, and two white females mentioned black males when discussing sexual harassment, but they were not mainstays of the white or black female officer's interview discussions.

As mentioned, two white females stated that they had been sexually harassed by white and black male officers. The context of this white female's statement was in reference to the

question of what it was like being a white female in this department. She stated that she had been in the department for over twenty-five years and had seen her share of male officers and "the crap they were capable of pulling." At one point while talking about males in the department, she stopped and said, "Ok, they [males] are not always jerks…I mean I have had some good male partners, but I have had my share of battles here; good thing this research isn't about them." She then started to discuss the difference between white and black male officer sexual harassment as she perceived it:

> …It is different, I mean they [white males] don't test me…but, they will press me on my sexuality. I have had a guy ask me if I do black men….I've had a lot of guys ask me sexual questions, and the white males do it on the sly. They whisper in my ear. But, black males are different; they come right out with it. I was just talking to a black male; he called me because I'm a union steward. He called me about promotion, and out of the blue says, 'When are you going to go out with me? Do you know I have been in love with you all these years….blah…blah…blah' I said, 'Let's get back to the discussion of you being promoted,' but he wanted to get back to me and him getting it on. I have no idea why he was doing this. I was caught off guard….it had nothing to do with nothing. I always feel that it is a test. That is how I look at it…as a test. They [black males] seem more sexual…I mean…white males also put it out there sometimes. Black males are right out there with it and white males are a little sneakier….it is hard to describe this difference.

I then asked her if black and white male officers were that way with black females. She stated that she was not privy to what happens to black female officers. She did indicate that she can't remember any black females making sexual harassment complaints against white or black males in a very long time. She then sat back in her chair and laughed. She leaned forward and said, "Come to think about it, I haven't heard any black males in the detective bureau or patrol bad-mouth black females either—that's funny." She commented that now that she thought about it, it was rare to see the black females hanging around black males. This white female officer then added, "It is hard for me to comment on anyone's status, especially black females, I'm white, I come to work…work, and leave."

Another white female, with eighteen years in the department, that had made the other comment about black male officers and sexual harassment stated, "Most of them [black male officers] do their job and don't make too many waves, but there are two or three of them that are pigs." She mentioned that there were several white male officers who were pigs also, but that, "white males are different pigs." I asked her to explain how black and white male officers were different "pigs." She said, "The black guys will say, 'Admit it…you want to get with a black guy, all white chicks want to get with a black guy, because you know we got what you want,' and they will laugh." She mentioned that one day she said, "What exactly do you have that I want?" She stated that he said "'Come in the locker room and I will show it to you.' It is always about their dicks." She went on to say that most males in the department were not scared of being sexual, because nothing ever gets done about sexual harassment remarks. I asked if that was the same unsaid policy for racial remarks and she laughed fairly loud and remarked, "Hell no, don't even dare say something about race, even under your breath, or the civil rights office, or ACLU, is on you like…now."

The invisibility of black male officers, in this particular study, is supported by literature, considering hooks (2004) "code of silence" and Collins' (1998), "paradigm of sacrifice."  hooks argument is that the "code of silence" is deeply rooted within the black community and derives from black women understanding the effects of racism on black males, thus a way of protecting or not adding to, the fragile status of black men in society. hooks (2004) mentions that black women are born into an "Order of Black Womanhood," where the "code of silence" is not speaking out against sexism, sexual harassment, or exploitation by black males because it brings attention back to the black community, specifically black males.

hooks (2004) states that black females, who do speak out against black males, are perceived as co-conspirators with white males. This status contributes to the oppression that already burdens black men. She states that this "code of silence" was developed during slavery with the appalling treatment of black females by white slave-owners and black male slaves, and it has been passed down through the generations. This lasting image of black women is characterized by sexual, racial, and economic exploitation. Thomas' (1989) research on cross-race and cross-gender mentoring relationships, shows that black women, in his research, were fearful of developing working relationships with white male supervisors because of labels or stereotypes of being the white man's slut and the nuances that followed.

Collins (1998) also writes about the overarching emphasis on racial solidarity and black females supporting black men. She states that black females' critical role in racial solidarity and black community, adhering to a "paradigm of sacrifice," has helped advance their own subordination. hooks' (2004) and Collins' (1998) research is echoed by Sanchez-Hucles (1997) who states that many black females are socialized to minimize their concerns of sexism or sexual harassment in the workforce because the common fight is against racial oppression. This literature is not to suggest that the black policewomen in this study were sexually harassed by black male officers. It is only addressing research that speaks to the hidden silence of black females and sexual harassment and the possible reasons for invisibility of black male officers in this research. The idea of an emphasis on race was prevalent throughout the research. Even questions without the context of race had a way of coming back to race. More research must be done on minority status female officers and their experiences of sexual harassment in the male-dominated occupation of policing and possible difference depending on race dynamics between victim and victimizer.

Race as Taboo, Reverse Discrimination and Lawsuits:

According to Pogrebin's (2000) research, the police respondents understood their department to overlook racial remarks, but stated that sexist remarks were taboo. That research indicated that the police managers were more apt to enforce sexual discrimination than racial remarks. Pogrebin's research examined 1400 sworn officers, but only 21 black females, and it did not indicate how many minority male officers were part of the research. The fact that minorities comprise such a small percentage of the entire department may explain this particular finding. This dissertation study focuses on a much smaller department where more than half of the sworn officers, male and female, are considered racial minorities. The findings, based on responses from policewomen, are contrary to Pogrebin's research, and indicate that sexist remarks are ignored and overlooked and that racial remarks are considered forbidden, off-limits, and according to several white females, a "big no-no."

Several of the comments made by black and white policewomen indicated that they understood that sexual harassment was not going to be enforced, but that racist remarks or actions were something that would not be tolerated by the administration. The divergence between this study and Pogrebin's (2000) research indicates that there are differences according to size and possibly region that must be considered when examining race and gender departmental polices that affect officers differently. The following comment was made by a black policewoman. She was responding to a question about who she believed was discriminated against more in the police department, white or black female officers:

> …I think honestly, I believe more along the lines of a reverse discrimination thing…white females catch more hell then black females do. I think that departments and guys are so scared of being sued, because of the race thing, the race card, you know. It is understood or something that it is hard to tell between race and sex discrimination with a black female. She could say it was racial and they are in big trouble, but sexual

harassment is always there…like, no big deal. So, I believe there is some reverse discrimination. This happens in promotional and testing scores as well.

One of the research questions, as mentioned earlier, addressed whether black or white policewomen experience discrimination more in this department. The first time I asked this discrimination question I expected that white female officers would say white policewomen experience discrimination more and black females would say black policewomen. This was expected for a variety of reasons, first being that the women, black or white, were living their own experiences and had firsthand knowledge of their own perceived discrimination; secondly, that same race discussions were happening in the department and believed to be the norm between the women; and lastly, there was limited conversation between black and white females in the department, per the interview content or questions. Contrary to expectations, there were statements made by three black female officers who believed that white females experienced possibly more discrimination in this department. The following comment was made by a black policewoman responding to the discrimination question and difference:

> …Oh you know, probably white girls get it more. I'm black; they say something or treat me bad, about me being black, they know it will come back to get them. They may treat me different, but more than likely it is because I am a woman. Guys don't get in trouble for sexual harassment; they look at it as old school discrimination. It has happened so long, that it is thought that it doesn't happen or isn't bad. You know, it also matters who is in charge in the department, who is the chief, a black or a white man. You know, white girls are discriminated maybe more. They don't want to play with race in this department…too much history.

It was noteworthy that some white females stated that white female officers experience more discrimination, but indicated in their comments that they were in all probability, expected to say black females experienced discrimination more because of their double minority status. I asked them why they would think this and one white female officer stated "Are you kidding me? That is what people are expected to say or want or something. You know, black females have it

bad because they are black and women…that double-trouble thing." Another white female seemed uncomfortable as she said that white females are "definitely" worse off in the department when it came to discrimination. She stated, "It is hard to say I'm worse off than a black woman…I mean, just look at history." She indicated that, "It is how this department runs. It doesn't matter. Just look, even if it is a black chief or a white chief, it has never been a woman chief, see where I'm going? Race matters all the time."

The following interview excerpt is a white policewoman who is talking about how sexual discrimination is not enforced or punished in the department. She starts the discussion by mentioning political dynamics in the department, making a difference of what is enforced and what is not enforced.

> …This may sound weird, but I think that white policewomen experience more discrimination than black females. I know that I said earlier that black women officers probably feel discriminated against more or that they should…I think I said that…but there is a big difference and dynamics at work here than just women and race. First off…for the most part…you can slam women all day long. No one cares if you make sexist remarks…about just gender…but you don't want to be caught making any comments about race. Hell no! Race is totally off limits. So, go ahead and bitch about women officers all day, they suck this or want to do that to whoever…or that they want to screw so-and-so, but don't you dare make reference to skin color. That is a protected topic.

She then stated that she "needed to back up some and talk about an old lawsuit." She indicated that a past lawsuit had affected the department and "possible" department relationships between black and white female officers and their ideas about race and gender discrimination.

> One of the controversies that I didn't mention earlier was the lawsuit that this department was involved in many, many years ago. It boiled down that white women officers were not part of the list [affirmative action], nor considered minorities in the hiring process, black women and men were, but not white females…so the white women sued the department…and won millions. It was what they would call a modern day reverse discrimination. The white females at the time asked the black females if they wanted to be part of the suit, because it was about sexism and discrimination in the department at the time too, but they didn't want any part of it, because the system was working for them

at the time. Maybe this is still an underlying issue in this department; even though it happened forever ago…I don't know, happened something like the early 80's.

Following the policewomen's descriptions and thoughts on discrimination and who they believed was discriminated against more was a complicated undertaking. All the women in the sample were aware of the gender and sexual harassment lawsuit from the early 80s. This lawsuit was brought up numerous times during the interviews. Each of the policewomen, whether black or white, had a different understanding of the lawsuits results, but indicated that it may still be part of the friction between the black and white policewomen in this department today. There were two white females in this study's sample that were part of the 1980's lawsuit. Both of these older policewomen seemed matter of fact about the historical lawsuit regarding discrimination. Both women stated that there is still discrimination in regard to hiring, promotion, and retention.

There were other explanations by the policewomen about gender discrimination and the reasons for it. The next interview excerpt is from a white policewoman who was explaining why she didn't get a position that she was very qualified for. She indicated that she had done this job prior to the recent department demotions.  She explained that these demotions were caused by the recent economic developments and a new Chief of Police in the department.

> Even though I feel like I am discriminated against right now…I don't think in my first 13 years…that I had been discriminated against, but recently yes. I mean there is a position that I am very qualified for, where a supervisor…and other command staff are asking for me to be placed there. It is the first time since the lawsuit that we were all discriminated against for being white. But, being a female this is the first time that I have felt that I am being denied a position because I am a female and white. The chief is a black male. I cannot even come up with any other reason that he [chief] would be doing this to me.

Race shaping the department:

There were several controversial events that had happened in the past or that were currently happening in this department that seemed to direct the policewomen's conversations, tone, perceptions, and thoughts. It was often that I would listen to their concerns and attempt to

steer our topic back to the research questions. Often times I allowed them to talk and steer the conversation because where they were going is who they were. The research's focus was sometimes sidelined by issues ranging from reverse discrimination, department politics, morale, lawsuits, shift picks, positions, testing, and incompetence. The discussion of department politics and department lawsuits began with the very first interview, a white female officer with twenty-five years in the department, and continued until the last interview. Every policewoman in this study understood most of the lawsuits of the past and present.

During all fourteen interviews there was a time where the policewomen spoke about the police department's political climate affecting them as officers and the positions that they held within the department. Each of the policewomen described how race was interrelated with department camaraderie, office turmoil, positions filled, relationships, firings, and lawsuits. It was mentioned repeatedly that it was the race of the supervisors, police chiefs, and the city mayor that controlled all aspects of the department. The following is a white policewoman describing her view of how race determines hiring in this department.

