An Analysis of Police Perceptions of Community Policing and Female Officers

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Western Michigan University

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AN ANALYSIS OF POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY POLICING AND FEMALE OFFICERS

by

Rhonda Kaye DeLong

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
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requirements for the
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AN ANALYSIS OF POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY POLICING AND FEMALE OFFICERS

Rhonda Kaye DeLong, Ph.D.
Western Michigan University, 1997

Traditional and community policing differ in their approach to crime and other social concerns. Traditional policing emphasizes reactive response and enforcement while community policing emphasizes proactive response and community partnership. Often, these two types of departments select officers with specific characteristics which fit well with the philosophy of the department. Characteristics such as age, education, years of military experience, rank, years of police experience, type of department, and family members in the military and the police are examined in this study to determine perceptual differences among officers regarding the community policing philosophy and the role of women in policing. A survey instrument containing 25 Lickert-scaled statements were distributed to two Midwestern police departments one operating under a traditional philosophy, the other under a community policing philosophy. A total of 148 officers responded. Thirteen statements were grouped together to form the dependent variable community policing and twelve statements were grouped to form the dependent variable gender. High scores on each category indicated negative perceptions and low scores indicated positive perceptions of community policing and women in policing. Chi-square, Cramer's V, and stepwise multiple regression
were used for data analysis. Perceptions differed among the two departments. Community police officers consistently scored lower than the traditional officers on each category indicating that they perceived community policing and women in policing more positively than the traditional officers. Rank, sex, department type, and years of military experience were found to be significant independent variables in the regression analysis. The findings suggest that as years of military experience increase, perceptions of community policing and women in policing become more negative; as the rank of the officer increases perceptions become more positive; female officer perceptions are more positive than male officers; and community police officers perceptions are more positive than traditional police officers. The results of this study suggest that traditional views and sexist attitudes still exist within policing. In order to address these issues, it may be necessary to re-examine philosophical foundations from which policing is based and identify areas of concern which need to be addressed particularly in traditional police departments. Recruitment and selection of appropriate personnel and the identification of training needs are two issues which may be significantly influenced by this study.
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Rhonda Kaye DeLong
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Police officer perceptions regarding women in policing and community policing play a role in the development of departmental policy. Perceptions held by a police department may assist in determining the direction in which that department is moving, as well as providing the foundational principles which drive its philosophy.

Community policing is a philosophy which necessitates a total involvement and acceptance by the members of a police department. If officers perceive it as being soft on crime or not real police work then community policing strategies cannot be successfully implemented. Similarly, if officers and administrators perceive women to be physically and emotionally unfit for police duty, they will remain poorly represented in police departments and may even find internal departmental stressors more problematic than external concerns.

Perceptions regarding women in policing have undergone some change as the role of women in policing went from exclusively social work functions to present day patrol and administrative positions. Yet, it appears as though many of the perceptions held in the early 20th century remain today, such as the perception that women are unable to endure the physical rigors encountered on patrol and do not have the emotional stability to deal appropriately with the tragedies and negative experiences faced by police officers.
Perceptions regarding community policing are changing as well, yet many departments who verbally commit to this philosophy do not have a clear understanding of what constitutes community policing. It is often referred to as a program where a handful of officers are assigned to a foot or bike patrol. Yet, community policing extends far beyond mere programmatic change; it requires a change in attitudes and beliefs about the role of the police and their relationship to the community, which is reflected in the way an officer does his or her job.

This study will examine perceptions of police officers from two distinct police departments: one a traditional department which emphasizes law enforcement and reactive responses to crime, the other a community policing department which emphasizes prevention and a proactive response to crime. The perceptions which will be examined relate to two specific areas of concern: (1) women in policing, and (2) the community policing philosophy. In order to identify perceptions, a Lickert-scaled survey instrument containing 25 statements will be used.

The role of women in policing and the philosophy of community policing are two important issues facing police departments. Definitions of appropriate roles for men and women are often based in myth, not reality. Masculinity and femininity are gender-based concepts which are rooted in the ideology of the cultural majority. Judging individuals based on their biological differences and gender-appropriate traits do not allow for flexibility in evaluating an indivi-
dual's suitability for careers such as policing. Perceptions provide a framework for peoples' construction of reality and influence evaluations of one another as well as actual behaviors.

The importance of examining these two issues lies in the need to identify if sexist attitudes still exist in today's police departments, and if community policing can be accepted as a viable alternative to traditional policing strategies and philosophy. If police officers and administrators hold negative stereotypical perceptions of women, female officers will continue to be a minority in policing; and if police officers cling to a traditional policing philosophy, community policing may be discarded as a viable policing philosophy.

Theoretical Framework

The perspectives chosen to assist in examining and evaluating perceptions of women in policing include: Liberal Feminism, Gender Role Socialization, Radical Feminism, and Organizational theory. Each perspective sheds light on the status of women and the patriarchal structure of society. Gender Role Socialization is especially useful in examining the influence of childhood socialization, particularly how girls and boys are guided in gender-specific and gender-appropriate ways which are reflected in attitudes and perceptions as they grow to be adults.

The Peacemaking perspective was also included to highlight and support elements of the community policing philosophy. It's em-
phasis on the issues of human suffering and its focus on proactivity rather than reactivity provides a basis for acknowledging that policing should move beyond reactive and punitive methods to include strategies to identify causes of crime and help reduce human suffering.

Research Questions

As stated earlier, the purpose of this research is to discover if there are significant perceptual differences between a traditional and community police department regarding women in policing and the community policing philosophy. In order to determine what may influence these perceptions, several variables were considered: sex, age, education, rank, years of military experience, years of police experience, type of department, and family background in policing and/or the military. I chose these variables based partly on my experience as a police officer and partly on previous research regarding police officer perceptions. The variables that differed from the previous research were: years of military experience and the influence of the family in shaping perceptions. Many police departments still organize around a paramilitary philosophy, and it is because of this I chose to look at the influence of military experience upon perceptions. Also, family background in the military and/or policing were considered to be possible influential variables because of the strength of many family relationships and the influence of family members in shaping perceptions.
I anticipate finding that the officers from the community policing department will view the community policing philosophy and women in policing more favorably than those from the traditional department because of the nature of the community policing philosophy and its emphasis on proactive policing and cooperativeness with the community. I also anticipate that younger patrol officers who have college degrees and little or no military experience will perceive community policing and women in policing more positively than those who are older, have less education and have several years of military experience.

Analysis

Frequencies and percentages will provide a basic picture of the demographics of the population and report responses on each of the survey statements. Chi-square and Cramer's V will follow to determine the statistical significance and the strength of the relationship between the variables. Stepwise multiple regression will complete the analysis portion of the research and will explain which of the independent variables explain the greatest variability in the dependent variables (the positive or negative perceptions regarding community policing and women in policing).

Outline of Remaining Chapters

Chapter II provides a review of the relevant literature. It begins by examining the traditional and community policing philoso-
phies. The second section of Chapter II examines the history of women in policing and looks at several studies related to the performance of female police officers and perceptions held by administrators, college-educated officers, and patrolmen. It also reviews the issue of women in the military and draws parallels to policing. The final section of Chapter II examines several theoretical perspectives which assist in understanding why negative perceptions regarding women in policing are still apparent. Liberal Feminism, Gender-Role Socialization, Radical Feminism, and Organizational theory were selected to help provide insight into societal definitions of gender roles. Finally, the Peacemaking perspective is offered in review as a basis for better understanding the primary components of the community policing philosophy.

Chapter III discusses the methods used to conduct the research, including a step-by-step account of the research process. This chapter also provides details of related research, discusses analytical procedures, and provides a step by step review of each survey question and its implications.

Chapter IV reports the findings from the survey and includes descriptive tables for each of the independent variables as well as each survey statement. The chapter concludes with a report on the findings from Chi-square, Cramer's V, and stepwise multiple regression.

The final chapter provides a discussion of the findings and offers interpretations of the statistical analysis. It will also
summarize the project and include a discussion of limitations and recommendations for future research considerations.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Perceptions of the community policing philosophy and perceptions regarding the role of women in policing have been influenced by societal and cultural standards. Community policing has questioned many of the traditional reactive, enforcement-focused approaches of the traditional policing philosophy, and has met with some resistance. Police administrators, community leaders, and other members of the public hold an erroneous perception that community policing is soft on crime. The serious concerns of crime and associated issues of gang violence and drug abuse help to fuel the fire that the police must get tough on crime by waging a war utilizing military-like tactics to reduce and eliminate these problems. Community policing, in its approach to these serious concerns promotes proactive, prevention-focused strategies and works with the community rather than against it. Enforcement strategies remain a component of community policing, but a greater emphasis is placed on building partnerships with the community, identifying problems, and seeking solutions to those problems.

Community policing utilizes strategies which allow police officers to think creatively in their quest to reduce and eliminate those issues which negatively affect the quality of life in a community. Often, women have been socialized more in line with the commu
nity policing philosophy and may be better prepared to deal with the duties required of community policing officers. The role of women in this effort is an important consideration for communities and police departments as they seek alternatives to the crime control strategies now in place.

This chapter will review the literature regarding community policing; the literature surrounding the role of women in policing; and several theoretical perspectives which help to understand why women have encountered resistance as they entered the policing field.

Community Policing Philosophy

Community and traditional policing philosophies differ in their perspective and approach to the problem of crime. Traditional methods of policing, which are based in the crime-control model, focus primarily on controlling crime through law enforcement and reactive responses to calls for service. Community policing strategies seek to identify environments which cause crime and in turn, focus on prevention efforts and alternative methods to enforcement to deal with problems in the community. Community policing is best defined by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994) who state that community policing is a philosophy and an organizational strategy that promotes a new partnership between people and their police. It is based on the premise that both the police and the community must work together to identify, prioritize, and solve contemporary problems such as crime, drug, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay, with the goal of improving the overall quality of life in the area. Community policing requires a department-wide commitment
from everyone, civilian and sworn, to the community policing philosophy. (pp. 2-3)

Trojanowicz also lists ten principles which are the foundation of community policing. These principles identify the philosophy and help to differentiate between community and traditional policing, both in philosophy and practice.

The first principle emphasizes the importance of identifying community policing as a "philosophy and organizational strategy" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994, p. 2). Community policing offers a different way of thinking about crime and the role of police in society. Organizationally, it is necessary to evaluate traditional methods of administration and management and seek to create strategies which can best carry out this philosophy. The community policing philosophy holds that the people of a community deserve to be part of the process by offering ideas for improving the quality of life in their neighborhood. Police officers need to have the freedom to explore new ways to deal with crime and its related issues and must be able to expand their role from mere reactive law enforcers to creative public servants.

The second principle identifies the need for department and community-wide involvement in the policing process. Administrators must allow officers to make decisions which will impact the community and support their creative efforts in identifying needs and implementing programs. It is vital that the police and community are partners in these efforts.

Principle three discusses the concepts of decentralized and
personalized policing. Officers must be allowed to serve as community outreach specialists (Trojanowicz, 1994) and to be free from the confines of the patrol vehicle in order to facilitate their face-to-face contact with the residents of the community.

Principle number four identifies the importance of proactive problem-solving in the present and for the future. Officers need to possess the ability to identify problems in the community and come up with solutions to those problems. The role of the officer extends beyond the reactive law enforcer by providing the community with a liaison who is able to share the responsibility for dealing with crime and its related concerns.

Principle five stresses the importance of building mutual respect and trust between the police and the community. Ethics provide the important foundation from which to build this trust and respect. All too often the police have not respected the citizens they serve, and likewise, the citizens have lost respect for the police. Community policing seeks to create an environment of trust and respect by investing in the community and in positive relationships with the citizens.

Principle six identifies the importance of expanding the police mandate (Trojanowicz, 1994). The police must retain their ability to respond to emergency situations and to enforce the law, but their role must be expanded to include "proactive, personalized, problem-solving policing as well" (p. 2).

Principle number seven deals with providing service to those
with special needs such as the elderly, homeless, disabled, and minorities. Traditional policing has provided service for these groups, but in some cases, that service has been negative. Dealing with the homeless has often meant arresting them rather than identifying alternative approaches in dealing with the issue. Community police officers, serving as the liaison between community agencies and the homeless, may be able to provide assistance rather than enforcing city ordinances against them. The relationship between the police and the minority community has generally not been a positive one. Community policing provides the framework for building more positive relationships with minority citizens. Shifting the focus of policing from enforcement to service assists in the effort to protect the vulnerable members of society and to enhance their quality of life.

Principle number eight discusses the importance of identifying and utilizing grassroots support and integrating the creativity of community members. Community policing believes that when people and their police work together they can achieve results which will effectively and positively impact the quality of life in their community.

Principle nine stresses the importance of changing the internal structure and philosophy within the police department. The community policing philosophy must be integrated into each and every division. Patrol officers who have been viewed as the least able to provide input into departmental strategic planning, are viewed in
the community department as knowledgeable problem-solvers who can provide vital input into the creation and implementation of policing).

"Building for the future is the focus of principle ten. Community policing is not a passing fad to be tried and then discarded" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994, p. 5). It is a philosophical change in policing which offers long-range solutions to the problems which plague communities. It is an investment which will pay off if it is adopted and implemented successfully. Community policing must be "accepted and adopted by each member of the department in order for it to be successful" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1994, pp. 5-6).

There are four major objectives (Trojanowicz, 1990) involved in community policing, (1) To reduce crime, (2) To reduce the fear of crime, (3) To reduce disorder, and (4) To reduce neighborhood decay.

Crime reduction is a goal of any police department, be it traditional or community. The way in which the police react to crime and seek to reduce it differentiates traditional policing from community. Reducing the fear of crime is an issue which may not receive as high a priority with traditional departments, but to the community police department, it is an important issue. If the citizens of a community are fearful and do not feel secure in their neighborhood, it may not make much difference if the reported crime rate is high or not. Fear helps to create their reality. The elderly may be
especially vulnerable to this fear. As they peer out from behind their curtains and observe groups of teenagers standing on the corner, they may perceive this as a threat, when in reality there is no crime taking place, nor is there a threat to the safety of the community.

Community police officers are a vital component in the process of fear reduction. Their first priority is to build a sense of trust between the residents and the police. This can be accomplished through the implementation of foot patrol, creation of neighborhood associations, staging community meetings, and other related strategies. Residents often feel more secure when an officer is seen in the area, particularly when the officer is on foot or riding a bicycle rather than driving by in a patrol car. As the officer takes time to talk with the residents and discover their needs and concerns, the process of building a partnership begins. Residents may feel that there is hope for the fear they experience because they have an officer who is concerned about their neighborhood and interested in their quality of life. The community police officer is also responsible for informing residents of the true nature of criminal activity in their neighborhood thus, either supporting their concerns or negating their fear.

Traditional officers who merely respond to calls for service, including crimes in progress, generally do not have the time, nor do they take the time to listen to issues other than the one at hand; just the facts is often the extent of the interaction. The
victim and/or complainant do not have the opportunity to get to know
the officer on a more personal basis. This may further alienate the
community from the police and help to foster an attitude that places
the responsibility for solving problems directly on the shoulders of
the police.

Reducing disorder and neighborhood decay in a community are
also important concerns for community policing. This is based par­
tially in the concept of *Broken Windows* proposed by George Kelling.
This theory suggests that if it appears that no one cares in a com­
munity (identified by the presence of broken windows, graffiti,
accumulated trash and other physical decay) "that crime and dis­
order will thrive in such an environment" (Miller & Hess, 1994, pp.
34-35). Community police officers have been involved in revitalize­
tion efforts: planting flowers, distributing security lights and
housepaint, and linking citizens with community agencies which can
assist them in improving the physical condition of their environ­
ment. Often, this leads to a sense of pride and ownership in the
community which may be expressed in stronger ties with neighbors
and the police.

Police departments who base their philosophy in community po­
licing continue their role of law enforcers, but emphasize preven­
tion and social service roles. Women officers, whose heritage is
based on the crime-prevention model may find that community polic­
ing fits their style more closely than the traditional enforcement­
focused emphasis of some police departments.
The Peacemaking Perspective

Theoretically, the Peacemaking perspective supports the philosophy of community policing by focusing on non-violent solutions to crime. Peacemaking (Quinney, 1991) is founded on the premise that crime is suffering and that the ending of crime is possible only with the ending of suffering. And the ending of both of suffering and crime, which is the establishing of justice, can only come out of peace, a peace that is spiritually grounded in our very being. To eliminate crime—to end the construction and perpetuation of an existence which makes crime possible—requires a transformation of our human being. We as human beings must be peace if we are to live in a world free of crime, in a world of peace. There can be no peace without justice. A good social life—one based on equality, with the elimination of poverty, racism, sexism, and violence of all kinds—is a peaceful existence. (p. 11)

Caulfield and Evans (1996) in their article, "Peacemaking Criminology: A Path to Understanding and a Model for Methodology" describe the Peacemaking perspective as a way to "gain understanding." Peacemaking involves a more "spiritual" approach than many of the more mainstream criminological perspectives and allows for a greater focus and understanding regarding the human condition (p. 102).

Peacemaking seeks to address non harmful ways of dealing with crime and criminality in part due to its emphasis on the "reverence of life and the connectedness of all human beings" (p. 103). Our system of criminal justice emphasizes the punitive measures to deal with crime while identifying the criminal as deviant and different from the rest of society. Comparing this perspective to the philosophy of community policing brings out several similarities. Both
peacemaking and community policing focus on the commonalties of people rather than the differences. Neighborhood Watch, a program which is part of many community policing strategies, emphasizes the commonalties among neighbors and seeks to bring people together and empower them: this is vital to the success of any police-community effort.

Richard Quinney addresses four core concepts of the peacemaking perspectives in *Criminology as Peacemaking* published in 1991. The first is the "awareness of human suffering". All too often, society seems more concerned with creating more suffering than ending it. Our punitive system of justice and the emphasis of enforcement with many traditional police departments diverts our attention from the root causes of criminal behavior; such as the suffering resulting from the devastating effects of poverty. The second concept of peacemaking is that of "right understanding" (p. 10). Here, Quinney is referring to an "understanding of the true nature of reality by recognizing that nothing remains the same." Through this understanding, human suffering can be identified and remedied.

Thirdly, the concept of "compassion and service" focuses on the interrelatedness of humans and the process of unification to end suffering. Realizing our own suffering makes us more aware of the suffering of others and helps to create an environment of service to others. This is one of the elements of community policing; to become aware of the needs of others and serve them in the capacity of peace officer moving beyond that of traditional law enforcer. The
fourth concept, "the way of peace and social justice" (p. 10) stresses the importance of human actions being rooted in compassion. Once rooted in compassion, social justice can be realized by identifying the "ultimate purpose of our existence--to heal the separation between all things and to live harmoniously in a state of unconditional love" (p. 10).

Community policing seeks to identify root causes of crime. The efforts of community police officers partnered with community residents may assist in bringing awareness to social ills such as poverty, racism, sexism, and violence, and begin the process to help eliminate these concerns. Officers, often acting as facilitators and mediators, work with social service agencies to help provide needed services to residents of the community. They are concerned with more than law enforcement, they are concerned with prevention and establishing justice in society. Peace, the end of human suffering, and eliminating crime are goals of community policing and support the peacemaking perspective.

Focusing on "cooperation, consensus in decision-making, decentralization of power, living harmoniously with nature within a web of life, sharing and giving, and the integration of spirituality into daily life" are important elements of Native American life (Mander, 1988, p. 55). Much of what community policing emphasizes is the same. It includes the elements of cooperation, consensus in decision-making, and decentralization of power. The concept of working together to achieve harmony and to accomplish communal goals is
essential to the success of any relationship, and in this case, the relationship between the police and the community. Neighborhood meetings which bring people together and are attended by the police officer(s) are important vehicles in building consensus and common goals. Through this time of interaction, the community becomes more aware of the police and the police become aware of the needs of the residents. A supportive relationship develops and together, the police and community can impact upon crime and other concerns.

One final important characteristic of peacemaking which is tied to the community policing philosophy is a victim-centered emphasis rather than an offender-centered approach in regard to crime. Community policing’s first priority lies with the victim, their needs and concerns. Typically, the victim is the forgotten component of the crime incident while officers aggressively seek the offender, asking the victim only for a physical description and neglect their needs and concerns.

There are several important linkages between the peacemaking perspective and community policing. By supporting and promoting the peacemaking perspective, it may be possible to initiate significant change not only in policing, but throughout the criminal justice system and society.

Women in Policing

Women have been a part of policing since the late nineteenth century. Their role has evolved from the matronly duties of protect-
Women were restricted from wearing the police uniform as well. The police uniform is symbolic and is a "universally understood symbol of the coercive power of the state over life, liberty, and property." For many Americans, "the idea of a woman wearing a police uniform subverted the whole purpose of the uniform and kindled doubts about gender roles" (Appier, 1992, p. 88). But the fact that women...
wore plain clothes did not rest well with male officers, for the
more prestigious positions within the police department did not re­
quire the wearing of the uniform and the male officers felt that the
women were allowed greater status because of this fact.

There is some debate who was actually the first female po­
tice officer. Some historians suggest that Lola Baldwin of Portland,
Oregon was the first, hired in 1905, she performed in a social work
capacity. Other historians give Alice Stebbins Wells the distinction
of being the first woman officer. She was hired in 1910 in Los Ange­
les and was the first woman to hold arrest powers and be given the
title of police officer. She was a small women and was frequently
asked "How could you make an arrest?" to which she replied, "I don't
want to make arrests. I want to keep people from needing to be ar­
rested, especially young people" (Appier, 1992, p. 90). Wells was a
visionary and her perspective is one which is supported by some po­
lice officers today. She felt that women who were already involved
with protecting women and children could achieve more meaningful re­
sults if they held full police powers. Wells was very influential in
convincing other cities to hire women into their police force and
paved the way for future generations of female officers (House,
1993).

These early women police and their supporters "constructed a
female-gendered model of police work known as the crime prevention
model" (Appier, 1992, p. 90). This model suggested that the most
important function of the police was to prevent crime, and women
appeared better suited for this type of activity. The crime prevention model challenged male domination of policing by offering an alternative to the crime-control model they supported. From 1910 to 1930, the crime prevention model was considered superior, but in the 1930s, "the male-gendered crime-control model reemerged and re-affirmed the superiority of 'male' characteristics and values in police work" (Appier, 1992, p. 91). Police chiefs were reluctant to hire women and often did so only in response to outside pressures. Crime prevention was viewed as the primary duty of the police department during these early years and women were significant contributors to this effort. Yet, many men felt that since crime prevention held high priority and women were actively involved, they would be afforded less status than the women. The crime-control model reemerged partly because of these concerns raised by male officers.

The role of policewomen did not change significantly until the late 1960s. They continued their caregiving, nurturing, and mothering roles. In 1964, the Civil Rights Act made a significant impact upon women in policing, and with the passage of the Equal Employment Act in 1972, (which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex, religion, color, or national origin) the number of women seeking employment as police officers increased.

The Indianapolis Police Department was the first agency to allow women to perform regular patrol duties. In 1968, Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal were assigned to regular patrol duties.
These two women changed the face of policing for women everywhere. Policewomen were now considered "crimefighters" rather than social workers. Blankenship and Coffal were not afforded the opportunity to train for their patrol duties, but were given one day's notice to prepare for an historic event for women police officers throughout the country. The road was not necessarily an easy one and these two officers found that they had to deal with a variety of issues from their male colleagues. For example, male dispatchers would not dispatch the women to calls unless they were the only car available, and female dispatchers would send them on as many calls as possible. The male officers were concerned that they "would have to spend more of their time protecting the women than answering calls for service" (Schulz, 1995, p. 131).

As more women entered the field of policing and became patrol officers, they had to face outward objections from their male colleagues and supervisors. "It was presumed that women, because of their gender and typical size, were not capable of performing the same type of patrol duty as men" (Dempsey, 1994, p. 222). Gerald Carden suggests that attempts to keep women out of policing were based upon stereotypes men held regarding women. Dempsey (1994) goes on to say that

men did not want to put up with the social inhibitions placed on them by the presence of women; they did not want to be overshadowed by, or to take orders from women; and they did not want to be supported by females in the performance of potentially dangerous work. (p. 223)

There were also concerns that the wives of the officers objected to
women on patrol fearing that their husbands may fall in love with their female partners and vice-versa (Dempsey, 1994, p. 223).

