

On The Move:

# THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN POLICING

By Susan E. Martin



Police Foundation

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# FOREWORD

**P**olice Foundation research on women in policing in the early 1970's, along with changes in federal civil rights legislation and emerging case law, made a pivotal contribution to policing in America. The research found that women could effectively perform patrol duties from which they had been excluded because of their sex; changes in the law were designed to eliminate such discrimination.

How much actual progress has been made since then? The findings in the pages of this research report indicate that a variety of strategies in combination with the evolving body of law has fostered substantial growth in the ranks of women in policing.

The police and the public have gained by this opening of opportunity. It has given us a broader range of qualified applicants for police jobs and thus enhanced our ability to protect and provide services to the community. Moreover, our police forces have come to reflect more broadly both the composition and the values of our society.

And yet, with all this, there are compelling reasons not to become complacent. Our research shows that while the percentage of women in policing has risen considerably, the overall picture is less than sanguine. Despite the barriers we have overcome, women still comprise under 10 percent of all police officers. Their representation in the supervisory and managerial ranks is even lower.

Moreover, while much of the overt discrimination against women within the police department has disappeared, there is evidence of more subtle prejudice. The behaviors that women adopt in order to live with discrimination and overcome barriers to advancement may create other problems, including stress. And to the extent that women

are denied access to police management, the pool of talented managers is limited.

Our findings indicate that programs designed to recruit qualified women into the ranks of policing have a positive impact. We should make every effort to preserve and extend these gains. We must also be certain that our policies and procedures do not encourage women to leave the field at a greater rate than men.

I am confident that the results of this research will add not only to our knowledge about the numbers of women in policing, but also to our understanding of what those numbers mean and to our strategies for correcting the imbalances that still exist. Police Foundation research in the 1970's helped open the door to women in policing. More knowledge about how women are recruited and treated once they are in the field can only help open that door wider and improve the professionalism and effectiveness of our police departments.

**Hubert Williams**  
**President, Police Foundation**

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Finally, I want to express my gratitude to the many individuals who agreed to be interviewed and spoke candidly about their views and experiences in police work. They remain anonymous but not unappreciated.

**Susan E. Martin, Ph.D.**

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the 62 years following the entry of the first woman officer into police work in 1910, women officers were selected according to separate criteria from men, employed as “policewomen,” and limited to working with “women, children, and typewriters.” Since passage of the 1972 Amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, most police departments, often under the threat of a court order, have eliminated discriminatory personnel policies.

Although most experts assumed that some progress had been made, just how far these changes had gone by the end of the 1980’s was unclear. Earlier Police Foundation studies contributed to the initial assignment of women to patrol work and an assessment of the status of women at the end of the 1970’s. But what had occurred during the ensuing decade?

To find out, the Police Foundation initiated this study in 1987. It was designed to achieve several objectives, to: (1) assess changes in the status of women officers since the foundation’s earlier study; (2) explore persisting sex differences in the selection, assignment, promotion, and turnover of officers within and across departments; (3) examine the effects of legal actions, affirmative action programs, and department personnel policies and practices on the entry, treatment, and performance of women officers; and (4) suggest ways to foster integration of women into policing.

## Research Design and Data Sources

The research on which this report is based consisted of two primary components: a national mail survey of state and municipal departments; and detailed case studies in five major city police agencies.

The questionnaire for the mail survey sought information on: (1) departmental policies and procedures related to recruitment, selection,

and promotion; (2) the number and percentage of male and female officers by ethnic group, rank, and assignment; (3) male and female officer turnover rates; and (4) the existence and nature of other personnel policies related to women, including those on affirmative action, sexual harassment, and pregnancy and maternity leave.

Questionnaires were sent to all state police agencies and municipal departments serving populations over 50,000. The same sample was used in the foundation's 1978 survey and, because those data were available, we were able to examine changes in personnel by rank over the eight-year interval between the studies. Seventy-two percent of the municipal agencies and 78 percent of the state departments returned usable surveys.

The case studies were designed to examine in detail practices in five major departments serving populations over 100,000: Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Birmingham, where the representation of women officers and supervisors was above the municipal average for large agencies; and Chicago and Phoenix, where the proportions of women officers or supervisors were at or below the average for large departments.

They were conducted in three phases. First, we interviewed supervisory personnel responsible for designing or implementing policies related to recruitment, selection, training, promotion, affirmative action, planning and research, and patrol operations in order to learn about formal practices and administrators' perspectives on their department's efforts to integrate women.

Next, we analyzed data provided by four of the departments on a sample of male and female officers matched by race, rank, and length of service to make individual-level comparisons of officer performance and assignment histories. Third, we conducted in-depth interviews with 112 male and female officers and mid-level supervisors from the larger matched samples in the five departments to explore their perspectives on the integration of women.

## **Findings**

### *The Effect of Legal Changes*

The law has played an important role in opening the doors of the police station to women. Passage of the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act applied to state and local government the provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.



Implementation of the law, however, was gradual. During the 1970's the large volume of litigation alleging sex discrimination in employment affected police departments principally with respect to selection procedures and criteria including height and weight requirements, physical agility tests, and veterans' preference; sexual harassment; promotion standards; and pregnancy and related maternity benefits. By the end of that decade, for example, height and weight requirements had been eliminated in the vast majority of departments.

In the 1980's, the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court have limited but not eliminated affirmative action plans and have narrowed the grounds for a successful claim of employment discrimination. For example, several decisions have resulted in an easing of the burden of proof required of employers for establishing the job relatedness of a "reasonable" physical fitness standard that has a disparate impact on women trainees.

In dealing with sexual harassment, on the other hand, the Supreme Court found that both *quid pro quo* and hostile work environment situations are illegal forms of sex discrimination covered by Title VII. It left determination of the employer's liability in hostile work environment cases, nevertheless, to case-by-case decision making.

In interpreting the meaning of the Pregnancy Disability Act of 1978, which provides that pregnancy, childbirth, and related medical conditions are to be treated as any other temporary disability by employers vis-a-vis employment benefits, the Court held that the law establishes a minimum level of protection that employers are permitted to go beyond.

These decisions suggest that in the next decade, women and other plaintiffs are likely to have more difficulty winning discrimination cases (unless Congress passes the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1990). Nevertheless, affirmative action plans and the goals of social equity in employment practices appear to have become widely adopted during the decade and sexual harassment now is treated as employment discrimination prohibited by Title VII.

### ***Survey of Municipal and State Police Personnel Practices***

Our survey of municipal and state police agencies found that the proportion of female officers and supervisors has grown steadily since 1978 but that women still constitute a small minority in policing. Women's representation in municipal police departments serving populations over 50,000 has grown from 4.2 percent of all officers in 1978 to nearly 9 percent of officers at the end of 1986. Women still constitute less than 4 percent of the personnel of state police agencies.

In the supervisory ranks, women also have made gains but continue to constitute a minuscule proportion of police managers: only 3 percent of supervisors in municipal agencies and 1 percent in the state police. And as one moves up the ranks, there are fewer and fewer women.

Data on recruitment, selection, retention, and promotion rates also yield an equivocal picture regarding women's status in policing. About 20 percent of both the current applicants and recruits are female. This suggests that once women apply, there does not seem to be systematic discrimination against their selection. At the same time, there is wide variation among departments in both application and acceptance rates, which is related both to selection criteria and affirmative action policies. The absence of a pre-training physical agility test and presence of either voluntary or court ordered affirmative action plans both are significantly associated with female application and acceptance rates. The findings also suggest that there is considerable room for more effective recruitment efforts.

Such efforts are particularly important because women have higher annual non-retirement turnover rates than men in both municipal (6.3 percent versus 4.6 percent separations in 1986 respectively) and state police agencies (8.9 versus 2.9 percent turnover respectively). Thus more women are needed to enter policing even to maintain current sex ratios. Without changes in recruitment or application rates, the representation of women will not grow to exceed 20 percent.

Affirmative action policies also have had a major impact not only on the rates at which women apply to and enter policing, but the long-term representation of women in policing. In 1986, 15 percent of the municipal agencies responding to our survey had court-ordered affirmative action policies; 42 percent had voluntary affirmative action plans in effect; and 43 percent had none.

In those agencies under court order to increase the representation of women and minorities, women made up 10.1 percent of the sworn personnel in 1986; in those with voluntary affirmative action policies, women made up 8.3 percent of the personnel; and, in those without affirmative action plans, women constituted only 6.1 percent of the personnel.

### ***Case Study Findings: Introduction***

Data from the case studies support and expand on the findings of the survey. The five case study agencies illustrate the diversity of procedures used to recruit women and the variation in the proportion

selected. In two of them (Chicago and Birmingham), the changes in hiring came as a result of consent decrees; in another (Detroit), a voluntary affirmative action plan was adopted in the wake of litigation regarding discriminatory assignment, pay, and promotion practices; and the remaining two agencies (Washington, D.C. and Phoenix), adopted their own voluntary affirmative action plans.

The proportion of both women applicants and those accepted for training in the five agencies varied from about 20 to 40 percent of all applicants. The variation among agencies appears to be related to the representation of women already in them. For example, in Detroit where the proportion of women officers is the largest and most of those women are black, recruitment efforts are largely passive yet more than a third of all applicants and new recruits are women. The Phoenix department, in contrast, has a more vigorous recruitment effort aimed at women and minorities, including a "pre-hire" program that allows otherwise qualified applicants to get into physical condition. Women, however, make up only 20 percent of its applicants and a smaller proportion of those completing the academy.