> You must also look at this department and this city—it is a very political city that we are in. So it depends on who the mayor is and what color he is. There are many factors. When the administration is white, they gear toward more white and when the administration is black they gear toward more likely to hire black. The year that I came in they had hired 12 white men, two weeks before us. The chief of the department then was black…said, since I have all white men that were hired, my academy will be all minorities. So, it was blacks and Hispanics in the next academy…The ups and downs of this department have a race attached to it and everyone knows it.

The following interview excerpt is from a black female officer who is explaining the differences that the department can experience with a black or white chief of police. She had just explained that the department had a white chief and a black mayor, so even with this combination it was still not favorable for black females in the department in terms of promotion and favored shifts.

She stated, "You would think, you know, a black mayor should set that chief right, but it didn't happen." She continues:

> …No, it depends on whose political package you belong to. Police departments are tiny political systems. We [black female officers] have been at the bottom of the bucket for a long time. I don't ask for no favors, I just go in there and do what I am supposed to do and leave, because it don't matter what I do…it is no good. I'm not on the good girl list either. You know, now that we have a black chief things should start getting better for us blacks, but now it is too tough with the economy to tell what is going to happen.

The following black female officer explains that all of her supervisors have always been white males and females or black males. She explains how the economy affected the supervisor positions and that several supervisors were demoted back down to the rank of patrol officer. She was not particularly pleased because the only black female supervisor that she would ever have was demoted during this transition. She explained, "You know, most of the supervisors are going to end up being white males because they have been here the longest. Everyone else will be gone. It's a shame." The same black female officer talks about race and supervisor positions within her department:

> Well, I believe a lot of what happens in this department, and probably a lot of other departments, depend on the political climate and color of the administration. It comes down to what you are used to and how you were raised. Color is the least of my concerns. Policing, as a black female, is shaped by so much. A lot of what shapes it is others' behaviors towards you or not reacting to you. It is now to the point that the only black female in power was laid off, so there are no black women in positions of power or supervision. Most of the people thought that she humped [sex] her way there anyways. That is not the truth; she was an excellent officer and supervisor. I really respected her. There are about three supervisors that are black and they are all supervisors because of a lawsuit.
> According to this white policewoman most of the race problems within this particular

department probably developed in the early 1980's. She explains the lawsuit and how one of the prongs of the lawsuit was sexual harassment, but the other prong was discrimination against white policewomen. Thirteen white female officers were involved in the 1980's discrimination lawsuit. The following excerpt is her description of the historical lawsuit and its results.

Just to let you know, in 1984 a class action sexual harassment and sexual discrimination lawsuit was filed against our department, a Federal lawsuit. The women ended up winning six million dollars. It was a thirteen-year lawsuit. It was a constant fight and constant battle. When I walked into that place in 1983, I was told that I did not belong there and that I was taking somebody's position, more than likely a male. I was constantly tested. My breasts were groped. I could go on and on about this, but my point is, it is now 2008 and the crap is still happening. I am not going to complain anymore. I am tired of this. I just want to do my job. I am tired of fighting. I just want to do my job and retire. I do love policing and love being a cop. It is all the other internal political crap that gets in the way of policing.

She then clarified more about the discrimination that the white female officers were encountering. She stated that there were two different hiring lists for the department. There was the white list and the minority list. The discrimination suit developed because the minority list was for black males and black female officers only. White female officers were excluded from the list and were combined on the other list with white males. The white females were not being hired, but black males and black females, along with white males were being hired. The white females wanted to be included on the minority list with black males and females. As explained, according to affirmative action policy, white females were considered minorities and should have been included on the list with black male and female officers. She stated that the department would not budge and stayed with the two category hiring lists. She explained that at the time a majority of the administration, including the mayor, was black. She stated that when they [white female officers] were starting the lawsuit, they asked black female officers if they wanted to be part of it, because of the sexual harassment component and promotional testing discrepancies. This is how she explained the black female officers' position and the lawsuit.

All of the officers involved in the lawsuit were white females. We asked the black females if they wanted in, but at the time of the lawsuit there was a black administration. It had been the past administration that was doing the previous discrimination. The black females, all of them at the time, didn't want in and would not do it because we were under a black administration and it was working for them at the time. We made it very clear that it was because of past practice, not present, but past practice. They [black females] were already included in the second list. Therefore, what was happening was

that they, black females could score a 70%, but I [white female] had to score a 95%. I was passed over twice. We won, but it took thirteen damn years.

This earlier lawsuit was referenced by several of the white female officers during the initial interviews in one or more contexts. This earlier lawsuit kept coming up in the interviews because presently there is a reverse discrimination lawsuit against the department, with white male and female officers as complainants. One of the white female officers stated, "Well, at times I believe the black females are upset that they didn't get in on the first affirmative action suit [1980] that we won, because we won big. Now there is the reverse discrimination suit [2008], which will likely be won and they are not being asked to be part of this one. The writing is on the wall."

The following excerpt is from a white policewoman, with thirteen years in the department, who is explaining what she believes is going on between black and white officers in the department. She indicated that the reverse discrimination suit started because AAPL [African-American Police League] put pressure on the department to put minorities in command positions because, as she stated, "The city [Mayor] thinks it is too lily white."

> Before I ever even hired on in this department there was a big lawsuit between female officers against the city and I don't even know all the specifics on that, but do know that the females who sued the city won a lot of money. This was all before I hired on. I don't know what was all involved besides that they won a lot of money and was about the department discriminating against white females. More recently, we had the Majors and Inspectors Citizens Service Bureau, it actually only involved one female, but that was where the mayor, through pressure from the community, said the command staff was really white…lily white.

She goes on to explain what the current lawsuit entails, as she understands it.

> Right now, we have a black Chief, but when all this was going on we had a white chief. The command staffs…all the captains were white, and there was one black male lieutenant, and then while this controversy was going on I was promoted to lieutenant as was another black male. But, in all of this, 16 people in the command staff were white with two black males. The city and the mayor was getting a lot of pressure that was a big AAPL, which is the African-American Police League, that came to city council

complaining about it. They were complaining about how the chief was treating the minorities in the department and some discrepancies with discipline and all that. So, it was a big deal about all of it. Shortly after all this the mayor announced a new command structure and announced from the beginning that it was going to be four blacks and a female, but didn't say what color the female would be or sex of the blacks. So, then he made four black males and a white female Majors and Inspectors. These people were all from the officer rank, never before supervisors, and they were all supposed to hold a position higher than lieutenant or captain. Basically, this was supposed to off-set all the criticism he was getting for the lily-white command staff.

Another white female officer started discussing the Citizens Service Bureau promotions during her interview. I asked her what ever happened with the new promotions to the command staff of the four black males and one white female officer. She started laughing and leaned forward in her chair like she was going to tell me a secret and said, "Ok, get ready for this, you are going to love this," and started explaining the outcome as she understood it.

Well, that whole promoted command staff, with the Citizens Service Bureau thing, didn't work out so well for the department. One of the male members has been indicted for federal charges, another [male] one was fired for rape while on-duty, another [female] one, I just read today, is suing the city about her treatment after she was disbanded from the bureau. So, I guess three out of four isn't so bad. Yes, the new improved command structure. And so, it was a big failure on the part of the mayor and city and it created a whole lot of problems within the department between blacks and whites. Even though AAPL had gone to the city complaining about the command staff, they didn't like how all this happened and actually, and AAPL turned on the black males who accepted these positions, telling them they didn't deserve the positions they were granted because they were not qualified. Are you getting this? They are the ones that wanted these officers in.

When I brought up the AAPL to another white policewoman she immediately stated that she didn't agree with this organization and didn't believe that it should be "allowed in the department or to alter command decisions and structure." I asked her to explain her position, because I had never heard about this organization prior to this research. She impatiently stated, "If we tried to form a white police league and had the same rules they have then everyone would be up in arms crying foul and that it is racist. You know, it is just the reverse of that." I asked her what was racist about AAPL. She said, "You know damn well if that was a white

organization, that had rules against blacks voting, it would be in the ACLU's back pocket and all over the news." She explained to me that it was an organization for black officers and that white officers could join the organization, but were not allowed to vote within the organization on any issues.

Another white female officer explained that because of this APPL and the Citizens Service Bureau "fiasco," several white officers, male and female, had filed a reverse discrimination suit against the police department and the city. She explained that she believed that it was fueling some racial tension within the department. She stated that a lot of white officers, male and female, were really upset about the whole situation and explained it this way:

> …It was officers across the boards. This whole recent controversy, white males were upset, black males were upset, white and black female officers were upset. The lawsuit actually caused a lot more problems, because the attorney, for the reverse discrimination, of course only took whites in the lawsuit and the blacks actually were so upset about this and they wanted to get into the lawsuit too. But then the attorney wanted to know how they were impacted by a reverse discrimination at the department. They weren't disqualified from any positions because they were black, they just didn't get it. And that actually caused problems, now there are more problems because they are black and they can't get in the lawsuit [laughs].

It was mentioned by most of the policewomen that the last five years had been quite hectic, because of the economy and the extensive layoffs of over thirty officers from the department and more to come. They described how many younger officers who had been hired in the last eight to ten years had been laid off. This partly explains the older white and black policewomen sample dynamics of this study.

White and black policewomen's perceptions of each other:

I noticed the tension when I questioned a black female officer why she believed white policewomen in her department, per her description, walked around like they were better than the black policewomen. I asked her, "What do you mean they walk around…like, with their noses up

or something?" She stated, "I'm not sure how to describe it…you know…like they are better than us, like they were here first or something. What is the word I want?" I said, "Entitlement?" She clapped her hands together loudly and stated, "That is it exactly the word I was trying to find, like they are entitled to this job and we [black female officers] are just filling in some spots." Another black policewoman said, "I'm not sure why they [white policewomen] think they are somehow better than us, I mean…they are in no better position here either. We are all considered to be taking positions that should be for males…according to males that is."

In the following black female officer's interview excerpt she describes what it feels like to be a black female officer in her department and the perceptions of black policewomen based on TV black women images.

> …Well actually…we [black females] put our pants on like everyone else…and you know how they say that black females have an attitude. You get that or hear that about black females. Not as much with like a white female attitude. White females assume we [black females] have attitudes. Like all black women are loudmouths, wanting to tell people off, you know wagging their fingers and head going side-to-side. They watch too much TV…probably watching BET [Black Entertainment Television]. Black women are always fat and sassy on TV [she laughs] or all pimped up ready to screw. But, it ain't real…you know…it ain't good either.

The following comment from a black policewoman describes what it feels like to be a black female officer in this department. At first she looked up and away from me, then she leaned in close and said, "I'm just going to say it, most of the white women in our department are bitches." I asked her to explain why she thought this about the white women officers.

> Well, it is like this. I come to work to do just that...work. One evening I come to work and there are two white women talking about the department in the locker room. They were pissed off over blacks being given positions that they didn't earn. They were talking about the officers that were put into ranking positions because of being forced to. They just sounded so sure that this was wrong and that they deserved it as much as the black officers promoted. You know, acting like they always do.

I asked her to explain her statement, "Acting like they always do." She indicated that they [white female officers] acted "stuck up sometimes and wouldn't say shit to you if they had a mouth full." I asked her if she believed it to be all about race or a possible personality conflict. She responded, "Oh, I'm sure it is a combination, but there are a couple of the ones that just walk around here like they own the place."

During a conversation with one of the white female officers I mentioned that there had been a statement about white policewoman believing themselves to be of a higher status than black female policewomen. At first she laughed, then she stated, "Like how do we supposedly do this to them? Really, I want to know—how?" The conversation with this white policewoman seemed edgy at first, until she understood the context of the question originally addressed to all the female officers. I told her that the black female officer's response followed the question of what it felt like to her to be a black female officer in this department and vice versa depending on the race of the participant. This white policewoman's response is mixed with her personal feelings and what she believes black females may feel.