Although the numbers of women entering policing were increasing, the majority of them were in secretarial positions and served as juvenile officers. By 1979, even Blankenship and Coffal were performing duties as administrative aides to sector commanders (Schulz, 1995, p. 132).

The 1960s were not only a time of change for women in policing, but for policing as well. Police brutality became an increasing concern for the public, and the police were being required to meet new standards of conduct handed down from the Supreme Court. Decisions such as Miranda v. Arizona, which required police officers to advise those in custody of their rights, which increased police accountability.

In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Cime Commission) concluded that "police ability to prevent, reduce, deter, or solve crime was limited." This report, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society" questioned the philosophy of policing and questioned its ability to impact upon crime. The report covered issues ranging from training, personnel, higher education, and recruitment, but talked very little about the role of women in policing.

In 1968, the Kerner Commission issued its "Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders" found that aggressive patrol tactics created tension and hostility within the commu-
nity, and urged police administrators to "take vigorous action to improve law enforcement and to decrease the potential for disorder." The commission ignored policewomen, using the term policeman throughout its report. "Comments on recruitment pertain only to increasing the numbers and percentages of African-American officers, with a presumption that they would all be male" (Schulz, 1995, pp. 132-133).

As a result of the two commission reports, the Police Foundation conducted several studies looking into the role of the police and found that "despite police reliance on patrol as the primary crime deterrence strategy, little of a police officer's time was spent fighting crime. Maintaining order and assisting the public were the most time-consuming functions of the police." These reports assisted women in their efforts to gain patrol assignments, "for if patrol officers were not fighting crime, but were helping people and providing social intervention, there was no reason women could not provide the same police service as men" (Schulz, 1995, p. 133).

During this same time, the women's movement gained strength and served to assist women in obtaining patrol assignments. The movement helped to "change gender stereotypes and values by altering traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity. It helped to create a new social climate within police departments" (Martin, 1996, p. 53).

As a result of the social changes taking place, policing had to re-think its mission. Policing required more than fighting crime, and most officers were involved in more social service activities
than enforcement. Crime prevention became the model by which policing would be guided, and the aggressive tactics of the crime control model would be replaced by a different style of policing. Yet, many police officers and administrators objected to this type of police work. They considered crime fighting as "real" police work. Their image of policing was more of a soldier and warrior rather than a social servant working to improve the quality of life.

Even with these changes in philosophy and the re-typing of gender roles, women still faced many of the same stereotypes they encountered in the early 1900s. For example, some of the advice given to women included cautions against wearing excessive makeup or suggestive clothing. They were also cautioned not to use abrasive language, and advised to gain respect in their profession while maintaining their femininity (House, 1993).

Changes continued to occur as state governments began to require that police training be standardized. Women began to attend police academies with the men and shed their role as specialists and became generalists. Women were being trained the same way as men; firearms training, defensive skills, traffic, and investigations all became available to women and broadened the scope of their ability and effectiveness.

Women in Policing: Relevant Studies

As the numbers of women patrol officers grew, several studies attempted to discover whether their performance on patrol was effec-
tive. One of the biggest concerns of many police administrators were the physical demands of the job. Would women be able to effectively handle physical confrontations and other situations requiring physical strength? Study after study concluded that there was no significant difference in the ability of female and male officers to deal with these types of situations. In fact, some studies concluded that women can be more effective because of their ability to offset possible violent confrontations through their presence and communication skills. Studies of women in policing also discovered that female officers have fewer complaints lodged against them. "Lawsuits regarding use of force have been directed at male officers, not females" (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993, pp. 381-383).

"Evaluations done on the first generation of female patrol officers found that they performed in a highly satisfactory manner." (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993, p. 381). One of the first studies of women in patrol positions occurred in Washington, DC in 1973 (Bloch & Anderson, 1974). In this study, 86 female patrol officers were matched with 86 male patrol officers and evaluated after one year. The study focused on the attitudes of male police officers and community members toward the female patrol officers, and the performance of both groups while on patrol. According to Roberg and Kuykendall, (1993),

the results indicated that men and women performed in a generally similar manner. Women responded to similar calls and had similar results in handling violent citizens. It was also found that women made fewer arrests but appeared to be more effective than men in diffusing potentially violent situations. Additionally, women had a less aggressive style of policing
and were less likely to be charged with improper conduct. The unmistakable conclusion drawn from these results was that female officers can perform effectively on patrol. (p. 381)

The Washington study also found several sex-related differences in the patrol performance of the female officers. Women made fewer arrests, issued fewer traffic citations, and were less frequently charged with serious misconduct (Sichel, Friedmann, Quint & Smith, 1978).

A 1972 study conducted by the Urban Institute (principle investigators: Connolly and Greenwald) noted that civilian encounters were approached similarly by male and female officers, in a business-like style. Male officers, however, were more apt to become aggressive, and the women were more likely to adopt a cordial manner. Civilians behaved in a friendlier manner toward female officers than their male counterparts (Sichel et al., 1978).

Connolly continued to study these women and how they adapted to the stresses they encountered on the job and theorized that stress arose from the conflicting messages that women received from family members, supervisors, and co-workers about their roles and performance. Connolly further speculated that the majority of women chose other females as steady partners as a way of avoiding pressure from men to act womanly (Sichel et al., 1978).

In 1975, a study conducted in the St. Louis Police Department yielded similar results: women were equally effective as men in performing patrol work. Other findings of this study indicated differences among policing styles utilized by female officers. Women
were less aggressive, made fewer arrests, and engaged in fewer preventive activities, such as car and pedestrian stops. Citizen surveys indicated that women were more sensitive and responsive to their needs and handled service calls, especially domestic disturbances, better than men (Sherman, 1975). Women also issued more traffic citations in this study as compared to the Washington study.

My twelve years experience as a patrol officer supports the findings of these early studies. My particular style, as well as that of other female officers, is generally a less aggressive style than the male officer's style. Personally, I prefer to use verbal skills over physical skills whenever possible to control a situation. This style is not unique to female officers, as many male officers prefer to utilize their verbal communication skills over the use of physical force. As more officers receive college degrees and as more departments adopt the philosophy of community policing, these differences between male and female officers may all but disappear.

In 1976-1976, the performance of New York City patrol officers was evaluated. 41 female and 41 male officers were observed during patrol along with the citizens they encountered. The findings supported previous research which indicated that female officers were effective patrol officers. In general, male and female officers performed similarly; they used the same techniques to gain and keep control and were equally unlikely to use force or to display a weapon. Female officers were judged by civilians to be more competent,
pleasant and respectful than their male counterparts, but were slightly less likely to engage in control-seeking behavior, and less apt to assert themselves in patrol decision-making. Compared to male officers, females were less often named as arresting officers, "less likely to participate in strenuous physical activity, and took more sick time" (Sichel et al., 1978, p. 10).

The disparities which were indicated appeared to be related to the working environment at the time. Female officers were more likely to be laid off during the fiscal crisis in New York City in 1975, and the result of differential deployment of male and female officers appeared to affect the female patrol officers more significantly. The women were often assigned, during the seven-month period of observations, to traditionally female duties such as standing guard over female prisoners at police facilities, a job viewed by some of them, particularly the younger officers, as "dead-end and which gave them significantly less patrol experience" (Sichel et al., 1978, p. 11).

Women were also unlikely to be assigned to the same partner, thus reducing their chances of gaining important information regarding the area patrolled and learning from their partner. Despite these issues, there was no evidence of difference between male and female officers' behavior in the few incidents where civilians were agitated or where there were other indications of danger. The data revealed that differences between the men and women in frequency of control-seeking behavior and initiation of action were accounted for
by an apparent reluctance of the women—in cases which did not present evident danger to the patrol team—to join patrol partners in activity. This relative lack of assertiveness—a tendency to yield to the partner when the stakes were not high—disappeared when female subject officers were assigned to ride with female partners (Sichel et al., 1978).

The 1975 New York study (Sichel et al., 1978) concluded that the patrol performance of women was more like that of the men than it was different. It identified several small but consistent issues that differed among males and females:
1. Women were less apt to join partners in concerted control-seeking and joint decision-making;
2. Women were slightly less successful in achieving the immediate objectives of their control attempts;
3. Women were slightly less active in general;
4. Women made fewer arrests and took more sick days;
5. Women were better received by the civilians they encountered and their performance seems to have created a better civilian regard for the department. (pp. 100-101)

There are several explanations as to why women made fewer arrests. Crites (1973) suggested that women are less likely than men to provoke a violent reaction and thus are less likely to have to make arrests. A New York study noted that women were "less likely to work with a steady partner, and thus they are at a disadvantage in negotiation over who gets credit for the arrest" (Martin, 1996, p. 55).

My experience has shown that some men look to arrest as the only option when dealing with a disorderly person, whereas, I evaluate other options available to me within state law and departmental policy. Often, the subject can be calmed through the utilization of verbal skills. In some instances, the male officer is perceived as
more of a threat, and if he enters the situation with an attitude of superiority, the subject may likely feel threatened and retaliate verbally or physically. The uniform speaks for itself, but the personality inside the uniform is what often turns a calm situation into a violent one, and a violent one into a calm one. An officer can turn any situation into an arrest situation by displaying an aggressive style and disrespecting the citizen.

An analysis of the existing research on female police officers was conducted by Merry Morash and Jack Greene in 1986. They found that the traditional male belief that female officers could not be effective on patrol was not supported by existing research and the evidence exists which shows that women make highly successful police officers.

A 1988 study of patrol teams in New York city conducted by former New York city detective Sean Grennan showed no basic difference in the way males and females, working as a patrol team, reacted to violent confrontations. He also found that female police officers, in most cases, were far more emotionally stable than their male counterparts. Female officers also lacked the need to project the macho image which he believes is inherent in the personality of most of the male officers he studied. Grennan found that the "female officer, with her less aggressive personality, was more likely to calm a potentially violent situation and less likely to cause physical injury" (Dempsey, 1994, p. 234).

There is still some debate, in light of the research evi-
dence, that perceptions regarding female officer performance is not appropriate for all police situations. A survey of Illinois residents concluded that female officers "were well-suited for some tasks, such as settling family disputes or dealing with a rape victim, but were inadequate for action-oriented activities, such as traffic stops or stopping fistfights" (Dempsey, 1994, p. 235).

Studies evaluating perceptions are important in exposing myths and stereotypes that still exist regarding women in policing. These perceptions, although not supported by the research, continue to influence the effectiveness women have as police officers. It may be, that the percentage of women in policing has not increased significantly in the past decade due to these stereotypes which are promoted in our society. Women may view police work as an unattractive career option because many of the same problems encountered by the pioneer female officers early in the century, are still apparent.

James M. Daum, Ph.D., Police Psychologist and Lieutenant Cindy M. Johns of the Cincinnati Police Division conducted a study which sought to discover how female officers perceived police work. The focus of the study was on perceptions, attitudes and behaviors developed among female officers through their exposure to police work. One of the relevant issues asked about was acceptance by other female officers, supervisors, civilian city employees, male officers, and the public. Of the 81 female officers who completed the survey, 7% reported having difficulty being accepted by civilian employees, and 10% reported having difficulty being accepted by the public.
There was general agreement that they were accepted by female officers and supervisors, but 42% felt that they did not feel accepted by male officers, and 55% stated that they did not feel accepted by male supervisors (Daum & Johns, 1994).

Confidence was another important issue which was assessed. The female officers were asked to compare their job performance with that of their male colleagues; 76% of them felt they performed the job as well as male officers, while 24% felt that they did a better job than the male officers; 68% of the female officers felt that they had to do a lot more work to receive the same credit as the male officers, and only 30% believed they were given just as much credit for their work as the men.

In regards to a code of conduct, 58% of the female officers felt that they faced tougher standards than the male officers. Several respondents expressed the need to be treated as equals, be appreciated for the work that they do, and to be recognized as being able to do the job just as well as men. They also express a desire to be given the same type of work as the men and not be pampered or given the quiet beats. One respondent stated; "Just let me feel good about being a female cop."

Another important issue explored was the change in attitude and behavior as a result of being a police officer. Ninety-seven percent of the respondents agreed that being a police officer had changed them significantly. The majority of the female officers were pleased with the changes, such as feeling more self-confident, less
naive, and being able to relate to people more easily. Others were displeased with the changes, which included distrust of others, less tolerance, developing a negative outlook, less patience, more forcefulness, and greater irritability. It appears as though their exposure to the negative, often harsh realities of life significantly changed their perceptions and attitudes, as well as having an effect upon relationships outside of the department.

Seventy-one percent of the respondents did state however, that they would still choose to become police officers, and most felt that they had made the right choice. The officers also felt that they were receiving satisfaction and reward from their career. The 29% who would have pursued another career stated that they have remained on the job primarily due to salary, benefits and job security. Some officers felt that they had to tough it out, while others said that they enjoyed the status that comes with being a police officer (Daum & Johns, 1994).

Another study which involved perceptions was conducted by Mary C. Brown from Spokane, Washington in 1991. This study examined perceptions of male officers concerning female officers. The survey consisted of fourteen Likert-scaled statements and was entitled the "Patrolmen's Gender Attitude Scale." This survey was intended to determine overall attitude relating to men and women on patrol. Brown surveyed city, county, and state police departments in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana. Male patrol officers with at least one year experience and a rank no higher than sergeant were
targeted. Brown received 280 completed surveys.

It was discovered that 4.6% of the officers strongly accepted women on patrol; 28% accepted them; 38% were split; 17% did not accept them; and almost 8% strongly did not accept them (4.3% were neutral). Minorities were found to be more positive toward women. There was a significant correlation (.189) between the responding officer's age and his negative attitude towards women, as well as between time on the job and negative attitudes (.221).

She also discovered that 60% of the male officers felt that women had the mental and emotional ability to do the job; 55% felt that they were aggressive enough to get the better of a subject; 48% wouldn't mind having a women a chief of police; 70% didn't think that being masculine mattered (despite research that masculinized women experience less stress); 55% felt that women could perform all the requirements of police work; 43% felt that women could participate in SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics teams); 44% felt comfortable executing a search warrant with a female officer; 47% felt comfortable with a female officer in a shoot-out situation; 44% felt that women could successfully engage in foot pursuits; 31% felt that it was not necessary for them to lead the way when partnered with a woman; 39% did not feel that their daughters should do something more feminine than police work; and 47% would not mind if a short woman backed them up.

Several other findings from the study showed interesting results as well: 61% of the respondents did not think women could
handle physical conflicts as well as men; 44% did not think that women would be all right in a county where back-up is scarce; 47% would rather have a male back them up on a dangerous call; 39% would prefer a male sergeant over a female sergeant; 36% felt that women should not be involved in foot patrol; and 32% stated that they would prefer a male partner. It is interesting to note that they were more willing to have a female chief than a sergeant working closely with them (Brown, 1994).

The research of Koenig in 1978 and Molden in 1985 found that many policemen still subscribe to generalizations and myths surrounding women in general, and policewomen in particular: women are physically and emotionally weak, difficult to supervise, do not make good supervisors (especially for men), get sick every month when they menstruate, cry a lot, expect special treatment and favors, become sexually and romantically involved with their partners, and are more likely to use deadly force than male officers (Belknap & Shelley, 1993).

Research has also indicated that many policemen did not feel that policewomen are suited for police tasks (Pope & Pope, 1986; Remington, 1983) are not viewed as being as capable as male officers; and do not belong in policing. Some researchers theorize that female officers are a threat to male officer’s masculinity (Balkin, 1988; Martin, 1980; Wexler & Logan, 1983).

Stress has also been identified as a significant issue facing policewomen. Martin, 1983; Rivlin, 1981; and Wexler and Logan in
1983 felt that the negative attitudes of the male officers toward the female officers, combined with the constant pressure for the females to prove their competency, add a great deal of stress to the female officers' jobs (Belknap & Shelley, 1992).

Several variables appear to affect policewomen's perceptions and experiences. According to Belknap and Shelley (1992),

isolation and tokenism appear to be the most significant predictors of their perceptions. In addition to these two indicators, department size, race, levels of education, and the raw number of women in a police department may also affect their perceptions and experiences. (p. 111)

As the emphasis of policing shifts to a more community-based philosophy, the hiring of women as police officers becomes more important. The research has suggested that women's greater tact and helpfulness and lack of aggressiveness will improve relations with the community. Jerome Skolnick and David Bayley (1986) believe that the "chief innovation in policing today is a philosophical one, that is, belief in the goal of positive crime prevention over the goal of reactive crime control" (p. 170). Skolnick and Bayley also discuss the new type of police officer which combines enforcement and social work and shedding the common us versus them attitude. These officers choose to work side by side with the public while seeking to prevent crime.

Women may be more likely to favor a preventative, service-oriented style of policing over one which emphasizes a more aggressive, enforcement-focused style of policing, while men may favor the latter. The influence of gender-role socialization (discussed later

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in the chapter) may be one of the reasons why this may occur.

Skolnick and Bayley (1986) offer several examples of female officers applying the elements of community policing in their day-to-day duties. One example cites the work of Sue Hoffman who is a patrol officer in downtown Oakland, California. As she approaches suspected drug dealers on the street, her response is, "There's no legitimate reason for your being here. Please leave!" She is described as straightforward, businesslike, authoritative, and polite. It is not necessary for her to make arrests to preserve public order; she is able to obtain similar results by using other techniques (Lunneborg, 1989).

Skolnick and Bayley (1986) feel that police officers are often unwilling to change their traditional approach to policing and state that the greatest obstacle to implementing a community-oriented approach is the police organization itself. "It is not easy to transform blue knights into community organizers" (p. 171). This is one of the reasons that appropriate education and training are part of a police officers career. Officers who have college degrees should be recruited and hired. Their salary should reflect their commitment to higher education, and they should have the opportunity to be creative in their efforts to prevent crime.

Lunneborg (1989) suggests that female officers aren't as opposed to change as are male officers. Female officers tend to be self-directing, initiative-taking, and able to deal with a variety of individuals. Officers are now needed who are empathetic, patient,
understanding, and totally committed to crime prevention* (p. 171). Crime prevention changes the focus of policing from an enforcement approach to one of problem-solving, which may not be as attractive to men as it is to women due in part to their socialization.

Kennedy and Homany (1981) studied female officers in Detroit and nurses who were completing bachelor's degrees at the University of Detroit in order to determine if the officers had personalities which were more masculine than other women: were they more aggressive and authoritarian than the average woman. (What is the average woman? This was not clear.) If female police officers were found to be less feminine than other women, they would likely conform more to the perception of the ideal patrol officer.

The personality measure used by Kennedy and Homany consisted of a short version of the California Psychological Inventory and produced three scores on which to compare the two groups of women: Modernity, Femininity, and Socialization. They found that the officers were significantly more modern and less feminine than the nurses. (The femininity items measured interests according to tradition masculine-feminine stereotypes. The modernity items measured self-assurance and openness to new experiences.) Male officers are among the lowest scorers on modernity which indicates that they may be less willing to change and accept new experiences when compared to their female counterparts (Lunneborg, 1989).

The MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) is widely used as a screening tool for prospective police officers.
Carpenter and Raza (1987) examined test results of female police applicants and a normative female sample. They found that the women police were "less depressed, more psychologically mature, more assertive, and more aware of the needs of others. They were also more comfortable with interpersonal relationships and more likely to present a good impression of themselves" (pp. 56-57). In regard to community policing, the indication that women were more aware of the needs of others is especially important considering that the police must be aware of the needs of the community and be able to respond to those needs.

Women and the Police Academy

Michael Charles (1981) studied Michigan State trooper recruits by examining their academic, technical, and physical education performance records. He also looked at peer evaluation forms in order to discover various perceptions held by these recruits both preacademy and postacademy. Charles (1981) found that women received lower peer ratings than the men based largely on their physical performance both at the preacademy and post academy testing phase.

Charles found that in terms of specific job situations: (1) physical situations requiring the use of force, (2) general situations calling for judgment, and (3) technical tasks such as driving a car, that all men surveyed stated that men were better than women at physical tasks. The women in the study were divided equally between thinking that men were better and men and women were equal.
(These findings were a result of preacademy and postacademy surveys.)

In regard to general and technical situations, "preacademy the men overwhelmingly (85% and 87%) felt women were equal to men or better! And the women agreed with these perceptions of equality and female superiority." However, postacademy, while the women stayed the same, the men shifted toward believing in male superiority, even though the male modal response was still equality (Lunneborg, pp. 131-132).

It was thought that the academy experience might influence male recruit stereotypical role perceptions of women. What was discovered was the opposite. "In the course of training this group of men became very preoccupied with the violent aspects of policing, and convinced themselves that physical power made the difference between life and death" (Lunneborg, p. 132). On the other hand, women concluded that the physical aspect of the job was just a small part of an officer's responsibility.

Academy training has changed, but many of the programs I have looked at (and participated in) stress the violent aspects of the job and spend a great deal of time and energy stressing physical and mental preparedness. While it is vital to officer survival to train for these types of situations, often it may serve to focus the recruits attention on this part of policing which may not occur all that frequently. (depending on the jurisdiction). An officer will instinctively follow their training in a serious situation, so train-
ing is indeed important. Still, I am concerned that this intense focus on this aspect of the job helps perpetuate the us against them mentality and minimizes many of the elements in the community policing philosophy such as proactive approaches to crime and communication skills. It may also serve to isolate men and women in policing (as Charles' study showed) and help perpetuate gender role stereotypes as well. Training can have a powerful effect on new recruits and it is essential that the proper focus is maintained and appropriate time is spent on issues other than violent physical encounters.

Women in the Military

Several similarities may be observed between myths and perceptions regarding women in the military and in policing. Both institutions are traditionally male-dominated and have historically subscribed to the war mentality. "Women comprise approximately 8-9% of the total percentage of police officers in this country and comprise approximately 12% of the military" (Stiehm, 1996, p. 61).

The military ideology has historically represented a war mentality which continues to influence its philosophy. War is traditionally a male domain and the entrance of women into this domain has caused many of the basic beliefs to be challenged. As Stiehm (1996) states, the presence of women challenges basic beliefs or myths that are fundamental to the military enterprise: (1) War is manly; (2) Warriors protect; (3) Soldiers are substitutable. Women who do not understand their own role as protectee will not
realize that they are essential to legitimate violence. (p. 257)

Many of the same beliefs which drive the military ideology are found within policing. The emphasis on war, warrior, and soldier are also used to refer to the role of the police officer in society. References to police officers as soldiers and warriors, as well as references to the war on crime all help to perpetuate the militaristic philosophy in policing.

Stiehm (1996) continues and states that "women's need for protection is the reason men fight. Mythic wartime roles are reinforced and outworn essentialist clichés of men's aggressivity and women's pacifism are revived" (p. 236). In policing, similar myths are reinforced when female officers are treated differently when taking part in training programs where defensive skills and combat situations are emphasized. The male officers may not be as aggressive with the females, treating them as "women* first and police officers second. Although the male officers may feel as though they are doing the right thing, this type of treatment can actually be detrimental, especially when the female officer discovers she is not prepared to deal with a violent physical encounter on the street.

Traditional notions of gender identity link men with war and women with peace. Those who oppose women's participation in the military often equate this participation with the destruction of womanhood, manhood, and American society. Throughout history, war has been a theater in which men could prove their masculinity and in which masculinity was deemed as a necessary prerequisite to success.
Much effort has been put forth to suppress and exclude any traits in male soldiers that could be considered feminine. In basic training, new recruits are often characterized as feminine and effeminate and are called ladies or girls until they are able to prove their masculinity by exhibiting aggression and other macho characteristics (see MacDonald, 1988; Ruddick 1983a; Michalowski, 1982; Stiehm, 1996).

Police training still mimics military training to some extent, through its emphasis on physical skills, weapons use, and aggressive tactics which are generally perceived as masculine activities. A women who participates in this type of training may be at a disadvantage and judged negatively due to her lack of experience with these activities. My initial police training experience placed me at a disadvantage because I had never fired a gun, nor had I participated in physical activities which required strength and tactical response.