One apparently salutary change emerging from the litigation regarding physical fitness tests is a reconsideration of the goals of fitness training. Police executives are beginning to recognize the importance of departmental physical training programs as a way to improve the long-term physical fitness and health of both male and female officers through conditioning, diet, and stress reduction programs.

Although officers still express concerns about the physical abilities of small officers, particularly women, the salience of the physical differences issue has decreased because women officers have proven their ability to defend themselves and their partners. In addition, defensive tactics courses have been developed to overcome many of the disadvantages of smaller stature, and departmental policies (often designed to avoid lawsuits) have curbed officers' physical aggressiveness.

Other changes that have eased the difficulties women rookies faced in the academy are the inclusion of instructional material spelling out equal employment opportunity and sexual harassment policies and grievance procedures; inclusion of women as role models both as recruiters and academy instructors; efforts to provide female rookies with a "taste of reality" through meetings with female officers to help them anticipate problems; and structured field training programs.

### ***Moving Around: Performance Evaluations and Assignments***

Our assessment of the performance of matched samples of males and females in the case study agencies suggests that women officers: (1) have performance evaluations as high as those of the men, although an examination of ratings on specific skills suggests that they continue to be evaluated in stereotypic ways; (2) use slightly more sick leave than the men; (3) have had a greater number of non-patrol assignments than their male counterparts; and (4) hold somewhat different assignments than male officers.

Assignment patterns of male and female officers suggest that there has been both integration and "reghettoization" of the women in policing. Women not only have had a greater average number of different assignments than men with similar rank and length of service, they also are more likely to have been assigned to administrative and community service units and less likely to have been in tactical or patrol support units.

These sex differences in assignments are related to formal organizational policies such as seniority rules; the degree of civilianization; the criteria for obtaining specialized assignment; management's commitment to implementing its equal employment opportunity policies; informal influence networks; and individual officer preferences and skills. Changes in the informal occupational culture enabling women to participate in more off-duty social activities, and greater emphasis on adherence to bureaucratic rules and universalistic criteria have opened wider opportunities for women. Nevertheless, "street cop" values, "old boy" ties, paternalism, and sex role stereotypes continue informally to influence assignment decisions.

On a day-to-day basis, rookie women officers get "protected" into station house assignments and a self-perpetuating cycle often is created; protection leads to incompetent street performance which becomes a justification for further protection and nonpatrol assignments. Other factors also contributing to sex differences in assignments are: sex differences in prior socialization, work experiences, and skills; the generally greater weight of family responsibilities that fall on the women officers (particularly single parents); and the status still attached to certain "macho" assignments.

### ***Moving Up: Promotion and Women as Supervisors***

Virtually all police supervisors begin as patrol officers and gain promotion through successfully competing in a process that includes a written examination and other measures that may include recent performance evaluations, seniority, or an assessment center (i.e., a

series of written and oral presentations before a panel of outside examiners).

Nevertheless, women still are a small minority of mid-level police supervisors and virtually excluded from command level positions. Increased emphasis on promotions based on objective criteria has helped eligible women gain a proportionate share of promotions to mid-management positions. Their likelihood of success in gaining promotions has been enhanced particularly by the use of assessment centers and the presence of affirmative action. For example, in three of the five case study sites some of the women were promoted ahead of white males on the list as a consequence of an affirmative action policy or consent decree; in Washington, D.C. and Phoenix, which have voluntary affirmative action plans, however, women still were promoted at a statistically higher rate than their representation in the pool of candidates would have suggested.

The pool of females eligible for entry into command staff positions is small but growing. Women are more likely than men to perceive the presence of a "glass ceiling" limiting women's movement into upper management. All respondents, nevertheless, expect at least a token number of women to become police executives in the next decade.

Women police supervisors, like other women managers, face a variety of disadvantages stemming from their token status or overt sex bias. They are highly visible, under pressure to perform well, and often excluded from the informal networks that are essential for success. They are less likely than their male counterparts to have mentors, are more likely than the men to adopt a supervisory style that others regard as too unassertive or too bossy, and tend to be challenged by male subordinates who resent a woman telling them what to do. A few reported facing open insubordination; many more had to deal with more subtle resistance such as male subordinates refusing to acknowledge their rank, peers undercutting their authority, and superiors treating them as though they are "invisible."

Despite these difficulties, as women supervisors discovered that with their rank they acquired power, many became increasingly comfortable in using it. Organizational factors found to foster a woman's success as a supervisor include experience as an "acting sergeant," a mentor, and support for her decisions from superiors, particularly members of the command staff.

### ***Moving Out: Turnover***

From 1986 through 1988, in all five case study departments the average non-retirement turnover rate for women (5.3 percent) was

higher than that for the men (3.2 percent). As was found in the survey, however, the best predictor of women's turnover in each agency was the turnover rate of the men in the department. This suggests that department policies and local labor market decisions have a similar effect on both the men's and women's decision to separate. In addition, women's higher turnover rates and shorter policing careers appear to be due to an unrealistic view of police work when they enter policing, and rotating shifts and uncertain hours which are particularly problematic for women with child care responsibilities.

### *On the Move: Changes in Women Officers' Status*

Since the effort to integrate women into policing began in the 1970's, police agencies have adhered to a "sex neutral" assimilation policy that actually puts the burden for being different on the women, who simultaneously are expected to act like men and remain "ladies." Both in the past and present, it is presumed that women are not capable patrol officers until they prove otherwise. They face overt hostility from some men, double standards of performance, sexual harassment, and exclusion from informal social networks that are keys to gaining self-confidence and acceptance.

The case study data suggest that sex discrimination persists but that it is now less frequent, blatant, and organized than in the past. The opportunities, power, and number of women in policing have increased, and perhaps because the changes are relatively small and gradual, they appear to signal a degree of real integration of the occupation.

Changes in the status of women in policing in the 1980's are related to changes that began in the previous two decades in society's laws, norms, and values; the police informal subculture; and departmental policies and practices. Increasing numbers of women have entered jobs formerly reserved for men, and sex role norms have changed, easing somewhat the conflict female officers face between sex role expectations of them as women and occupational role demands of them as police officers.

Pressure on employers to eliminate discrimination and assure equal employment opportunities has resulted in modification of entrance requirements, selection standards, and assignment and promotion practices, opening the doors to police work to women. Despite what many see as the Reagan administration's effort to undo or limit the effects of affirmative action, at the end of 1986 more than half of all large municipal agencies had affirmative action policies that contributed to the growing numbers of women in policing.



All case study departments (and more than half of the agencies responding to the survey) now have EEO policies and grievance procedures in place. They differ, however, in how vigorously these EEO policies have been publicized and how actively they have been enforced. In departments where top management has made clear that sexual harassment and discrimination will not be tolerated, women have spoken out about problems and seized on the opportunities available to them.

Despite these changes, many of the barriers women officers face are built into formal organizational structures and the informal occupational culture of policing, as well as the culturally prescribed patterns of male/female interaction which remain strong. Thus major alterations in both occupational structures and culturally defined patterns of behavior are needed to eliminate these barriers. Such changes appear to be underway at a slow and uneven pace. In the interim, nonetheless, change can and should be fostered by department leadership.

## **Recommendations**

**W**e recommend the following policies and practices to accelerate the integration of women in policing:

- Department executives should adopt and implement a voluntary affirmative action program and include women and minorities in an advisory group in the early implementation and planning phases.
- Agencies should adopt and vigorously enforce a clear policy prohibiting sexual harassment; it should include enforcement mechanisms that permit victims to present complaints to someone outside their immediate command structure. Supervisors should be trained regarding the policy and its significance.
- Recruit training should include both physical fitness training and self-defense tactics to insure that officers are able to function effectively on the street; instruction also should be provided on verbal and non-verbal communication and body language to promote understanding of sexual and cultural differences.
- Outstanding female officers, particularly those with skills in self-defense, should be assigned to the training academy to serve as instructors, role models for female recruits, and indicators for the male recruits that women are effective officers.

- Departments should routinely monitor the daily assignments of probationary officers to assure that all have similar opportunities to work in the station, on a footbeat, and in a scout car and to develop the skills and self-confidence necessary for success.
- Departments should conduct periodic audits of assignments to insure that women are not tracked into clerical and other so-called female assignments.
- Departments should encourage women to seek promotion by creating and maintaining an open system based on merit. They should eliminate criteria irrelevant to identifying supervisory ability or potential.
- To facilitate the transition from officer to first-line supervisor, departments should encourage those soon to be promoted to return to a patrol unit if they have a specialized assignment and to function as an “acting sergeant” under the guidance of an experienced supervisor.
- More women should be promoted to command staff positions and be given responsibility for operational units and activities.
- Police departments should actively seek ways to reduce the work-family stresses that tend to fall disproportionately on women. This should include reconsideration of rotating shifts and exploration of job-sharing, part-time, and flexible scheduling as ways to reduce turnover, burnout, and abuses of leave.
- Departments should adopt a pregnancy policy that permits pregnant officers to remain on the job in a non-contact assignment and affords new parents the opportunity to take leave to adapt to parenthood.
- Departments should address such seemingly small but symbolically important issues as equipment, facilities, and language. For example, they should ensure that women’s versions of uniforms, lead vests, and guns with smaller handgrips are available. Sexist language such as the term “policeman” should be replaced with sex-neutral vocabulary in performance evaluations, departmental forms, and policy manuals.
- Because sex role stereotypes may result in double standards of behavior and different evaluations of male and female officers, departments should develop specific, job-related performance evaluation measures and periodically audit supervisor evaluations to address inequities in performance assessments.
- Further research is needed on the changing status of women in policing. This should include research comparing women in policing with those in other male-dominated occupations; a termination study of both male and females who leave policing to fully



determine their reasons for leaving the job; and further examination of men's attitudes and behaviors to identify organizational and occupational factors affecting their interaction with women on the job.