> I'm not sure I agree or understand what that black female or any were or are talking about. There is a lot of tension in this department about race. Let's face it, this department has had and does have racial problems. Right now there is the reverse discrimination lawsuit, which I am sure is causing tension. The black females are probably upset because they cannot be part of the suit. As far as higher status than black females, I don't see that. I don't do that. We are all minorities in this department. If you are not white and pee standing up, then you aren't worth a damn to the department anyways. Do you see what I am saying here? They do a good job of making us [all women] go after each other, keeping us divided.

Another white female officer, talking about the political atmosphere within the department, stated it this way.

> This place is a powder barrel just waiting to go off. You have the economy to blame; you have the administration or chief to blame, the mayor, the citizens, the officers. Hell, you can even blame each of the officers. Everyone has a friggin' agenda. The economy sucks. Our department has laid off more than forty officers over two years. So you have so

many demotions, mostly non-whites and women, because they were last to be promoted. Then you have the city, mayor, and administration wanting more minorities as supervisors, so they try and fix it…but, this causes more problems, which result in reverse discrimination. I am not sure what minorities see or think when they see someone promoted that is not as qualified as someone else, just because of color. Do they ignore it? I mean come on…it don't make sense. So, it isn't just about white women or black women or anyone in particular here, it is about everyone scared for their jobs and pointing fingers everywhere else. It is just tough.

This following black female officer had a different take on why there seemed to be disconnection between white and black policewomen. Her response followed the question of whether she saw a difference between black and white female images in the department and possible promotions.

> Well, I have been around here for eighteen years. When I first came in with the old crowd from the late seventies, it is like, 'Hey everybody's for themselves.' If you earn a position, get the position, and you are not going to get the position because you gave a little head, or you were the department 'hoe.' Or you think that you earned this and you are better than me. No, if you do not test for this position and score for it, and test high for it, you don't get it. Now, it is something very different. Our department has been shaken upside down, because we lost so many officers and positions, so now…the stuffing has been cleaned knocked out of people. You don't feel like you're better than me anymore because there is a different administration and now we are all equal. That is the best thing that I have seen since I have been here is the flip-flop and change of guards. So things have changed and seniority counts and who people like or who did who matters less, for the most part.

I followed up the question about the perception of "hoe" and females. I asked her if black female officer images were different or possibly worse than white female officer images in this department and in the community. She indicated that images and expectations always seem racial and sexual, in and outside of the department. She explained a different chain of command as she perceived it for this department, currently and in the past.

> Ok, I'm going to give you raw facts…raw facts. There are two groups of people that work here. The Hispanics are so small in numbers that they don't even count. They are here, and then you have the whites and the blacks. I look at it like this...this is my opinion. The white people are more…well, have more positions than the blacks because they are fewer than us, so if you are associated as a 'hoe' and screwing the right white person in power, then maybe you will get a cushy position. If you are black and you got

someone that you are going with…well, we don't have any black captains or any black higher ups. The chief is married, so you are not going to go that far up. So, in the past when they were doing all that, sometimes yes, if you did a sexual favor or something like that, everyone knew it, but you just couldn't prove it. But now, unless the white supervisor, which we have many years ago, was crazy about black women…you know what I'm saying? So if I'm a white guy and I like white women and you're a black woman, well hell…you can't do anything for me. I'm not going to help you. But all that has been changed because we have a different chain of command now.

This next black female officer described the police department as "just another example or replica of high school mentality." She indicated that everyone was older, just in a different setting, but the "petty and immature actions and perceptions just carried over," but then indicated that the department is more alike now then it has ever been.

You know…you can see it…you see some of the black women walk through here, they are all cooked up, and this is just like high school for eighteen years instead of four years (laughs). Ok, seriously, you got your yippees, your rich people…what are they called…I mean yuppies. You got your poor folk, you got the ones with the earrings and tattoos and you got all kinds of people, all kinds of groups. But, if we got to do something or put on a show or get some work done, we can all come together and get the job done. Hell, there ain't any age difference here anymore for that to make a difference, because we are an older department now. The young ones all got laid off. You know we need them…I'm 39 and that's old for a police officer. That is old. We are the department we were basically twenty years ago. All of us are just older with the same fights.

The following white female officer indicated that she wasn't necessarily real "hip" on how the black female officers acted toward her and other whites in the department. She stated that the black females came off as "clique-y" and "loud-mouthed," about issues that "they don't even have a clue or idea of what is happening, because it is always about them." She indicated that she respected some of the issues that they [black females] were speaking out against, but explained her comments in the following excerpt.

First of all, I don't like coming off sounding like I am a racist. But, you know…you get tired of the bitching. I mean, if I hear one more time about no black females in supervisory positions I will scream. If you want the job so bad, test for it…but be serious and study for it ahead of time. Don't expect it to be handed to you because there are no other black females in those positions. You just get tired of them loud-mouthing about issues that they don't even test or qualify for. The whites are saying, 'Hey look what

happened last time they just put people in positions because they were black and not qualified for the positions.' It didn't turn out good for the department or the city. On top of this…it didn't help the blacks and whites in this department any either. That is why I say 'loud-mouthed' and 'bitchy.' Hell, I'm just tired of it…we all are.

During one of the follow-up phone conversations with one of the white female officers, I stated that I, as a researcher, experienced an easier time getting black policewomen to respond to my solicitation for research interviews, than white female officers. I told her that I wasn't quite sure why this was happening. She stated, "White female officers probably understand the whole research topic to be a repeat and not really going to change anything." I then asked her what she believed the black female officers might be thinking. She stated the following:

> I'm not a black female, but my guess would be that they want to be heard. I mean, they don't think that they get heard in our department, none of us do. They are somewhat right on this. Hell, the white females aren't being listened to either. The black women are just hoping that this will be different for them somehow. I mean think about it, a white woman talking and caring about black women's issues. I was happy to do this, but I will be honest, I didn't want to waste any of my time or day off talking about work with a stranger. Now, knowing you a little better…I hope this gets an audience and they see what is going on. I imagine with this crazy department it will be all over the place and confusing.

A black female officer had this to say about agreeing to be interviewed for this study.

> It started out as a favor for [gatekeeper] and turned into something more. I mean, this is important stuff. I live this and take this stuff home. It is who I am. Hopefully, it will make a difference. You said that maybe this research will peak other's interests to study it more. I hope so. My daughter has said that she may want to be a cop…I told her, 'over my dead body.' You made me comfortable in the interviews and easy to talk to…I hope this goes somewhere.

I then asked this same black policewoman why she would believe it was harder to get white females to respond and agree to an interview than black female officers. She stated, "People talk about white women problems all the time, so maybe they just saw it as a waste of time." She then laughed and said, "Just imagine how difficult it would have been if you were a black

woman researcher trying to get them [white female officers] to do something. You probably got off easy on this one."

Sense of Justice in Black and White:

One of the research questions was intended to explore and hopefully to discover if policewomen's distinctive vantage points (gender and race), both culturally and in policing, create a different sense of justice for them in policing? Justice is broad, ambiguous and an intangible concept that is defined thousands of ways, depending on the audience and circumstance. According to Christian morality, the definition of justice is in the golden rule; the result of justice is the power of truth, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Plato used the Greek word "Dikaisyne" for justice, which encompasses 'morality' or 'righteousness' and the whole duty of the individual's conduct in so far as it affects others (Bhandari, 2007). The Webster dictionary defines it as the quality of being just, impartial or fair (Webster, 2009). The women described their policing roles and perspectives in ways that speak to social justice, which is an understanding of society's responsibility to vulnerable people and populations such as the powerless, sick, victims of crime, prisoners, and children (Brady, 1998).

It was exciting to consider that internal and external life experiences, and cultural underpinnings, commingled with race and gender, might define and shape each woman's policing role, position, perceptions of right and wrong, and/or sense of justice in law enforcement. Each of the policewomen started out defining and describing this justice as a position she took because of being an officer of the law. It appeared that they were making a case for being police officers, as well as their expectations of justice. Through various probing and reshaping of the questions, several women started to describe it as it happened, how it happened as a process or was part of them, and who they were and are now. I didn't want to shape or

distort their answers by explaining how cultural ideas encompassed our life and social positions including race, class, gender, ethnicity, and so on. Most of the women started out by explaining that they brought their sense of justice with them from their upbringing, but failed to see how their race may have affected their idea of justice. Another possibility is that they understood the differences, as well as the causes, but didn't want to explore the possible impact of race on their understanding of justice. Policing is a masculine occupation and the policewomen juxtaposed and paralleled their ideas of justice as opposed to males, not seeming or wanting to explore race implications.

There were numerous times when the women police officers struggled to distinguish any similarities or differences between their race and their sense of justice, but when explaining women's sense of justice when compared to the male officers' understanding of this, the similarities in their views became pronounced. The idea of "sense of justice" to the policewomen fell into the category of gender "difference" in policing a majority of the time. This "difference" was previously discussed gender characteristics, such as care giving, better communicators, less brutal tactics, and being mothers. All the women resisted being associated with expectations of being aggressive or violent in their policing positions and different in how they dealt with victims, such as children and domestic violence. They accepted this difference openly, stating "it is who we are and what makes us good officers." Several of the women stated that they have had to be aggressive in their positions, but preferred to handle it by communicating and listening to what the problem was and wanting to find a solution. Some of the solutions described by the policewomen took time out of their personal lives.

According to Kessler-Harris (1987), gender is a valueless abstraction that comes to life as we fill in the meanings throughout history, and further states that this history is about access, not

necessarily rules. Many of the interview excerpts, especially those referring to their sense of justice, were described women officers as "doing gender." This idea of "doing gender" is to accept being "gender accountable," and that mentality has historically defined work in our country (Fenstermaker, 1991; Kessler-Harris, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1991). The interview subjects switched back and forth between "justice" and "responsibility," using the words interchangeably, and race was not as straightforward as gender for either black or white females. It was clear in several comments made by the policewomen that race mattered, but their conclusions were vague. This could be because race seemed to be everywhere in this research, but was not brought back to the personal level and gender trumps in the discussion of equality in policing. One black female officer explained justice in very pragmatic terms: "This isn't what the academy teaches police officers; it is what you know in your heart has to be done."

The efforts of women in policing have always been directed toward females, juveniles and crime prevention. They were and are expected to display "good education, formal training, and experience in social work, pleasant personalities, positive attitudes, common sense, sympathy, and emotional stability" (Bell, 1982:113). In addition to these required policewoman characteristics, in the 1970s they were warned that "they may often be the only women among men and thus may be pinched, patted, or played with. Therefore, they should not wear excessive makeup, suggestive clothing, or use abrasive language" (Bell, 1982:113-114). Although the roles of women in the United States have changed dramatically in the past 30 years, these ideas, in only slightly different forms, continue to plague women in policing.

Gendered processes within gendered institutions assist in constructing hierarchies, competency expectations, police culture, and possible exclusion. There is much discussion in policing regarding gender differences and how women bring different abilities to policing (Bell,

1982; Horne, 1980; Martin, 1980; Menkel-Meadow, 1989; Rabe-Hemp, 2008), as well as a broad range of literature examining the premise that this difference may be based on biological and socialization differences (Brizendine, 2006; Garcia, 2003; Grant, 2000; Martin & Jurick, 1996; Paoline & Terrill, 2004). Notwithstanding all this gender difference discussion, there is modest empirical research that exists that investigates the impact of gender on how female officers do their jobs within the context of everyday police work (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

When the policewomen in this study described their sense of justice, they reflected the discussion and limited empirical research in the literature on this subject. They do see themselves somehow as "different" in the world of policing. Their sense of justice, both by definition and perception, is shaped by these understandings of gender difference. The intention of the research was not to support or highlight gendered stereotypes of women officers or set up expectations of difference, but to allow the policewomen to voice their capabilities, strengths, and perceptions of how they created their spaces and definitions in policing.