Three major paradigms have characterized the military throughout United States history: (1) the Offensive Model, (2) Defensive Model, and (3) an emerging model that Stiehm (1996) refers to as the "Pro-fensive Model" (p. 196). These paradigms help to shape the military's sense of self and organizational self-concept. Stiehm suggests that these models have evolved throughout history and have resulted in influencing the way the military perceives itself. There is a particular mindset that characterizes each model. For the Offensive Model, it is the Conquest Mentality; for the Defensive Model,
the Siege Mentality; for the Pro-fensive Model, the Flexible Power Mentality. This mindset not only expresses what the military stands for; it also specifies what individual members of the military should strive to be. Thus, an archetype of the ideal warrior is subsumed within each model. The ideal warrior in the Offensive Model is the Conqueror/Vanquisher; in the Defensive Model, it is the Defender/Protector; and in the Pro-fensive Model, the Peacemaker/Warrior (p. 196).

It becomes apparent that these paradigms can influence perceptions of the role of women in the military, as well as women in policing. Because many veteran police officers and administrators served in the military, it becomes quite possible that their current perceptions of women in the role of police officer can be traced back to the exposure of a military mindset which promotes a male domination-female pacifism philosophy.

Stiehm (1996) suggests that the paradigm currently in place within the military is the "Pro-fensive Model" which offers greater opportunities for women. According to Stiehm, the Pro-fensive Military makes less frequent use of those in the combat arms and can be expected to increase the numbers of soldiers, sailors, and airmen with secondary missions and specialties, such as military intelligence and communications. Here both traditional views about women's roles and women's participation in these secondary missions and specialties will support their increased participation. Put another way, in an organization that requires flexibility of response, negotiating abilities, and performance of constabulary functions, and whose assignments often include humanitarian and other complex missions, it is not easy but natural to see women participating. This is because their participation is in keeping with general societal beliefs about women's nature. A problem arises, however, when the military sees these peacekeep-
ing tasks as not its real mission (worse, it sometimes sees such tasks as antithetical to its mission) and insists on clinging to its old paradigms, in which it envisions its members not as peacemakers first and warmakers as a last resort but rather as warmakers, period. (p. 210)

Although policing's paradigms have not similarly evolved, the current emphasis on the community policing philosophy can be likened to Stiehm's Pro-fensive Model. Refocusing its mission to proactive policing and partnership, the community police department assists in reshaping perceptions regarding policing. However, problems still exist as police departments refuse to fully adopt the community policing philosophy and retain their emphasis on reactive law enforcement to fight the war on crime. Their officers are labeled as soldiers rather than viewing them as public servants who have a variety of roles to serve in society. These departments refuse to accept community policing as a philosophy and organizational strategy (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1992) and instead see it as a program to initiate in specific areas of the city. Traditional police departments often find it difficult to surrender their militaristic foundation to one which is based in cooperative efforts with the community in crime prevention.

The influence of a military ideology may affect perceptions not only of women in policing, but the overall role of policing as well. An emphasis on aggressive enforcement parallels that of the emphasis on power, control and conquest seen in the military. Police officers who have been influenced by the military ideology, whether through their own military experience or that of an influential fa-
family member may play an important role in shaping their perceptions about policing and the role of women in policing.

The Influence of a College Education on Perceptions

Kathryn Golden (1981) conducted a study which sought to answer the question: Are male police officers-to-be, particularly those getting college degrees, more accepting of women police than current male officers? Her findings are as follows:

85% of the male law enforcement majors at a Midwestern university believed that women should be given equal opportunity to perform patrol work. 51% agreed that women were just as effective as men in the same position. 64% wouldn’t mind having a woman as a patrol partner. Among the seniors at the university, half believed that women had the physical skills and the emotional stability for patrol work. 77% did not feel that women should be restricted to traditional roles in law enforcement. 64% did not think that patrol was too dangerous for women; 60% disagreed that women were too emotional in crises; and 56% disagreed that women were not aggressive enough for patrol. For all of these items disagreement was stronger the higher the class level of the men. (p. 133)

Two major conclusions were drawn by Golden from this study:

1. That men studying for college degrees in law enforcement are more accepting and supportive of women police than the men officers she had reported on previously, and
2. It appears that the university experience is partly responsible for the liberalization of the men’s attitudes, inasmuch as they became more receptive to patrolwomen from the freshman to the senior year. Finally, the survey item regarding coworker acceptance was found to have strong agreement among the male respondents. Eighty-one percent felt that women would have a difficult time with male colleagues, even though they had yet to experience a police agency environment. (p. 133)

Earlier studies indicate that higher education has an impact on perceptions as well. Smith, Locke, and Walker in 1968 concluded that the "higher the level of education, the more flexible or open
one's belief system may be" (p. 440). Also, it was found that those officers with some college and those with college degrees were significantly less authoritarian than their noncollege-educated colleagues. Guller (1972) found that police officers who were college seniors showed lower levels of authoritarianism than officers who were college freshman of similar age, socioeconomic background, and work experience. Dalley (1975) discovered that authoritarian attitudes correspond with a lack of college education and increased work experience, and suggested that a more liberal attitude is more conducive to discretionary law enforcement. Other researchers have indicated similar findings that college-educated officers tend to be more flexible and less authoritarian in their beliefs (Parker, Donnelly, Gerwitz, Marcus, & Kowalewski, 1976; Roberg, 1978; Trojanowicz & Nicholson, 1976). There is also some evidence suggesting that college-educated officers are not only more aware of social and ethnic problems in their community, but also have a greater acceptance of minorities (Weiner, 1976) and have stronger attitudes toward professionalism (Miller & Fry, 1978; Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993).

Administrative Perceptions

A 1970s evaluation done in Washington, D.C. found that officials, especially those who occupied positions near the top had the most negative perceptions of women officers. Bloch, Anderson, and Gervais (1973) conducted several studies into the perceptions of those in administrative positions. One of their studies revealed
that these officials perceived new women as far less competent than new men. Captains and lieutenants were more negative than sergeants. They rated only 30% of the women as average or better general patrol officers compared to 84% of the men, and in street situations involving violence only 23% of the women were average or better compared to 80% of the men (pp. 133-134).

These studies reveal much about perceptions of women in policing as well as issues related to community policing such as authoritarianism. The majority of studies reveal that women can perform the duties of a police officer equally as well as their male counterparts, and for the most part, citizens are more satisfied with female officers from the community. Although the majority of these studies have indicated positive perceptions of female officers and their ability to perform the job, negative perceptions and stereotypes still exist. Many of these may be rooted in the way children are socialized; proscribed roles for boys and girls are reinforced throughout life which help to influence perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about the role of women. The following sections review several theoretical perspectives related to women and their role in society and in policing.

**Gender-Role Socialization**

The process of socialization begins at birth. Masculinity and femininity are not biologically determined, according to prevailing sociological perspectives, but maleness and femaleness are learned
through interaction with parents, teachers, peers, and other influential persons. According to James M. Henslin, parents direct our predetermined gender course first by dressing males and females differently. Boys look different from girls which help to influence perceptions about appropriate male and female roles.

Boys are often encouraged to develop traits associated with competence, instrumentality, and achievement. Girls' socialization emphasizes their future family roles and encourages the development of nurturance, emotional expressiveness, and physical attractiveness. Male coworkers and managers also may be socialized to resent women's encroachment into their "spheres" (Martin, 1978, p. 23). Psychologists have also examined this process of socialization and have found: significant differences in the social and emotional styles of boys and girls that carry on into adulthood (Kay, 1994). Child psychologist Jean Piaget observed the way in which boys and girls played games and concluded that boys seemed more concerned with the rules, while the girls were concerned with relationships. If disputes arose, boys settled them by identifying what was fair and just through the application of the rules. On the other hand, girls were more concerned with maintaining positive relationships than maintaining the integrity of the game, and tended to settle disputes by changing or ignoring the rules (Kay, 1994).

The philosophy of community policing is concerned with building positive relationships between the police and the community, however, it is still important to maintain the integrity of the de-
partment and apply rules of fairness and justice. Still, it could be suggested that women may be better suited to community policing than men because of their focus on relationship building and resolving conflict through cooperative efforts.

Psycholinguist Deborah Tannen noted that men are more interested in independence and women are more interested in interdependence. Because of their emphasis on independence, men value achievement and accomplishment and are more sensitive to issues of relative status. Women, with their greater emphasis on interdependence, are more concerned about establishing rapport and building consensus (Kay, 1994). I do not totally agree with Tannen’s assessments that women may be less concerned with achievement and accomplishment. For example, women who have chosen to attend law or medical school are not seeking to establish rapport and build consensus, rather they are attempting to accomplish and achieve a goal of becoming a physician or attorney. To conclude that women are more concerned with establishing rapport and building consensus only serves to perpetuate the myths that surround women.

Henslin (1995) also states the boys world is filled with games of cops and robbers, and imaginary places filled with danger; with the good guys and the bad guys fighting it out. The games which are labeled as appropriate for boys differ from those of girls, and boys who stray from appropriate behavior are often ridiculed and expelled from the norm.

According to Henslin (1995),
boys know that there are two worlds, and they are grateful for the ones they are in. The boys world is seen as superior (by boys) and this perception is reinforced each day in society. We exult in masculine privilege and protect our sexual boundaries from encroachment and erosion. The encroachment comes from tomboys who strive to become part of our world. We tolerate them, up to a point. But by excluding them from some activities, we let them know that there are irrevocable differences that forever separate us. (p. 131)

Socialization has a powerful influence not only upon childhood, but upon adulthood. If, from the beginning, boys are socialized into believing that they are superior and hold masculine privilege. Couldn't those same perceptions carry on into adulthood? Male police officers may view policing as their world and attempt to protect it from those in the other world; the female. Just as Henslin stated that tomboys strive to become part of the boys world, so the female officer may be viewed as the symbolic tomboy attempting to encroach upon the male's world.

Even in play, many boys take on roles of warrior, soldier, and protector. This too, may influence perceptions into adulthood. Policing may be an adult manifestation of the play initiated during childhood, and the role of warrior and soldier persists.

Thorne and Luria (cited in Henslin, 1995) examined sexuality and gender in children's daily worlds* by observing their interactions on school playgrounds. They noted that the separation of boys and girls throughout elementary school is central to its daily routine. This segregation is evident not only on the playground, but in the cafeteria and classroom as well. The playground environment was especially noted for its gendered spaces according to the authors. Boys had their special areas where they played, such as the larger areas of fields and basketball courts, and girls tended to congregate in smaller areas of concrete in order to engage in hopscotch or jump rope. (pp. 138-139)
These early gendered spaces may also influence later development of other gender spaces such as the work environment. Male police officers may perceive their police world as one of these gender spaces, thus they may feel threatened when women attempt to enter it, segregating themselves from these intruders. Women officers are often not allowed into the male officer's social world, thus the separation and segregation which occurred in childhood re-emerges in the adult world.

Gender Roles

Throughout history, men and women have adopted gender-specific, socially-constructed roles. These roles have been recognized and shared throughout generations. The woman's role has traditionally been that of caregiver and nurturer, while the male role has been that of provider and family leader. Women have been given the task of providing for the well-being of the human race through their role as mother. These socially constructed norms of specified gender roles have influenced the psychological ability of some women to enter male-dominated occupations.

Historically, women have entered occupations which fit these socially-constructed roles: clerical, health services, housekeeping services, etc. These occupations parallel the particular roles society has deemed appropriate for women. Bradley (1989) goes on to say that

in virtually every society of which we have knowledge, men
and women normally perform different types of work. This
sex-typing of jobs, the allocation of specific tasks to men
and to women, has become so extensive and pervasive that the
two sexes are rarely found doing exactly the same kind of
work. Even when men and women are found ostensibly working
side by side in the fields or in an office or factory, closer
investigation may well reveal that they are actually doing
different things: men are scything and women are gathering the
cut corn, women are filing report cards and men are doing the
accounts, men are stamping out parts and women are sewing and
gluing them together. Men are controlling and women are obey­
ing. There is a tendency for certain work to emerge as women’s
all over the world (nursing, schoolteaching, cleaning, typing,
operating sewing machines). Around the world, women work. Men
give orders. (pp. 1-23.)

There are several perspectives which attempt to explain gender
roles and sex-typing. Harriet Bradley (1989) feels that capitalistic
industrial development has played a significant role in creating and
perpetuating sex-typing in the workplace. In particular, the con­
frontations and negotiations between employers and male workers
which have characterized it; the sexual division of labor within the
household; women’s childbearing role; authority relations in the fa­
mily; prevailing ideologies and social attitudes of both men and wo­
men, and the role of the domestic ideology elaborated by the Vic­
torian middle classes, are issues which influence this process of
sex-typing within the work environment.

Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff also examined these same
issues and concluded that, "the attitudes of employers to women
workers; processes of socialization in the home, at school and in
later life; and the role of the state all serve to foster certain
social definitions of male and female activities" (Bradley, 1989,
p. 23). Certainly, socialization, particularly in the past, has
influenced the construction of socially proscribed roles for men and women. It is difficult to initiate deep-seated change when these roles have been part of the culture for centuries, but progress has been made in terms of role appropriateness for men and women. For example, women have become influential in the athletic world; the creation of two professional basketball leagues for women, and the exemplary showing by women in the 1996 Olympics have helped to change traditional perceptions of women physically. Women have also been entering the so-called male occupations of construction, firefighting, and management positions. Of particular interest to this research is the entry of women into policing. Growth has been slow in terms of the numbers of women in policing; (currently women average only 8-9% of the total number of full-time sworn police officers; U.S. Department of Justice, 1992), yet they have made progress through their entrance into police supervisory roles.

Ortner and Rosaldo, commenting on issues of gender influences in the work arena state that "whatever men do then becomes the high-status activity. Even where economic activities are less differentiated, men's control of political and religious activities ensures their social dominance." Rosaldo continues, "male activities are always recognized as predominantly important and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men" (Bradley, p. 30).
Feminism

Other factors to consider in interpreting influences upon male and female roles include patriarchy; the dominance of men over women. According to feminist sociologists, there are three issues involved in patriarchy. Jary (1988) states that

patriarchy functions as an ideology. This view is rooted in the work of French psychoanalyst and structuralist, Jaques Lacan, who argues that (1) a society's culture is dominated by the symbol of the phallus. (2) Patriarchy is essentially based on the household in which men dominate women, economically, sexually and culturally. (3) Marxist feminists argue that the domination by men is intimately tied to capitalism, because capitalism and patriarchy are mutually supportive. Within the household, women's domestic labor supports men, an expense which would otherwise fall on capital. Outside the home, the segregation of women into certain occupations has enabled employers to keep their wages down, according to some theorists. (p. 181)

In regard to women in policing, this view of patriarchy can have a profound impact on women's ability to function effectively in an environment where patriarchy is accepted and practiced. As a result, female officers may find themselves ostracized from the male police subculture. Although female officers wear the same uniform and are expected to perform the same duties as men, they continue to be treated differently.

According to Bradley (1989),

the universal social domination by men of women, family relationships where men police women's childbearing and sexuality, economic relationships whereby men exploit women's labor, all give meaning to, and support the concept of patriarchy. (p. 51)

Patriarchy is organizational and it is structural. Police organizational philosophy has historically followed a pattern of mili-
taristic, hierarchical structure. Men occupy positions of power and authority, and although women have served as police chiefs, their presence in this male dominated position is rare. It is often expected that supervisory personnel will be men, and even officers are still referred to as policemen.

Patriarchal domination can be seen within other criminal justice agencies as well. Male domination (particularly white males), assists in protecting the patriarchal structure which allows them to extend their culturally-based power and authority. Social control functions have traditionally been assigned to men, and as women enter the field of criminal justice, particularly policing, they are met with obstacles based in the "organizational and social patterns that construct and support women's subordination to men" (Martin, 1996, p. 2).

Liberal Feminism

Liberal feminists focus much of their efforts on the process of "sexual equality or gender justice" (Tong, 1989, p. 28). They seek to free women from many of the oppressive roles society places upon them. These roles are designed to justify the woman's lesser role whether it be in the workplace, at home or at school. A patriarchal society sees women as suited for specific roles such as nursing, teaching, and secretarial work; and not suited for roles traditionally associated with men such as those which are related to leadership, power, and authority; policing is one such occupation.
Tong (1989) goes on to say, whereas male-centered society deems appropriate for women those jobs that require traits associated with the feminine personality---ego-effacement and other-directedness---it deems appropriate for men those jobs that require traits associated with the masculine personality---self-confidence and self-aggrandizement. This type of gender stereotyping is terribly unequal and must be remedied if the goals of liberalism are to be realized for men as well as for women. (p. 28)

Martin (1978) states that liberal feminists argue that women's subordination to men emanates from the creation of separate spheres of activity and influence for men and women. Women traditionally have been relegated to the private sphere of home and family and excluded from the public domains of politics and paid work. Liberal feminists' goals focus on policies that include women in the public sphere of social life and permit women to attain the same work-related skills and traits as men. (pp. 22-23)

Culturally-constructed gender roles assist in defining appropriate occupational roles for women and in essence, judge women to be unqualified for many jobs in society. In the past, legislation was passed which actually barred women from jobs such as mining and bartending. Legislation also prevented women from working the night shift and/or overtime (Tong, 1989). The reluctance to allow women to perform certain jobs may have been one of the factors which prevented them from serving as patrol officers until the 1960's. (Working the night shift and being able to participate in overtime opportunities are two important functions of the police.) Although women now participate in every aspect of police work, there still exist reservations about their involvement in certain situations which may result in physical altercations and/or emotional stress. Women are still viewed by some as "too emotional---jittery, flighty, and high
strung* (p. 29). Some employers still prefer to hire men for certain positions even when women carry the same credentials, although it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify such decisions.

Classical and welfare liberal feminists have generally relied on legal remedies for combating gender discrimination, but a new approach has been offered which deals with the concept of androgyny. Conceptually, this is one way to ensure that no one will be discriminated against because they exhibit both masculine and feminine gender traits and behaviors. "Were we all androgynous, there would be no impetus to discriminate against someone simply on the basis of gender" (Tong, 1989, p. 30).

Male and female police recruits undergo the same training, as well as extensive physical and mental testing before they are deemed fit for police duty. Yet, women are still regarded by some to be unfit physically and emotionally for the work required of an officer. Supporters of the concept of androgyny would likely feel that gender discrimination observed in policing would no longer exist if androgyny was accepted. By exhibiting both feminine and masculine traits, police personnel may be more adaptable to the variety of situations requiring the use of those traits traditionally associated with men; aggressiveness, leadership, initiative, and competitiveness; and traits traditionally associated with women; "nurturance, compassion, tenderness, sensitivity, and cooperativeness" (Tong, 1989, p. 31). This is especially important when looking at the philosophy of community policing which requires adaptability and flexibility on the
job. A police officer is exposed to a variety of situations where s/he must be able to adapt. Traditional masculine traits such as aggressiveness would be important in situations where a crowd of intoxicated subjects have not responded to verbal commands. It may be necessary to use some type of coercive force in order to gain control of the situation, after all other options have been exhausted. On the other hand, if this same situation had not yet reached the stage of loss of control, traditional feminine traits such as cooperativeness and sensitivity may be especially helpful by offering the crowd a different perception of the police. The officer exhibiting these feminine traits may be able to quell the disturbance merely by communicating verbally with the subjects. In my experience, I have found that in most situations, exhibiting an in-control yet cooperative attitude can diffuse a situation much more effectively than aggressively charging into a situation and establishing superiority.

Discussions of sex differences, gender roles, and androgyny have helped focus liberal feminists' drive toward liberty, equality, and fairness for all. Jane English feels that terms such as sex roles and gender traits denote the patterns of behavior which the two sexes are socialized, encouraged, or coerced into adopting, ranging from sex appropriate personalities to interests and professions. Psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists tend to define masculine and feminine in terms of prevailing cultural stereotypes, "which are influenced by racial, class, and ethnic factors"
(Tong, 1989, p. 30).

In the United States, perceptions of masculinity focus on being rational, ambitious, and independent; while femininity is perceived as being emotional, nurturant, and dependent. Other traits associated with women include compassion, tenderness, sensitivity, affiliativeness, cooperativeness; those associated with men include aggressiveness, leadership, initiative, and competitiveness. This presents a perceptual obstacle for those women who choose policing as a career, for traits such as rationality, independence, aggressiveness are regarded as admirable for traditional police officers, while those traits which reflect dependence, compassion, and sensitivity are not typically admired by traditional police departments whose priorities are on reactive, enforcement-focused policing. On the other hand, community policing departments whose priorities lie in cooperative efforts with the community, the more typical female characteristics may be considered most appropriate.

Liberal feminists stress that a person's biological sex should in no way determine his or her psychological and social gender. They seek to change social constructs through legal maneuvers. These efforts at change are confronted with obstacles due to the male majority within the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government at all levels.

As liberal feminists reassess their position (Tong, 1989), they have recognized their tendency to accept male values as human values. They have also been criticized by other nonliberal fem-
inists for their tendency to overemphasize the importance of individual freedom over that of the common good as well as their tendency to valorize gender-neutral humanism over gender-specific feminism. (p. 31)

Jean Bethke Elshtain (1982) points out what she considers liberal feminists' three major flaws: (1) its claim that women can become like men if they set their minds to it; (2) its claim that most women want to become like men; and (3) its claim that all women should want to become like men, to aspire to masculine values. (p. 32)

This sets the stage for failure on the part of the female officer to fit in with her male peers. Women who attempt to become one of the guys are often ostracized because they are not exhibiting a personality which is comfortable to them. Police officers are trained observers and are experienced at decoding human behavior. If a female officer feels that she must become like her male colleagues and aspire to their masculine traits, she will likely not be successful in her police career, if she decides to remain in policing.

Susan Martin in her book Doing Justice, Doing Gender describes two typologies related to the stress of gender role expectations faced by female officers. According to Martin (1996), there are two types of female officers:

POLICEwomen and policeWOMEN. POLICEwomen are characterized by their identification with the police work culture. They seek to gain acceptance by their male counterparts by becoming more aggressive, loyal, street-oriented, professional, and macho than the men. In resisting traditional gender-based stereotypes, acting like men, and even outproducing them, these women face being labeled as dykes or bitches, which imply that they are not real women. POLICEwomen crave acceptance but never can quite become one of the boys; those who are sexually active are labeled easy, which makes clear the persistence of the double standard by which men control women's sexuality. (p. 97)
The deprofessionalized policeWOMEN, are unable or unwilling to fully accept the street patrol role. They tend to be uncomfortable on patrol, fearful of physical injury, and reluctant to assert authority and take control of situations. They welcome or tolerate men's protection and often conform to such stereotypes as seductress, mother, pet, and helpless maiden in their interactions with the male officers. Unable to prove themselves exceptions among the women, many policeWOMEN "embrace the service aspects of policing, displaying little crime-fighting initiative, and seek nonpatrol assignments and personal acceptance as feminine women" (Martin, 1996, pp. 97-98).

Efforts by female officers to deal with these issues has resulted in modifications of perceptions of masculinity and femininity as well as new "cultural patterns" and occupational role identities. Some female officers have integrated valued attributes associated with both masculinity and femininity. Young (1991) characterizes these women as the new policewomen.

These women are self-contained, self consciously feminine women, unwilling to play the traditional role of homemaker, wife, and mother or become the butch burglar's dog taking the part of a surrogate male.

Many remain overtly feminine, yet operate in the macho world of policing without inhibition. They are professional, competent, and attractive and in consequence are feared and revered, for they have "upturned the prescribed homogeneity of the male ideology which
assigns women a clearly defined place on the margins and which they are expected to fill gratefully" (Martin, 1996, p. 98).

Jurik (1988) states that many women have achieved this "new status by striking a balance between traditional feminine stereotypes into which men press them and the opposite but equally negative gender stereotype" (p. 98). Strategies aimed at balancing these two roles include; "projecting a professional image, demonstrating unique skills, emphasizing a team approach, using humor to develop camaraderie and thwart unwelcome advances, and gaining sponsorship to enhance positive visibility" (Martin, 1996, p. 98).

Heidensohn (1992) also commented on this new image of policewomen and stated that women in policing demonstrate professionalism primarily by displaying physical courage, being willing to use physical force in threatening situations, remaining on patrol, and playing by the rules. While adhering to this masculine street-cop model of police behavior, women have expanded the definition of professionalism to include improving their skills, treating the public well, emphasizing close links with the community, and working very hard.