Implementing change that challenges deeply held beliefs and longstanding customs is difficult. Perhaps police administrators can best be guided by the insight of one official who stated:

The attitude here is that we want to look like we are fair and to do that, you have to be fair.



## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

For more than half a century after the acceptance of the first sworn female officer in 1910, women in policing were selected differently than men, employed as “policewomen,” and limited to working with women, children, and typewriters. In 1972, the Police Foundation’s report, Women in Policing (Milton, 1972), noted these discriminatory phenomena and suggested an expansion of women’s role in law enforcement. The monograph was timely. In the same year, Congress passed the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act, which extended to state and local government the anti-discrimination provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Since that time, substantial changes in the hiring and deployment of female police officers have occurred, some of which were documented in the foundation’s A Progress Report on Women in Policing (Sulton and Townsey, 1981).

This report updates and builds on these and other studies (particularly Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Martin, 1980). It has two broad objectives: (1) to explore how structural and cultural factors including changes in the law, organizational policies, and informal social norms affect the integration of women into a male-dominated occupation, policing, and (2) to identify strategies and policies to overcome the remaining barriers to full integration.

In addressing these sociological and policy-related concerns, this report: (1) analyzes the changes in the status of women officers since the foundation’s 1981 study; (2) explores persisting sex differences in the selection, assignment, promotion, and turnover of officers within and across departments; (3) examines the effects of legal action, affirmative action programs, and department personnel policies and practices on the entry, treatment, and performance of women officers; and (4) recommends ways to foster fuller integration of women into policing.

## Prior Research on Women in Policing

The evolution of women in policing from “policewomen” specialists to “police officers” selected, trained, assigned, and promoted according to the same procedures as male officers has been documented elsewhere (Horne, 1980; Martin, 1980; Sulton and Townsey, 1981; Price, 1985; Linden and Minch, 1984). In brief, from the creation of the first police force in the U.S. in the mid-19th century until 1910, women were excluded from policing. From 1910, when the first woman became a sworn officer, until the mid-1970’s, “policewomen” were limited in number, selected according to separate criteria from male officers, paid less than male officers, and assigned to social work and matron (i.e., guarding women prisoners) roles.

The first women officers entered policing as specialists dedicated to preventive and protective work with women and children. As part of the social movement focused on saving “wayward” youth and “helpless” women, they advocated a distinct role for women officers. In the large departments, they often were assigned to Women’s Bureaus, were required to have a college education, and did not have to meet the same physical standards as men.

Although the women were “kept at arm’s length from the main organization and, perhaps, a little despised by the remainder of the force” (Hutzel, 1933:3), they were able to stake a claim in policing for several reasons. They avoided direct competition with male officers by accepting a limited, but specialized role that was an extension of women’s traditional sex role. They met society’s demand for better protection of women and children and, at the same time, provided progressive police reformers with a response to public pressure to reduce the use of force and increase the service elements of policing.

Between 1930 and 1970, the duties of a few women officers broadened to include investigative, crime lab, and vice assignments. Nevertheless, the vast majority were specialists employed in juvenile work or assigned to secretarial duties. Constraints on their recruitment, training, salary, and promotion remained.

In the past two decades, the number of women officers has increased and their role has shifted considerably. Indianapolis was the first city department to give women patrol duties when it assigned two women as partners to a scout car beat in 1968. Four years later, the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D.C. became the first to deploy a significant number of women to patrol. Since that time there has been a gradual but continuous increase in the number of women officers and supervisors. In 1973, for example, according to an

International City Management Association (ICMA) survey of cities serving populations of 250,000, women made up 2 percent of sworn law enforcement personnel. In 1978, they constituted 4.2 percent of sworn personnel in cities of 50,000 or larger (Sulton and Townsey, 1981). And, as will be elaborated in this report, at the end of 1986, women made up 8.8 percent of sworn personnel in cities of 50,000 or larger and 9.5 percent of sworn personnel in cities with populations greater than 250,000. In addition, women now routinely serve on patrol as officers and supervisors and work in virtually all other assignments in police departments across the United States.

These changes are attributable to several factors (Martin, 1980).

- First, in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the police faced a variety of pressures to change, including personnel shortages and mounting tensions between the police and the community they were sworn to serve.
- Second, the rise of the women's movement precipitated a variety of social, economic, and legal changes in the position of women in society.
- Third, changes in the law have made it illegal to deny a woman equal opportunity in a law enforcement career. Provisions of the 1972 Amendments to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Crime Control Act of 1973, the 1978 Pregnancy Discrimination Act, Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's guidelines have been implemented somewhat inconsistently. Nevertheless, these legal changes resulted in a series of legal decisions that altered eligibility criteria and selection mechanisms that had excluded women from policing.
- Fourth, findings from a number of evaluations of women's performance on patrol indicated that women are able to perform as ably as male patrol officers (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1975; Sichel et al. 1977; Bartlett and Rosenblum, 1977; Kizziah and Morris, 1977; Bartell Associates, 1978; Pennsylvania State Police, 1973. For a summary of the findings of these studies see Sulton and Townsey, 1981; for a critique see Morash and Greene, 1986). These studies made clear that sex could not be considered a bona fide occupational qualification for the job of patrol officer.

The initial cohorts of women officers faced staunch opposition to their integration into police patrol; women recruits today, while more widely accepted by their peers, still face a series of barriers not faced by men. Nevertheless, as this report will document, in the past 20 years there has been a small but steady increase in the number and influence of women within police agencies.

## **Opposition to Women in Male-Dominated Occupations: Organizational and Interpersonal Barriers**

The first women assigned to street patrol faced a variety of barriers to occupational success and informal acceptance (Martin, 1980; Remington, 1981; Hunt, 1984). Many of these were similar to obstacles encountered by women who sought to enter a male-dominated job in the largely sex segregated occupational worlds of:

- blue collar jobs (Wolshok, 1981; O'Farrell and Harlan, 1982; Reimer, 1979; Gruber and Bjorn, 1982; Deaux and Ullman, 1983; Zimmer, 1986; Swerdlow, 1989);
- law (Epstein, 1981);
- the military (Rustad, 1982; Binkin and Bach, 1977); and
- management (Kanter, 1977; Harlan and Weiss, 1981).

These studies of the barriers to and adaptation of women in different work environments increasingly have emphasized the organizational and structural factors that affect worker behavior rather than individual and psychological differences in occupational achievement. They have pointed out a number of ways in which the nature of the work and division of labor, the organizational context in which work is carried out, and the norms and patterns of employee interaction shape occupational behavior and the ways women negotiate the world of work.

Male resistance to women's entry into male-dominated occupations may be manifested through overt discrimination in recruitment and selection, task assignments, promotions, performance appraisals, and pay, as well as through the informal culture and interaction rituals that remind women that they are unwelcome intruders. Men may show overt hostility through denial of access to necessary information, sabotage, and even physical attack (Martin, 1980; Wolshok, 1981; Zimmer, 1986). At other times, resistance may be expressed through double standards of evaluation that punish women for displaying the very qualities that are highly valued in men (Thomas, 1987; Williams, 1989). For example, behavior which is regarded as "ambitious" when displayed by a man, results in a woman being viewed as "pushy."

The few new women are often treated as tokens who, simply by virtue of their numerical rarity as members of a visible minority group, are subjected to different treatment by dominants (Kanter, 1977). They face additional performance pressures, heightened boundaries against "outsiders," and entrapment in stereotypic sex roles such as "mother" and "sex object" that exacerbate gender differences. As a

consequence, the corporate women Kanter studied became more secretive, less independent, and less oppositional.

Reskin (1988) argues more broadly that men respond to women's intrusion into their spheres by adopting patterns of sex differentiation that take three forms: allocating jobs and tasks according to sex; treating women paternalistically; and sexualizing women or the workplace.

Several studies have found that male gatekeepers assign women different tasks or jobs when women enter male occupations and that these tend to be the less desirable and lower-paying activities (O'Farrell and Harlan, 1982; Deaux and Ullman, 1983; Reskin and Roos, 1990). Paternalism, another form of sex differentiation, generally involves males gaining submission, dependence, and even gratitude from subordinate women who, in exchange, are excused from difficult or undesirable jobs. At the same time, women are denied assignments that test their abilities to advance.

Paternalism is effective as a control system because it obscures the oppressive aspects of the relationship between dominants and subordinates by offering the latter immediate benefits in exchange for longer-term costs. Because male "protection" appears to be helpful rather than hostile, however, women may welcome being relieved of hard assignments (Lerner, 1986). Yet paternalism renders women ineffectual, denies them organizational rewards, stigmatizes them as inferior, and creates resentment by violating the men's sense of fairness (Weisheit, 1987; Jurik, 1985; Swerdlow, 1989; Padavic and Reskin, 1990).

A third form of sexual differentiation is an emphasis on women's sexual status through sexualization of the workplace and sexual harassment, including sexual talk, unwanted contact, and sexual advances (MacKinnon, 1978; Martin, 1978; Enarson, 1984; Swerdlow, 1989). Sexual harassment in the workplace is widespread, (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981), causes psychological and emotional problems for women workers, is a more prevalent problem for women in male-dominated than female-dominated jobs, and contributes to women's higher rate of turnover (Gutek and Morash, 1982).