The informal questions that centered on sense of justice asked the women to describe what their perceptions and expectations were of their sense of justice while considering their race and gender. Each of the policewomen started out describing what was expected of them as police officers in accordance with laws and training. It was when I reminded them that I was more concerned with their personal views about justice, while considering their life positions in regard to race and gender that they angled away from policing policy, training, and laws. Several mentioned that they originally thought that I wanted them to describe what justice was within policing. Each of the women started out describing their sense of justice as a police officer first, and then started speaking about and describing the process as a woman.

One of the first interviews was conducted with a black female officer who started out describing her sense of justice as "Doing the right thing at the right time as much as possible and following laws and treating people within those laws." She then went on to explain that sense of justice is, "something you bring with you to policing." She implied that officers are not necessarily trained in what justice is, but trained in regard to what the justice system is supposed to be.

> Well, to be honest, you know, I think that it [sense of justice] has been the same all along. I do right and I try not to lie, because I can never remember what I told you and that is too hard of work [laughs]. So, I just try and push good morals and values off on anybody, here, out there, or whatever. I do it more with the people outside of this department. Not inside here, they already have their minds made up in here. I believe that I bring my good morals and standards and stuff like that to policing. You can teach some people right…they just got to know that you care. That is the important part…just try and listen and show you care, that is all most people really want…someone to listen to them and their problem.

I then asked her if she thought that her gender shaped or altered this sense of justice that she just described.

> My gender yes, because I really just think that females are more sensitive to human needs. Before I had my children I was a different person. Once I became a mother, everything changed. You know, you look at some of these jerks who commit hideous crimes and think, 'Wow that was somebody's kid. Somebody's baby did this,' and I think, 'What happened along the way?' It just makes you wonder. I would say definitely gender; you know what I'm saying. I try and reach in there and figure out and look at the person and say, 'What happened to you? Why are you doing this and what would your mom think? What would your grandma think?' We [women] are totally different than men. You know, most of the men I have worked with just want to deal with the problem as it is happening. They don't care or wonder what happened to the person who did it. I don't want to bash them, but I want to reach out, you know…be a caring person. Listen to the knucklehead and the victim. I didn't say I agreed with them…just letting them know someone is here because they care.

This is what the same black policewoman had to say about race shaping her sense of justice. She actually wanted the tape recorder turned off to think about what she was going to say. After about two minutes of staring at and occasionally drinking her coffee, without the recorder

running or any speaking, she told me to turn the recorder back on and that she was ready to

answer the question.

> Race? You know, that is tricky to answer because you are damned if you do and damned if you don't. There is no right answer when it comes to anything or any discussion about race. This is especially true if you are comparing white and black differences of anything. Yes, race does make a difference I suppose. It is part of your heritage, it is who you are. You can try and forget it didn't happen to you. You didn't make me clean your house. I wasn't your slave; you know what I am saying? Get over it. Don't let that be your setback in life. Don't let that develop into whatever side of the fence you stand. I heard this one white guy say he was the oppressor [police] and would have been one in the past too. I looked at him and said, 'You know what? You can take your ass out there if you want to and try to be an oppressor, but you're going to fuck around and get pressed.' That is not the way that it is anymore. You may be able to do so much, but for that to come out of his mouth… I wasn't supposed to have heard it. He should have never said that, but it did show in his daily work, you could see it. You could see where he arrested black guys and their felonies would always stick and arrest someone that was white and not charge them with all the counts and they were more minimal. That is still out there, it is not gone. You know, this subject is probably a whole different interview, but it does shape you. I just think that the heritage and where I came from, me being involved, doing the family reunions, doing the research, and seeing how my great-great-great-grandfather was a bounty hunter for slaves….knowing his story…and stuff like that, helps to create this sense of justice in me.

The following black female officer was a very matter-of-fact person. Most of her

interview was to the point and blunt; she rarely strayed from the topic at hand. I had to

consistently prod her to elaborate on many statements. She seemed impatient when I would ask

her to explain a position that she had already covered. Here she is explaining what she perceives

to be her sense of justice and how it was developed.

> I learned my justice long ago. I adapted my own way of doing things when I came here. I have been doing this for twenty-some years. I listen to seasoned, older officers. I have learned how it needs to be done and how to do it. Learned the just and unjust way things are done. I have learned the law. I have not learned half of what some older officers know about justice, I'm still learning. If I have questions I will ask the ones that I respect and learn from it. I will learn until the day I leave policing. That is my sense of justice.

When asked if her sense of justice was shaped by race or gender she stated:

> Men's sense of justice is probably different than ours. When women officers deal with children on the job, we are all mothers. We have this motherly love thing. Men are like,

I'm not your mother or your father and I don't love you. That is not the attitude most females take with kids…you know…we try and set them down and say, 'Hey sweetheart…blah…blah…blah.' Men aren't buying that. They are like, 'Hey, sit your ass down and do what I tell you right now.' They just want to tell them what to do. Women are different, less hard core dealing with stuff. We are raised to be like this. That is the way it is. Guys are a lot cockier. We come in and we are not really sure of ourselves at first. We learn quickly.

This next excerpt is from a white female officer who seemed very comfortable and well-versed

on what she described as her sense of justice and where she believed it was developed.

Sense of justice is who I am. You are only as good as the way you treat other people that can be real scum bags or charmers. I have dealt with some people that part of me thinks, they are wasting good people's air. I do it with respect, for them as a person, for the law that I am sworn to uphold, and respect for what I believe to be right inside of me. This, like anything else, can all go to hell in a handbasket, as soon as they disrespect me as a person and my position as law enforcement, forcing me to uphold my duties as a police officer. There is a part of every officer that struggles with people that lack any sort of respect for others. You would like to give them some justice, some street justice, but then your sense of justice takes over. It is important to know right and wrong and act accordingly.

This is what this same white female officer had to say about race and gender shaping her sense of

justice. She explains race in the context of "across the boards," not necessarily as a difference

between black and white female officers.

As stated…it is what you are. So if you were raised in a 'hood in Detroit or raised in a 'hood in Boyne City…you are different and what you are accustomed to and believe to be right and wrong. Again, we learn right and wrong from people…and those people are in different areas, different places in themselves, and in the world. They all come with lessons to either take with you or leave behind. We are our parents' thoughts and actions until we figure out if we agree with their way or not. As a woman, I see things way different than most of my male partners. Some males come at situations as a bad-ass, some actually have size to back up their mouths, but women are communicators for the most part. We know that we are not always able to back up a command physically at that moment. We are at a disadvantage, sizewise…and we know it…we just got to be smarter…nobody wants an ass-whipping. You know for years it was a white male perspective, and you can see from history that it was not necessarily an effective way to run a business. In policing, one gender and race created many problems that we are still trying to fix today. This could never have been any different, considering where we were in history, but it should and can be different now. It is still a good ole boy white network with that mentality. Oh, there is color and women now…but it is only on the

surface…underneath…same ole system for the most part…at least at the decision and policymaking level.

There were several comments made by the black and white policewomen that their sense of justice was a process that developed over time. This process was described along a continuum of being a "soul searching experience" to "just say fuck it and do the right thing." This next interview excerpt was a white female officer who had over twenty-four years in the department. Her answers usually came after a couple of seconds of thought, a drink of pop, then leaning forward in her chair to look me in the eye. She was very intense and often serious. She told me early on during our initial interview that she was going to make every attempt to be objective, truthful, and concise, about each of the issues we would discuss. She stated this along with the fact that, "There were many past events that still angered her and that she was literally counting the days until her retirement." She said, "There will be no going away party or festivities," the day she was done in policing, "only cleaning her locker out and driving away, would be on the agenda." Here she explains how her sense of justice developed over time and referred to it as her "secret strength."

> This sense of justice took a very long time to understand. It took a lot of soul searching and a long hard look at what was really me. Early on, maybe first six years, I wondered if this was going to work for me throughout 25 years of police work. It was not worth it. Competing with the men, it was not working for me. I was being brutal. I'm not saying that all the guys are brutal in the department. There was an unspoken expectation that being tough was being a cop. To belong at one time, that was it, which was the climate. I had to change. I think women have a different sense of justice than men. Younger women have a different sense than even older females. Older female officers are surer of themselves and are not out to prove anything to the males. We are comfortable with ourselves. Younger females are trying to prove themselves and to fit in [policing]. I feel bad for them, because they never will [fit in] and they haven't figured that out yet. It takes a long time to just be you and embrace being a woman and a cop. Many females come in and feel like they have to sleep around to be accepted by one of the boys. They go out and drink with the boys. You can socialize with them…I golf with them…and stuff like that, but I don't try to keep up with them. In competition you can only compete with someone if you are part of the competition. I don't want to compete with them now.

You know, this sense of justice is my secret strength that nobody wants you to know you have.

The following black female officer spoke very softly. There were several times I found myself leaning into her to hear her words better. Even though she spoke softly, she seemed very sure of herself and her sense of justice position as she described it. She started out describing it as a strength she obtained from her family and church and then went into how she grew into this sense and it made her stronger.

> Well I think that a lot of it has to do with how I was raised. My mom and dad were divorced when I was in kindergarten or first grade, but my dad always stayed in our lives and he is really into the church….he has always been there…and my mom too. Church was very important in our lives of right and wrong. It really stuck with me. Then there is when you grow up and do this job. After becoming an officer on the job, anger management and holding my tongue, always working on issues when you need to, recognizing it and working it out, growing up. You want to be a better person when dealing with people, like a cut above, you know? I would talk to myself and say when I come into work today I am going to be a good person and work at it. I refuse to stoop to others' levels. I continue to learn. I continue to watch and police me.

I was drawn in by this particular interview. I respected her for her position and sureness of who she was, what she wanted to be, where she was going and the process of achieving all of this. She continued on with her awareness of how she thought that gender helped with her sense of justice.

> I think that my gender is strength. As females we tend to be a little more emotional and more sensitive. I had to work on being less of both of these when I became an officer. Sometimes, when I would go on a terrible call, I would be there crying with the family (laughs). My male partner would be like, "What is going on here?" I had to work on that. He didn't get it…I don't know how.

I told her that she initially called it gender strength, but then stated that "being emotional and sensitive" was something that she stated that she "had to work on." I asked if she could explain this contradiction.

> I do believe that it is important. I can become emotional. I really think of things then and after it all happens. I really think about a lot that happens during this job. This happens at

night when it is quiet and I am deep in thought. I think that this helps me to be a more careful officer and careful the way that I live my life. I have worked in a lot of circles and positions in law enforcement. For instance, when I was an accident investigator there were times I was emotional about the accident because someone died. I was fortunate not to see a kid die in an accident. The careless driving and accidents would make me think about being a better driver and being careful…just really pulling it all together and thinking about it. I'm not saying this introspection is only a female thing. Maybe males do it too and just don't show it. It is definitely not something that is looked at as strength in law enforcement; it is considered a weakness for sure, but it is who I am and how I police.

Here the same black female officer from above explains how she believes race shapes her sense of justice.

Race is important in understanding exactly who we are and where we are at with ourselves and the world. My race, as far as how people disrespect me and everything, I had to learn how to deal with all of that. I have been treated a certain way in the department and outside of the department because of me being black. I know this, I am not stupid. You know when it is because you are black or specifically a black female. I think that I have dealt with that, deal with that, and don't let it get to me, and am better because of it. I am still the person I am supposed to be, doing the things that I am supposed to do. We are raised differently, experience stuff differently; I would say there is a difference. I mean, I don't know what their [white female officers] sense of justice would be, but we are raised in very different cultures and are different because of it.

According to the following black policewoman, her sense of justice is "like a flower that is constantly blooming." Our interview was done in the back area of a restaurant in the early morning. She had just ended a hectic midnight shift. She indicated that she was very tired, but felt that this topic was worth her contributing to and decided to keep her interview appointment with me. She felt that with her years of experience and what she has learned, it was her duty to share and help other women in policing. She too described her justice as starting with her family and church influence.