Traditional gender stereotypes, although being re-defined are still apparent, even in the research. It appears as though women must strive to adopt roles which fulfill policemen's expectations of how they should behave and, at the same time, attempt to fulfill their own expectations of policing. Policewomen today face many of the same issues early policewomen dealt with, even though the re-
search is clear that women are able to perform the work of a police officer effectively. The evidence supports the ability of women to perform the job of a police officer, yet it appears as though many male officers and administrators still hold on to traditional attitudes and perceptions (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993). My research will seek to identify these perceptions and attempt to discover if police departments which operate under the community policing philosophy are less likely to hold these traditional perceptions regarding women in policing.

Radical Feminism

In the perspective of radical feminism (Lengermann & Niebrugge, 1988), not only is childhood socialization an important concept, central to this school of thought is an intense positive valuation of women and, as part of this, deep grief and rage over their oppression. Radical feminists affirm woman's special worth in defiance of a universal system that devalues her. They see all of society as characterized by oppression. Every institution is a system by which some people dominate others, and in society's most basic structures, in the associational patterns between broad groups or categories of people, one perceives a continuous pattern of domination and submission--between classes, castes, ethnic, racial, religious groups, age, and gender categories. Of all these systems of domination and subordination, the most fundamental structure of oppression is gender, the system of patriarchy. Patriarchy was not only, as Engels described, historically the first structure of domination and submission, it continues as the most pervasive and enduring system of inequality, the basic societal model of domination. Patriarchy, to radical feminists, is the least noticed and yet the most significant structure of social inequality. (p. 306)

According to this perspective, patriarchy continues to exist because men have the physical power to establish and retain control.
Once patriarchy has been established, other resources which are considered powerful are obtained: economic power, legal, ideological, and emotional. Physical force and violence is used to combat any resistance by women. Sexual control of women, domestic assault, rape, and other forms of control and domination are part of the patriarchal system. These assaults on women, both physical and emotional, place the women as a subordinate in the man's eyes and her own. Women serve useful roles to men and men seek to keep women compliant.

"Radical feminism's' aim is to question the concept of a 'natural order' and to overcome whatever negative effects biology has had on women and perhaps also on men" (Tong, 1989, p. 3). They do not see biology as repressive, rather they view it as liberating. Their problem with biology lies in the way men control women as childbearers and childrearers. "Liberation comes when women control reproduction-controlling technologies and reproduction-aiding technologies. Women must also determine for herself how and how not to rear the children she bears" (Tong, 1989, p. 3).

Radical feminists, like liberal feminists, view traits associated with masculinity and femininity with the process of socialization and/or the environment. But unlike liberal feminists who often suggest that men are simply fellow victims of sex-role conditioning, radicals insist that male power, in societies such as ours, is at the root of the social construction of gender.

Lengermann & Brantley (1988) state that
radical feminists see masculine power and privilege as the root cause of all forms of inequality. Some may attribute differences to physiology, others to cultural learning; yet radical-feminists emphasize the value of feminine characteristics to public life. Gilligan argues that the moral domain should include both care and justice. Her different voice construct stresses the value of both masculine and feminine ethical voices. Feminist legal scholars predict that replacing masculine with feminine culture could reduce workplace hierarchy, increase concern for clients and consensual decision making, decrease violence, and make better accommodations to the conflicting demands of family and work life. (pp. 306-307)

Finally, radical feminist's feel that true liberation can occur when women give new gynocentric meanings to femininity. Femininity should no longer be "understood as those traits that deviate from masculinity. On the contrary, femininity should be understood as a way of being that needs no external reference point" (Tong, 1989, p. 4).

Rather than comparing femininity to masculinity, femininity should be seen as a distinct set of traits, evaluated on their own, without holding them up against a masculine standard for evaluation.

Organizational Theory

Finally, in an effort to better understand perceptions of women in policing, one final theory should be considered; gender-neutral organizational theory. This perspective views job and organizational characteristics responsible for gender subordination in the workplace, rather than gender-role learning. Rosabeth Moss Kanter identifies opportunity, distribution of power, and proportional representation as key organizational determinants of workers' exper-
iences, attitudes, and job performance. Power consists of the resources to get things done, the formal and informal ability to make and enforce decisions. Opportunity means the chance for upward mobility; only upper-echelon jobs offer the real power to make decisions that affect organizational policies. Proportional representation refers to the organizational representation of individuals from various social groups (gender, race-ethnic, sexual orientation).

"Those whose social type constitutes a numerical minority (less than 15%) in their job or work organization are more visible, experience performance pressure" (Kanter & Martin, 1977, p. 23), and often are excluded by dominant social groups. These "tokens are pressured to conform to stereotyped images of their social type" (p. 24).

Since women represent a minority in policing, they may be evaluated with a sharper eye than men. Women often list "pressure to perform as one of the stressors of police work" (Dempsey, 1994, p. 239). They often find themselves excluded from the dominant groups which are composed of male officers and are pressured to conform to their stereotyped social roles of nurturer and caregiver.

Gender is viewed as "an emergent property of social practice and not a fixed attribute of individuals" according to Giddens, (Martin, 1978, p. 28). Social practice is the interaction which occurs within the larger context of structures and institutions. Within the male-dominated world of policing, specific roles are set up which represent the structural foundation of that particular depart-
Traditional police departments which rely on enforcement and reactive-styles of policing have institutionalized their methods of policing. Women who enter this type of department are thrust into a role which may be uncomfortable to them, but as they interact and become socialized into the department, they may accept these traditional methods of doing police work thus compromising their own perceptions as to what policing is all about. For these women, gender roles associated with traditional policing (i.e., women are not able to perform the enforcer role, but men are) are accomplished in everyday interaction shaped by the norms and values of that particular agency.

Summary

The two philosophies of policing are being examined and evaluated as police departments attempt to determine which is the best fit for them. Traditional policing philosophy with its emphasis on reactive response and enforcement has long been the accepted approach to police work. Organizationally, traditional policing has its roots in military structure, while community policing reflects a more open management style where patrol officers are allowed to participate in decisions which affect policy and procedure. Because of the differences between these two philosophies, women may be more inclined to select departments which have adopted community policing. Perceptions of both male and female officers may also be affected by the philosophy upon which the department is based.
The evidence is clear that women are able to perform effectively on patrol, yet they are still not totally accepted as police officers. Gender roles, reinforced from birth, have influenced perceptions held by men regarding the proper role of women in society and in policing. The system of patriarchy which is so evident in our society continues to dominate women and control them resulting in women being regarded as subordinates. Male dominance and their monopoly over power and social control serve to perpetuate negative perceptions of women in policing. The philosophy of community policing also suffers as a result of this emphasis on power and social control, causing many police agencies to continue under a traditional philosophy which likely does not include a working relationship with the community it serves.

Liberal and radical feminist theories help to identify structures in society which promote those gender roles which help to perpetuate perceptions of women as the weaker sex and somehow less than men. These theoretical perspectives also help to understand the importance of socialization in the creation of gender roles.

As women continue to choose policing as a career, new definitions of policing and the role of women will emerge. Community policing, with its foundation in the peacemaking perspective, will assist in redefining policing and influence the way policing is perceived by both officer and citizen. It will cause a reexamination of the methods used to achieve justice and eliminate crime. With its focus on proactive response rather than reactive; on social
service rather than enforcement; female officers may be better prepared to fit the role of community police officer because of issues such as socialization.
CHAPTER III

METHODS

This study is being conducted in order to discover the perceptions held by police officers regarding the role of women in policing and the perceptions regarding the community policing philosophy. The survey method was chosen for this project due largely in part to its ability to facilitate participation and help assure anonymity and confidentiality.

One of my main concerns was obtaining relevant information from the police officers who were asked to participate. Police officers can be suspicious of those outside of policing and are at times unwilling to share their views. Although I may be considered an 'outsider' by some, I hold an advantage over other researchers in that I have been a police officer for the past twelve years and am still working as a certified officer. Because of this, I may be able to gain information more easily than others who do not have a background similar to mine.

Survey research has several advantages. One of these, according to Babbie (1989), is that they are "excellent vehicles for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population" (p. 237). Other advantages to survey research include their capability of covering large, representative samples, and allowing the respondents to retain their confidentiality and to consider their responses in a
"comfortable environment" (Senese, 1997, p. 161). Although survey research is widely used and holds advantages for certain types of research, it still has its disadvantages. One of the primary disadvantages is the limited opportunity to gain detailed follow-up information regarding the responses or the response. This, however, was not an intent of the present research.

Research Design

Instrument

The initial survey consisted of 25 Lickert-scaled statements developed by the researcher, along with ten vignettes designed to reveal police officer perceptions of women in policing and community policing. Each statement and vignette was constructed based on my experience as a police officer and information discovered during the literature review. A supervisor in the traditional department expressed concern over the vignette section of the instrument and informed me that their department could not participate. I made arrangements to speak with this supervisor and offered to remove the vignette portion of the instrument. The supervisor agreed to review the instrument again and approved it. I then proceeded with the research project without including vignettes in the final instrument.

The questionnaires were distributed to two Midwestern police departments, each employing approximately 250 sworn officers. The first department to which the surveys were distributed is classified as a traditional police department and will be identified as such.
The second department which received surveys operates under a community policing philosophy and will be identified as such. I am familiar with both department's philosophies and strategies and have spoken with patrol officers and administrators regarding their approach to policing. These discussions occurred informally (police officer-to-police officer) during my interactions with them. This helped assure that their philosophies coincided with my conclusions regarding traditional and community.

The chief of the traditional department was contacted initially by phone and advised of the intent of the research and the feasibility of surveying the officers in the department. Once permission was granted, I was advised to contact the head of the uniform division and work through that division for the remainder of the study. I then advised the Uniform Division Chief of the nature of the research and assured the division chief that the information contained on the completed surveys would not be linked to the officer, department, or state where the department was located. I explained that each officer (including detectives, SWAT team members, youth officers, etc.) and administrator would receive a packet of information containing a letter of introduction which discussed my background, the importance of the research, assurance of confidentiality and anonymity, the voluntary nature of the project, and the importance of their participation.

Page one of the packet included instructions for completing the surveys. I first asked the participants to respond to the demo-
graphics page which included sex, age (category), highest level of education received, year of graduation, position within police department, rank, years of police experience, years of military experience, family members with police experience, and family members with military experience. Each of these variables will be discussed in detail under the section Dependent and Independent Variables.

Page two of the packet included instructions as to where to place the completed surveys. In the traditional department, the division chief suggested that the area near the front desk in the lobby of the department would be most accessible to the officers. Page three listed essential information regarding the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (HSIRB) guidelines including the names and phone numbers of those involved in the project: the HSIRB Board, my graduate advisor, and myself. Page four included the instrument itself along with a brief definition of community and traditional policing philosophies. This was done to assure that each respondent had a clear understanding of each philosophy. The packet also included a white, business-sized security envelope in which the respondents were to place their completed surveys. The envelopes were to be sealed by the respondent, in order to reassure the officers of anonymity. The division chief was responsible for passing out the packets to each shift supervisor.

I dropped off 250 packets at the traditional department's front desk. Included with the packets was a sealed box, approximately 24" in length, 12" in height, and 8" in width. A slot was cut in
the top of the box and labeled as the place to deposit the completed surveys. Each respondent was asked to place their sealed envelope containing their completed questionnaire into the sealed box located at the front desk. The division chief and I decided that two weeks should be sufficient time for all officers and administrators to be exposed to the survey. This time period was selected because it would facilitate exposure for officers on vacations, special assignments, and different shifts. Although the number of packets delivered was 250, actual distribution by department supervisors numbered only 150. I learned this after examining and counting the returned surveys which had not been completed and had not been removed from the box they were delivered in. Because it appeared as though they had never been distributed, I can only speculate that my project was not considered a high priority issue when compared to other more important concerns facing the department at that time.

The community department's personnel were more cooperative throughout the research process. This may have been due to the fact that many of the supervisors and officers knew me. I had conducted previous research at the department and had worked with several of the officers. The community department received exactly the same packet of information as department number one. Because of a different scheduling scheme, the community department was given one month to complete and return the surveys. The Assistant Chief suggested this in order to make the survey available to all sworn personnel in the department. The packets were delivered to the Assistant Chief
who took responsibility for distribution of the packets. Each lieu-
tenant was asked to assume responsibility for exposing each officer
on their shift to the survey. Problems arose in distribution due to
the decentralized nature of the community department. Since it is a
community policing department, and decentralization is key to the
community policing philosophy, there are several smaller stations
located throughout the city. Some of these outlying stations did not
receive the surveys, apparently they were never removed from head-
quarters and distributed in these locations.

At the end of a month, I returned to the community department
to gather the completed surveys and was disappointed in the response.
I spoke to the Assistant Chief and he suggested that I allow another
two weeks for completion. After two weeks had passed, I returned to
the department to gather the remaining surveys and was again dis-
appointed. I then contacted two supervisors who I know personally
and advised them of the situation. They advised me that they were
not aware of my survey, which was the case with several other offi-
cers I contacted. They advised me that there were three surveys
occurring at the same time: one on domestic violence issues, one on
community policing, and my survey. Apparently there was a great deal
of confusion on the part of the officers, many thinking that they
had already completed my survey when in reality they had completed
another. The two supervisors who I know were able to obtain an extra
25 completed surveys. Because of the time factor, I decided not to
attempt to secure any more completed surveys. I wanted to begin data
analysis as soon as possible and decided that I had invested sufficient time in obtaining completed surveys.

The response rate for the traditional department was 55% (83 completed surveys out of 150 distributed). The response rate for the community department was difficult to measure due to the variety of problems encountered. I estimate the response rate to be around 44% (66 completed surveys out of approximately 150 distributed, but this is only speculation) Of the 149 respondents, 17 were female: 7 from the traditional department and 10 from the community department. I assume that the response rate from the community department would have matched or surpassed that of the traditional department had the surveys reached their appropriate destinations and if mine was the only survey being conducted at the time.

Research Hypotheses

The statements included on the questionnaire are designed to elicit responses which relate to my hypothesis that police officers who are employed by community policing departments are more likely than those employed by a traditional department to perceive women in policing as positive. Police officers who are employed by a community policing department will also view the elements of the philosophy of community policing as more positive. Police officers within the community police department who are young, have a recent college degree, no military experience, no family members with military and/or police experience and are patrol officers will have a more posi-
tive perception of both women in policing and the community policing philosophy.

**Dependent and Independent Variables**

Each statement on the questionnaire seeks to measure perceptions of the officers on issues related to community and traditional policing, and gender issues regarding women in policing. Thirteen of the statements were grouped as Community Policing (commpol) and twelve as Gender. The commpol group contained statements which reflect both positive and negative perceptions of community policing issues. The gender group contains statements which reflect positive and negative attitudes regarding perceptions of the role of women in policing. The responses were scored from 1-5 (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree). High scores signify more negative perceptions, while low scores signify more favorable perceptions. Several of the statements indicated negative perceptions of women in policing and community policing and others indicated a more positive perception. For example, Policing should focus on law enforcement and not on social service activities. A response of 4 or 5 (strongly agree, agree) on this statement would indicate a negative perception of community policing, while a score of 1-2 (strongly disagree, disagree) would indicate a more positive perception of community policing. On some statements the scoring was reversed. For example, "Community policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community." A response of 4-5 on this statement...
(strongly disagree, disagree) would indicate a negative perception of community policing while a score of 1-2 (strongly agree, agree) would indicate a more positive perception of community policing. The order of the responses remained the same, but the score attached changed depending upon the statement's content.

Independent Variables

The independent variables include several areas which I felt were important in shaping the perceptions of police officers. They are:

1. Sex: (coded as 1= male, 0= female). This variable will help determine the differences and similarities in perceptions between male and female officers. Do male and female officers feel the same about policing philosophies and the role of the female officer?

2. Age: (coded: ages 21-25= 1, 26-30= 2, 31-35= 3, 36-40= 4, 41-45= 5, 46-50= 6, 51-55= 7, 56-60= 8, and 60+ = 9). Twenty-one years of age was selected to begin the age categories. The majority of police departments require prospective officers to be at least 21 years of age in order to serve as a sworn officer with full police powers. Intervals were set at five years because changes in experience and maturity levels are more likely to occur during these time periods. This is based upon the research of Jerome Skolnick (1994) and his working personality of police officers. Sixty-one years was selected as the upper limit in years because the majority of officers, even in administrative positions, will have retired or be close
to retirement at this point.

3. Highest level of education achieved: (coded: high school= 1, Associate's degree [2 yr. degree] = 2, Bachelor's degree= 3, Master's degree= 4. There were no responses indicating a higher level of education beyond a Master's degree) This variable was measured by offering the respondent a choice of several options from high school completion to graduate degrees. Research related to police higher education indicates that officers with a college education tend to be more flexible in their beliefs and less authoritarian (Parker et al., 1976; Roberg, 1978; Trojanowicz & Nicholson, 1976). There is also some evidence suggesting that college-educated officers are not only more aware of social and ethnic problems in their community, but also have a greater acceptance of minorities, (Weiner, 1976).

4. Year of graduation: (coded: 1990s= 1, 1980s =2, 1970s =3, 1960s= 4, and 1950s= 5). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, college curricula began to focus on a broader approach to policing. Four-year curriculums became less practice oriented and more academically based. College criminal justice programs added courses based on the radical perspective and eliminated courses on patrol, traffic, etc. Programs were expanded to include courses on race, gender, victims and related issues. At the same time, criminal justice programs attempted to improve the quality of their faculty, and many from the fields of sociology and other traditional disciplines entered criminal justice programs (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993). This intent of
including this variable in the research was to determine if the de­
cade in which the respondent obtained their degree influenced their
perceptions of the dependent variables commpol and gender.

5. Rank within the police department: Patrol officers were
coded as '0', detectives=1, corporals=2, sergeants=3, lieutenants=4,
captains=5, assistant chiefs=6. Chiefs were not coded since none
participated in the project. This variable was included in an effort
to determine if rank influences perceptions of the two dependent
variables. Administrative personnel are more likely to be involved
in policy-making, personnel evaluation, and other duties which set
them apart from the patrol officer. It is important to discover if
perceptions differ among these two groups particularly because of
their level of power and decision-making authority within the de­
partment. Negative perceptions of women in policing may directly af­
fect hiring and training decisions, promotions, and may even hinder
relationships among officers in the department, and affect the way
in which they respond to those within the community. Patrol officers
on the other hand, may have had the opportunity to work with female
officers thus affecting their perceptions. Male patrol officers are
more likely to work closely with female officers than are adminis­
trators. The day-to-day activities of a patrol officer encompass a
variety of situations. Male officer's who see female officers reac­
tions to highly-charged emotional situations give them an advantage
over supervisors who do not have the same opportunity.

Patrol officers may also have the opportunity to apply the
principles of community policing to their day-to-day activities while the administrator may only verbally commit to the philosophy of community policing. The administrator may be less willing to admit a negative perception of community policing because it is the current trend in policing to be a community-oriented department.

6. Years of police experience (with full police powers): Respondents were asked to write in the actual number of years. This variable will assist in determining if those officers with several years of experience differ in their perceptions from those who have less experience.

7. Years of military experience: Respondents were again asked to write in the actual number of years of military experience. There are similarities between traditional police departments and the military including such issues as chain of command, strict discipline, authority and power, and a war mentality. The military has traditionally been an all-male organization thus, military experience may have an affect on perceptions of women in policing.

8. Family members with police experience: (coded: yes=1, no=0). Family members play an influential role in helping to shape perceptions. If a family member has been, or is a police officer, they may hold strong negative or positive feelings about traditional and community philosophies of policing. These feelings may have been passed on and influenced the family member who is a police officer participating in this study.

9. Family members with military experience: (coded: yes=1, no=0).
0). This variable is similar to the preceding variable and is intended to discover if family members of the military influence perceptions of the participant regarding women in policing and the community policing philosophy.

10. Traditional police department: (coded: 1) or community police department: (coded: 0). The variables of community police department and traditional police department are vital to this study. They will assist in determining if, as a group, the officers employed by the department most closely following the philosophy of community policing perceives women police officers and community policing more favorably than those officers from the traditional department.

Race was not included in the demographics of this research, although recommendations for further research suggest that it should be. I chose not to include race primarily for reasons of confidentiality and also felt that inclusion would bring in other issues which would be beyond the scope of my research.

Related Research Methods

A study conducted in the early 1990s by Mary C. Brown of Spokane, Washington examined male officer's perceptions regarding women on patrol. Her initial work was to develop a scale (The Patrolman's Gender Attitude Scale) which would discriminate between positive and negative attitudes toward women on patrol.

Male officers, with at least one year of patrol experience, with a rank no higher than sergeant who were employed with city,
county, and state police departments in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana were chosen to participate in her project. Approximately 50 command personnel were contacted by letter and sent a sample of the survey, with 16 commanders ultimately being provided questionnaires for the male officers in their departments to complete. The survey consisted of the "Patrolman's Gender Attitude Scale" and other demographic questions. A stamped envelope was provided and participants were asked to return completed questionnaires by mail.

Her survey instrument included fourteen statements: seven negative and seven positive. Once completed, the surveys were scored by inverting negative-item scores to positive-item scores in such away that the higher the total score, the more unaccepting the respondent was of women in patrol work (Brown, 1994).

Although Brown's research covered many of the same issues that I was investigating, I chose to construct a new instrument which better reflected my experience as a police officer, community and traditional policing, as well as specific gender issues.

Brown's research was limited to responses by male patrol officers, while my research sought input from both male and female officers, as well as police administrators. Many of the same issues were however examined. Both Brown's research and mine looked at strength, aggressiveness, leadership, and other issues generally associated with traditional policing methods. My research moved beyond the gender issues to include perceptions of community and traditional policing and explored how these issues may have influenced
perceptions of women as well.

Instrumentation

Statements numbered 1-9, 11, 19, 21 and 25 are grouped together to form "commpol" (community policing category). The statements numbered 10, 12, 13-18, 20, and 22-24 are grouped together to form "gender" (gender category). The "commpol" group of statements contain information on various issues of community policing including the role of the police and training issues. The "gender" group of statements contains information regarding women in policing, including issues related to physical strength and aggressiveness (see Appendix A). "Commpol" will be discussed first, followed by "gender."

Included in the discussion is my rationale behind the creation of each particular statement. The capitalized abbreviated terms in parentheses are the names of each statement which were entered into the data set within SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Commpol (Community Policing Statements)

1. Policing should focus on law enforcement and not on social service activities. (POSLEN) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

This statement is designed to discover perceptions regarding the main focus of policing. The statement is classified as a negative community policing statement, and a high score of 4 or 5 suggests that the respondent favors a law enforcement approach over a social service approach to policing (low score= positive community
2. There should be a separate unit within the police department to deal with social service issues. (SEPSS) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

This statement is designed to discover if the respondent feels that social service issues are separate from the overall activity and mission of the department. A high score of 4 or 5 on this statement would suggest that the respondent feels that social service issues may need to be dealt with separate from the other activities of the department. Social service issues are an important part of any police department and dealing with them in a separate unit suggests that the respondent has not adopted the community policing philosophy (low score = positive community policing, high score = negative community policing).

3. The community policing philosophy is a threat to policing authority. (CPAUTH) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

The community policing philosophy does not remove the need for officers to be law enforcers, but is designed to change attitudes about the role of the police and the way officers view the community. It encompasses traditional methods of policing and places them in a different light; one of partnership and respect with the community. A score of 4 or 5 on this statement may indicate a lack of understanding of the community policing philosophy, while a low score of 1-2 may indicate a clearer understanding of the mission of community policing (low score = positive community policing, high
score= negative community policing).

4. The main focus of police training should be: arrest procedures, weapons use, and defensive skills. (TRNTRAD) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A score of 4 or 5 may indicate that the respondent places a higher priority on enforcement-related tasks than on tasks generally associated with a community policing philosophy, such as communication skills. A score of 1 or 2 suggests that the respondent perceives policing as more social service in it's approach, and feels that training should emphasize those things which prepare an officer to deal effectively with the community (low score= positive community policing, high score= negative community policing).

5. Police training should focus on communication skills and interpersonal relationships. (TRNCOMM) (sa=1, a=2, n=3, d=4, sd=5).

A high score of 4 or 5 suggests that the respondent may be enforcement-oriented, thus indicating an alignment with a more traditional policing philosophy (low score= positive community policing, high score= negative community policing).