Gutek (1985) explained it as a result of a "spill over" of sex role behavior into the workplace, as workers are unable to completely separate their work and sex roles. Women in male-dominated occupations are treated as women because their constellation of statuses are inconsistent: those associated with the female sex role become salient, and men treat them on the job in the same way they treat them in other roles such as mother and sex object. Others (MacKinnon, 1978; Hearn and Parkin, 1987; Jacobs, 1989) view sexual harassment as a

mechanism of social control used by men to control women's occupational mobility and maintain male dominance in the workplace.

Sex role spillover leads to additional dilemmas and conflicts because the sex role norms of appropriate "feminine" behavior conflict with occupational role definitions of appropriate behavior expected of a lawyer, manager, or stevedore. Dilemmas arise in deciding which rules apply in dealing with colleagues and clients. For women in policing they have to decide when and how to "act like a cop" and still act "like a woman" (Martin, 1980).

The overall effect of sex differentiation and discrimination on women's behavior and relations in the workplace are adaptive responses that set them off from the men. Women are pressured to respond by choosing between two polar patterns of behavior characterized as "defeminized" and "deprofessionalized" (Hochschild, 1973). Most women strive to negotiate a work identity between these two poles; nevertheless, in doing so they face additional obstacles and choices not encountered by male workers (Martin, 1980; Hunt, 1990; Zimmer, 1986).

### **Police Work and Male Opposition to Women Officers**

**R**esistance to the entry of women into police work also is related to the particular nature of police work and the anticipated impact of women on it. As Martin noted (1980:79):

The integration of women into police patrol work as co-workers threatens to compromise the work, the way of life, the social status, and the self-image of the men in one of the most stereotypically masculine occupations in our society.

Police work involves a variety of tasks and responsibilities. Officers are expected to prevent crime, protect life and property, enforce the laws, maintain peace and public order, and provide a wide range of services to citizens 24 hours a day. A common thread unifying these diverse activities, however, is the potential for violence and the need and right to use coercive means in order to establish social control (Bittner, 1970).

Understanding that the police act as the representatives of the coercive potential of the state and the legitimate users of force helps explain a number of their attitudes and characteristics. Although most



police calls involve requests for service or order-maintenance functions, crime fighting is the aspect of the job that is visible, publicly valued, and regarded as the most satisfying part of their work. Detectives get more pay, prestige, and personal autonomy. The informal group esteems the “good pinch” (arrest) and officers who make them. Catching criminals also is associated with danger and bravery, marking police work as a “man’s job.”

The less glamorous daily reality of policing, however, involves long periods with little activity punctuated by volatile situations where tensions are high, requiring officers to use their discretion in interpreting the law and restoring order. As a result of legal changes limiting legitimate use of force, officers need less bravado and more interpersonal skills.

The combination of danger and authority, plus organizational pressure for efficiency, has resulted in a unique “working personality” characteristic of police (Skolnick, 1967). Faced with danger, they become suspicious; feared by ordinary citizens, they often become isolated. Set apart from the larger world, they turn to their occupational group for support, solidarity, physical protection, and social identity. The job becomes a way of life and the occupational group and its norms provide a morality and self-conception. Those officers that do not adhere to the principal norms of policing—the rule of silence, the requirement that an officer physically back up another officer, and the rule of maintaining respect for the police—face ostracism, the silent treatment, and outright rejection as a partner (Westley, 1970).

Until recently, the police were able to maintain group solidarity by recruitment and selection mechanisms that assured a homogeneous group of working class white males who were likely to fit in. Outsiders were eliminated by physical requirements (women), written tests and/or educational requirements (blacks), and personal interviews that assured that candidates also expressed the “correct” attitudes toward the meaning of masculinity (Grey, 1975).

The presence of women threatens the definition of police work as men’s work. Many men object to the assignment of women to patrol because they are physically smaller and weaker. Others assert that women are unreliable in a physical confrontation and inhibit men’s willingness to take action. In one of the few remaining occupations in which strength and physical ability still are required for the work (if only occasionally), the assignment of women to patrol implies either that the men’s unique asset—physical superiority—is irrelevant, or that the man working with a woman will be at a disadvantage he

would not face in a confrontation if he had a male partner (Martin, 1980). To rely on a male partner is part of male camaraderie; reliance on a woman, in contrast, is felt to be unmanly. Thus the presence of women poses a bind for a male officer who wants to depend on his partner but does not want to depend on a woman.

Female officers also threaten the rule that the police should maintain respect. In those instances where the uniform and office are insufficient, the officer's personal authority and manner of conveying it are important in gaining citizen compliance. In a society where women are viewed as objects to be dominated rather than authority figures to be feared and obeyed and where they are not used to exercising power over men, male officers fear that male citizens' denial of female officers' authority will "rub off" on the police in general. Yet the alternative, a woman exercising authority over men, is also threatening to male officers' identities (Martin, 1980).

Women officers also undermine group solidarity by altering the rules by which officers relate to and compete with each other. They inhibit the use of expressive, raunchy language and frequent locker-room talk about women and sex. Women who curse upset the men by blurring the distinctions between the sexes that enable men to be men. The presence of women raises the specter of bonds of sexual intimacy between officers, which interferes with the demands of loyalty to the group. The presence of women disturbs the informal distribution of rewards because, some men insist, women are able to gain exemptions and favorable assignments by taking unfair advantage of their sex. But when this occurs, the men direct their anger at the women rather than male supervisors who perpetuate the behavior (Martin, 1980).

Women's integration also raises economic and status concerns in an occupation in which the association of their work with masculinity compensates for the modest financial rewards and mediocre social status of policing.

In sum, the nature of police work that combines danger and authority has resulted in an occupation closely associated with masculinity and officers who are very reluctant to integrate women into their ranks. The mechanisms used to exclude women and resist their integration into policing are similar to those identified in other occupations. They include overt hostility and harassment; denial of training opportunities; discriminatory evaluations; differential assignments and task differentiation; paternalism; sexualization and sexual harassment; and the consequences of tokenism including performance pressures, informal exclusion, and encapsulation in stereotypic roles. In addition, the nature of police work means that the resistance not

only undermines women's job commitment, morale, and self-confidence but, on occasion, becomes life-threatening (Martin, 1980).

To what extent has men's resistance diminished? How have women coped with and overcome it? How well accepted are women officers today? To what factors can changes be attributed? What barriers to equal opportunities for women in policing remain? And what changes in department policies and practices would reduce these barriers? These are the primary questions addressed in this study.

## **Scope of the Study: Data Collection and Analysis**

The research on which this report is based consists of two primary components: (1) a national mail survey of state and municipal departments; and (2) detailed case studies in five major city police agencies. Each is more fully described and the research methodology presented in the chapter presenting the primary findings.

The survey sought data on department policies and procedures related to selection, promotion, affirmative action, maternity leave and sexual harassment; it also sought departmental statistics for 1986 on recruitment and selection, sworn personnel by assignment and rank, officer promotions, and separations from service by sex.<sup>1</sup> The instrument was sent to 49 state police agencies and all 446 municipal departments serving populations over 50,000.

The case studies were designed to examine in detail the actual practices of five major departments serving populations over 100,000. In three of these agencies (Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Birmingham) the representation of women officers and supervisors was above the municipal average for large agencies; in two (Chicago and Phoenix), the proportions of women officers and supervisors were at or below the average for large departments.

The case studies involved three components. Initial interviews focused on departmental policies related to recruitment, selection, training, promotion, affirmative action, planning and research, and patrol operations as they related to agency efforts to integrate women.

Next, individual-level data were obtained from four case study departments on a sample of male and female officers matched by race, rank, and length of service. This permitted comparison of male and female performance and achievement in each department.

Finally, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 112 male and female officers and mid-level supervisors from the larger matched samples in the five departments in order to explore their

perspectives on the integration of women.

In presenting the findings, the five departments are identified in discussions of their policies which are a matter of public record. To respect respondent confidentiality, the responses of individuals are not identified by department or rank.

## **Organization of this Report**

**T**he remainder of this report contains Police Foundation findings on the status of women in policing. Chapter two presents a review of the primary legislation, executive orders, and case law, particularly decisions in the 1980's related to employment discrimination and affirmative action, sexual harassment, physical agility standards and tests, and pregnancy and maternity leave policies.

Chapter three presents the findings of the survey of municipal agencies serving populations over 50,000 and state police departments. Because data were available from those same departments for 1978, it was possible to examine changes in women's representation by race and rank. In addition, we examine current data on assignments, selection, promotions, separations, and policies affecting the status of women.

Chapters four through eight present data from the case studies. Chapter four examines recruitment, selection, and training in each of the case study agencies. Chapter five compares the male and female sample officers on several quantitative performance measures (i.e., academy score, recent supervisor evaluation, and use of sick leave), then focuses on sex differences in assignment patterns and their implications for long term success in policing. Chapter six focuses on promotion. It explores the promotion process in each case study agency and the problems that women face as supervisors. Chapter seven compares male and female non-retirement turnover rates. Chapter eight examines the nature and extent of discrimination against women officers and reviews evidence of change in the status of women in policing over the past decade. Based on these findings, recommendations for altering departmental policies and suggestions for further research are presented in the final chapter.

**C H A P T E R    2****THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK  
and RECENT CASE LAW**

**C**hanges in the law have had a significant impact in expanding the opportunity for women to pursue law enforcement careers. In addition to invalidating eligibility and selection procedures found to be discriminatory and not job-related, legislation and court rulings interpreting the law have had an impact upon a variety of job-related conditions and benefits.