My sense of justice goes back to how I was raised and being raised in the church. Thank God I had those values and raised that way. You can get really screwed up in policing and be manipulated. I treat people the way that I want to be treated. It comes back ultimately, to who I am and what I am here for. If that means a wrong that I have to make right, then I am going to do my best for that person. I will do what I can for you within your rights and the law, which is my job. This is what I bring to policing, this is

someone I am already and am doing it in policing. Thank God I came to policing later in life. It would have been hard if I were real young with this job. This job is important and a big responsibility to do the right thing. You need life experiences. I believe wholly in the fact that being older brings perspective that helps you understand. With age and education comes a certain respect and time to listen…you know what I mean? I came on older when I was more settled and knew who I was and what I needed to be. You have to know exactly who you are to know what to do in this job…a strong you.

The same black female from the above excerpt explained that "it is part of creation to make women different and that it is this difference that is very important and needed in policing." She did indicate that she didn't believe that female gender difference would ever be considered strength in law enforcement. Her particular take on race and sense of justice was not about being black, but about being in blue—as in the police uniform blue.

Being female and different with a different sense of justice is part of creation. I'm talking about women, the gender thing and nurturing, there is something to be said about this and mothering. Being a mother gets me by a lot of situations, using this to understand situations and moving with it. We need to be different. It shouldn't be one is better than the other, but that it is important that we are different. Policing needs both males and females to make it work. This goes the same for being black too. My sense of justice is formed with who I am and how people perceive me. For example black women don't see authority very well as it is…then me as a black female…they don't want nothing to do with me…for the most part…you know. You can go in there and get total different reactions….why…umm…just the way they are.  Don't get me wrong….I can deal with them and all black people…it is different. You see when a black person sees me, they don't really see me…they see the uniform. It don't matter that I am black or white…it matters that I am in this uniform…this uniform. This blue uniform has a meaning all its own…and they don't like it. So when I come to work…I try and get along as much as possible with my co-workers because we are the enemy…we are the ones wearing the blue uniforms….don't matter what color the skin is most of the time with black people…it is the uniform..You know what I am saying? There is history there to understand.  I come and do this job and I do it right. I do it because of who I am and what I do. You are like a flower….you really bloom into what you are as a police officer. You become the justice based on reality of what is around you…you know.

All the policewomen knew and understood what sense of justice was in terms of personal insight and their described "differences" in opposition to male officers, but limited in terms of difference according to race among the women officers. It was apparent throughout the interviews that the policewomen were more aware, perceptive and comfortable explaining

differences between male and female officers than black and white women officers, in terms of policing, perceptions, beliefs, and behavior.

It is important that we are reminded of several criticisms and supposed differences in gender and social development by past research. According to Menkel-Meadow (1985) and West (1988), law is created, enforced, interpreted, and punished by men, who cannot begin to fathom women's experience and knowledge. Bordering this statement is Carol Gilligan's (1982) "different voice" construct, which states that female and male voices are cast as opposing ethical styles used in resolving conflict and dilemmas: men prioritize individual rights, autonomy, and impartiality, whereas women reject male values of objectivity and detachment and instead honor and emphasize care, responsibility, and affective connections.

Gilligan's different voice and different feminism research has been criticized by Christina Hoff Summers (2000), along with other feminists who insist that there are no differences between males and females. Collins (1991) criticizes several feminist studies, such as Nancy Chodorow's (1974, 1978) on sex role socialization and Gilligan's (1982) study of moral development of women, as not universal, but as white and middle-class. These criticisms were not necessarily matched with this research and the responses of "difference" by black and white policewomen. Of particular interest are several of the policewomen who called their gender differences a source of strength, with one of the policewomen going as far as to call it a "secret strength" that no one wants you to know you have.

In policing, "difference" is not the strong side of the argument to take when considering and promoting women in law enforcement. It is this same position "being soft" that continues to keep women police officers in subordinate positions and creating conflict within law enforcement organizations, which is shaped by traditionally male constructs of strength and

fighting crime. It is this difference and subordinate positions that were highlighted and commented on more than race for the policewomen. It was these same "differences" that marked the entrance of women into law enforcement. When these policewomen describe their sense of justice and perceptions as "mothers" or "different," in policing, they are essentially alienating themselves from what traditional masculine policing, historically characterized as needed and acceptable. It is also important to discern that this qualitative research, with the small sample of women, should not be used to generalize about all black and white policewomen in law enforcement.

The purpose of this research is to cast light on the issues that the black and white policewomen experience and how these experiences and differences should be looked at as gender, race, class, and ethnicity specific. Consequently, the idea of "care reasoning" or "justice reasoning" argued by Gilligan (1982) is not a cross-cultural construction of gender in a traditionally male occupation, but is supported in this research. Further research is necessary to understand black and white policewomen's positions, social identifications, and how they integrate and negotiate gender and race expectations in a male-dominated organization.

The research question about policewomen's sense of justice, possibly being different based on race and gender, was difficult and confusing in regards to race for most of the policewomen. Several women mentioned that race "of course" would create difference in terms of sense of justice, but failed to explain it as difference like they did gender. As mentioned earlier in the research, the idea of sense of justice is so particular to each individual and circumstances, that its intangibility was not something that they found easy to explain, or they may have felt it was too complicated to explain. An example of this was the black female who started explaining her position in regards to family history and slavery. She even stated, "I really

don't know where I am going with this…but it is important...I suppose." One of the black female officers, mentioned above, said that it has nothing to do with either gender of race; it has everything to do with the uniform. In this particular interview I was tempted to bring up the idea that the uniform was part of race history, but did not want to direct the conversation.

The fact that none of the white females perceived or discussed race as a shaping factor for officers in policing was interesting. They were more focused on explaining differences in justice between themselves and male officers. Denzin (2000: 825) cautions researchers to make limited claims about their research and to not sabotage it by making grandiose claims about applicability to social problems. This research was very applicable to black and white policewomen's perceptions, definitions, and treatment in law enforcement, but I do understand that this is only one way of "slicing the cake" and that other approaches to accessing other forms of data might yield different results or complete the research questions differently or possibly better, possibly a black female asking these same questions. With this I come back to bell hooks (1984:12) comment that, "even though (white researchers) may be sincerely concerned about racism, their methodology suggests, they are not yet free of the type of paternalism endemic to white supremacist ideology." I believe that this was a weakness within this research and that I missed several opportunities to explore race further when mentioned by the black policewomen, whether by me not wanting to probe further or the black policewomen not wanting to delve into this with me.

## Chapter 7

## Discussion and Conclusion

This research of women in policing spans almost two decades. I include my experiences as a police officer as part of the research process, even though at the time, I was unaware that this would play a significant role. Between my personal experience, research for my thesis, and current research, it still feels as though I have only scratched the surface of what policewomen were, have become, and where they would like to be. The purpose of this study was to grasp a clearer understanding of the lived "everyday" experiences of black and white policewomen from a specific geographic location. The three purposes of case studies are to examine change of phenomenon over time, to analyze the significance of a phenomenon for future events, and lastly to analyze the relation among parts of a phenomenon (Reinharz, 1992:164). The study was examining the relations among the parts, such as policewomen's exclusions, distortions, discrimination, stereotypes, harassment, images, and missing information, within law enforcement and among themselves, that fed this research and shaped the women's perspectives. While examining historical and contemporary literature, I realized that an abundance of research concerning women in policing presupposes that white and African-American women are a single aggregate, with a universality of experience. Often placed in the perspective of white female officers, the literature generally excludes or ignores the perspectives of women of color.

As mentioned, the sample for this qualitative study was fourteen policewomen, seven African-American and seven white, currently employed in law enforcement, in a chosen location. I selected the site based on specific criteria of the sample that I was seeking. I knew going into this research that law enforcement locations with enough African-American and white female officers to obtain sufficient interview subjects would be hard to obtain. Policing is a male

dominated profession and the percentage of women officers is still quite low. In 1970 only two percent of police officers nationwide were women; in 1991, the number was up to nine percent; since that time it has been fluctuating between eleven and thirteen percent. Currently, women over the age of 16 years old make up 46.3% of employed workers, but only 12.8% of total patrol officers in law enforcement (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007). The higher end of that percentage of women in policing is located in larger urban departments. The final sample for this case study of fourteen policewomen was largely dictated by economic forces, which was present during the data collection of this research, as well as low departmental morale and lack of desire to participate. Just prior to this research, over forty officers had been laid off over a two year period, and many officers had been demoted and shifted within the department. The policewomen indicated to me that another 20 to 30 officers would be laid off within the next two years. Women officers were especially hard hit because of their already limited numbers within the department and recent female hires that had already been laid off.

There are many important findings that I will summarize over the next several pages. The findings were based on the policewomen's responses to questions as they attempted to answer this study's research questions. The first research question addressed generalized or widely shared cultural stereotypes and images of African-American and white policewomen in law enforcement and how they may differ from each other. The second questions asked the women to consider whether the advantages and disadvantages in law enforcement for policewomen differ based on their race. The third research question was specific to African-American female officers was the question of whether a race and gender combination acted as either an advantage or disadvantage in law enforcement. The fourth research question addressed the issue of discrimination among black and white female officers, asking which race felt they experienced

more discrimination. The last research question explored whether policewomen's distinctive vantage point of race and gender created a different sense of justice in policing. These research questions had broad historical context in law enforcement and society, along with contemporary frameworks. Black and white women subjectivity in our culture, along with sexuality, invisibility, stereotypes, bias, discrimination, welfare, family status, and affirmative action were often times prefaces to their perspectives and answers.

The primary theory used throughout this study was standpoint theory. According to Haraway (1997: 304), "standpoints are cognitive-emotional-political achievements, crafted out of located social-historical-bodily experience—itself always constituted through fraught, non-innocent, discursive, material, collective practice." This theory also posits that "all knowledge attempts are socially situated and that some of these objective social locations are better than others for knowledge projects" (Harding, 1993:56). The idea is that all our knowledge is socially located, and further sees the "everyday world as problematic, continually created and shaped, and known by women within it and its organization, which is shaped by external material factors or textually mediated relations" (Smith, 1987:91).

This theoretical position allowed me to maintain the integrity of the interview experience and protect the viewpoints of the policewomen, as expressed in their everyday language, actions and personal perspectives. This approach provided both the policewomen and me greater insight into our researched and researcher roles, gave more control of the interview pace with the freedom of open-end responses, and provided a base for understanding their policing perspectives, outside of pre-existing law enforcement, cultural bases and academic knowledge. The secondary theory, which is significant to understanding how these women placed them within policing and formed their perspectives, was experiential racism theory.

<u>Experiential racism</u> argues that race and racism are a process which operates concurrently at several levels—structural, ideological, institutional, and individual. This racism process is systematically integrated into all aspects of our everyday lives and the basis for the meanings and feelings we attribute to situations and topics. Individual experiences are cumulative and collective; individuals accumulate experiences which form the basis of group members' knowledge of race and racism (Bolten Jr., 2003). The idea of process, socially constructed racial ideas and individual descriptions of racism is important to understanding black policewomen's policing perspectives, definitions, positions and possible development of a different sense of justice, and is therefore relevant to this research.

The <u>first research question</u> explored whether or not the cultural stereotypes/ images/representations of African-American and white policewomen in law enforcement differed from each other. This question was important to understanding possible policing differences, positions in policing, and justice differences. "Women as mothers, virgins, and whores have been major archetypical symbols in Western thought (Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Zinn and Dill, 1994). What is interesting is how these terms can be deconstructed and understood to be related to dominant ideologies that justify, support, and rationalize power structures. Even the idea of cultural stereotypes and women's representations require deconstruction to understand that race will change the imagery even further.