6. Community policing is not real police work. (CP) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A high score of 4 or 5 suggests that the respondent feels that real police work involves fighting crime reactively and focusing on those methods which are more closely associated with traditional policing philosophy and strategies. Real police work is often identified with the media portrayals of policing, which often
are not based in reality (low score— positive community policing, high score— negative community policing).

7. Police officers must have an authoritative personality. (AUTHPER) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A high score of 4 or 5 may indicate that the respondent sees his/her role more as an enforcer, thus needing an authoritative presence which generally does not lend itself well to forming partnerships with the residents of the community. An authoritarian personality may command respect, but it may not be the same type of respect gained when the officer views the community as a partner (low score— positive community policing, high score— negative community policing).

8. Traditional policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community. (TRADSTRAT) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A high score of 4 or 5 indicates an alignment with traditional rather than community policing. The respondent who agrees with this statement likely feels that enforcement, arrests, and other traditional strategies are superior to crime prevention efforts and order maintenance issues. A low score of 1-2 suggests a closer alignment with the community policing philosophy (low score— positive community policing, high score— negative community policing).

9. Community policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community. (CPSTRAT) (sa=1, a=2, n=3, d=4, sd=5).

A low score of 1 or 2 would indicate an alignment with community policing, suggesting that order maintenance, building par-
tnerships with the community, and prevention efforts are superior to traditional efforts when dealing with crime. A high score of 4-5 indicates a closer alliance with the traditional policing philosophy (low score= positive community policing, high score= negative community policing).

11. Arresting criminals is the most important job a police officer has to do. (ARRIMP) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A score of 4 or 5 on this statement suggests that the respondent sees arrest as a more important police function than the formation of partnerships with the community and crime prevention efforts (low score= positive community policing, high score= negative community policing).

19. Forming a partnership with the community is the most important goal of a police department. (IMPPART) (sa=1, a=2, n=3, d=4, sd=5).

A low score of 1-2 on this statement suggests that positive relationships with the community should be a number one priority for management, even placing higher than reduction and elimination of crime (low score= positive community policing, high score= negative community policing).

25. SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactics) units, undercover drug operations, and aggressive enforcement tactics are not compatible with the community policing philosophy. (AGGENFCP) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

This statement reflects one of the principle elements of com-
Community policing: officers who are involved in more traditional aggressive enforcement tactics can be successful community police officers. Community policing is considered an attitude; a way of thinking about crime and the community which reflects a respect for the community. Officers who adopt the philosophy of community policing perform their police duties, whatever they may be, under its influence. A low score of 1 or 2 suggests that the respondent has a clear understanding of the philosophy of community policing, while a high score of 4 or 5 indicates that the respondent may not have as clear an understanding of community policing and is more closely aligned with the traditional philosophy (low score—positive community policing, high score—negative community policing).

Gender Group

10. Female officers command more respect in the community than do male officers. (FERESP) (sa=1, a=2, n=3, d=4, sd=5).

A high score (4 or 5) on this statement may indicate that the respondent perceives male officers to be more respected within the community than female officers. This perception may be based on the notion that men, in general, are perceived to be more authoritative than women, and are often the ones who hold positions of power within society, thus commanding more respect (low score—positive gender, high score—negative gender).

12. The most important attribute for a police officer to possess is physical strength. (STRENIMP) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).
A high score (4 or 5) on this statement suggests that the respondent feels that in order to be a police officer, one must possess physical strength; and if women are generally not as physically strong as men, then women should not be traditional police officers. A low score of 1-2 suggests that there are more important attributes for an officer to possess than mere physical strength (low score-positive gender, high score-negative gender).

13. Female police officers are better suited for traditional policing than they are for community policing. (FETRAD) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

This statement was included to assist in reliability of previous responses since it raises an issue which is opposite of what is generally concluded: that men are better suited for traditional policing because of the focus on enforcement, authority, aggressiveness, and physical strength. A low score of 1-2 on this statement suggests that women are better suited for policing strategies which utilize social service approaches rather than reactive enforcement tactics (low score-positive gender, high score-negative gender).

14. Male officers are better suited for community policing than female officers. (MACP) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

Statements #13 & 14 are related in that they attempt to elicit from the respondent a determination as to whether male or female officers are better suited for which of the two policing styles. A low score (1 or 2) on either statement may suggest that the respondent views policing more from a traditional perspective and feels
that male officers are best suited for traditional policing (low score=positive gender, high score=negative gender).

15. More female officers should be hired because many police departments are adopting community policing strategies into their job descriptions. (HIREFE) (sa=1, a=2, n=3, d=4, sd=5).

A high score (4 or 5) on this statement may indicate a more traditional perspective; respondents may feel that it is not necessary to hire more women merely because of these strategies. If the respondent is more traditionally oriented, they may feel that women do not belong in policing for any reason. A low score of 1-2 may indicate a more positive perception of female officers AND the community policing philosophy, as well as see a link between the two (low score=positive gender, high score=negative gender).

16. Female officers are not physically strong enough to handle the rigors of patrol. (FESTREN) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

The issue of physical strength has been one of the defining issues for women in policing. Traditional perceptions of policing see it as an occupation where officers must utilize physical force in order to control a situation. A high score (4 or 5) on this statement suggests that women are still perceived as the weaker sex and are unable to handle the physical stress which accompanies patrol work while a low score of 1-2 suggests that women are physically able to handle the work of a police officer. It may also indicate a more community policing perspective which does not focus on physical attributes as much as it does communication and problem-solving.
skills (low score-positive gender, high score- negative gender).

17. Female officers should not be patrolling high crime areas alone. (FEPAT) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A high score of 4-5 on this statement may indicate that the respondent feels that women need to be protected from potentially serious situations. Men are often viewed as protectors, and women as the ones who need to be protected. Respondents who score high (4 or 5) may feel that female officers should not be exposed to high crime areas, while a low score of 1-2 may indicate that women are capable of handling police situations on their own (low score-positive gender, high score- negative gender).

18. Male officers are more likely than female officers to verbally mediate a dispute than to use physical force. (MAMED) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

This statement deals with the traditional stereotype that men are more aggressive than women, thus they may be more inclined to use physical force to control certain situations, rather than choosing verbal strategies. A low score of 1-2 may suggest the more traditional view that men are more likely to resort to the use of physical force over verbal strategies, while a high score of 4-5 suggests a less traditional view of how male and female officers handle disputes (low score - negative gender, high score- positive gender).

20. Participation in SWAT and undercover drug units should be restricted to male officers. (SWATMA) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

A high score of 4 or 5 on this statement suggests that the
respondent feels that women should not participate in activities which are perceived to be highly stressful and dangerous such as SWAT and undercover operations. This may be related to the view that women may not be emotionally or physically able to deal with activities such as these. A low score of 1-2 indicates a more positive view of female officer abilities in that they can deal with all aspects of policing (low score—positive gender, high score—negative gender).

22. Participation in community crime prevention efforts should be restricted to female officers. (FCRMPREV) (sa—5, a—4, n—3, d—2, sd—1).

A high score of 4 or 5 on this statement indicates that female officers are best suited for police activities which do not involve potentially dangerous situations. Crime prevention activities are generally viewed as less stressful and dangerous than patrol and response to calls for service. A low score of 1-2 may suggest that both men and women should be involved in crime prevention, and not be restricted to either sex (low score—positive gender, high score—negative gender).

23. Women who become police officers are doing so in order to be in a position of authority over men (FEAUTH) (sa—5, a—4, n—3, d—2, sd—1).

This statement is extreme, but was included in order to discover if any of the respondents feel that women who choose policing as a career do so to be in a position where they are able to exert
power and control over men. A high score of 4 or 5 suggests that the respondent feels that women become police officers in order to gain control rather than to fight crime and assist the community. A low score of 1-2 suggests that the respondent feels that women become police officers for more appropriate reasons (low score—positive gender, high score—negative gender).

24. Men make better police officers because they are more aggressive than women. (MENAGG) (sa=5, a=4, n=3, d=2, sd=1).

Aggressiveness is sometimes considered to be an important attribute for police officers to possess so that they are able to take charge of situations. Gender stereotypes often label men as the "aggressor" rather than women in our society. A high score of 4 or 5 would indicate that men make better officers because of their aggressive attributes, while a low score of 1-2 suggests that aggressiveness does not make for a better police officer and that there are more important attributes used to evaluate police officers (low score—positive gender, high score—negative gender).

Analysis

The major purpose of this research is to discover if there is a relationship between the philosophy of the police department from which a respondent is associated, and their perceptions on community policing and women in policing. In order to evaluate the collected data, I ran the following analysis: frequencies, percentages, Cramer's V and Chi-square for my bivariate relationships; and multiple
regression for my multivariate relationships. Cramer's V and chi-square were run in order to determine the significance and strength of a particular relationship. For example, what would be the significance and strength of the relationship between the traditional police department and perceptions of women in policing?

I then ran stepwise multiple regression in order to determine the total variation in my dependent variable categories (comm-pol and gender) which could be explained by the independent variables: sex, age, education, rank, military experience, family members in policing, family members in the military, and department number (1-traditional, 0-community). This process was set up with my dependent variables listed as "comm-pol and gender" and the group of independent variables entered in a stepwise process in order to determine which of these independent variables are the best predictors of the change in the dependent variables. The results of these procedures and their significance will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter will report and discuss demographic findings, report and discuss the findings of each statement contained within the instrument, and report and discuss the results of the Chi-square, Cramer's V, and multiple regression analysis. The final section of this chapter will offer interpretations of the research including integration of the literature presented in Chapter II.

Demographic Characteristics

Each department employs approximately 250 sworn personnel. A total of 150 officers participated in the project. Eighty-two officers responded from the traditional department and sixty-six from the community department. Of the 150 surveys returned, 148 were used in this project (two were not used due to incomplete demographic information). The low response number was the result of several factors (the issues surrounding the low response rate were discussed in Chapter III).

Sex

The majority of the respondents were male patrol officers. 88.1% of the total number of respondents (both departments) were male, while 11.9% were female. In both departments, the percentage...
of female officers employed corresponds with the national average of 8-9%. Of the 148 respondents, 17 were female. Seven females responded from the traditional department, and ten from the community department (see Table 1).

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50.30%</td>
<td>37.80%</td>
<td>88.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4.90%</td>
<td>7.00%</td>
<td>11.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50.3% of the male respondents and 4.9% of the female respondents were from the traditional department. 37.8% of the male respondents and 7% of the female respondents were from the community department. (There were 5 missing cases from this category.)

Age

According to Table 2, 29.6% of the total respondents (both departments) were aged 26-30 years; 19.7% aged 31-35; 14.8% aged 41-45; 12% aged 36-40; 10.6% aged 46-50; 5.6% aged 51-55; 4.9% aged 21-25; and 2.8% aged 56-60 years. (There were 6 missing cases in this category.)

2.8% of the respondents from the traditional department were between the ages of 21-25; 16.2% between the ages of 26-30; 10.6%
between 31-35 years; 5.6% between 36-40 years; 8.5% between 41-45 years; 4.9% between 46-50 years; 3.5% between 51-55 years; and 2.8% between 56-60 years.

Table 2
Age of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-24 yrs.</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>2.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30 yrs.</td>
<td>16.20%</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35 yrs.</td>
<td>10.60%</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40 yrs.</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-45 yrs.</td>
<td>8.50%</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-50 yrs.</td>
<td>4.90%</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-55 yrs.</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
<td>2.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-60 yrs.</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1% of respondents from the community department were between the ages of 21-25; 13.4% between 26-30 years; 9.2% between 31-35 years; 6.3% between 36-40 years; 6.3% between 41-45 years; 5.6% between 45-50 years; 2.1% between 51-55 years; none in the 56-60 range.

Education

Table 3 refers to the educational levels completed. 23.1% listed High School as their highest level of education completed; 33.6% an Associate's Degree; 39.9% a Bachelor's Degree; and 2.8% a Master's Degree.

High school was the highest level of education completed for 19.6% of the respondents from the traditional department; 20.3%
Associate's degree; 14% Bachelor's degree; .7% Master's degree. High school was the highest level of education completed for 3.5% of the respondents from the community department; 13.3% Associate's degree; 25.9% Bachelor's degree; and 2.8% Master's degree. (There were 5 missing cases from this category.)

Table 3

Highest Level of Education Completed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>19.60%</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's Degree</td>
<td>20.30%</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
<td>25.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Year of Graduation

In the traditional department, 11.1% who listed high school as their highest level of education completed, graduated in the 1990's; 37% in the 1980's; 14.8% in the 1970's; 11.1% in the 1960's; and 7.4% in the 1950's. In the community department there were no high school graduates in the 1990's; 7.4% from the 1980's; 7.4% from the 1970's; 3.7% from the 1960's; and none from the 1950's (see Table 4).

According to Table 5, 12.5% of respondents from the traditional department who completed an Associate's degree graduated in the 1990's; 18.8% in the 1980's; 18.8% in the 1970's; and 3.1% in the 1960's. In the community department, 12.5% completed their Asso-
ciate's in the 1990's; 12.5% in the 1980's; 12.5% in the 1970's; and 9.4% in the 1960's.

Table 4
Year of Graduation: High School Degree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Graduation</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>11.10%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>37.00%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>14.80%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>11.10%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
Year of Graduation: Associate's Degree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Graduation</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>18.80%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>18.80%</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.9% of respondents from the traditional department completed their Bachelor's degree in the 1990's; 9.1% in the 1980's; 4.5% in the 1970's; and none from the 1960's. In department two; 34.1% completed their Bachelor's degree in the 1990's; 18.2% in the 1980's; 15.9% in the 1970's; and 2.3% in the 1960's (see Table 6).

In the traditional department, the respondent with a Master's
degree obtained their degree in the 1990's, and in the community department, one respondent obtained their Master's in the 1980's, the other in the 1970's.

Table 6

Year of Graduation: Bachelor's Degree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Graduation</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>15.90%</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
<td>18.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
<td>15.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rank Within Department

According to Table 7, 36.5% of the total respondents listed patrol officer as their rank; 27% corporal; 7.8% detective; 16.5% sergeant; 8.7% lieutenant; 2.6% captain; and .9% listed assistant chief. There were 33 missing cases, (22.3% did not respond to this question).

In the traditional department, 16.5% listed their rank as patrol officer; 27% corporal; 10.4% as sergeant; 5.2% as lieutenant; and 2.6% as captain. In the community department, 20% listed patrol; 7.8% detective; 6.1% sergeant; 3.5% lieutenant; and .9% assistant chief.

Years of Police Experience (With Full Police Powers)

According to Table 8, 29.7% of the total respondents had five
years or less of police experience; 24.1% five and one half years to ten years of experience; 14.8% eleven to fifteen years of experience; 11.2% sixteen to twenty years of experience; 12.8% twenty-one to twenty-five years of experience; 5.6% twenty-six to thirty years of experience; and 1.4% over thirty years of police experience. In the traditional department, 19.6% had from zero to five years police experience; 11.2% from 5.5 years to ten years experience; 7% between eleven and fifteen years; 3.5% sixteen to twenty years; 9.2% twenty-one to twenty-five years; and 2.8% twenty-six to thirty years. In the community department, 9.8% had five years or less of police experience; 12.6% 5.5 years to ten years experience; 7.7% eleven to fifteen years; 7.7% sixteen to twenty years; 3.5% twenty-one to twenty-five years; 2.8% twenty-six to thirty years police experience; and one respondent from department one had 32 years of police experience.

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrol</td>
<td>16.50%</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detective</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>27.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>5.20%</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asst. Chief</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8

Years of Police Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Police Experience</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 yrs.</td>
<td>19.60%</td>
<td>9.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5-10 yrs.</td>
<td>11.20%</td>
<td>12.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 yrs.</td>
<td>7.00%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 yrs.</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25 yrs.</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30 yrs.</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Military Experience

According to Tables 9 and 10, 73.1% had no military experience and 26.9% had military experience. 36.6% of the respondents from the traditional department had no military experience, and 17.9% reported having military experience. In the community department, 36.6% had no military experience, and 9% had military experience.

Family Members With Police Experience

According to Table 11, 36.4% had family members who had police experience and 63.6% did not have family members with police experience. 19.6% of respondents from the traditional department had family members with police experience and 35% did not have family members with police experience. In the community department, 16.8% had family members with police experience and 28.7% did not have family members with police experience.
Table 9

Military Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military Experience</th>
<th>Traditional Community Department</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36.60%</td>
<td>36.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17.90%</td>
<td>9.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

Years of Military Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Military Experience</th>
<th>Traditional Community Department</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>67.10%</td>
<td>80.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 years</td>
<td>20.50%</td>
<td>13.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>9.60%</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 plus years</td>
<td>2.70%</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11

Family Members With Police Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Members in Policing</th>
<th>Traditional Community Department</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>19.60%</td>
<td>16.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>35.00%</td>
<td>28.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family Members With Military Experience

According to Table 12, 74.8% had family members with military experience and 24.5% did not have family members with military ex-
experience. In the traditional department, 44.8% of the respondents had family members with military experience and 9.8% did not. 30.1% of the respondents from the community department reported having family members with military experience and 14.7% did not.

Table 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Members in Military</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>44.80%</td>
<td>30.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9.80%</td>
<td>14.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion of Demographics Findings

Table 1 reports the percentages of male and female officers who responded to the survey from each department. Overwhelmingly, participants were male with only about 12% being female. This is typical among the majority of police departments where the average percentage of women in policing is 8-9%. Each department has approximately 20 female officers, but due to confidentiality issues it was decided that exact numbers would not be revealed. I would have preferred to have more female involvement in this project, but because of distribution problems (discussed in Chapter III) and the voluntary nature of the study, this was not accomplished.

Table 2 reports the distribution of age throughout each department. The officers from the traditional department tend to be
younger than the officers in the community department which may influence their perceptions regarding the community policing philosophy and women in policing. Classroom demographics, based on my college teaching experience, reflect a larger number of females in policing classes than I observed as a policing student in the mid to late 1980's. These two issues may play a role in shaping the perceptions of younger officers.

Table 3 reports the highest level of education completed by participants. The community department shows a significantly higher level of education than the participants from the traditional department. I feel that this plays a significant role in shaping police officer perceptions. The nature of the college experience exposes prospective officers to issues of diversity as well as offering a broader approach to the study of policing than what may be obtained from other sources, such as the military, police academy, and high school experience. The fact that the community department reflects a higher level of education among its officers is likely related to the recruitment and selection practices of the department.

It is not uncommon for applications for police employment to list a high school diploma as the minimum requirement. Although this is stated, many departments will not consider anyone who does not have at least 60 credit hours of college. The community department 2 is very selective in terms of the qualifications required of their officers, and Table 3 shows the results of their selection process.
Several studies have explored the issue of a college education upon police officer perceptions including Kathryn Golden (1981), Roberg (1978), Miller and Fry (1978), Parker, Donnelly, Gerwitz, Marcus, and Kowalewski (1976), Weiner (1976), Dalley (1975), Guller (1972), and Smith, Locke, Walker (1968). These studies indicate that higher education does impact upon perceptions, particularly those involving authoritarianism. Dalley found that authoritarian attitudes correspond with a lack of college education and increased work experience. Parker et al., (1976) found that college-educated officers tend to be more flexible and less authoritarian in their beliefs. Evidence also suggests that college-educated officers are more aware of social and ethnic problems in the community, but also have a greater acceptance of minorities (Weiner, 1976). The greater percentage of college-educated officers in department 2 suggests that the perceptions of these officers have been shaped to a greater degree by higher education than those officers from department 1. It also suggests that the traditional department is not as concerned about education as a requirement for employment as is the community department.

Tables 4, 5 and 6 report the decade from which the respondents from both departments graduated. Table 4 reported the year of graduation for those whose highest level of education was a high school diploma. Table 5 reported the year of graduation for those with Associate’s degrees, and Table 6 reported the year of graduation for those with a Bachelor’s degree. This variable was not used
in the analysis due to coding problems and lack of an appropriate number of responses.

Table 7 reports the distribution of rank within each department. Corporals and patrol officers were represented by the greatest numbers and are considered the two of the lowest ranks within the department (sworn personnel), with detectives also considered of lower rank. Officers in the lower ranks represented the greatest number of respondents. The traditional department had the higher number of officers ranking sergeant and above (21). The community policing department had 12 officers who responded at sergeant and above. Rank may play an important role in shaping perceptions. Officers who have attained higher ranking within the department are generally older and have more years of police experience. Their perceptions may be influenced by their status and decision-making responsibilities along with their years of experience. As discussed in Chapter III, if administrators have negative perceptions about community policing, this will likely affect policy decisions which guide the philosophy of the department. On the other hand, if administrators have positive perceptions regarding women in policing, this may result in increased efforts at recruitment and selection of female officers. The lower-ranking male officers who hold negative perceptions about women in policing may create a poor working environment for female officers. The results may be reflected in delayed back-up for female officers who need assistance, sexual harassment, and other behaviors which are intended to show the women.
that they are not wanted or accepted. This may likely occur more frequently in traditional, male-dominated police departments where male officers have not had the opportunity to work directly with female and buy into myths and stereotypes regarding female officers.

According to Susan Martin, overt expressions of hostility are less common today, but supervisors still tend to keep new women from the busiest beats, and partners tend to protectively seize the initiative. Women that object to such treatment are often labeled bitches or unfeminine. Administrators who hold much of the power within a police department can directly influence the working environment for both male and female officers, and can direct the department towards traditional or community policing.

Table 8 reports the number of years of police experience. The majority of officers from both departments have between 0-10 years of experience. The traditional department's officers have less police experience than the community policing officers. Years of police experience can play a role in shaping perceptions due to the daily exposure to the negative aspects of life. Police cynicism is a problem with officers as they accumulate years of experience. I have observed this phenomenon during my career as a police officer. Some of these officers lose their hope of ever making a difference and tend to put in their time until retirement.

Tables 9 and 10 report whether the respondent had military experience, and if so, how many years. The traditional department has more officers with military experience. Of the officers who re-
ported military experience, officers from the traditional department had more years of military experience compared to the community officers who reported military experience. This is especially important in regard to examining and evaluating perceptions. The military experience tends to be very regimented and teaches a particular method of dealing with conflict. Often, those who are in the military choose to be in order to finance their college education. These individuals may or may not have had the opportunity to attend college before becoming employed as police officers. Their military experience may have played a role in shaping their perceptions of what policing is all about and the role of women in policing. With the recent controversies over women in the military and the related issues, even younger officers may have been influenced by their military experience. Older officers with military experience may have stronger negative perceptions about women in policing because of a lack of interaction with women in positions of authority (such as police officers or soldiers).

Tables 11 and 12 report whether the respondent has/had family members with either police or military experience. The traditional department had more family members with military and police experience compared to the community department. Much of the influence on the perceptions of the respondents here would depend upon the strength of relationships within the family. A family situation in which, for example, the daughter has a positive relationship with her father who has military experience, may directly influence her
perceptions of what policing is about (in this case, a more traditional approach to policing) it may also influence her as to whether or not she would even decide to enter policing (if the father holds more traditional beliefs). Another example may be mother's influence upon her son where the relationship is poor. The mother may have been a police officer and the relationship between this mother and her son may have been a negative one. The son may carry these feelings and they may in turn influence his perceptions of the women police officers with whom he works in a police department. There are a variety of situations where the influence of family may play a significant role, again, depending upon the strength of the relationships within that family. Future research considerations should ask about the relationship of military experience and parental influence.

Findings: Responses to Commpol and Gender

As discussed in Chapter III, commpol and gender are the two categories which contained Lickert-scaled statements related to positive or negative perceptions of community policing and positive or negative perceptions of women in policing. The higher the number (1-5) the more negative the respondent towards community policing and women in policing; the lower the number, the more positive the respondent towards community policing and women in policing. Department one’s mean response for the category commpol was 3.0680 and the mean response for department two was 2.7063.

In regard to the gender category, department one’s mean re-
response was 2.5433 and department two's mean response was 2.2985.

Community Policing Category (Commpol)

As seen in Table 13 regarding the POSLEN statement, "Policing should focus on law enforcement and not on social service activities," 8.5% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 12.2% disagreed; 23.2% were neutral; 31.7% agreed; and 24.4% strongly agreed. In the community department: 6.2% strongly disagreed; 29.2% disagreed; 12.3% were neutral; 35.4% agreed; and 16.9% strongly agreed.