An earlier Police Foundation report (Sulton and Townsey, 1981) reviewed legislation and court decisions through 1980; the emphasis in this chapter is on legal developments—primarily court rulings—in the 1980's. Among the subjects covered are affirmative action, sexual harassment, pregnancy and maternity benefits, and physical fitness and agility test standards.

**Equal Employment Opportunity Law  
Prior to 1980**

**B**efore 1972, the employment of women in police work was limited by laws and ordinances that excluded them from patrol and, thereby, often made them ineligible for promotion. The passage of the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972, which extended the provisions of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to state and local governments, opened the doors of the police station to women. State and local government agencies were thus prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, or national origin with regard to the compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment. The act authorized (1) the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to oversee enforcement of Title VII, and (2) the U.S. Department of Justice to sue public employers charged with employment discrimination. To carry out its mandate to interpret Title VII, the EEOC promulgated Sex Discrimination Guidelines (29 CFR 1604.2) and set up a mechanism to review complaints of individuals and groups.

Since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there has been a great volume of litigation alleging discrimination in employment on the basis of sex. The issues of particular importance to police departments are height and weight requirements, physical agility tests, sexual harassment, and pregnancy and related maternity benefits.

The executive branch also has taken actions to address employment discrimination. Executive Order 11246 called for "affirmative action" in addressing patterns of discrimination. The EEOC's guidelines for implementing Title VII interpreted that term to mean specific plans which include numerical goals and timetables to overcome the effects of past discrimination (Block and Walker, 1982).

Case law decisions have resulted in two types of violations of Title VII: (1) "disparate treatment" cases involve individual instances of disparate treatment based on prohibited criteria, or the use of neutral rules which perpetuate past intentional discrimination or segregation; or (2) "disparate impact" cases which involve neutral rules not justified by business necessity and which are proved to have an adverse impact on a protected class.

To prove a disparate treatment case the plaintiff must show that the employer intended to treat some people less favorably than others. In *McDonnell Douglas Corp. v. Green*, 411 U.S. 792, 93 S.Ct. 1817, 36 L.Ed.2d 668 (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that such discrimination occurs if the plaintiff shows that despite qualifications, he or she was denied a job and the employer does not articulate "legitimate and nondiscriminatory reasons for the plaintiff's rejection."

In *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. 424 (1971), the Supreme Court established the basis for a disparate impact case and the principles of affirmative action by stating that the purpose of Title VII is "the removal of artificial, arbitrary and unnecessary barriers to employment (i.e., sex) when the barriers operate invidiously to discriminate on the basis of race or other impermissible classifications." The Court placed the burden of showing the job-relatedness of an employment selection procedure on employers once the procedure was shown to have a disparate impact.

The height and weight requirements traditionally employed by police departments to select candidates, for example, were challenged when plaintiffs showed that they excluded a disproportionate number of women and other groups of applicants. The defendants (police departments) lost when they failed to show that the use of height and weight requirements were so closely job related that their use is "necessary to safe and efficient job performance." Nor were their



standards validated by professionally accepted methods (*Blake v. City of Los Angeles*, 15 FEB 76 [D. Cal 1977]).

## **The Supreme Court and Anti-Bias Laws in the 1980's**

Throughout the 1980's the Justice Department and the Supreme Court have brought about a reinterpretation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act so as to limit the use of affirmative action programs and narrow the grounds on which plaintiffs can prevail in employment discrimination cases.

The term affirmative action appears in two places in American law. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that if an employer is found to intentionally discriminate, the court may "order such affirmative action as may be appropriate, which may include but is not limited to, reinstatement or hiring of employees...or other equitable relief as the court deems appropriate." Executive Order 11246, which applies to federal contractors, imposes the duty to take affirmative action in employment and promotion as a condition for receiving federal contracts. During the 1970's the term gradually was interpreted by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and courts as requiring employers to establish equal employment opportunity plans that included statistical goals or quotas for hiring and promotion by race and sex.

Such plans have resulted in legal conflicts, however, because they imply two sometimes conflicting equal protection goals: eliminating barriers to full racial and sexual equality and requiring government to treat individuals fairly based on ability rather than race, sex, or ethnic origin. The conflict between these goals has plagued courts in their efforts to define adequately the constitutional standards to be applied when reviewing affirmative action programs. In the 1980's, the Justice Department has argued and the Supreme Court has accepted a balance that leans increasingly toward the latter goal.

The Supreme Court has never explicitly approved the use of quotas in hiring or promoting minority employees. It has, however, upheld other forms of remedial relief under Title VII, including voluntary affirmative action programs designed to avoid or limit Title VII challenges. In *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978), the Court held that public organizations' affirmative action plans may take race into account in making admissions decisions without violating the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as

long as the preferential programs do not use quotas. This decision, while not eliminating affirmative action, reversed the trend of the previous decade by declaring the use of quotas illegal although goals—which are more flexible—remain legally permissible.

In *United Steelworkers v. Weber*, 443 U.S. 193 (1979), the Court asserted that Congress did not intend to prohibit race-conscious affirmative action plans and permitted private employers to adopt voluntary affirmative action hiring plans under Title VII. Subsequent decisions in affirmative action cases, however, have tended to continue narrowing and limiting the scope of such plans.

In *Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts*, 467 U.S. 561 (1984), for example, the Supreme Court limited the effectiveness of affirmative action employment programs when they came into conflict with established seniority systems. In *United States v. Paradise*, 94 L Ed 203 (1987), the Court supported a lower court's decision requiring the Alabama Department of Public Safety to promote one black state trooper for each white promoted until either 25 percent of the job category was black or until an acceptable alternative promotion plan was put into effect. Thus the Court narrowly supported a quota when confronting intentional racial discrimination.

At the same time, in deciding that case, the Court summarized several criteria to assess whether or not race-conscious relief is constitutional. A primary concern of the Court was that the plan would have a diffuse and limited impact on innocent third parties. Other factors for consideration are: "1) the efficacy of alternative remedies; 2) the planned duration of the remedy; 3) relationship between the percentage of minority workers to be employed and the percentage of minority groups in the relevant population or work force; and 4) the availability of waiver provisions if the hiring plan could not be met" (ibid. p. 233).

In *Johnson v. Transportation Agency*, 94 L Ed 615 (1987), the Court upheld a voluntary affirmative action plan to overcome a "manifest imbalance" of women in "traditionally segregated job categories." The Court's 6-3 decision held that the plan met the standard established in *Weber* permitting a private employer to adopt a voluntary affirmative action hiring plan. In the *Johnson* decision, as in *Paradise*, the court permitted limited affirmative action based on individual circumstances and an impact which did not "unnecessarily trammel" the rights of male employees. The decision thus provided additional guidance for public employers regarding affirmative action and reemphasized the importance of careful design and implementa-



tion of any affirmative action plan, including both the reasons for it and techniques to be used.

In *Martin v. Wilks*, 109 S. Ct. 2180 (1989), the Court allowed white firefighters in Birmingham, Alabama to challenge a court-approved affirmative action plan years after its adoption. The decision followed two trials in which evidence of race discrimination had been presented, and a hearing on the court-ordered decree. Previously, appellate courts had held that consent decrees cannot be challenged by workers who pass up the opportunity to intervene in the litigation when it is taking place. This decision permits white males affected by court-approved consent decrees to file "reverse discrimination" lawsuits years after the decrees were adopted. Since a number of police agencies have similar consent decrees, it is possible that these may be challenged in the near future.

Other decisions of the Court have made it more difficult for plaintiffs to challenge employment discrimination. In *Wards Cove Packing Co., Inc. v. Atonio*, 109 S. Ct. 2115 (1989), the Court effectively overruled the *Griggs* rule and shifted the burden of proof on alleged job discrimination to workers. The workers' suit claimed that company hiring and promotion policies, while not necessarily racially motivated, nonetheless favored whites and ultimately had an adverse impact on the chances of minorities to obtain better jobs. The company contended that the workers' statistics were not relevant because the percentage of whites in skilled jobs necessarily reflected the available pool of "qualified" applicants. The decision toughened the criteria for proving discrimination under Title VII by requiring minority and women plaintiffs to link statistics showing racial imbalance to a specific employment practice. Furthermore, an employer only has to show that the practice is "reasonably" justified rather than meet the previous "business necessity" standard. This decision is likely to have a chilling effect since it requires plaintiffs to produce more sophisticated statistical cases and thereby increases the cost of litigation.

The gradual narrowing of the scope and shifting of the burden of proof make the future of affirmative action as well as other employment discrimination litigation increasingly uncertain. The current Court's composition and pattern of past decisions make it likely that it will be increasingly difficult for plaintiffs to win such cases. The balance has shifted away from concern with social equity toward protection of individual rights. Congress currently is debating a civil rights bill designed to undo several recent Court decisions, including

*Ward's Cove* and *Martin*. The future of this legislation is in doubt, however, due to reservations by and a threat of veto from the White House.

Apparently, the dire predictions that affirmative action would die have failed to materialize. This is due in part to the fact that affirmative action plans have been institutionalized over the past two decades. Increasingly administrators have become sensitized to and have come to accept the legitimacy and the value of social equity in employment practices. Nevertheless, as the Court has narrowed and specified the scope of affirmative action plans, it has become increasingly important that they be voluntary, carefully designed, supported by a politically responsible public agency, and befitting of local conditions so they are able to withstand legal attack.