As mentioned earlier and understood through our United States history, African-American women's stereotypes and images are very different than that of white women. The "cult of womanhood," which was highly romanticized as a pure, delicate, mother and ideal wife, was reserved for white women (Atkinson and Boles, 1985). There were two Euro-American images for African-American females during slavery; the "mammy" described a motherly slave

devoted to caring for the slave owner's family, and the "Jezebel" who was a sexually provocative woman (Collins, 1998; Zinn and Dill, 1994). These historical representations of black women combined with the present-day stereotypes of "welfare queens," "single mothers," and "matriarchs" are thought to possibly alter the way the policewomen are perceived by the public, and possibly their partners. According to Williams (1977), these images are continually re-created, modified, and defended.

Race also shapes white female representations and images. According to Frankenberg (1993), "whiteness" is a structural advantage, a standpoint, and a set of cultural practices that are usually unnamed. Many of the negative images and representations were understood by the policewomen who were interviewed for this project, who often talked about the problems they had with males in their department because of these negative images. The black and white female officers in this research seemed at times to talk past each other and at other times understood each other's positions quite clearly. When I brought up cultural images that may be different because of race, many of the answers seemed superficial, but then I realized their comments reflected their very real circumstances. The black policewomen described white female officers as walking around "like they owned the place," with an overt sense of entitlement. The white policewomen described the black female officers as being loud and "deserving of something without working for it, because they are black."

This focus of this research did not include male officers' perceptions of black and white policewomen. There were several interviews with black and white female officers in which they reiterated stories of what white and black male officers thought of women officers. The gist was that white female policewomen spoke about their white male partners, believing that the males treated them differently after they became mothers. There were three white female policewomen

who indicated that they believed that there were several white male officers who thought they had some kind of natural alliance with them because they were white. This "supposed" alliance was understood because the white male officers would tell those (white female officers) how "worthless" black females were as police officers.

The arguments and images that were presented by both black and white policewomen supported the idea that they themselves had different perceived images and stereotypes of female officers based on race. The white female entitlement depiction and the loud, undeserving black female are not new representations in our society. The policewomen seemed well-versed on what they believed male officers thought of them. They either mentioned that they had heard the offensive comments directly or through other women officers. The biggest image, perception or stereotype that was mentioned over and over by both black and white women officers was that they were different in the eyes of males after becoming a mother. The policewomen continually commented how being a mother was strength for them, but they believed it was considered a weakness in the eyes of male officers. Future research into cultural representations of black and white female officers and possible differences in motherhood, utilizing data from citizens and male officers is needed.

The second research question, intended to examine whether black and white policewomen experience the same advantages and disadvantages in law enforcement, was partially answered when the policewomen talked about the cultural expectations of motherhood, which they described as "difference." Other perceived limitations and disadvantage was in regard to the "good ole boy" network and work family conflict (WFC). When she was appointed New York's City's first female officer in 1918, Mary E. Hamilton (1924) stated that "Women symbolize the 'mother' and work toward protection of the home and family," describing the

roles of women police officers. This was the role they were to fulfill for women and children in custody. Women's police roles were to assist male officers, who were seen as insensitive to women and children's needs. Policing the streets and neighborhoods was seen as a much more important duty reserved for males. It is these same patriarchal ideas, nine decades later, which continue to shape how the policewomen in this particular study feel they are perceived and treated in policing. There were not specific research questions that were asked of the policewomen regarding their roles as mothers, how being a mother shaped their policing roles, or the differences between black and white females and motherhood.

The question that elicited the most responses about disadvantage concerned socialization with other women officers in the department. All the women's responses indicated that they didn't have time to socialize after work because they had family obligations, and oftentimes specifically said that they were mothers and were expected to be home.  Every one of the women stated that they knew they were "different" from their male partners and were expected to act "different." These "difference" responses were similar between black and white female officers. These distinctive work roles, sex type categorizations, and stereotypical expectations, function to underscore women officers' positions as supportive and ancillary, weakening their authority, independence, interdependence, and leadership in policing. The policewomen did not challenge these social roles or the cultural expectations attached to them. The emotions displayed by the women when describing themselves included anger, regret, dismissal, sadness, and being proud, but seemingly accepting the difference.

All thirteen policewomen who were mothers stated that their role as mother may be perceived as a negative and sounded negative, but they were mothers first, police officers second, and would not do it any other way. They indicated that this is what they believed despite

possible risks to their careers. Several of the women stated that they had decent relationships with their male police officer partners, but that this changed when they became mothers. One woman stating that being a mother, which seemed to have changed her in the male officers eyes, now had different defined boundaries. It is the gendered division of labor, cultural expectations and social constructs that created these new boundaries that the policewomen called "difference." It is this same "difference" that is later described by the policewomen as an insight or perception that helps to create their sense of justice in policing. Being the "other" was perceived as both an advantage and disadvantage.

This "difference" or "other" is presented in research as cultural barriers that are supported by police organizations, managerial structures, and societal beliefs. This barrier is especially supported by the glorification of masculine traits and values in policing (Crank, 1998; Fielding, 1994; Martin, 1979, 1993, 1996; Walklate, 1992); consequently, females as seen as intruders of this self-defined territories (Reiner, 1992; Yoder, 1991) who threaten the police image. The policewomen stated it is hard to be part of this policing culture when they don't have access to the same opportunities as their male peers. They were quick to state that per most departmental policies, they were just as able to apply for promotions and positions, but that these same opportunities required additional training, occasional travel, shift work, and being on call. They could not fulfill the requirements for these opportunities if they were mothers and had young children at home. The older sample of women for this study oftentimes described what policing and their choices were when their children were young and not able to care for themselves. They did indicate that as children got older, policing opportunities could become possible again. Each time this was mentioned, the women laughed and reiterated that past training opportunities and promotional possibilities were in the past and it was impossible to play "catch-up" with their

male partners who had not been slowed down by being fathers. Hochschild (1997) referred to this one-sided family responsibility and obligations as caregiver as "second shift" work and a "leisure gap" between men and women.

It was interesting that the policewomen in this sample considered their positions, expectations, and "difference" as a strength, yet it was this same idea of difference that law enforcement sees as a weakness. This idea is supported by the recent research of Rave-Hemp (2008) who indicates that women differentiate themselves from their male counterparts, accepting stereotypical norms of femininity and reinforcing traditional conceptions of gender differences. This dichotomy of difference and contradiction was obvious not only in the literature on this topic, but also in the policewomen's actual statements. The idea of difference, in the form of "nurturing," "caring," and "self-sacrificing," is explored by Ann Crittenden (2001) who explains how society glorifies motherhood, yet at the same time treats mothers as second-class and invisible, without pay or benefits. It is the persistence of family responsibilities that assist in generating the idea that policing is not appropriate for women (Gaston and Alexander, 1997; Martin, 1996). In occupations held mostly by men, success and effective job performance is culturally shaped by dominant work-culture images of masculinity (Martin, 1996), and these jobs become resources for doing masculinity (Messerschmidt, 1993), justifying existing gendered divisions of labor (Acker, 1990).

As mentioned, the policewomen with their acceptance of "difference" are actively reproducing and constructing the same cultural underpinnings that they feel are barriers to their success in law enforcement. Over and over again, the women said that it is their family role and positions as mothers that create their greatest inner strength which they believe benefit them as police officers. Several of the women stated that every decision that they make in law

enforcement is shaped by their family position. One white female stated that she had to take a demotion to stay on first shift, because she wanted to be a good mother and be there for her children. Motherhood as a master status that holds a higher priority than any other life roles is explored by several studies (Crittenden, 2001, Hays, 1996; Douglas and Michaels, 2004; Rothman, 1989) and is not distinctive to policewomen.

Several policewomen, black and white, stated that some of their answers relating to women as "different," or the most important position, would not promote the cause of women as "just as good of (sic) police officers as their male partners," because it is what is "male" in policing that is considered superior; therefore, if you are not striving to be the same as "male," then you are not going to be seen as a first-rate police officer. As one white policewoman stated, "You are expected to be a woman, a police officer, and act like a man…but not too much. If you act too much like a man, who is what they want, then you become something else…they don't accept or want." This statement is supported by Martin (1980:79), who argues that policewomen compromise the work, the way of life, the social status, and the self-image of men. Another women supported the previous officer's statement when she said, "Women face dilemmas because men do not want women to behave like men and do not accept women who 'act mannish' as equals. On the other hand, women who act 'feminine' are regarded as inadequate officers" (Martin, 1996:75). This paradox affects women officers' occupational opportunities and strategies for staying in policing and is considered a disadvantage.

Surprisingly, all fourteen women mentioned the "good ole boy network," to describe the police organizations' "gate keeping" and "boundary maintenance" as what defines and structures law enforcement and their department. I say "surprisingly" because none of the research questions referred to a "good ole boy" network. This was a term that all the women mentioned

to describe a disadvantage that they had no control over. This "network" considers and regulates what is considered right for policing. One of the policewomen described it as a "system that was able to keep women and minorities "outside" or at "arms-length," away from important command positions where real decisions are made. It was this network that the women police officers understood to regulate and define difference. This network was brought up and described by all fourteen policewomen when they were asked to identify possible barriers or disadvantages to their success within policing. The description of this network was similar regardless of the policewomen's race. Not one of the women in the sample described this "network" as having anything to do with success for policewomen, but rather as a tool or boost that helped men in law enforcement.

The policewomen's descriptions, perceptions, and definitions of "difference" and disadvantage in this research subordinate them within their own department. They know this to be true, but feel helpless to change the occupation. According to the policewomen, motherhood is devalued in policing, because it is dominated by males who can't understand this position. But the paradox that still remains is that the policewomen agree with a gender-difference, accepting that their gender and status as mothers is integral to their policing, believing it to make them better officers. They argue that it is this status "difference" that makes them better at communicating and supporting citizens, makes them less aggressive and more empathetic, all of which they believe to be their greatest strength and the strongest factor in shaping their perceptions in policing. Law enforcement organizations measure training, assignments, procedures, and competence through a socially constructed masculine measurement. This measurement values physical criteria that has modest relevance to job performance, but is a

limitation for women, who are not as physically strong as males (Acker, 1989; Morash & Green, 1986).

Most of the policewomen in this sample brought up the complications, unfairness and disadvantages of being pregnant in law enforcement and the difficulty pregnancy caused them as officers. Literature indicates that pregnancy continues to compound women police officers' positions in law enforcement. Many women are forced to leave policing for six to eight months when they are pregnant and often resign from police work, so women are often forced to choose between having a child or a police career. This explains the problems in policing of high turnover rates and poor retention of policewomen. Those policewomen who choose to stay after pregnancy are usually at a disadvantage when it comes to promotions, training and positions because of lost time and seniority. Many maternity leave policies and practices differ depending on the agency and state, and are continually changing. This is a very important issue for consideration of future research centering on how pregnancy alters career paths for women, alongside recruitment and retention issues.

The work family conflict (WFC) and work spillover described by the policewomen went hand-in-hand with their discussion of their traditional gendered family responsibilities and their role of mother or principal caregiver while working as a police officer. WFC was a major source of stress and perceived disadvantage for the policewomen in this research study. Most of the women spoke about the stress of being mothers while in law enforcement. It ranged from being on various work shifts that were not advantageous to being a good mother, time constraints because of additional family responsibilities, and lack of assistance from their spouses and organization. Crouter (1984), states that women with young children suffer more negative family spillover than women without children. The time constraint was mentioned by several

policewomen in the context of not being able to apply for promotions or additional training because of needing to be home for their children. It was these responsibilities that they believed hindered their progress within the department.

This research did not specifically address family spillover or work family conflict. The questions that elicited an overwhelming number of responses concerning this issue were in regards to their commitment to policing and the inability to socialize with other officers after work. Several women stated that some of their absenteeism from work was caused by having to stay home with sick children or respond to other responsibilities involving younger children. Crouter (1984) suggests that this is a family life cycle that changes as the children grow. These responsibilities fell on their shoulders either because they were single parents (5 policewomen) or their spouses also worked, and the family obligations and responsibilities fell to them. WFC was mentioned here to stress that there needs to be future research done on how families affect recruitment and retention of women police officers. There is a high turnover rate of policewomen and it is very costly for police departments. Understanding supportive and non-supportive family dynamics could assist organizations in future policies, training, shift work, and retention of officers.