Table 13
Policing Should Focus on Law Enforcement and Not on Social Service Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>8.50%</td>
<td>6.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>12.10%</td>
<td>29.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>23.20%</td>
<td>12.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>31.70%</td>
<td>35.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>16.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 14 regarding the SEPSS statement, "There should be a separate unit within the police department to deal with social service issues," 6.1% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 14.6% disagreed; 15.9% were neutral; 36.6% agreed; and 26.8% strongly agreed. In the community department 9.2% strongly disagreed; 36.9% disagreed; 15.4%
were neutral; 27.7% agreed; and 10.8% strongly agreed.

### Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>9.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>36.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>15.90%</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>36.60%</td>
<td>27.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>26.80%</td>
<td>10.80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 15 regarding the CPAUTH statement, "The community policing philosophy is a threat to police authority," 14.6% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 36.6% disagreed; 31.7% were neutral; 11% agreed; and 6.1% strongly agreed. In the community department: 25.8% strongly disagreed; 53% disagreed; 16.7% were neutral; 3% agreed; and 1.5% strongly agreed.

As seen in Table 16, regarding the TRNTRAD statement, "The main focus of police training should be: arrest procedures, weapons use, and defensive skills," 6.1% of respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed; 24.4% disagreed; 15.9% were neutral; 29.3% agreed; and 24.4% strongly agreed. In the community department; 7.7% strongly disagreed; 43.1% disagreed; 10.8% were neutral; 30.8% agreed; and 7.7% strongly agreed.
Table 15
The Community Policing Philosophy Is a Threat to Police Authority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>36.60%</td>
<td>53.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>31.70%</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>11.00%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16
The Main Focus of Police Training Should Be: Arrest Procedures, Weapons Use and Defensive Skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>43.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>15.90%</td>
<td>10.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>29.30%</td>
<td>30.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 17 regarding the TRNCOMM statement, "Police training should focus mainly on communication skills and interpersonal relationships," 4.9% of respondents from the traditional department strongly agreed with this statement; 30.5% agreed; 25.6% were neutral; 31.7% disagreed; and 7.3% strongly disagreed. In the community department 9.1% strongly agreed; 30.3% agreed; 25.8% were neutral; 31.8% disagreed; and 3% strongly disagreed.
Table 17

Police Training Should Focus Mainly on Communication Skills and Interpersonal Relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>31.70%</td>
<td>31.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25.60%</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>30.50%</td>
<td>30.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>4.90%</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 18 regarding the CP statement, "Community policing is not real police work," 8.6% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 40.7% disagreed; 29.6% were neutral; 12.3% agreed; and 8.6% strongly agreed. In the community department: 12.1% strongly disagreed; 66.7% disagreed; 9.1% were neutral; 7.6% agreed; and 4.5% strongly agreed.

Table 18

Community Policing Is Not Real Police Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>12.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>40.70%</td>
<td>66.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>29.60%</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>12.30%</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>8.60%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As seen in Table 19 regarding the AUTHPER statement, "Police officers must have an authoritative personality," 3.7% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 20.7% disagreed; 17.1% were neutral; 42.7% agreed; and 15.9% strongly agreed. In the community department 9.1% strongly disagreed; 39.4% disagreed; 13.6% were neutral; 31.8% agreed; and 6.1% strongly agreed.

Table 19
Police Officers Must Have an Authoritative Personality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>20.70%</td>
<td>39.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>17.10%</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>42.70%</td>
<td>31.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>15.90%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 20 regarding the TRADSTRA statement, "Traditional policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community," 3.7% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 24.4% disagreed; 29.3% were neutral; 29.3% agreed; and 13.4% strongly agreed. In the community department 9.1% strongly disagreed; 30.3% disagreed; 33.3% were neutral; 25.8% agreed; and 1.5% strongly agreed.

As seen in Table 21 regarding the CPSTRAT statement, "Community policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the
community,* 8.9% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 30.9% disagreed; 35.8% were neutral; 21% agreed; and 3.7% strongly agreed. In the community department, 4.5% strongly disagreed; 36.4% disagreed; 36.4% were neutral; 18.2% agreed; and 4.5% strongly agreed.

Table 20

Traditional Policing Strategies Are the Best Way to Deal With Crime in the Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>9.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>30.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>29.30%</td>
<td>33.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>29.30%</td>
<td>25.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21

Community Policing Strategies Are the Best Way to Deal With Crime in the Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>8.90%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>30.90%</td>
<td>36.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>35.80%</td>
<td>36.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>21.00%</td>
<td>18.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 22 regarding the ARRIMP statement, "Arresting criminals is the most important job a police officer has to do,"
7.3% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 45.1% disagreed; 24.4% were neutral; 17.1% agreed; and 6.1% strongly agreed. In the community department 15.4% strongly disagreed; 55.4% disagreed; 7.7% were neutral; 18.5% agreed; and 3.1% strongly agreed.

Table 22
Arresting Criminals is the Most Important Job a Police Officer Has to Do

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>45.10%</td>
<td>55.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>17.10%</td>
<td>18.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 23 regarding the IMPPART statement, "Forming a partnership with the community is the most important goal of a police department," 13.4% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly agreed with this statement; 41.5% agreed; 23.2% were neutral; 17.1% disagreed; and 4.9% strongly disagreed. In the community department 16.9% strongly agreed; 53.8% agreed; 18.5% were neutral; and 10.8% disagreed. There were no "strongly disagreed" responses from the community department.

As seen in Table 24 regarding the CPHICRIM statement, "Community policing strategies work best in high crime, urban areas," 20.7% of the respondents from the traditional department agreed with
this statement; 32.9% were neutral; 32.9% disagreed; and 13.4% strongly disagreed. In the community department: 14.1% agreed; 34.4% were neutral; 45.3% disagreed; and 6.3% strongly disagreed. There were no strongly agree responses from either department.

Table 23
Forming a Partnership With the Community Is the Most Important Goal of a Police Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>4.90%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>17.10%</td>
<td>10.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>23.20%</td>
<td>18.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>41.50%</td>
<td>53.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>16.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24
Community Policing Strategies Work Best in High Crime, Urban Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>32.90%</td>
<td>45.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>32.90%</td>
<td>34.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>20.70%</td>
<td>14.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in Table 25 regarding the AGGENFCP statement, "SWAT units, undercover drug operations, and aggressive enforcement tactics are not compatible with the community policing philosophy."
23.2% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 42.7% disagreed; 13.4% were neutral; 11% agreed; and 9.8% strongly agreed. In the community department 27.7% strongly disagreed; 49.2% disagreed; 10.8% were neutral; 12.3% agreed. There were no strongly agree responses on this statement from the community department.

Table 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWAT Units, Undercover Drug Operations, and Aggressive Enforcement Tactics Are Not Compatible With the Community Policing Philosophy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender Category (Gender)

According to Table 26 regarding the FERESP statement, "Female officers command more respect in the community than do male officers," 6.1% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly agreed with this statement; 9.8% agreed; 22% were neutral; 39% disagreed; and 23.2% strongly disagreed. In the community department: 4.5% strongly agreed; 16.7% agreed; 24.2% were neutral; 47% disagreed; and 7.6% strongly disagreed.
Table 26
Female Officers Command More Respect in the Community Than Do Male Officers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>23.20%</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>39.00%</td>
<td>47.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>22.00%</td>
<td>24.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>9.80%</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>4.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 27 regarding the STRENIMP statement, "The most important attribute for a police officer to possess is physical strength," 6.1% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement: 57.3% disagreed; 19.5% were neutral; 13.4% agreed; and 3.7% strongly agreed. In the community department: 24.6% strongly disagreed; 52.3% disagreed; 15.4% were neutral; and 7.7% agreed. There were no strongly agree responses from the community department on this statement.

According to Table 28 regarding the FETRAD statement, "Female police officers are better suited for traditional policing than they are for community policing," 18.3% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 56.1% disagreed; 23.2% were neutral; 2.4% agreed. There were no strongly agree responses from the traditional department. In the community department: 16.7% strongly disagreed; 59.1% disagreed; 24.2% were neutral; and there were no agree or strongly agree responses from
the community department.

Table 27

The Most Important Attribute for a Police Officer to Possess is Physical Strength

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>24.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>57.30%</td>
<td>52.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>19.50%</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>7.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28

Female Officers Are Better Suited for Traditional Policing Than They Are for Community Policing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>18.30%</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>56.10%</td>
<td>59.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>23.20%</td>
<td>24.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 29 regarding the MACP statement, "Male officers are better suited for community policing than female officers," 8.5% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 54.9% disagreed; 29.3% were neutral; 4.9% agreed; and 2.4% strongly agreed. In the community department: 18.2% strongly disagreed; 59.1% disagreed; 18.2% were
neutral; 3% agreed; and 1.5% strongly agreed.

Table 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Officers Are Better Suited for Community Policing Than Female Officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 30 regarding the HIREFE statement, "More female officers should be hired because many police department are adopting community policing strategies into their job descriptions," 2.4% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly agreed with this statement; 14.6% agreed; 26.8% were neutral; 41.5% disagreed; and 14.6% strongly disagreed. In the traditional department there were no strongly agree responses; 3% agreed; 27.3% were neutral; 48.5% disagreed; and 21.2% strongly disagreed.

According to Table 31 regarding the FESTREN statement, "Female officers are not physically strong enough to handle the rigors of patrol," 11.1% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 46.9% disagreed; 16% were neutral; 18.5% agreed; and 7.4% strongly agreed. In the community department 19.7% strongly disagreed; 48.5% disagreed; 13.6% were neutral; 16.7% agreed; and 1.5% strongly agreed.
Table 30
More Female Officers Should Be Hired Because Many Police Departments Are Adopting Community Policing Strategies Into Their Job Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>21.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>41.50%</td>
<td>48.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>26.80%</td>
<td>27.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31
Female Officers Are Not Physically Strong Enough to Handle the Rigors of Patrol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>11.10%</td>
<td>19.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>46.90%</td>
<td>48.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>16.00%</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>18.50%</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>7.40%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 32 regarding the FEPAT statement, "Female officers should not be patrolling high crime areas alone," in the traditional department 8.5% strongly disagreed with this statement: 45.1% disagreed; 18.3% were neutral; 13.4% agreed; and 14.6% strongly agreed. In the community department 18.2% strongly disagreed; 53% disagreed; 6.1% were neutral; 16.7% agreed; and 6.1% strongly agreed.

Regarding Table 33 regarding the MAMED statement, "Male of-
officers are more likely than female officers to verbally mediate a dispute than to use physical force. 8.5% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 46.3% disagreed; 25.6% were neutral; 14.6% agreed; and 4.9% strongly agreed. In the community department 10.8% strongly disagreed; 58.5% disagreed; 26.2% were neutral; and 4.6% agreed. There were no strongly agree responses from the community department on this statement.

Table 32
Female Officers Should Not Be Patrolling High Crime Areas Alone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>8.50%</td>
<td>18.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>45.10%</td>
<td>53.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>18.30%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33
Male Officers Are More Likely Than Female Officers to Verbally Mediate a Dispute Than to Use Physical Force

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>8.50%</td>
<td>10.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>46.30%</td>
<td>58.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25.60%</td>
<td>26.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>4.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>4.90%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Table 34 regarding the SWATMA statement, "Participation in SWAT and undercover drug units should be restricted to male officers," 22% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 52.4% disagreed; 12.2% were neutral; 7.3% agreed; and 6.1% strongly agreed. In the community department 46% strongly disagreed; 46% disagreed; 6.3% were neutral; and 1.6% agreed. There were no strongly agree responses on this statement from the community department.

Table 34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>22.00%</td>
<td>46.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>52.40%</td>
<td>46.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>12.20%</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 35 regarding the FCRMPREV statement, "Participation in community crime prevention efforts should be restricted to female officers," 24.4% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 59.8% disagreed; 11% were neutral; 3.7% agreed; and 1.2% strongly agreed. In the community department: 38.5% strongly disagreed; 55.4% disagreed; and 6.2% were neutral. There were no agree or strongly agree responses on this statement from the community department.
Table 35

Participation in Community Crime Prevention Efforts Should Be Restricted to Female Officers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Department</th>
<th>Community Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>24.40%</td>
<td>38.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>59.80%</td>
<td>55.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>11.00%</td>
<td>6.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 36 regarding the FEAUTH statement, "Women who become police officers are doing so in order to be in a position of authority over men," 34.1% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 47.6% disagreed; 13.4% were neutral; 1.2% agreed; and 3.7% strongly disagreed. In the community department 36.9% strongly disagreed; 50.8% disagreed; 12.3% were neutral; and there were no agree or strongly agree responses on this statement from the community department.

According to Table 37 regarding the MENAGG statement, "Men make better police officers because they are more aggressive than women," 22.5% of the respondents from the traditional department strongly disagreed with this statement; 50% disagreed; 17.5% were neutral; 6.3% agreed; and 3.8% strongly agreed. In the community department 30.8% strongly disagreed; 47.7% disagreed; 15.4% were neutral; 4.6% agreed; and 1.5% strongly agreed.
Table 36

Women Who Become Police Officers Are Doing so in Order to Be in a Position of Authority Over Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>34.10%</td>
<td>36.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>47.60%</td>
<td>50.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>12.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37

Men Make Better Police Officers Because They Are More Aggressive Than Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>22.50%</td>
<td>30.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>47.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>17.50%</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>6.30%</td>
<td>4.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>3.80%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion of Responses to Survey Questions

The following section will discuss each of the statements which comprise the instrument. The first part of the discussion will focus on the 13 statements which make up the community policing category (commpol), followed by those which make up the category of women in policing (gender). I have combined the strongly disagree and disagree responses into one category (disagree) for reporting.
purposes and also the strongly agree and agree responses into one
category (agree). Neutral will be reported as such. Neutrality on
statements may reflect the respondent's lack of commitment to the
particular issue or may reflect a lack of understanding on their
part.

"Policing should focus on law enforcement and not on social
service activities." This statement sought to discover whether the
respondents perceived policing as primarily a law enforcement fun-
tion rather than a social service function. In the traditional de-
partment, 20.7% disagreed with this statement compared to 35.4% in
the community department.

Typically, community policing departments see their role more
as social service than strictly enforcement, although both functions
are part of the community policing role. The emphasis for the commu-
nity department is on proactive responses to problems, partnership
with the community, and problem-solving. Whereas in the traditional
department, the emphasis is on reactive responses to problems and
law enforcement strategies.

Surprisingly, 52.3% of the community policing department re-
spondents agreed with this statement compared to 56.1% of the tra-
ditional department respondents. This may be the result of training
within the community department which emphasizes community policing
as an umbrella philosophy which does not replace traditional meth-
ods of policing, but enhances them. 23.2% of the respondents from
the traditional department remained neutral on this statement com-
pared to 12.3% from the community department. Neutrality may indicate a lack of understanding of the definition of the policing role.

"There should be a separate unit within the police department to deal with social service issues." This statement was included in order to determine if the respondent viewed social service activities as a separate entity rather than part of the overall mission of policing. 63.4% of the respondents from the traditional department were located within the "agree" category which suggests that they view policing as more enforcement-oriented and feel that other activities involving social service should be separate from the overall police function. 46.1% of the community department respondents disagreed, suggesting that they view social service activities as part of the policing role. It is also possible that they may think social service activities are important enough to have their own unit. My research did not determine which of these were relevant.

The percentage of respondents from the traditional department who remained neutral was 15.9% compared to 15.4% of the community department respondents.

"The community policing philosophy is a threat to police authority." This statement was included in order to determine if the respondents felt that community policing was soft and would not include the use of coercive force in its strategies. In the traditional department 17.1% of the respondents felt that community policing was a threat, in contrast to the community department respondents where only 4.5% agreed with this statement. 78.8% of the commu-
nity department respondents disagreed with this statement compared to 51.2% from the traditional department. 31.7% of the officers from the traditional department remained neutral compared to 16.7% of the community officers. Neutrality here may indicate a lack of understanding of the community policing philosophy. This suggests that the particular philosophy of a department may influence the officer's perception and understanding of the nature of community policing. Properly adopted and implemented, community policing is not a threat to police authority, it merely frames it within a context to reflect more positive attitudes, and in turn offers alternative strategies for accomplishing departmental goals.

"The main focus of police training should be: arrest procedures, weapons use, and defensive skills." This statement reflects the officer's perception of the role of policing; focusing on enforcement-related activities is more common within a traditional-based department. Community-based departments view enforcement-related tasks as important, but the primary focus is not on these activities, rather, they focus upon interpersonal and communication skills. 53.7% of the respondents from the traditional department agreed with this statement, compared to 38.5% of the community department respondents. Disagreement ran 30.5% for the traditional department and 51% for the community department, indicating that those officers from the community department may view other training issues as more important. In regard to those who remained neutral, more officers from the traditional department were neutral as has
been the case on each of the statements thus far. (15.9% traditional v. 10.8% community).

"Police training should focus on communication skills and interpersonal relationships." 39% of the officers from the traditional department disagreed with this statement compared to 34.8% for the community department. Agreement for the traditional department was 35.4% and 39.4% for the community department. The responses on this statement were closer than many of the other responses suggesting that officers from both departments see a need to focus training on both of these areas rather than singling out each one as a major focus. Neutrality for each department was 25% indicating that some officers were not certain if police training should emphasize communication skills and interpersonal relationships above arrest procedures, weapons use, and defensive skills.

"Community policing is not real police work." This statement was also designed to reflect a respondents understanding of the community policing philosophy. Real police work is often considered what is portrayed on the media: pursuits, arrests, gunfights, etc. In reality, police work involves more response to public service calls than actual crimes-in-progress calls (for most jurisdictions, with some major cities being the exception) Community policing should be considered real police work because it's strategies involve a multitude of activities designed to improve the quality of life in the community by reducing crime and developing relationships with the people of the community. 20.9% of the respondents in the
traditional department agreed that community policing is not real police work compared to 12.1% of the community department. 49.3% of the traditional department respondents disagreed, while 78.8% of the community department respondents disagreed. This suggests once again that the officers from the community department who responded to the survey may have a clearer understanding of the community policing philosophy. The high percentage of neutral responses from the traditional department (nearly 30% compared to 9% from the community officers) may indicate a lack of understanding of the community policing philosophy.

"Police officers must have an authoritative personality."
The importance of authority in police work is examined here. 58.6% of the traditional department's officers agreed with this statement. In contrast, 37.7% of the officers in the community department felt that police officers must have an authoritative personality. 48.5% of the officers in the community department disagreed with this statement compared to 24.4% in the traditional department suggesting that being authoritative is an important quality for police officers to possess. Once again, the community department appears to place less emphasis on this personality trait than does the traditional department. 17.1% of the traditional officers remained neutral compared to 13.6% of the community officers.

"Traditional policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community." 42.7% of those from the traditional department agreed with this statement, while 27.3% from the community.
inity department agreed. 39.4% disagreed from the community department and 28.1% from the traditional department. These findings indicate that traditional department police officers who responded are aligned more closely with the traditional policing philosophy than are those officers from the community department. It is interesting to note that more of the community officers remained neutral on this statement than did traditional officers. (33.3% v. 29.3%)

"Community policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community." The findings were not what I expected. 39.8% from the traditional department disagreed with this statement and 40.9% disagreed from the community department. I expected a much larger difference in the responses from the two departments. The neutral responses were much larger for both departments than I found in most of the other statement responses. This may suggest that the responding officers could not adequately evaluate whether community policing strategies are successful in dealing with crime. It is important to note, however, that 22.7% of the community department officers agreed, and 24.7% of officers from the traditional department agreed. Neutral responses from both departments were high with the traditional department reporting 35.8% neutral and the community department reporting 36.4%. This may suggest that officers from both departments have not had the opportunity to review the research on crime control strategies and have not had the opportunity to evaluate what works within their own jurisdictions.

"Arresting criminals is the most important job a police of-
ficer has to do." The findings associated with this statement were also close with 23.2% of the traditional department respondents agreeing and 21.6% of the community department respondents. The traditional department had approximately 3 times as many neutral responses. 52.4% disagreed from the traditional department and 70.8% from the community department which coincides more closely with my anticipations. The traditional department reported 17% neutrality while the community department reported only 7.7%. This suggests that the community department may be more sure of their role as police officers.

"Forming a partnership with the community is the most important goal of a police department." 22% from the traditional department disagreed with this statement compared to 10.8% from the community department (no officers from the community department strongly disagreed). 54.9% from the traditional department agreed, while 70.7% from the community department agreed. These findings suggest that the community department perceives the forming of partnerships as more important than do the officers from the traditional department. This I expected to find, but was somewhat surprised to find that almost 55% of the traditional department's officers felt that community partnerships were important. Surprisingly, 18.5% of the respondents from the community department remained neutral, while 23.2% of the traditional respondents were neutral.

"Community policing strategies work best in high crime, urban areas." The neutral responses were similar between the two depart-
ments; 32.9% and 34.4%. I suggest that proper evaluation has not taken place in regard to community policing strategies and that the officers are unsure as to where these strategies may work best. 20.7% of the traditional department respondents agreed and 14.1% from the community department. This may indicate that the traditional officers do not see a need for community policing throughout the city, but only within these select areas, whereas community police officers may feel that these strategies are appropriate for the entire community. Neutrality was higher for the community officers (34.4%) compared to the traditional officers (32.9%). This may reflect the fact that these officers truly don't know what strategies work in a particular environment due to a lack of research and/or appropriate evaluation.

"SWAT units, undercover drug operations, and aggressive enforcement tactics are not compatible with the community policing philosophy." This final statement found 20.8% from the traditional department and 12.3% agreeing with this statement. 65.9% from the traditional department and 76.9% from the community department disagreed. It appears as though officers from both traditional and community police departments feel that these specialized tasks can be part of a community policing department and are compatible with its philosophy. 13.4% of the traditional officers remained neutral and 10.8% of the community officers were neutral.
Discussion of Gender Category Statements

As discussed in Chapter III, these statements were designed to elicit responses related to police officer perceptions of women in policing. I will discuss each statement separately, indicating my interpretations of the responses. Again, strongly disagree and disagree responses were combined as were strongly agree and agree statements for reporting purposes.

"Female officers command more respect in the community than do male officers." 62.2% of respondents from the traditional department disagreed with this statement suggesting that they may align themselves more closely with traditional perceptions of male superiority and authoritarianism. 54.6% from the community department disagreed as well and may also indicate the same. I did not expect the percentages to be as close as they were. This may be a reflection of the number of female officers in the respective departments and the lack of interaction the male officers have had with female officers. The respondents who remained neutral represented 22% from the traditional department and 24.2% from the community department. These responses may also indicate difficulty in interpreting the statement and that it was not properly stated and could have been worded better.

"The most important attribute for a police officer to possess is physical strength." 17.1% from the traditional department agreed with this statement and 7.7% from the community department. 63.4% from the traditional department disagreed and 76.9% from the commu-
nity department. This suggests that more officers from the traditional department may believe that physical strength is more important than mental or verbal ability. This perception is common even though hiring standards no longer can specify height and weight requirements. Testing procedures do test physical strength, yet many jurisdictions have separate standards for males and females. Physical strength is important in police work, but not as important as the ability to verbally take control of a situation and to think critically. 19.5% of the traditional officers and 15.4% of the community officers remained neutral.

"Female officers are better suited for traditional policing than community policing." There were no respondents from the community department who agreed with this statement, and only 2.4% from the traditional department. 75.8% disagreed from the community department indicating that these officers hold a more traditional view of the role of women in policing than expected. 74.4% from the traditional department disagreed. Both departments were similar in their responses to this statement. Because of the tendencies of females to be more nurturing, compassionate, and sensitive, traditionally women would be placed in a situation where they can effectively utilize these traits. To officers with a more traditional focus, community policing programs may be the best fit, and it appears as though even the community officers hold a similar view. Neutral responses were similar from both departments (23.2% traditional, 24.2% community) indicating the possibility of interpretation pro-
blems or lack of knowledge in this area due to less experience in working with female officers.