### **Case Law Concerning Sexual Harassment**

Ten years passed between the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of sex and an action before a federal court based primarily on sexual harassment; another 12 years passed before the U.S. Supreme Court finally decided a sexual harassment case in 1986. In *Meritor Savings Bank FSB v. Vinson*, 106 S.Ct.2399 (1986), the Supreme Court clearly ruled that sexual harassment in employee relations is sex discrimination prohibited by Title VII, but it left unresolved the specific issues of employer liability and standards of consent.

In the early cases, the plaintiffs argued unsuccessfully that sexual harassment is an illegal form of sex discrimination (see *Corne v. Bausch and Lomb, Inc.*, 390 F Supp. 161 [D.C. Ariz. 1975]; *Miller v. Bank of America*, 418 F. Supp. 233 [N.D.Calif. 1976] *reversed*, 600 F.2D 211 (1979); *Barnes v. Train*, Civ. No.1828-73 [D.C.C. Aug. 9, 1974]; and *Tomkins v. Public Service Electric and Gas Co.*, 422 F.Supp. 553 [D.J.J. 1976]). In *Corne*, for example, Jane Corne and Geneva DeVane alleged that the repeated verbal and physical sexual advances of their male supervisor made their jobs intolerable and forced them to choose between "putting up with being manhandled or being out of work" (Brief of Appellants at 17). They argued that their employer, Bausch and Lomb, Inc., was responsible because it had allowed them to be supervised by a man who sexually harassed them.

The judge, however, dismissed the claim that the advances constituted sexual discrimination, stating that the supervisor's conduct was simply "a personal proclivity, peculiarity, or mannerism" (390 F. Supp. at 163) for which the employer could not be held liable. The

court also found that the supervisor's behavior was not "based on sex" because the harassment might have been directed at male as well as at female employees. In addition, the judge expressed concern that granting relief in this case might lead to "a potential federal lawsuit every time an employee made an amorous or sexually-oriented advance toward another" (390 F. Supp. at 163-4). Similarly in *Tomkins*, in denying that sexual harassment is either sex-based discrimination or employment-related, the court asserted that "the gender of each (party) is incidental to the claim of abuse" [422 F. Supp. at 556].

The court reached a somewhat different conclusion, however, in *Williams v. Saxbe*, 431 F. Supp. 654 (D.D.C. 1976), *reversed on other grounds sub. nom. Williams v. Bell*, 587 F.2d 1240 (D.C. Cir. 1978). It ruled that a male supervisor's retaliatory action against a female employee who refused his sexual advances constituted treatment "based on sex" within the meaning of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It left the employment-relatedness of each incident, however, to be determined as a fact at trial.

The *Williams* result was followed by reversals on appeal in *Barnes* and *Tomkins* and similar rulings in several other cases (*Barnes v. Costle*, 561 F.2d 982 [D.C. Cir. 1977]; *Tomkins v. Public Service Electric and Gas Co.*, 568 F.2d 1044 [3d Cir. 1977]). In reversing *Barnes*, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled that making sexual compliance a "job retention condition" imposed an employment requirement upon a woman that would not be imposed on a man and for which the employer was held accountable. The court affirmed that, for discrimination in employment to be found, "it is enough that gender is a factor contributing to the discrimination in a substantial way" (561 F.2d at 990). In reversing *Tomkins*, the Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit affirmed that an unresponsive employer to whom a victim had complained was legally liable for the actions of its agent or supervisor. Other appellate courts, however, while agreeing that harassment involving injury to a plaintiff in the form of a tangible loss of job benefits (i.e., *quid pro quo* harassment) violated Title VII, differed with respect to the extent of employer liability.

In 1981, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in *Bundy v. Jackson* 641 F.2d 934 (D.C. Cir 1981) expanded coverage in sex discrimination cases. It extended the phrases "terms, conditions, and privileges of employment" to cover nontangible injury to the victim thus making sexual harassment in and of itself a violation of the law. The court found conditions of employment to include the psychological and emotional work environment and reasoned that unless employers are prohibited from maintaining a "discriminatory

environment," they could sexually harass a female employee with impunity by carefully stopping short of firing her or taking other action against her if she resisted.

In the *Meritor* case, Plaintiff Michelle Vinson, a new bank teller, was invited to dinner and asked to have sexual relations by Sidney Taylor, a vice president and branch manager of Meritor Savings Bank. Out of fear of losing her job, she acquiesced but did not report the problem or use the bank's complaint procedure. Taylor and the bank denied all allegations of sexual misbehavior on his part. The bank also claimed that because it did not know of the situation, it could not be held responsible.

The District Court (23 Fair Empl. Prac. Cas. [BNA] 37 [D.D.C. 1980]) found that if there was a sexual relationship, it was voluntary and denied Vinson's claim of sex discrimination. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit reversed and remanded (753 F.2d 141 *reh'g denied*, 760 F.2d 1330 [D.C. Cir. 1985]), finding that Vinson was a victim not of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment but of the type emanating from a hostile working environment. It held that the voluntariness of the sexual relationship was immaterial and that the employer was strictly liable for the sexual harassment of an employee by its supervisor or agent, even if he does not have the authority to hire, fire, or promote, since the mere appearance of influence over job decisions gives him opportunity to impose on employees.

The Supreme Court unanimously affirmed that both types of sexual harassment identified in the EEOC guidelines (*quid pro quo* and hostile environment) are prohibited by Title VII and that in hostile environment cases the victim does not necessarily have to demonstrate economic harm. For sexual harassment to be actionable, the Court ruled, "it must be sufficiently severe or pervasive 'to alter the conditions of [the victim's] employment and create an abusive work environment'" (*id.* at 2406 quoting *Henson v. Dundee*, 682 F.ed 897,904 [11th Cir. 1982]).

In addressing the issue of employer liability, however, the Supreme Court refused to rule definitively on liability for hostile environment discrimination. A slim majority held that the Court of Appeals erred when it held employers automatically liable for the sexual harassment by supervisors.

The Court's ruling makes clear that employers, including police departments, must maintain working conditions free of sexual harassment and intimidation and that they also should establish mechanisms for investigating complaints of sexual harassment to reduce Title VII liability.

## Physical Agility Standards and Tests

Agility tests that include measures of strength and speed may have the effect of disqualifying a larger percentage of women than men, thus resulting in “disparate impact” under Title VII. If a mandatory standard produces a “disparate impact” it must be justified by proof of job relatedness, a standard considerably more burdensome for the government than the “rational basis” test imposed in the absence of such impact. Under the “rational basis” analysis, courts tended to defer to employers, assuming the validity of fitness standards. Because a number of agility tests that have a disparate impact on women have not been found to be job related, they have been successfully challenged as discriminatory under Title VII.

Recently the Court in *Watson v. Fort Worth Bank and Trust*, 108 S.Ct. 2777 (1988) reaffirmed the basic principle that an equally applied employment standard may violate Title VII, even if no discriminatory intent is found, because it may turn out to be the functional equivalent of intentional discrimination. It revised the scheme for allocating the burden of proof, however, to help employers establish the job relatedness of a reasonable fitness standard that has a disparate impact.

In litigating disparate impact cases brought under Title VII, plaintiffs now must identify the specific standard that is responsible for a statistical disparity and show how that standard disadvantaged them as a member of a protected class. The Court asserted that disparate impact will not ordinarily be inferred unless the members of the protected group are selected at a rate that is less than four-fifths of the rate at which the group with the highest rate is selected. The Court noted that while the employer has the burden of showing that a particular standard has a manifest relationship to the employment in question, “...the ultimate burden of proving that discrimination against a protected group has been caused by that standard remains with the plaintiff at all times” (at 2790). The Court added that employers are not required, even when defending standardized requirements, to introduce formal “validation studies” showing that those particular standards predict actual on-the-job performance.

Lower courts are divided over the amount of job relatedness proof required under Title VII cases in which agility tests have a disparate impact on women. In a case prior to the Supreme Court’s *Watson* decision, a federal district court upheld two physical tests having a disparate impact on women by adopting a standard for measuring job relatedness that closely resembles that formulated in *Watson*.

In *United States v. Wichita Falls*, 47 FEP Cases 1629 (N.D. Texas 1988), the court held that an applicant's successful completion of the department's physical assessment and physical ability test was "...necessary to be an effective police officer in Wichita Falls, Texas" (*id.* at 1635). The physical assessment test used to screen academy applicants was based on a general fitness standard rather than the applicant's ability to perform specific tasks. Subsequently, trainees underwent training and were required to pass a more difficult test. The court gave three reasons to support its conclusion that the physical assessment test did not discriminate against women. First, the standards on which women were judged were based on norms developed for women. Second, the test is nationally accepted and has "construct validity" because it accurately identifies physical characteristics necessary to perform as a police officer. Third, to pass the test an applicant needed only to score "fair" for a person of his or her sex who is between 40 and 49 years old which, the court asserted, "...is the absolute minimum physical condition for an effective police officer" (*id.* at 1634).

The physical agility test subsequently given to applicants after undergoing training attempted to measure specific strengths and motor abilities said to be related to the accomplishment of police functions. It consisted of a low obstacle course, transporting a 150-pound dummy 75 feet, a stairway run, and a quarter-mile run. The court concluded that the test components constituted "operational necessities" for a police officer and declared it a valid predictor of job performance that had "content validity" based on testimony at trial. It offered no case authority to support its conclusion that a formal validation study was not required, but neither did the Court in *Watson*.