The third research question explored whether the combination of race and gender for African-American policewomen created advantage or disadvantage in law enforcement. The responses to this question varied throughout the interviews with no apparent consistency. This question, however, extracted some intense discussion among both black and white policewomen. The idea of double marginality was a topic that black and white women discussed openly most of the time. One of the black females stated, "It isn't no party being a black female in policing." Another description from black female officers about their status in policing was that it was like

"being at the bottom of the barrel." There were three females who concluded that it didn't matter whether you were a black or white female in policing, you were not male, so you were nothing significant to law enforcement. As one black female stated, "We may be black, that is a strike, but we don't have a penis, and that is a bigger strike for all women."

Many comments made by black females centered on their awareness that the double marginality status was considered a good thing when it came to hiring minorities in policing. It was this position, according to and believed by the black female officers, which caused the most controversy among white males. Several black policewomen also indicated that they had heard white males' comments about black policewomen being unqualified and with low test scores getting into policing because the state government dictated that a certain number of minority applicants had to be hired. According to Sokoloff (1992), the myth of double advantage of black females is not supported by affirmative action guidelines, and Sanchez-Hucles (1997) argues that this myth actually functions to maintain white male privilege and creates divisive forces among groups in the work force. Sanchez-Hucles' argument that this policy myth creates divisive forces among officers seemed to be supported in this study. There were several white female officers who felt that black female officers had more advantage in law enforcement because of their double status. According to several white policewomen, white male officers voiced a lot of anger toward this policy to them and considered it to be a farce. As mentioned, male officers were not part of the research sample and their positions on this policy are only supported by what female participants stated the males had said to them or that they believed the males intended.

The discussions related to affirmative action and women being not as qualified for positions are only part of the racial strife that was exposed during this research project. During the time that this research study was being conducted at this particular location, a recently-filed

reverse discrimination lawsuit was underway. The lawsuit claimed that unqualified minorities had been placed into supervisory positions to quiet and appease the Mayor's office in this city. The controversy centered on allegations that the positions were filled by minority officers, with lower test scores and less seniority, because there were not enough supervisory positions filled by non-whites and the mayor wanted the police chief to "fix the lily-white situation." This large class action lawsuit, with many white male and female officers, was just the latest of many lawsuits filed over a thirty year period for this department. So the issue of advantage and disadvantage for black female officers was a heated and sensitive topic. The supervisory positions that were filled by minorities, which sparked the current reverse discrimination lawsuit, were not filled by any black female officers. All four positions had been filled by black male officers.

The previous large class action lawsuit, over twenty years ago, concerned white female officers suing the department for not being categorized as minorities, based on gender (but instead placed with the white males because of race) and sexual harassment. They were discriminated against and won this lucrative suit, thereby setting the hostile tone for future police dynamics and relationships, according to one black female officer. There was a component to the lawsuit mentioned that addressed sexual harassment that the females were also experiencing. According to one of the white females who were in the department at the time, the black females were asked if they wanted to be part of the class action suit at that time, but they declined. The white female stated that the black females at that time felt that they were in a good position because of favorable hiring procedures by the predominantly black command at that point. After the white female officers won the lawsuit seven years later, a rift developed between black and white female officers.

The final point to be made about this research question concerning the advantage or disadvantage of being a black female officer is that double marginality was not considered an advantage by black female officers because they understood that other white officers, male and female, considered it a crutch and this idea detracted from their policing credibility. Half of the white female officers considered the black females to have an advantage over them because of their dual marginality.

The fourth research question concerned the issue of whether African-American females or white female police officers experience more discrimination within their department. This question resulted in interesting responses by black and white female officers.  Three black policewomen, when asked who experienced more discrimination in their department, black or white female officers, stated they thought white females did. When asked to explain this position they stated that their answer were based on the fact that racial discrimination was never tolerated, at least in this department, but that sexual discrimination was and is rarely punished. The black female officers believed that most males didn't "mess with them," because they could possibly call it racial discrimination and they would be "scrambling for their jobs." One of the white female officers stated, "You would think with all the laws and policies that are in place that males would be scared to harass or be idiots to women…but, no they are still the reason women have a hard time in policing or even leave policing." There were many examples and statements throughout the interviews made by the policewomen about their difficulty and mistreatment in policing by male officers.

During several interviews, when policewomen mentioned sexist behavior or comments by male officers toward them, I would mention that there were federal and state laws in place that prohibit discrimination and harassment based on gender, and would ask them why they

didn't do anything about it. The contention of all of the female officers was that most battles about sexist remarks and actions were looked at as "frivolous," "lacking merit," "taking things too personal," or perceived as "revenge," and they described the department's response as "foot-dragging." The topic of sexual harassment came up during the question concerning who in policing experienced more discrimination in law enforcement. Sexual harassment and accompanying research among black and white female police officers was not a focus of this research. It was interesting that none of the black females brought up sexual harassment by black or white males. The claims of sexual harassment were brought up by white females about both black and white male officers. There were discussions by three white female officers about sexual harassment being different depending on if the offender was a white or black male officer. Future research would be beneficial if it examined sexual harassment based on racial relations and the dynamics among black, white, male, and female officers.

The last research question addressed whether policewomen's distinctive vantage points (gender/race), both culturally and in policing, create a different sense of justice in policing. Sense of justice is an intangible and elusive idea. All officers trained in the laws of the state and the policies of their departments develop a moral rightness and a sense of responsibility in their policing actions and attitudes. It encompasses what they consider right and honorable, reinforced with truths, sympathies, facts and being just. Most of the policewomen in this research described this moral rightness and conformity as values that they acquired early in life and brought with them when they entered policing. Their sense of justice developed over time through their training and experiences, both before and after they became police officers. This question, like all of the other research questions elicited a strong response from all the females concerning how policewomen are different from policemen, not from each other.

The research question specifically focuses on possible differences in their sense of justice between black and white policewomen. The policewomen defined and shaped their responses as "doing gender," and seemed to understate the race part of the question. It can be argued that power differences and inequalities in policing for black and white policewomen are racialized, but it is difficult to see race over gender in a masculine occupation such as law enforcement. They would explain how they are driven or born caregivers, feel a responsibility to victims, are better communicators, have excellent attention to detail and are able to listen to the public better than men. The women officers were also concerned with being treated—or not being treated—fairly, adequately, and/or appreciated within their law enforcement realities.

This research question explores and parallels the idea presented by Carol Gilligan's (1982) developmental theory and different voice argument that states men and women have different moral visions and orientations. This argument posits that men use "justice reasoning" and women use "care reasoning." Gilligan does not set these two positions up as opposites, but response modes to human dilemmas. What is missing from Gilligan's position is race, which also seemed to be missing from the women's initial responses. The "care reasoning" idea and position sparked debate and controversy because the virtues that she upholds as a woman's moral reasoning has traditionally served to keep females in the private sphere (Larrabee, 1993). My initial research position was that there may be different approaches to justice based on the policewomen's race, culture, and historical circumstances. These contextual locations could transform a woman's moral reasoning and the way she perceives her position in policing. The research goal was to resist fixed polarities and opposition, with generalized or universal depictions of gender or race constructs, and attempts to understand how policewomen identify their place in law enforcement and whether or not it created a different sense of justice for them.

According to Stack (1985), moral reasoning is negotiated with respect to individual or group location within the social structure. Gender is only one of the social categories—along with class, culture, racial and ethnic formation, and region—that shape the resources within which we construct morality. Stack's social categories applied to the male-dominated law enforcement occupation, which is inundated with dominant ideals of masculinity, creates a very unusual environment in which to decipher women's positions about "justice" or "care" reasoning.  There is research that indicates that women's work styles vary according to age, education, rank, and tenure. Women that work in male-dominated cultures are often pressured and succumb to ideas of protection, reproducing cultural notions of femininity as passive, supportive and emotional (Martin, 1980, Zimmer, 1986), or struggle to emulate male behavior to demonstrate their equality, sometimes at the expense of their safety.

Social constraints and organizational images in law enforcement generate what is considered appropriate and encouraged, thus reproducing gender expectations. This same construction of gender within law enforcement is further shaped by the dynamics of the women's families. At the beginning of the study I assumed that internal and external experiences in law enforcement, cultural underpinnings, and race and gender would define and shape the women's policing role and sense of justice.  Gender was mentioned or perceived by all fourteen women as a large factor in making their policing perspectives and sense of justice different. Every one of the women police officers stated that this difference was in contrast to their male partners, which is considered a norm in policing. The questions addressed to the policewomen were never asked, or intended, in a way to compare their styles, perspectives, or justice to male officers.

The difference that both black and white policewomen spoke of when describing their "justice" often related to and supported part of Gilligan's (1982) position as care-givers. The

female officers often described their policing styles as better communicators, less brutal, empathetic, and motherly; again, this was often completely opposite of their male partners, who several referred to as "bullies that could only count on their physical strength." According to the descriptions and comments by the policewomen, "sense of justice" was a responsibility to treat others fairly, which falls into the "justice reasoning" of Gilligan's male moral orientation. The policewomen described themselves as "different" and they perceived this difference as opposite their male partners, not each other. They also perceived this difference as a strength that is undervalued in policing. This same position is supported by Rabe-Hemp's (2008) research which emphasizes policewomen's identity and adoption of conformity to stereotypical feminine roles.

Prior to data collection, during the research stage, my assumptions were that race would be a big factor in determining and shaping policewomen's sense of justice. The idea that race would play a large factor in different sense of justice between black and white policewomen was amassed by multicultural feminist literature that set women of color apart from white women (Collins, 1998; Davis, 1981; Frankenberg, 1993; hooks, 1984, 2004; Reinharz, 1992; Zinn and Dill, 1994). A majority of the policewomen participants bordered their explanation of justice with ideas of gender and offered more confusing comments about race possibly shaping their sense of justice. They often times stated that it was something that they brought with them and something that they were. I mentioned to several of the black policewomen that if it was something that they brought with them, then it had to be influenced by their race somehow.

There were limited comments about race by two black policewomen when speaking about their sense of justice, but it was not significant in shaping their policing moral compass. They all indicated that they believed race helped their policing in racial situations, white and black, but that race did not determine their sense of justice; gender seemed to be the main

shaping force.  I would argue that the sheer number of male to female officers who continue to identify with masculinity, are resistant to women's integration, promote group solidarity and occupational identity actually creates an environment where gender differences and identity may seem to be more important, obvious, and easier to see and describe than race. As mentioned earlier in the research, the data may have been different if I had been a black female researcher and this being a possible limitation.

Conclusion

During this research all the policewomen shared and described perceptions or beliefs about stereotypes and images that they endure as women in policing. Most of the differences in the policewomen accounts were between themselves and the male officers in this department. The female officers' detailed conversations and descriptions mainly focused on how they failed to fit in or were refused entry into what they referred to as a "good ole boy" law enforcement network. There have been various court rulings and legislation, such as the 1973 Crime Control Bill that banned sex discrimination in police agencies; class action suits such as *Fanchon Blake v. City of Los Angeles,* with employment discrimination revisions; the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was amended by the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act; and a range of federal and state legislation that ensures equality to racial minorities and women in law enforcement (Palmiotto, 2005). These rulings and proceedings, however, do not eradicate the persistence of harmful stereotypes, attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies that continue to disadvantage policewomen within the police departments.

Results of the research revealed that the policewomen understood their policing differences. They spoke of their enhanced communication skills, their ethic of care, how motherhood changes their perspective, their natural inclination to be less brutal and react more as

care givers as strengths and attributes that they believed made them better police officers than their male partners. According to a majority of the interviews, it was not that the black and white policewomen did not want to socialize with each other, it was that they could not socialize with each other because of the limited number of females on similar shifts and the family responsibilities that hindered socialization with each other after work. The policewomen believed that it was gender—being female—that formed a majority of their sense of justice and enforcement reactions as policewomen.