"Male officers are better suited for community policing than female officers." 63.4% of the traditional officers and 77.3% of the community officers disagreed with this statement. The statement was intended as a comparison to the previous statement. Only 4.5% of the officers from the community department agreed with this statement and 7.3% from the traditional department. 29.3% of the traditional officers and 18.2% of the community officers remained neutral. The responses to this statement may reflect interpretive problems, but may also indicate that the respondents feel that women are better suited for community policing. This statement warrants further study and possible restating.

"More female officers should be hired because many police departments are adopting community policing strategies into their job descriptions." 17% of the respondents from the traditional department agreed with this statement, while only 3% from the community department agreed. 69.7% disagreed from the community department and 56.1% from the traditional department. This suggests that either more female officers should not be hired for any reason, or that the reason given is not an appropriate justification for hiring more women. This statement was constructed in such a way that it may have been confusing to the participants. Once again, neutral responses were similar for both departments: traditional 26.8% and community 27.3%.
"Female officers are not physically strong enough to handle the rigors of police work." Both departments were similar in their responses suggesting that some of the officers may still hold traditional beliefs regarding the necessity of physical strength for the performance of the job. 58% from the traditional department disagreed with this statement and 68.2% from the community department. The 10% difference suggests that some of the officers from the community department perceive women to have the ability to perform the work of a patrol officer. 25.9% from the traditional department agreed and 18.2% agreed from the community department. 16% of the traditional officers and 13.6% of the community officers remained neutral.

"Female officers should not be patrolling high crime areas alone." The results from this statement may suggest that officers hold traditional views and want to protect women from danger; that is their role as men. On the other hand, these officers may feel that no officer, regardless of sex should be patrolling these areas alone. 53.6% from the traditional department disagreed with this statement and 68.2% from the community department. It is not possible to make an assumption concerning these findings and whether the results are gender-based or officer safety-based. 18.3% from the traditional department and 6.1% from the community department remained neutral. The higher percentage from the traditional department may indicate that these officers preferred not to take a stand on this issue.
Male officers are more likely than female officers to verbally mediate a dispute than to use physical force." 54.8% from the traditional department disagreed and 69.3% from the community department. 19.5% of the respondents from the traditional department agreed with this statement, with only 4.6% from the community department. These findings may reflect the low number of female officers in each department, and because of this the male officers may not have had the opportunity to observe female officers in dispute situations. The findings may also suggest that community police officers see male and female officers as more likely to mediate disputes because of exposure to the community policing philosophy. The high percentage of neutral responses from both departments (25.6% and 26.2%) may indicate interpretation problems due to the complexity of the statement.

"Participation in SWAT and undercover drug units should be restricted to male officers." It is important to note that the community department had no agree or strongly agree responses to this statement, while 13.7% from the traditional department felt that women should not be a part of these units. This suggests that the officers in the traditional department hold more traditional beliefs in regard to gender issues; that women should not be exposed to dangerous situations such as these. 92% of the respondents from the community department disagreed with this statement, and 74.4% disagreed from the traditional department. This may also be the result of the participation of women in roles other than patrol in the
community department. 12.2% of the traditional officers and 6.3% of the community officers remained neutral which suggests that the majority of respondents had definite feelings about this issue.

"Participation in community crime prevention efforts should be restricted to female officers." Once again, the community department had no responses in the strongly agree or agree categories, while the traditional department had 4.9% agreeing with the statement. The majority of responding officers from each department disagreed with this statement indicating that they felt all officers should be involved in these efforts. 11% of the traditional officers and 6.2% of the community officers remained neutral.

"Women who become police officers do so in order to be in a position of authority over men." 4.9% from the traditional department agreed with this statement. There were no responses that agreed with this statement from the community department. 81.7% from the traditional department disagreed and 87.7% from the community department suggesting that these officers feel there are more appropriate reasons why women become police officers. 13.4% of the traditional officers and 12.3% of the community officers remained neutral.

"Men make better police officers because they are more aggressive than women." 10.1% of the responding officers from the traditional department agreed with this statement reflecting a more traditional perception of policing in general and of gender roles. 6.1% from the community department agreed, which I did not expect. 72.5%
from the traditional department disagreed and 78.5% from the community department. These results indicate that the majority of responding officers either do not feel that men are more aggressive, or that men make better police officers. 17.5% from the traditional department and 15.4% from the community department remained neutral. This statement may have caused some interpretation problems for the participants and an accurate interpretation in my part is not possible due to its structure.

Chi-Square and Cramer’s V Analysis

Chi-square and Cramer’s V were run on each of my dependent variables; commpol (the 13 Lickert-scaled statements which comprised my community policing category), and gender (the 12 Lickert-scaled statements which comprised my gender category) with my independent variables: sex, age, education, rank within department, years of police experience, years of military experience, family members in policing, and family members in the military. I also ran each of my independent variables in combination with each other.

The “year of graduation” variable (see Tables 4, 5, 6) reflected the year in which the respondent obtained their degree. It was coded as: 1=graduated in the 1990’s, 2=graduated in the 1980’s, 3=graduated in the 1970’s, 4=graduated in the 1960’s, and 5=graduated in the 1950’s, was not used in analysis due to coding problems and a lack of the number of appropriate cases for an accurate analysis to be conducted.
My dependent variables of commpol and gender were recoded for the Chi-square and Cramer's V analysis. Originally, commpol and gender were reflected as the means of each participants responses to the categories. They were recoded to reflect; low, neutral, and high scores. Commpol became xcompol and was coded: low = 1.0 - 2.9, neutral = 2.91 - 3.0, and high = 3.1 - 5.0. Gender became xgen and was coded the same as xcompol. The instrument itself was Lickert-scaled from 1-5. A high score on the dependent variable reflecting community policing perceptions (xcompol) indicates a negative perception of community policing, while a low score indicates a positive perception. Likewise, a high score on the dependent variable reflecting perceptions of women in policing (xgen) indicates a negative perception of women in policing and a low score indicates a positive perception.

The independent variables of milexp (years of military experience) and polexp (years of police experience) were also recoded for the Chi-square and Cramer's V analysis. Milexp became xmilexp and was coded as: 0.1 - 5.0 years = 1, 5.1 - 10.0 years = 2, 10.1 - 15.0 years = 3, 15.1 - 20.0 years = 4, 20.1 - 25.0 years = 5, 25.1 - 30.0 = 6. Polexp became xpolexp and was coded as: 0 - 5 years = 1, 5.1 - 10.0 years = 2, 10.1 - 15.0 years = 3, 15.1 - 20.0 years = 4, 20.1 - 25.0 years = 5, 25.1 - 30.0 years = 6.

Rank was also recoded to better reflect distribution in the sample. Corporals were not represented in the community policing department, but were in the traditional, as were captains. Likewise,
detectives were not represented in the traditional department but were in the community department. Due to this, I chose to recode my rank variable into a low and high category with patrol officers, detectives, and corporals representing the low rank and sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and assistant chief representing the high ranks. Officers which comprise the lower ranks are generally more closely related in terms of experience and responsibilities. Sergeants and above participate in more supervisory duty than do the lower ranks. Also, it is more likely that the lower ranks will spend the majority of their duty time on the street, while the higher ranks will have less actual street duty due to their status and responsibilities. The recoded variable was renamed "rankhl" and was coded as: patrol officer, detective, corporal = 1 (low rank); sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and assistant chief = 2 (high rank).

Independent Variable-Dependent Variable Analysis

A significant Pearson's Chi-square of 7.295 was indicated with the independent variable "department" (whether the department was traditional or community), and the dependent variable "xcompol". The probability was .026. Cramer's V reported a value of .222 which indicated a weak relationship between these two variables (see Table 38).

Rankhl and xcompol also showed significance at the .05 level (see Table 39). A significant Pearson's Chi-square of 9.889 was reported. Cramer's V reported a score of .295 (which still does not
indicate a particularly strong relationship.)

Table 38
XCOMPOL Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traditional Community</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hi (3)</td>
<td>49% (40)</td>
<td>29% (19)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral (2)</td>
<td>11% (9)</td>
<td>10% (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo (1)</td>
<td>40% (33)</td>
<td>62% (41)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>66 (total: trad &amp; Comm 148)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 7.295  
Cramer’s V = .222  
Probability = .026

Table 39
RANKHL and XCOMPOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rank 1</th>
<th>Rank 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xcompol Hi</td>
<td>49% (40)</td>
<td>19% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xcompol Neutral</td>
<td>11% (9)</td>
<td>9% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xcompol Lo</td>
<td>40% (33)</td>
<td>72% (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 9.889  
Cramer’s V = .295  
Probability = .007

Pearson’s Chi-Square of 12.771 was significant at .047 with the variables education and xgen. Cramer’s V again indicated a weak relationship with a value of .212 (see Table 40).
Table 40

**XGEN Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 High School</th>
<th>2 Associate's</th>
<th>3 Bachelor's</th>
<th>4 Master's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xgen 3 (hi)</td>
<td>6% (2)</td>
<td>21% (10)</td>
<td>4% (2)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xgen 2 (neutral)</td>
<td>6% (2)</td>
<td>12% (6)</td>
<td>7% (4)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xgen 1 (lo)</td>
<td>88% (29)</td>
<td>69% (32)</td>
<td>89% (51)</td>
<td>100% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 12.771  
Cramer's V = .212  
Probability = .047

**Chi-Square and Cramer's V Interpretations**

The xcompol scores were reported as low, neutral, and high in Table 38. The numbers reported are the actual number of respondents who scored in one of the three categories. The traditional department had a total of 33 respondents or 40% who fell into the low category of scores meaning that their responses to the community policing perception category of statements were positive. The community department had 62% of its respondents who fell into the low category. This suggests that the community policing officers perceive the philosophy of community policing more positively than those officers in the traditional department. Those officers who fell into the high category (more negative perception of community policing) numbered 49% in the traditional department and only 29% in the community department. There are several reasons for this. The officers in the community department have been exposed to commu-
nity policing and have been involved in community policing programs in the city, while those in the traditional department lack the experience of participating in community policing strategies and may not have as clear an understanding of what the philosophy is all about.

I feel that it is also important to look at the characteristics of each department, particularly the differences in education. Table 3 shows that the education level of the community department is higher than the traditional. It is likely that the higher educated officers have been exposed to the community philosophy during their educational experience, whereas the traditional officers were more likely to be exposed to a more traditional philosophy in high school and in a two-year college program. According to Table 3, almost 26% of the responding officers in the community department possess a Bachelor's degree. This suggests that they have been exposed to a more diversified curriculum, including exposure to courses which reflect the community policing philosophy. Earlier studies in the mid 1970s found that the higher one's level of education, the more flexible and open their belief system may be. Officers with higher levels of education also showed lower levels of authoritarianism than those officers who were college freshman (Smith et al., 1968; Guller, 1972; Dalley, 1975; Parker et al., 1976; Roberg, 1978). The officers with a higher education were also found to be more aware of social and ethnic problems within their community, thus fitting in well with the community policing philosophy which
seeks to identify and solve community problems.

Military experience is also an important characteristic to examine in regards to the findings from this analysis. According to Tables 9 and 10 nearly 18% of the traditional officers reported having military experience compared to only 9% of the community officers. As discussed earlier, exposure to the military and its emphasis on aggressive tactics and reactive responses to problems may play a role in shaping the perceptions of these police officers who were once soldiers. This soldier mentality may be projected into their work as police officers, thus causing their perceptions of a problem-solving, proactive response to problems to be more negative than those officers without military experience.

The final characteristic which I feel is significant in this analysis is family members with military experience. The strength of the family relationship can play an important role in shaping perceptions. According to Table 12, nearly 45% of the traditional officers reported having family members in the military compared to 30% of the community officers. Depending on the strength and influence of the military members of the family and how they perceived their roles, this characteristic could play a significant role in helping to influence the shaping of perceptions of other family members, particularly those who aspire to be police officers.

The independent variable rank within department (rankhl) and the dependent variable xcompol also reported significance, although the relationship was reported as weak. 40% of the low ranking offi-
cers scored low on xcompol and 72% of the high ranking officers scored low on xcompol indicating positive perceptions of community policing. 49% of the officers in the low ranks scored high on xcompol, while only 19% high ranking officers scored high. This indicates that officers in the lower ranks have more negative perceptions of community policing than the higher ranking officers (taking into account the 31 corporals who represent the traditional department). This may suggest that the higher ranking officers have had more exposure to the community policing philosophy, possibly required to attend conferences on the subject. Also, higher ranking officers may have more opportunity to research community policing thus resulting in more positive perceptions. It is also possible that political correctness influences these higher ranking officers to respond more favorably to community policing.

The gender category (xgen) scores were also reported as low, neutral, and high. In the analysis, the independent variable education was found to be significant with xgen. 80% of the officer's who held a college degree (coded as 2, 3, 4 combined) scored in the low category indicating that they feel more positively about women in policing than those officers who have only a high school education. The fifty-one officers with a Bachelor's degree (89%) represented the largest number who felt more positive about women in policing. Officers holding an Associate's degree represented the largest number (21%) scoring high on xgen suggesting that they perceive women in policing more negatively. It may be that the level
of education an officer has achieved will affect their perceptions of both dependent variables (xcompol and xgen). In regard to xgen, only 4% of the officers holding a Bachelor's degree scored high or held negative perceptions of women in policing. In comparing the curriculum of a two-year program and a four-year program, significant differences can be identified. The two-year program generally is more practice-oriented when compared to a four-year program which is more academically based (Roberg, 1993, p. 355). Two-year programs generally emphasize patrol operations (traffic stops, pursuits), firearms training, precision driving skills, criminal investigation, and defensive tactics. (This reflects my experience in a two-year law enforcement program.) Four-year programs are more likely to emphasize communication skills, crime causation, problem-solving, ethics, and critical thinking. This exposure may have a significant influence on shaping student perceptions. Because of the differences between the two and four-year programs, students may develop differing views on the role of the police in society as well as their views on the appropriateness of women in policing. Because many of the two-year programs are "practice-oriented" there may be more males involved and females will not be highly represented. On the other hand, a four-year program which involves a theoretical approach may attract more females thus bringing more diversity.

Several of the independent variables that were related to one another do not warrant discussion. This is due to the fact that they are not related to my research inquiries, therefore are fairly mean-
ingless for purposes of this investigation. These relationships were: age and rank, age and police experience, family in the military and police experience, family in the military and department type, family in policing and military experience, rank and police experience, and department type and education. The patterns of association revealed were not helpful given my research objectives.

**Stepwise Multiple Regression Findings**

Stepwise multiple regression was run in order to observe the total variation in the dependent variables explained by all the independent variables taken jointly; which of the independent variables explain the most variance, which enters second to explain the next most variance, and so on. The analysis was run at the .05 level. The dependent variable in the first equation was commpol which is the category containing thirteen statements related to community policing. Commpol is reported as raw scores representing the mean score of each respondent for the statements which comprise the commpol category. The following independent variables were entered into the equation:

- sex (male =1, female =0)
- age (21-25 yrs.=1; 26-30 yrs.=2; 31-35 yrs.=3; 36-40 yrs.=4; 41-45 yrs.=5; 46-50 yrs.=6; 51-55 yrs.=7; 56-60 yrs.=8)
- department (dept. 1=traditional; dept. 0=community)
- education (highest level completed: high school=1; Associate's degree=2; Bachelor's degree=3; Master's degree=4)
- rank: patrol officer, detective, corporals as low rank=1 and sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and assistant chief (only
one participating) as high rank=2.

years of police experience: (actual number of years)
years of military experience: (actual number of years)
family members with police experience: (yes = 1, no = 0)
family members with military experience: (yes = 1, no = 0)

Independent Variable Omissions

As discussed earlier, the independent variable year of graduation was not used due to an inappropriate number of cases and a coding issue. The year of graduation was coded in decades rather than in actual years. This presents an important concern. An officer who was coded as graduating in the decade of the eighties may have an actual graduation date of 1989 placing that officer closer to the decade of the nineties and the curriculum in place at that time. An officer who graduated in 1980 was likely taught differently than the officer from 1989 even though they were coded the same. This issue caused the variable to be unsuitable for analysis.

Stepwise Multiple Regression Equation "Commpol"

At step one, the independent variable rankhl was entered and identified as a predictor for commpol. The R-square was reported at .158 meaning that almost 16% of the variability in the commpol score is explained by the rank held by the responding officers. 84% of the variability has not been explained.

At step two, the independent variable dept. was entered and
identified as a predictor for commpol. R-square was reported at .225 meaning that the addition of this variable, coupled with rankhl now explains 22.5% of the variability.

Step three added the variable sex to the equation which increased the R-square to .267. The independent variables rankhl, department, and sex combined to increased the explanation of the variability in commpol to 26.7%.

The final step entered the independent variable milexp. This increased the R-square to .302. These four variables combined explain 30% of the variability in the observed perceptions of community policing, leaving nearly 70% unexplained (see Table 41).

Table 41
Commpol Stepwise Multiple Regression Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (constant)</td>
<td>3.619</td>
<td>22.214</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhl</td>
<td>-.537</td>
<td>-4.484</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (constant)</td>
<td>3.428</td>
<td>20.259</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhl</td>
<td>-.540</td>
<td>-4.681</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept.</td>
<td>.323</td>
<td>3.033</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (constant)</td>
<td>3.080</td>
<td>14.085</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhl</td>
<td>-.593</td>
<td>-5.162</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept.</td>
<td>.315</td>
<td>3.030</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.458</td>
<td>2.432</td>
<td>.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (constant)</td>
<td>3.047</td>
<td>14.181</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhl</td>
<td>-.611</td>
<td>-5.409</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept.</td>
<td>.305</td>
<td>2.987</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.462</td>
<td>2.504</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milexp</td>
<td>3.469E-02</td>
<td>2.279</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Beta score in this stepwise regression model shows that as the rank increases, the commpol score decreases. This means that officers of higher rank (sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and the assistant chief) perceive community policing more positively than those officers of lower rank (patrol officers, detectives, and corporals). (Note: the higher the score on commpol the more negative the perception; the lower the score, the more positive the perception) This findings surprised me as I had hypothesized that lower ranking officers would perceive community policing more favorably than the higher ranking officers.

The Beta score for the independent variable dept. was reported at .305 indicating that the officers from the traditional department view community policing more negatively than the officers from the community department. This variable was coded as: Traditional dept = -1, Community dept. = 0. (The B score of .305 reflects this, for any score multiplied by zero would equal zero.)

The Beta score for the independent variable sex was reported at .462. This means that male officers perceive community policing more negatively than female officers. (Sex was coded as male = 1, female = 0. Similar to the dept. variable, zero multiplied by any score equals zero.)

Finally, the Beta score for the independent variable milexp was reported at 3.469E-02. Milexp reflects the actual number of years of military experience. This score indicates that the more military experience an officer has, the more negatively they view
community policing. (For every year of military experience, the commpol score increases by .03.)

Stepwise Multiple Regression Equation Gender

On step one, the independent variable sex was entered and reported an R-square of .126% meaning that 12.6% of the variability observed in the dependent variable gender is explained by sex (see Table 42).

Table 42
Commpol Stepwise Multiple Regression Results-Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (constant)</td>
<td>1.880</td>
<td>11.730</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.657</td>
<td>3.925</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (constant)</td>
<td>1.825</td>
<td>11.548</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.655</td>
<td>4.009</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milexp</td>
<td>3.406E-02</td>
<td>2.490</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (constant)</td>
<td>2.035</td>
<td>11.055</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.721</td>
<td>4.405</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milexp</td>
<td>3.606E-02</td>
<td>2.673</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhl</td>
<td>-.213</td>
<td>-2.132</td>
<td>.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (constant)</td>
<td>1.936</td>
<td>10.310</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.711</td>
<td>4.408</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milexp</td>
<td>3.487E-02</td>
<td>2.621</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhl</td>
<td>-.214</td>
<td>-2.165</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept.</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>2.034</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Step two of the equation entered the independent variable milexp. The R-square increased to .174 indicating that 17.4% of the variability observed is explained by the combination of the varia-
bles sex and milexp.

Step three added the independent variable rankhl which increased the R-square to .208. This indicates that now almost 21% of the variability is explain by the combination of the variables sex, milexp, and rankhl.

Finally, step four added the independent variable dept. increasing the R-square to .239. The addition of the four independent variables of sex, military experience, rank, and department explains nearly 24% of the variability in the dependent variable gender.

The Beta scores from step four of the regression equation report similar findings to the Beta scores from commpol. A Beta score of .711 for the variable sex indicates that male officers perceive women in policing more negatively than female officers.

The Beta score for the variable milexp shows that for every year of military experience, the gender score increases by .03. This indicates that the more military experience an officer has, the more negatively they perceive women in policing.

The Beta score for the variable rankhl shows that higher ranking officers perceive women in policing more positively than the lower ranking officers. (As rank increases, the score for gender decreases.)

The Beta score for the variable dept. indicates that officers from the traditional department perceive women more negatively than the officers from the community policing department.
Discussion of Regression Findings

The independent variables of military experience, rank, sex, and department type all were identified as significant predictors for both dependent variables compol and gender. Military experience likely influences perceptions regarding women in policing and policing philosophy due to its male-dominated environment and war mentality. Often, policing efforts targeted at the crime problem are referred to as the war on crime which presents a picture of soldiers waging battle against an enemy. This perception helps to perpetuate the militaristic emphasis and gender appropriate roles which are often seen as components of policing.

There are definite parallels between traditional notions of gender identity which link men with war and women with peace (Stiehm, 1996) and traditional notions about policing and the role of women in policing. Men are traditionally seen as more aggressive and women as more passive. Passivity is not considered a desirable attribute for a soldier, nor for a traditional police officer. Gender-based masculine characteristics such as leadership, competitiveness, and initiative are often seen as positive traits in the military and policing environment whereas gender-based feminine traits such as compassion, tenderness, and sensitivity are viewed as negative traits in these same environments. The results of the regression analysis suggest that officers who served in the military and are members of the traditional department follow these gender-based perceptions.

Rank was also identified as a significant predictor in the
regression analysis. The higher ranking officers (sergeants and above) scored lower on both commpol and gender indicating that they perceived community policing and women in policing more positively than the lower ranking officers (corporals and below). I was surprised to find this, as I had anticipated that lower ranking officers would perceive each of these as more positive. Prior research indicated that higher ranking officials viewed women in policing as less competent and overall had more negative perceptions of women in policing (Lunneborg, 1973). Society has undergone some changes since the 1970s when this research was conducted. Women are more common in policing and those officers who now occupy higher rank within the department have had the opportunity to interact with women in the workplace. Higher ranking officers may have more opportunities to attend diversity training and seminars on community policing because of their status in the department. Since many police departments do not have a significant pool of monetary resources from which to draw, the department will send the person who is most cost-effective. This person will likely be an administrator who will be able to share the information gained with the officers under his or her command. Higher ranking officers are also more accountable to city leaders and are responsible for the actions of the officers under their command. Politically, the issues of community policing and women in policing are priority items in many city government agendas.

The independent variable "department" was also found to be a significant predictor for each of the dependent variables. This vari-
able lies at the foundation of the research. The officers from the traditional department did perceive both women in policing and community policing more negatively than the officers in the community department. This may be the result of recruitment and selection practices of each department as well as the strength of the influence of their philosophy. It is likely that the atmosphere of the community policing department is more conducive to acceptance of diversity and of new strategies to deal with crime. Community policing is an attitude and a way in which officers view their role and approach their job. Because it allows for flexibility, creativity, and critical thinking, the officers within this department may be more accepting of both women in policing and the philosophy of community policing. My findings suggest that this is the case.

The independent variable sex also was identified as a significant predictor in the regression analysis. Male officers perceived both community policing and women in policing more negatively than female officers. Gender role socialization is an important factor to consider when evaluating this variable. The process begins at birth and is reinforced throughout life. Appropriate roles are defined for both sexes and these roles are supported in institutions such as the military and policing. Since it is more likely that male officers are socialized into leadership roles and are taught to be more aggressive, the socialization may influence their perceptions of both women in policing and the community policing philosophy. Each of these are considered apart from the norm at
least as far as some men are concerned. Policing as an organization has historically defined its role as that of a social control entity and its mission has been to react to crime by aggressive enforcement practices and to show its authority. Because women are viewed as more passive, nurturing, and compassionate, their involvement in policing is seen as a poor fit and they are viewed more negatively. Officers involved in a community policing department, although similarly socialized, have been exposed to a different philosophy which sees policing as proactive and interested in cooperative efforts with citizens. The us versus them mentality is not as apparent in the community department because of its emphasis on building partnerships and defining their role as public servants rather than soldiers. Community policing officers may also view women more positively because they place a higher value on traits which are often associated with femininity. Many of these traits defined as feminine are also valued in the community policing philosophy, such as an emphasis on interdependence and establishing rapport and building consensus (Kay, 1994).