In a contrasting case, *Thomas v. City of Evanston*, 610 F.Supp 422 (D.C. Ill. 1985), the circuit court ruled that a physical agility test based on a job analysis consisting of survey responses from three police chiefs and 30 hours of observation by graduate students riding with officers did not satisfy the requirement of showing job relatedness. To do so, said the court, the test makers must do a proper job analysis, create a test related to and representative of the content of the job, and score the instrument so that it properly discriminates between those who can and cannot perform the job well. In this case the job analysis was inadequate and the agility test could not be analyzed to determine whether it was related to the job. The court observed:

It is well within the police executive's authority to devise a physical agility test which would be justifiable as a device for screening police applicants...(but)



too often tests which on the surface appear objective and scientific turn out to be based on ingrained stereotypes and speculative assumptions about what is 'necessary' to the job (*id.* at 432).

Thus if a particular standard has a disparate impact on women, Title VII requires that it be justified by a showing of job relatedness. The appropriate burden of proof to establish job relatedness, however, appears to have shifted. Employers may no longer be required to conduct formal validation studies but they still must justify specific standards that fail to meet the four-fifths rule.

### **Pregnancy and Maternity Leave**

In the earliest pregnancy discrimination case decided by the Supreme Court (*Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur*, 414 U.S.632 [1974]), the Court ruled that a policy requiring a pregnant teacher to leave her job at a fixed point without consideration of her individual ability to work was an unconstitutional violation of her due process rights. In three later cases, however, the Court ruled that pregnancy discrimination is not necessarily sex discrimination. In *Geduldig v. Aiello*, 417 U.S.484 (1974), the Court upheld California's state disability benefits program which covered all types of disability that could befall a worker except the disability arising out of "normal" pregnancy and childbirth. In *General Electric Company v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976), the Court found that the exclusion of pregnancy-related disabilities from an insurance plan, which on its face is not worth more to men than to women, does not have a gender-based effect on women that constitutes lawful sex discrimination. And in *Nashville Gas Co v. Satty*, 434 U.S. 125 (1977), the Court declared that an employer's policy of depriving women returning from maternity leave of their previously accumulated seniority rights violated Title VII. Together these cases concluded that sex discrimination exists when the employer extends opportunities or benefits to one sex that are more valuable or less restricted than those offered to the other. But when existing benefits or opportunities are offered equally to men and women no sex discrimination exists when additional benefits that might be particularly valuable to one sex are withheld.

Rejecting the Court's interpretation in 1978, Congress adopted an amendment to Title VII known as the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA). This prescribes that pregnancy be treated as any other temporary disability by employers in the provision of employment

benefits, and specifically prohibits discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions. By defining pregnancy-based discrimination as a *per se* violation of Title VII, the act clarified and reaffirmed Congress' original intent to protect working women from all forms of sex discrimination, including those based on the sex-unique trait of pregnancy.

Two recent Court decisions, however, make clear that, in practice, interpretation of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA) depends on the generosity of an individual or state employer or both. In *Wimberly v. Labor and Industrial Relations Commission of Missouri*, 107 S.Ct. 821 (1987), the Court unanimously upheld a Missouri statute which denied pregnant women unemployment benefits during pregnancy because under the statute all workers who voluntarily leave without a work-related cause are denied unemployment compensation. Conversely, in *California Federal Savings and Loan v. Guerra*, 107 S.Ct. 683 (1987), the Court held that the Pregnancy Discrimination Act does not limit the extent of an employer's generosity to pregnant workers. In that decision, the Court upheld a California statute requiring employers to have special job reinstatement protection for pregnant workers. This statute gave the same benefits to men and women in comparable situations of disability, and is not precluded by the PDA. In sum, the Pregnancy Disability Act represents a floor beneath which pregnancy disability benefits may not drop, not a ceiling above which they may not rise.

Despite Title VII's general prohibition of sex discrimination, an employer may discriminate or refuse to hire individuals on the basis of sex if sex is determined to be a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ), "reasonably necessary to the normal operation of business." To do so, the employer must prove that: (1) it had a factual basis to believe that all or substantially all members of the class discriminated against would be unable to safely and efficiently perform the duties of the job involved or that a reasonable, general rule was applied because it was impossible or highly impractical to deal with the affected class on an individual basis; and (2) that the particular characteristic used as the target of discrimination must be "reasonably necessary to the essence" of the business operation (*Diaz v. Pan Am World Airways*, 442 F. 2d 385 [Fifth Circuit, 1971] at 388).

The business necessity test focuses on the safety issue intrinsic to occupations with substantial potential for danger. The greater the likelihood of harm to the clients, the more stringent the job qualifications designed to ensure safety may be. The airlines industry has frequently used the BFOQ exception in justifying policies governing



pregnant flight attendants. Several circuit courts have ruled differently on the conditions and scope of the BFOQ exception,<sup>1</sup> but in general have upheld the permissibility of discrimination when pregnant employees' work raises considerations of their health and safety and that of co-workers and clients.

Similar questions regarding the safety of the officer and citizens arise regarding police patrol work. In the only police-related case we found to date, *Roller v. City of San Mateo*, 572 F. 2d 1311 (9th Cir. 1977), a woman officer brought a suit charging discrimination under Title VII, challenging the police department's failure to assign her to light duty (as was recommended by her physician) instead of placing her on sick leave after the third month of pregnancy. The court, however, held that the city presented a legitimate nondiscriminatory reason for its action when it introduced a city directive that required all employees be physically fit to perform all duties and that none be assigned limited duty even if authorized by a physician.

The Pregnancy Discrimination Act requires departments to adopt or amend policy guidelines to insure that pregnancy, childbirth, and related medical conditions be considered equivalent to other temporary physical disabilities as regards employment benefits. In light of the *Guerra* and *Wimberly* decisions, the law also appears to permit police departments to reassign pregnant officers to light duty assignments if such transfers are generally available but does not require that they have them. For agencies that permit light duty, it is advisable to establish procedures for reassignment rather than making decisions on a case-by-case basis. Rather than selecting a single cut-off date, reassignment to light duty should be based on the recommendation of the woman's physician prior to a presumptive transfer date (such as the end of the fifth month); beyond that date, continuation in a physically strenuous assignment should require a waiver based on the physician's recommendation.

## Endnotes: Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> In *Harris v. Pan Am World Airways, Inc.*, 649 F. 2d 670 (9th Cir. 1980), the court upheld the airline's mandatory maternity leave policy requiring flight personnel to take an unpaid leave of absence from discovery of pregnancy until 60-90 days after delivery. In *Levin v. Delta Airlines, Inc.*, 730 F. 2d 994 (5th Cir. 1984), Delta's policy of removing flight attendants as soon as pregnancy was discovered was upheld under Title VII because of the potential threat pregnant attendants might pose to passengers. Other airlines, however, permit visibly pregnant flight attendants to continue working their regular duties up until a specific point, usually the beginning of their third trimester. In *Burwell v. Eastern Airlines, Inc.*, 633 F. 2d 361 (4th Cir. 1981), the court lambasted Eastern's mandatory "leave upon knowledge" policy calling its concern for the health of the woman and child a "pretext" for justifying discrimination. Nevertheless, it ruled that mandatory leave after the 28th week would be valid under the BFOQ defense as necessary to secure passenger safety and efficiency in business.

## CHAPTER 3

**NATIONAL SURVEY of  
POLICE DEPARTMENTS**

To provide an accurate description of the current status of women in policing and identify changes since 1978, the foundation conducted a mailed survey of police personnel practices and policies. That survey sought information on: (1) departmental policies and actual practices regarding recruitment, selection, and promotion; (2) the number and percentage of male and female officers at various ranks and in different types of assignments; (3) male and female officer turnover rates; and (4) the presence and nature of policies related to affirmative action, sexual harassment, pregnancy, and maternity leave.

The survey sample included all municipal police departments serving populations of 50,000 or more and all state police departments. Questionnaires were mailed to 446 municipal and 49 state police departments<sup>1</sup> after the instrument was reviewed by a number of former police officials and pretested in three agencies. Our 1986 sample included all departments participating in the 1978 Police Foundation survey, as well as 50 departments that were not included in the earlier study.<sup>2</sup>

The response rates for both municipal and state agencies were high. Seventy-two percent of the municipal departments (N=319) and 78 percent of the state agencies (N=38) returned usable surveys.<sup>3</sup> Both state and municipal departments in the South responded at higher rates (82 and 88 percent respectively) than those in other regions.<sup>4</sup> Among municipal agencies the response rate from North-eastern agencies was lowest (68 percent; among state agencies, that of the West was lowest (66 percent).

Table 3-1, showing the responses of municipal agencies by size, indicated that departments serving populations over 250,000 responded at a higher rate than those serving cities with populations between 50,000 and 250,000. This is common to surveys of police departments, probably because large agencies tend to have planning and analysis units that routinely provide department data.

Table 3-1

DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYS AND RESPONSES OF  
MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS BY SIZE

SIZE	NUMBER SENT	NUMBER RESPONDING	RESPONSE RATE
Million +	6	6	100
500-Million	17	15	88
250-500,000	37	34	89
100-250,000	119	85	64
50-100,000	267	179	67
TOTAL	446	319	72%

Data analyses were designed to explore the relative importance of such factors as region, city size, proportion of minority officers, change in agency size since 1982, and the presence of affirmative action policies in determining:

- the proportion of female officers and supervisors at the end of 1986;
- the proportion of females among applicants, persons selected as new recruits, those beginning and completing recruit training;
- the percentage of persons promoted to sergeant and lieutenant; and
- male and female turnover rates in 1986.