Recommendations for future research:

It should be noted that this particular research does not attempt to generalize all policewomen's positions, attitudes, perspectives, or feelings; they reflect the positions of fourteen female officers within one agency in a particular location. There are several areas in law enforcement that need further research concerning women and policing. Understanding barriers or disadvantages by women and other minority groups that are considered "outsiders" to law enforcement's hegemonic masculinity is important to understanding how to include them in policing organizations and assist with recruitment and retention of policewomen and minority officers in the future. The findings from the current study and literature review make it clear that policewomen in law enforcement continue to struggle with their policing roles and acceptance by their male partners in law enforcement.

The struggle for policewomen to be accepted as equals in policing is a significant source of stress for females and noted in research. There is a considerable amount of literature on how being a police officer is stressful (Dantzer, 1987; Liberman et al., 2002; Morash, Haarr, 7 Kwak, 2006; Violanti, 1985). As previously mentioned a great amount of stress initiates from the law enforcement organization itself (Garcia, 2003; Haarr & Morash, 1995, 1999; Jaramillo, Nixon, &

Sams, 2005; Toch, 2002; Wexler & Logan, 1983) and hidden agendas (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Some recent literature exposes how race, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation can create elevated workplace stress (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Haarr & Morash, 1995, Morash, Haarr, & Kwak, 2006).

Most policewomen understand the detrimental aspects of being in law enforcement and even understand that they will probably not move up within the organization (Poole & pogrebin, 1988; Wertsch, 1998; Worden, 1993). Alongside these detriments and because of them, women experience feelings of incompetence (Davis, 1984) and experience more depression (Buzawa, Austin, and Bannon, 1994; Vega & Silverman, 1982). Black females hold a particularly low position within the traditionally white male law enforcement community in that they are a double-minority, being black and female, and experience both racial discrimination and sexism. Additional research needs to focus on how stress affects black and white females in regard to recruitment, retention and coping characteristics in law enforcement to assist in raising the percentage of women in policing in city, county, state and federal agencies.

Additional research needs to explore the complexity and processes that policewomen navigate through in attempting to find "their place" in law enforcement. The women described many instances of trying to fit into policing as a "damned if you do and damned if you don't" choice. Their "fitting-in" anecdotes usually revolve around "being one of the boys" or not being one and therefore outside of the group. Negotiating competence and capability in a traditionally male occupation, with culturally reproduced patterns and stereotypes surrounding crime-fighter images and misogynist ideals, is a tall order for most policewomen.

The policewomen interviewed talked about coming to policing and wanting or needing to play the game of "being one of the boys," and then finding out that this doesn't really work for

them. There were other women who actively resisted the expectations in policing for aggression and violence and were seen as weak (Heidensohn, 1994; Miller, 1999). It was mentioned by several black females in this research that playing the game of "being one of the boys" was not even an option for minority females, that this was only a "white girl" opportunity. There is literature that shows how some policewomen will distance themselves from other female officers aligning themselves with the dominant male police culture (Martin, 1980; Wexler, 1985). The females in this research distanced themselves, but generally described it as distancing themselves from the whole department and its politics. The research by Martin (1980) and Wexler (1985) does not address race as a variable within the research. This process or occurrence of distancing from other females is referred to as "othering" by bell hooks (1994). As previously mentioned this particular sample of policewomen was older with a minimum of eleven years in policing so they all have experience in negotiating the law enforcement culture and their roles. It is this process of negotiation for women in policing that needs more exploration and detailed discussion.

## APPENDIX A

### Notice of Expedited Approval for Research

**WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY**

HUMAN INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
101 East Alexandrine Building
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 577-7122
http://hic.wayne.edu

*Full* AAHRPP Accreditation

## NOTICE OF EXPEDITED APPROVAL

**To:**        Danielle Teunion-Smith
              Sociology
              3071 Wildwood Dr.

**From:**      Ellen Barton, Ph.D._____
              Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

**Date:**      January 30, 2008

**RE:**        HIC #:        122107B3E

              Protocol Title:  Black and White Women in Blue: A Case Study of Policewomen

              Sponsor:

              Coeus #:       0711005481

**Expiration Date:**  January 29, 2009

**Risk Level/Category:**   No greater than minimal risk.

The above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were **APPROVED** following *Expedited Review* (Category 7*) by the Chairperson/designee *for* the Wayne State University Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of 01/30/2008 through 01/29/2009. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

○   Letter to Participants

○   Information Sheet

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- Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may* receive a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval *before* the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can *never* be reported or published as research data.
- All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the HIC **BEFORE** implementation.
- Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the HIC Policy (http://www.hic.wayne.edu/hicpol.html).

**NOTE:**

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the HIC office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the HIC website at each use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

# APPENDIX B

Letter to Participants

**Letter to Participants with Consent Form**

(Date)

(Address)

Dear Ms. (Potential Participant's Last Name):

It was nice speaking with you the other day. As we had discussed, a study out of Wayne State University's Sociology Department is being conducted to inquire about women's experience in the police force. I am sending you a copy of the Consent Form which I will need for you to sign and return in the envelope provided. Please review the form and if you have any questions or concerns, you may call me or the other persons named in the form.

I will contact you soon upon receipt of your Consent Form, regarding the next steps in your participation.

Thank you in advance for taking the time to help me in this important research.

Sincerely,

Danielle "Elly" Teunion-Smith
Researcher

## APPENDIX C

Consent Form

**Consent Form/Information Sheet**

Title of Study: Black and White Women in Blue

Principal Investigator (PI):        Danielle Teunion-Smith
                                      Department of Sociology

**Introduction / Purpose**:  I understand that Danielle M. Teunion-Smith is asking me to participate in a research study about my experiences within policing.

**Study Procedures**: I further understand that I will be participating in an interview in which these experiences will be the topic. The interview is likely to last one hour of my time. I understand that the interview will be recorded and that the tapes will be transcribed later, after which the tapes will be destroyed. This is agreeable to me.

**Risks:** There are minimal risks associated with this particular study. The only risk is to possibly recall unpleasant memories.  I understand that Danielle M. Teunion-Smith will assist me in dealing with any such unpleasant memories, and that I may discontinue the interview at any time.

**Benefits:** I may experience a better understanding of my professional career choice.

**Compensation:** In the unlikely event of any injury resulting from the research study, no reimbursement, compensation, or free medical care is offered by Wayne State University. No funds are available to pay respondents in this study.

**Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:**  Danielle M. Teunion-Smith has explained to me the details of the study and the interview; I understand that I can discontinue the interview at any time.

**Questions:** If I have any questions concerning my participation in this study now or in the future, Danielle M. Teunion-Smith can be contacted at (517) 264-4141. If I have any questions regarding my rights as a research subject, _____ Chairperson of the Behavioral Investigation Committee can be contacted at (313) 577-5174.

**Confidentiality:** I understand that all data collected will remain confidential. No names will be attached to the interview tapes. After the tapes have been transcribed, they will be destroyed. No names will be attached to the transcribed data. Whenever the data is presented in the research it will be either in summary form or as anonymous quotes.

**Consent to Participate in Research Study:** I have read or had read to me all the above information about this research study, including experimental procedures, possible risks, side effects, and the likelihood of any benefits to me. The content and meaning of this information has been explained and is understood. All my questions have been answered. I hereby consent and voluntarily offer to follow the study requirements and take part in this study. I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

_____
Participant's Signature                     Date

## APPENDIX D

Instrument

## Black and White Women in Blue: A Case Study

<u>Instrumentation</u>

The questions below are the first draft of questions for the face-to-face interviews and observation interviews. Follow-up interviews based on occurring themes and patterns.

<u>Demographic and Experiential Questions:</u>

- What year did you start in the police force? ___ (Year)

- Did you achieve any promotions?   ☐ (1) Yes ☐ (2) No

- If YES, what promotions did you achieve? (Open-ended)

- Are you currently in the police force?   ☐ (1) Yes ☐ (2) No

- If NO, what year did you leave?  ___ (Year)

- What is/was the approximate size of your most recent department? ___ people

- How many Black females and how many White females? _____(B) _____(W).

- What was the highest level of schooling when you started the police force?

    ☐ (1) High School Diploma/GED

    ☐ (2) Bachelor degree

    ☐ (3) Masters degree

    ☐ (4) Technical School:  (please describe) _____

    ☐ (5) Other: _____

- Had you been in the military?     ☐ (1) Yes ☐ (2) No

- Was your family in policing?     ☐ (1) Yes ☐ (2) No

- Miscellaneous – include something I should know about you?

**Black and White Women in Blue: A Case Study.**

Interview Schedule:

- How did you choose policing as a career?

- How did you enter policing?

- What made you think you would be a good police officer?

- Do you think women have a different characteristic or style of policing then your male colleagues?

- Have you been able use these characteristics in your job? Why/Why not?

- What, if anything, are the barriers stopping you from being your best?

- Do you believe that there is a difference between African-American females and White females perceived sense of justice? Which would better describe your sense of justice? Please describe.

- Has your sense of justice been a strength or weakness to bring to policing? Have you been able to use this female justice perspective within your job? If NO, why not?

- Did you desire to be accepted? Did you desire to move ahead?

- What strategies do you use to be accepted in policing by males and (B/W) females?

- Did you feel like you had to alter yourself to become more like the male officers to get ahead? Why/Why not? What did you do?

- Did you ever leave the police force? If YES, Why?

- Have you faced any "barriers" to equal employment opportunities?

- Describe your relationships with (B/W) co-workers and supervisors.

- Describe your experiences with departmental administration and how it has affected you.

- How do your job advancement opportunities compare with other officers?

- What, if any, are barriers you consider that your police organization uses to create unequal opportunities for you?

- What, if any, are attitudinal barriers experienced between (W/B) female officers in your agency?

- What, if anything, could women do to lessen these possible barriers?

- Have your experienced paternalistic overprotection by male partners/supervisors?

- Would you like to add any information you feel would benefit the research or women in policing?

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**ABSTRACT**

**BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN IN BLUE:  A CASE STUDY OF POLICEWOMEN**

**by**

**DANIELLE MARIE TEUNION-SMITH**

**December 2010**

**Advisor**: Dr. Mary Cay Sengstock

**Major**: Sociology

**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

This exploratory study examines the policing experiences of fourteen African American and White female police officers using interviews and observations. There is ample research that addresses the ability of women to perform policing duties, but most of the literature presumes that White and African American policewomen are a single aggregate. These ignored societal differences and social realities of black and white policewomen, based on distinctive assigned social positions, histories, images and location, possibly contribute to different perspectives and experiences in law enforcement. These same social realities shape occupational positions, perspectives, perceptions, and treatment within law enforcement organizations. There are broad historical context and discourse in law enforcement and society, along with contemporary frameworks, in which we understand and interpret African American and White female subjectivity in our culture, which contribute to their status within law enforcement. These historical/contemporary contexts include sexuality, invisibility, stereotypes, bias, discrimination, welfare, family status, and affirmative action.

# AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

## Danielle Marie Teunion-Smith

We define ourselves from our experiences and I believe that our research comes from those same places. This research interest was created and shaped by my eight years as a Michigan State Police, until my disability retirement in 1997. Prior to a policing career I believed and dreamed that I was going to be a writer. I received my first bachelor of arts in English from Siena Heights University in 1989 and went on to be a trooper, like all good English majors. After my patrol car crash, and retirement I went back to school in 1998, University of Michigan, Flint receiving a bachelor's degree in Sociology/Criminal Justice. It was during this second undergraduate degree that I developed a fondness for sociology. I went to Wayne State University, completing my masters in sociology in 2001 and completing my doctorate in 2010. Prior to my policing stint I had the honor of serving four years in the United States Navy as an Intelligence Specialist.