Although the same four variables were found to be significant predictors for both dependent variables, the order in which they were placed was different. In the first regression analysis with commpol, rank was listed first followed by department type, sex, and years of military experience. In the second regression analysis involving gender, sex was first, followed by years of military experience, rank, and type of department. This suggests that some var-
ables are more closely tied to the philosophy of community policing and the issue of women in policing. Sex was listed as the most important predictor for the gender variable which would be expected. Women who are police officers have experienced first hand many of the gender stereotypes. They know that they are able to perform the job of a police officer and have overcome obstacles to do so. Thus, they will be able to identify these stereotypes, many of which were listed in the survey instrument, and know that they are merely stereotypes. Sex was listed as number three in the commpol analysis which indicates that it is not as important a predictor when it comes to acceptance of the community policing philosophy. However, many of the same reasons sex was important to the gender analysis are important to commpol as well. Traits which are considered feminine may be more widely accepted and aligned with the community policing philosophy than with a traditional philosophy.

Rank was listed as first in the commpol analysis and indicates that higher ranking officers perceive community policing more positively than lower ranking officers. The reasons for this were discussed earlier. In regard to the gender analysis, rank was listed third which suggests that an officer's rank within the department is not as influential when it comes to issues surrounding women in policing.

Military experience was listed second in the gender analysis and fourth in the commpol analysis. This may reflect sexism which still exists in military institutions. It may also reflect the
socialization which takes place within the military regarding appropriate male and female roles. The military has been a male domain and the recent sexual harassment accusations brought to light in the military may have helped perpetuate and reinforce many of the pre-existing sexist attitudes as well as widening the gap between men and women in the military. This may be reflected in policing as well, especially within the traditional department which is more closely aligned with military structure and organization.

Department type was also identified as a significant predictor and listed second in the compol stepwise regression analysis and fourth in the gender analysis. This indicates that the type of department (traditional or community) is more influential in predicting perceptions of community policing related issues than it is gender issues. The officers from the traditional department perceived women more negatively than those from the community department. As discussed earlier, this is likely due to the emphasis upon more traditional gender definitions and the continued socialization which occurs within the traditional department. A department which adopts and accepts the community policing philosophy, according to my findings, view both commpol and gender more positively reflecting the influence of the philosophy on officer perceptions.

Gender Roles, Socialization, and Androgyne

The process of socialization is likely one of the most important factors influencing perceptions. Appropriate and inappropriate
roles for the sexes are determined through socialization, and these roles help to create and establish belief systems. Liberal Feminist theory examines this process by looking at the particular characteristics typically associated with femininity and masculinity. Policing as a male-dominated profession exhibits many of the characteristics generally associated with masculinity. Those characteristics typically associated with femininity are often considered less desirable for police work. Often, femininity is linked to characteristics of emotion, dependence, and nurturance, while masculinity is linked to traits such as aggressiveness, leadership, and competitiveness (Tong, 1989).

Policing has long been associated with a more traditional approach to the mission to protect and serve, but community policing offers an alternative to the reactive, enforcement-based strategies selected to attain this goal. Those characteristics generally associated with femininity, such as cooperativeness and sensitivity may in reality be more appropriate for policing more 'typical' masculine traits such as aggressiveness and competitiveness.

Feminists have long criticized the differentiation of gender roles and the valuing of only male socialized traits. Consideration should be given to basing perceptions not on biological or gender traits, but on human traits that should be equally valued, even if they are different for men and women.
The Concept of Androgyny

Tong (1983) suggests that every person should be permitted to be androgynous, allowing them to exhibit a full range of masculine and feminine qualities. Androgyny shifts the focus away from a person's biological sex to characteristics which make up that individual's personality. Ideally, perceptions would no longer be based on a person's sex, but rather on their human qualities. The problem in operationalizing this concept lies in the fact that physical characteristics still differ between the two sexes and are often the basis for gender stereotyping.

Femininity should not longer be understood as a deviation from masculinity, but should be seen as a positive human quality. An effective and successful police officer, in my opinion, will possess both feminine and masculine traits. Rather than label an officer who possesses both feminine and masculine traits as deviant, they should be seen as the model for what a successful police officer should be. Exhibiting traits such as aggressiveness can be beneficial in some police situations. On the other hand, compassion and sensitivity are traits which are also essential, and often more effective in the majority of police situations.

The issue of importance is the value that is placed on masculine and feminine traits. Historically, masculine traits have been more highly valued than feminine traits in those situations separate from the home. This is apparent in the military institution as well as in policing. A traditional philosophy of policing which values
aggressive enforcement strategies will likely value traditional traits of masculinity including aggressiveness, independence, and authority.

Community and Traditional Policing

Community and traditional policing philosophies are often at odds when it comes to identifying strategies to deal with crime and other social concerns, as shown by my research. But these two philosophies do not have to be a different ends of the spectrum. Each philosophy possesses characteristics which can effectively impact upon crime, and much like the concept of androgyny, traditional and community policing should not be evaluated in terms of their title, but rather evaluated in terms of their positive characteristics. It may be best to allow police departments to exhibit characteristics from each philosophy while operating under the proactive partnership of community policing, rather than forcing departments to align themselves with one philosophy or another. Similar to the concept of androgyny, policing should remove the labels of traditional and community, just as androgyny removes the labels of masculine and feminine. Policing should be a proactive partnership, but also an institution which can appropriately enforce the law. The emphasis for policing should be on service rather than enforcement and on the obligation to meet the needs of the people they serve.

Organizational theory as discussed in Chapter II helps to understand the devaluation of feminine traits by examining the issue
of gender subordination. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (Martin, 1996) states that

those who social type constitutes a numerical minority (less than 15%) in their job or work organization are more visible, experience performance pressure, and are often excluded by dominant social groups. These tokens are pressured to conform to stereotypical images of their social type. (pp. 23-24)

Because women represent a minority in policing, they will likely face added pressure to perform the police role as defined by men. They may likely face pressure to conform to the subculture of that particular organization and may be evaluated based more on their conformity than on their job performance.

Organizational theory also assists in understanding the importance of rank in the analysis. Lower ranking officers are usually more intimately involved in the police subculture than higher ranking officers. Higher ranking officers are often under more pressure to set an appropriate example to lower ranking officers as to acceptable behavior within the department. Formal rules are likely the standard by which the higher ranking officers abide by, whereas the lower ranking officers follow the subculture's informal rules. Formal rules such as departmental policy set a standard for personnel expectations as well as set forth the philosophy under which the department operates.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Policing remains a male-dominated occupation driven by a traditional philosophy which emphasizes a reactive response to crime and related issues. The traditional police department focuses more upon a social control model than it does a social involvement model which relies on the community to assist in solving problems. The community policing philosophy, on the other hand, is prevention-focused and proactive in its response to crime issues. It stresses partnership with the community and strives to improve the quality of life in communities through innovative strategies which emphasize prevention.

Summary

Identifying perceptions regarding community policing and women in policing have been the focus of this study. Chapter two reviewed the literature on both subjects, identified and discussed relevant theoretical perspectives and talked about the differences between the philosophies of traditional and community policing.

I chose the survey method to identify police officer perceptions on the two topics. I selected two Midwestern police departments which were similar except for their differing philosophies. One department operated under a traditional philosophy emphasizing
reactive enforcement, the other under a community policing philosophy which emphasized proactivity and involvement with the community.

The departments differed in demographics as well. The officers from the traditional department were overall slightly younger, had less education, fewer years of police experience, more years of military experience, and had more family members with military and/or police experience when compared to officers from the community department.

Responses to the survey statements themselves revealed a fairly consistent trend. The traditional officers were more likely to select a neutral response and to follow a more traditional way of thinking in regard to policing and women in policing (see Tables 13-37). Officers from the traditional department scored higher on "commpol" meaning that they viewed community policing less favorably than those officers from the community department. Officers of higher rank scored lower on commpol indicating that they perceived community policing more favorably than the lower ranking officers. (There were more higher ranking officers responding from the community department.)

Both officers with low education and high education scored low on the gender scale indicating that education does not influence perceptions of women in policing as I had expected.

Chi-Square reported a probability of .026 at the .05 level for the dependent variable commpol and the independent variable department type (dept.). For the independent variable of rank and the dependent
variable compol, Chi-Square probability was reported at .007. Probability was reported at .047 for the independent variable education and the dependent variable gender.

Cramer's V reported a weak relationship between the variables compol and dept.; rank and compol; and gender and education.

Stepwise multiple regression analysis identified several significant indicators. For both dependent variables, compol and gender, independent variables predictors were identified as: military experience, sex, department type, and rank. In the compol regression analysis, rank reported a significance of .000; department type a significance of .004; sex a significance of .014; and military experience a significance of .025. The R-square for this regression analysis was .302.

For the gender regression analysis, sex reported a significance of .000; military experience a significance of .010; rank a significance of .033; and department type a significance of .044. The R-square for this regression was reported at .239.

These results indicate that the rank of an officer, their sex, the type of department they are employed by, and the years of military experience influence their perceptions of the community policing philosophy and women in policing. The higher the rank of an officer, the more favorably they view community policing and women in policing. Female officers view both topics more favorably, as do officers from the community policing department. Finally, as the years of military experience decrease, officer's perceptions of the
Limitations

Several issues were discovered in the process of the research. Coding issues were a concern, and a more appropriate way of coding age and year of graduation should be devised. This was not possible in this research project due to confidentiality concerns from the officers. Police officers tend to be suspicious of others outside of policing. This is due in part to the nature of policing (especially traditional) as well as the subculture which exists in some departments. Supervisors from the community department expressed less concern over confidentiality than did the traditional department. This may be due to the overall philosophy of the department and their close working relationship with others outside of the police department. Another reason for concern over anonymity and confidentiality may be the lack of respect and the presence of conflict between lower and higher ranking officers. Eliciting more involvement from higher ranking officers would be warranted in future research.

Several of the statement included on the questionnaire could be rewritten to be less confusing to the reader. Interpretation problems may have resulted during the reading of the statements. Follow-up interviews with randomly selected officers would assist in identifying interpretation problems. Statements which contained more than one issue may also have been confusing to the respondents. For example, the statement: More female officers should be hired be-
cause many police departments are adopting community policing strategies into their job descriptions; could be rephrased as; More female officers should be hired into police departments. This way, the statement would deal with only one issue and does not confuse the reader as to reasons why more females should be hired.

**Future Research Considerations**

The combination of the significant variables in the regression analysis explained 24% of the variability in the observed gender score and 30% in the observed commpol score, but a large percentage remains unexplained. Including the variables of race, income, religious affiliation, and marital status may help to identify other significant predictors of police officer perceptions.

Race may be significant because of past and present struggles minorities have endured in their attempt to enter policing. Not only has policing been a male-dominated profession, but it has been predominately white. The experiences of racial minorities may correspond with those of women in their attempts to enter policing. Thus, the race of an individual may be an important predictor.

Income may also be significant due to the association between level of income and power and status. Because traditional policing emphasizes social control police officers are given authority within society, income level may influence perceptions of their status in society.

Religious affiliation may also play a significant role in
shaping perceptions. Officers who live by the Judeo-Christian philoso­phy may hold more conservative beliefs, especially regarding the proper role for women in society. Often, women are afforded less status than men and are not allowed to assume leadership roles in the church. This type of belief may influence how Christian male officers perceive women in the role of a police officer, one which affords them equal status and a leadership role similar to male officers. Other religions reflect a patriarchal philosophy and this may help to shape perceptions regarding the role of women. On the other hand, officers who support Christian beliefs, for example, may also be more committed to community policing because of certain similarities between the two. Christian philosophy relies on the teachings of Jesus Christ to guide believers. His teachings included helping others in need providing solutions to deeper social concerns through cooperative efforts. Community policing's elements are similar in that it seeks to identify problems, solve them, and prevent them from occurring again. This is accomplished through the cooperative efforts of the police and citizens. Community policing also seeks to help others in need through a less aggressive approach than traditional policing.

Marital status is another variable which may prove to be a significant predictor in shaping perceptions. Police officer marriages are prone to problems due to the nature of police work itself: shift work, danger, and the need to be secretive about certain situations. These issues may alienate spouses resulting in separa-
tion and divorce. On the other hand, marriage may reflect commit-
ment. Officers who are married may be less willing to take risks
and be less inclined to escalate potentially violent situations.

Other future research considerations include re-surveying
these same departments to determine if their perceptions change
significantly over time, particularly if the department's philo-
sophy changes and/or recruitment and selection standards change.

Careful consideration of the theoretical perspectives included
in this project is vital to understanding the dynamics of the crea-
tion and continuance of negative perceptions of women in policing.
A close examination of the principles contained in the Peacemaking
perspective also serve to lay the foundation for a better under-
standing of the philosophy of community policing. Rather than focus-
ing on social control, a new focus, such as is put forth in the
Peacemaking perspective, on human needs and suffering will serve to
provide an environment conducive to improving the quality of life
for many communities.

Conclusions

The findings showed that officers who have military experience
perceive both community policing and women in policing less favor-
able than those with less military experience. Their perceptions may
be shaped by the military's emphasis on authoritarianism and puni-
tive responses to social conflicts. Traditional policing emphasizes
these as well. This indicates that a reassessment of recruitment and
selection practices is needed in order to determine the importance of military experience in the hiring process. Less emphasis should be placed on military experience and more on education. The result of hiring individuals with military experience may only lead to the perpetuation of gender-based stereotypes and authoritarianism. An emphasis on education would also bring more diversified personnel to the department.

The police academy experience should be less militaristic and more intellectual, allowing officers to develop critical thinking skills along with building survival skills. In a violent encounter, officers must be prepared both physically and emotionally, and training which focuses only on the use of weapons and physical skills will result in more incidents such as the Rodney King beating.

The findings also showed that rank affected perceptions. Those officers of higher rank (sergeants and above) perceived community policing and women in policing more favorably than the lower ranking officers. Although unexpected, these findings are important. Is it possible that the supervisory experience changes an officer's perceptions and makes them more tolerant of women and of the community policing philosophy? Or is it that those lower ranking officers who are motivated to test for supervisory positions already view community policing and women in policing more favorably? Officers in higher ranking positions may feel more pressure to conform and support politically correct issues such as the acceptance of women and
community policing.

The type of department was also found to be a significant predictor in shaping police officer perceptions. The majority of responses were consistent with the expectation that traditional officers would view women in policing less favorably and view the philosophy of community policing more negatively than those officers from a community policing department. This reflects not only the nature of the philosophy underlying the policies and procedures of the department, but may also reflect standards of recruitment, selection, and training of personnel.

Finally, sex was found to be a significant predictor of police officer perceptions. This may be closely tied to socialization, as well as the value placed on feminine and masculine traits. Female officers obviously view women in policing more favorably because they have lived the police experience! In regards to the community policing philosophy, their more favorable view may be directly related to the value they place on feminine traits. It may also reflect their support for a shift in philosophy from reactive, aggressive enforcement to one where they are able to utilize their traits to better the community through creative strategies.

Community policing, if appropriately adopted and implemented, can result in better relationships between the community and its police. Increasing the numbers of women in policing will serve to reflect the diversity of the community as well as bring differing approaches and perspectives to the issue of crime reduction and im-
provement of the quality of life. Police officers must join with the community to effectively impact upon crime and its related concerns. An approach which emphasizes proactive partnership rather than reactive isolationism will provide a more positive and effective environment in which to deal with these concerns.
Appendix A

HSIRB Letter Dated April 4, 1997
Date: 4 April 1997

To: Susan Carrugella MacDonald, Principal
Rhonda DeLong, Student Investigator

From: Richard Wright, Chair

Re: HSIRP Project Number 97 03 20

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled “Women in Policing: Perceptions from Patrol Officers and Police Administrators in a Traditional and Community Police Department” has been reviewed under the expedited category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. Before final approval can be given the following revisions must be submitted for HSIRB review:

1. Please add the following to the consent document:
   - Subiects have the right to refuse to participate without any penalaty or effect on employment
   - Subjects may refuse to continue or may refuse to answer specific questions
   - In the Confidentiality of Data section of the project description, please add a statement indicating the method, location, and duration (minimum 3 years) of data storage.
2. Please provide a letter from each police department where the survey will be conducted granting you permission to conduct this research.

Please submit the above changes in writing to the HSIRB, 2271, Walwood Hall (East Campus).

To avoid delays, please do not send revisions addressed to myself.

Conducting this research without final approval from the HSIRB is a violation of university policy as well as state and federal regulations.

If you have any questions, please call the research compliance coordinator at 387 8293.
Appendix B

HSIRB Letter Dated May 19, 1997
Date: 19 May 1997

To: Susan Carignella MacDonald, Principal Investigator
Rhonda DeLong, Student Investigator

From: Richard Wright, Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 97 03 20

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Women in Policing: Perceptions from Patrol Officers and Police Administrators in a Traditional and Community Police Department" has been approved under the expedited category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination 19 May 1998

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Appendix C

Survey Letter
Survey Letter

Please complete the following information before responding to the questionnaire. This information is for data analysis only and neither you, your department, or the city in which you work will be identified. Thank you for your participation!

Sex:  male  
female

Age:  21-25  
26-30
31-35
36-40
41-50
51-55
56-60
61+

Education (Highest Level Completed) Year of Graduation 
 high school
 Associate's degree/2 yrs. community college
 Bachelor's degree/4 yrs.
 Master's degree
 Doctoral degree
 other (please specify)

Position within the department: 
 administration rank Division
 patrol officer

Years of police experience: (with full police powers)

Years of military experience:

Family member(s) with police experience:
 yes
 no

Family member(s) with military experience:
 yes
 no
Appendix D

Questionnaire
Instructions for completing Perceptions of Policing questionnaire:

1. Please complete the informational page (age, sex, etc.)

2. Please read each question carefully and choose the answer which most closely supports your perceptions.

3. When you complete the questionnaire, place it in the envelope provided, seal it, and place the sealed envelope in the box located near the front desk in your department.

4. The completed questionnaires will be picked up in two weeks.

5. Your participation is greatly appreciated!

Sincerely,

Rhonda K. DeLong
Lawrence Police Officer: 616-674-3600

Western Michigan University Graduate Student: 616-387-5279
Indiana University South Bend Instructor: 219-237-4136
PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING VIGNETTES BY PLACING A CHECK MARK BESIDE EACH CHOICE WHICH MOST CLOSELY SUPPORTS YOUR PERCEPTION.

1. The local elementary school would like to implement a drug prevention program for third graders. The principal wants a police officer to be the instructor. Who would you choose for this activity and why?

Who? Why?

male____ commands respect
female____ physical strength/presence
makes no difference____ empathetic
emotional stability
other (please specify)

2. Your community is experiencing possible gang-related problems. There is an increase in graffiti, assaults, and since the first of the year, there have been 18 drive-by shootings. A special gang unit is being formed and an officer is needed to organize and supervise the unit. Who would you select for this activity and why?

Who? Why?

male____ commands respect
female____ physical strength/presence
makes no difference____ empathetic
emotional stability
other (please specify)

3. The fear of crime among the elderly has been identified as a priority concern. An officer is needed to serve as a liaison between the police department and the senior community. Who would you choose for this activity and why?

Who? Why?

male____ commands respect
female____ physical strength/presence
makes no difference____ empathetic
emotional stability
other (please specify)
4. Foot patrol is needed in the downtown area. Business owners have complained about teenagers hanging out in front of their establishments. Shoplifting/retail fraud complaints have increased. The downtown area is suffering economically as a result of these problems. The foot patrol officer would serve as a liaison between the police department and business community. Who would you choose for this activity?

Who?

- male
- female
- makes no difference

Why?

- commands respect
- physical strength/presence
- empathetic
- emotional stability
- other (please specify)

5. A call is received in dispatch regarding a loud party/disorderly subjects at the nearby university. (although in reality, back-up units would be dispatched, for this scenario suppose that there is only one officer who can be sent) Who would you choose to respond to this incident?

Who?

- male
- female
- makes no difference

Why?

- commands respect
- physical strength/presence
- empathetic
- emotional stability
- other (please specify)

6. Numerous strong-armed robberies are being reported in the mall parking lot. Victims are both male and female. An officer needs to be assigned to serve as a potential victim in an attempt to catch the perpetrator. Who would you choose for this activity?

7. Your dispatcher has received a call from a distraught/hysterical woman who reports that she has been sexually assaulted. Who would you choose to conduct the initial interview with the victim?

Who?

- male
- female
- makes no difference

Why?

- commands respect
- physical strength/presence
- empathetic
- emotional stability
- other (please specify)
8. A domestic dispute has been reported involving 2 male subjects. Officers have responded to this same address on several occasions. Generally, there is no physical altercation, only verbal. You must choose one officer to respond to this situation. (although in reality at least 2 officers would be dispatched) Who would you choose to respond to this complaint?

Who? Why?
male ___commands respect
female ___physical strength/presence
makes no difference ___empathetic
___emotional stability
___other (please specify)

9. You are involved in a potentially violent confrontation with an intoxicated driver whom you have stopped for a traffic violation. You need back-up. The driver is verbally abusive, weighs approximately 250 lbs. and appears to be a bodybuilder. Which officer would you choose for your back-up?

Who? Why?
male ___commands respect
female ___physical strength/presence
makes no difference ___empathetic
___emotional stability
___other (please specify)

10. You are pursuing a vehicle at a high rate of speed which fits the description of one involved in a convenience store armed robbery. There appear to be two male subjects in the vehicle. There is only one officer available for back-up. Which officer would you choose for your back-up and why?

Who? Why?
male ___commands respect
female ___physical strength/presence
makes no difference ___empathetic
___emotional stability
___other (please specify)

Comments:
This survey consists of a series of statements. Please circle the response which most closely reflects your opinion: (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree)

(sa a n d sd)

In this survey, traditional policing refers to a reactive, enforcement-focused style of policing. Community policing refers to a proactive, social service-style of policing.

1. Policing should focus on law enforcement and not on social service activities. 
   sa a n d sd
2. There should be a separate unit within the police department to deal with social service issues. 
   sa a n d sd
3. The community policing philosophy is a threat to police authority. 
   sa a n d sd
4. The main focus of police training should be: arrest procedures, weapons use, and defensive skills. 
   sa a n d sd
5. Police training should focus mainly on communication skills and interpersonal relationships. 
   sa a n d sd
6. Community policing is not real police work. 
   sa a n d sd
7. Police officers must have an authoritative personality. 
   sa a n d sd
8. Traditional policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community. 
   sa a n d sd
9. Community policing strategies are the best way to deal with crime in the community. 
   sa a n d sd
10. Female officers command more respect in the community than do male officers. 
    sa a n d sd
11. Arresting criminals is the most important job a police officer has to do.
   sa a n d sd

12. The most important attribute for a police officer to possess is physical strength.
   sa a n d sd

13. Female police officers are better suited for traditional policing than they are for community policing.
   sa a n d sd

14. Male officers are better suited for community policing than female officers.
   sa a n d sd

15. More female officers should be hired because many police departments are adopting community policing strategies into their job descriptions.
   sa a n d sd

16. Female officers are not physically strong enough to handle the rigors of patrol.
   sa a n d sd

17. Female officers should not be patrolling high crime areas alone.
   sa a n d sd

18. Male officers are more likely than female officers to verbally mediate a dispute than to use physical force.
   sa a n d sd

19. Forming a partnership with the community is the most important goal of a police department.
   sa a n d sd

20. Participation in SWAT and undercover drug units should be restricted to male officers.
    sa a n d sd

21. Community policing strategies work best in high crime, urban areas.
    sa a n d sd

22. Participation in community crime prevention efforts should be restricted to female officers.
    sa a n d sd
24. Women who become police officers are doing so in order to be in position of authority over men. 

25. Men make better police officers because they are more aggressive than women. 

26. SWAT units, undercover drug operations, and aggressive enforcement tactics are not compatible with the community policing philosophy.
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