### **Representation of Women in Policing**

**A**t the end of December 1986, women represented 8.8 percent of the sworn officers in municipal departments in cities over 50,000 as shown in Table 3-2.<sup>5</sup> This table also indicates that the representation of women officers varies directly with the size of the population served, ranging from 10.4 percent of the officers in cities of over a million to

TABLE 3-2

1986 MEAN PERCENTAGE OF POLICE IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS  
BY CITY SIZE, SEX, AND ETHNICITY

CITY SIZE	WHITE MALE	MINORITY MALE	TOTAL MALE	WHITE FEMALE	MINORITY FEMALE	TOTAL FEMALE
Million+ (N=6)	68.6	21.0	89.6	5.7	4.7	10.4
500-Million (N=15)	62.9	27.8	90.7	4.5	4.8	9.3
250-500,000 (N=34)	71.5	19.4	90.9	6.1	3.0	9.1
100-250,000 (N=84)	81.2	12.0	93.2	5.3	1.5	6.8
50-100,000 (N=177)	86.1	9.0	95.1	4.0	.9	4.9
TOTAL (N=316)	72.2	19.0	91.2	5.3	3.5	8.8

less than half that (4.9 percent) in cities between 50,000 and 100,000. By looking at white and minority women separately, it became clear that the variation in the proportion of women is accounted for largely by variation in the representation of minority females. While the representation of white women varies from 6.1 percent to 4.0 percent across size categories and does not decrease directly with city size, representation of minority women ranges from 4.8 percent in cities with over a million inhabitants to 0.9 percent in cities between 50,000 and 100,000 and does decrease directly with city size.

Table 3-2 suggests that the representation of minority males follows a pattern similar to that of minority females, decreasing with decreases in city size, but indicates that racial integration has occurred more fully than sexual integration. Whereas 22.5 percent of sworn officers are members of a minority, which is nearly proportional to their representation in the urban population, the 8.8 percent female representation is only a fraction of the 52 percent of the population and 44 percent of the labor force that women represent.

An additional observation regarding sexual and racial integration is that minority women make up a substantially larger proportion of all female officers than minority males do among the men. Overall, minority women make up 40 percent of the female officers while minority men constitute only 21 percent of all male municipal police. The great majority of minority women officers (and, to a lesser extent, minority males) are black.

The large proportion of black women among females in policing may be attributed to several factors. First, black women may view policing as an attractive alternative within the narrow range of occupational options traditionally open to them; for the high school educated black woman, policing offers a step up in both prestige and pay from factory and domestic work and offers better pay than clerical jobs. Second, municipal departments appear to focus affirmative action recruiting efforts on the black community. Their message reaches the black females as well as the males. Third, there may be a dynamic whereby the blacks in a department recruit others so that those departments with minorities find it easier to recruit more. And, finally, departments may recruit and select minority women to simultaneously meet affirmative action goals for women and racial minorities.

Table 3-3 shows the representation of white and minority female officers by region in 1978 and 1986. It indicates that the proportion of women officers overall has more than doubled, from 4.2 percent in 1978 to 8.8 percent in 1986, with both white and minority representation growing by about the same amount. Whereas both white and

minority women were greatly underrepresented in departments in the Northeast in 1978, by 1986 that region had nearly caught up to the North Central and Southern regions, while the representation of women officers, particularly minority women, in the West (7.6 percent) lagged slightly behind the other regions.

TABLE 3-3

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE POLICE IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS BY REGION, ETHNICITY, AND YEAR

REGION	1978			1986		
	WHITE (N=290)	MINORITY (N=290)	TOTAL (N=290)	WHITE (N=316)	MINORITY (N=316)	TOTAL (N=316)
Northeast	1.3	.6	1.8	5.1	3.6	8.7
N. Cent.	3.0	2.7	5.8	5.3	3.9	9.2
South	2.8	1.8	4.7	5.5	4.0	9.4
West	2.9	.7	3.6	5.4	2.2	7.6
TOTAL	2.6	1.6	4.2	5.3	3.5	8.8

As Table 3-4 indicates, state police departments are still composed almost entirely of white male officers, with both female and minority representation in state police agencies lagging that in municipal departments. Table 3-4 shows that regional differences among state agencies are small, but in the South there are slightly more minority males and fewer minority female officers than in other regions.

The lower proportion of female officers in state police departments may reflect the fact that state police and their organizational culture (including its resistance to women) have changed less than municipal agencies. It is unclear from the data whether state police fail to seek out female recruits or disproportionately reject those that apply. An alternative explanation is that military-style training in residential academies and vulnerability to being assigned and transferred anywhere in the state deters women from applying.

TABLE 3-4

PERCENTAGE OF STATE POLICE IN 1986  
BY ETHNICITY, SEX, AND REGION

REGION	MALES			FEMALES		
	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL
Northeast	86.6	10.0	96.5	3.2	.3	3.5
N. Cent.	87.0	8.8	95.7	3.9	.4	4.3
South	84.6	12.7	97.4	1.9	.7	2.6
West	83.6	11.7	95.2	3.9	.9	4.8
TOTAL	85.4	10.9	96.3	3.1	.6	3.7

### Representation of Women Supervisors

Data on the number of officers by rank indicate that women make up only 3.3 percent of all supervisors (i.e., persons at the rank of sergeant or above) in municipal agencies and 0.7 percent of supervisors in state police agencies.<sup>6</sup> The fact that the proportion of women supervisors lags behind their overall representation is not surprising. All new police supervisors are selected from the entry level rank of officer and are eligible for promotion only after several years of service at that rank.

In Table 3-5, female representation in policing by rank in 1978 and 1986 is presented by city size. Overall, the proportion of women at every rank increased from 1978 to 1986 although the higher the rank, the smaller the increase. More specifically, the proportion of women in the rank of officer doubled from 5 percent in 1978 to 10 percent in 1986, and their representation was directly related to city size in both years. Women in the rank of sergeant increased from 1.0 percent of all sergeants in 1978 to 3.7 percent in 1986, with the greatest gains in cities over 250,000. Women lieutenants increased from 0.7 to 2.5 percent of all lieutenants; women in upper level management grew only from 0.5 percent in 1978 to 1.4 percent of upper level managers in 1986. For both groups the greatest increases were found in cities over 250,000 but less than a million.



TABLE 3-5  
 MEAN PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE POLICE IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS  
 BY CITY SIZE, RANK, AND YEAR

CITY SIZE	OFFICER*		SERGEANT		LIEUTENANT		ABOVE LT.	
	1978 (N=290)	1986 (N=315)	1978 (N=284)	1986 (N=301)	1978 (N=278)	1986 (N=302)	1978 (N=285)	1986 (N=315)
Million +	6.6	11.6	1.7	4.2	3.1	2.9	1.6	1.4
500-Million	5.1	10.5	0.7	3.7	0.5	3.8	0.4	2.5
250-500,000	5.3	10.3	1.4	5.0	1.8	3.3	0.5	2.8
100-250,000	5.0	8.1	0.8	3.2	0.3	1.6	0.2	0.4
50-100,000	3.3	6.0	0.6	1.6	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.5
TOTAL	5.0	10.0	1.0	3.7	0.7	2.5	0.5	1.4

\* Includes officers, detectives, and corporals.

In sum, while women have made substantial gains in their representation at the bottom of the police hierarchy, they continue to be virtually excluded from upper level management. The situation for women in policing is similar to that found in corporate board rooms and law partnerships: the higher in the organizational structure one looks, the less visible women become.<sup>7</sup>

In 1978, when women constituted only one percent of all supervisors, the proportion in the North Central States (1.5 percent) was nearly four times that found in the Northeast (0.4 percent). That year, only 20 percent of all female supervisors were minority group members. Between 1978 and 1986, however, the greatest increase in the proportion of female supervisors occurred in the South where it grew from 0.9 to 4.5 percent. Minority women supervisors increased from .2 to 1 percent of all supervisors and thus comprised nearly a third of the female supervisors. These changes, as will be shown, appear to be the result of affirmative action efforts.

In 1986, white women made up .67 percent and minority women comprised .07 percent of all state police supervisors. The proportion of minority male supervisors in state police (4.4 percent) also lags behind their representation in municipal departments, where they comprise 13.6 percent of all supervisors.

### **Representation of Women by Type of Assignment**

**U**ntil the early 1970's, women officers were limited to clerical and youth division assignments; by 1986, however, 98 percent of the responding departments had women officers assigned to patrol. The year that women were first assigned patrol duties, however, varied significantly by city size and region. Overall, 32 percent of the agencies assigned women to patrol prior to 1974; 41 percent started routinely putting women on patrol between 1974 and 1976; and 25 percent assigned women to patrol for the first time after 1976. Of those agencies assigning women to patrol since 1976, 40 percent are in the Northeast and 80 percent are in cities in the smallest size category (i.e., between 50,000 and 100,000).

The extent to which women officers' assignments are now similar to those of their male counterparts is suggested by the fact that a higher proportion of female (73 percent) than male (70.3 percent) officers are assigned to field operations units.

Furthermore, Table 3-6<sup>8</sup> shows that variation in women's assignments correlates with city size. In all size categories women are

overrepresented in field operations units (which includes patrol, special operations, and traffic assignments) and underrepresented in vice and investigative units. For example, as shown in the first column of Table 3-6, women make up 9.9 percent of all officers in cities over a million in population, but represent 10.9 percent of the persons assigned to field operations (shown in the next column). In the largest three city-size categories, women are overrepresented in administrative and other assignments, while in cities with populations less than 250,000, they are underrepresented in these two assignment categories.

Female officers' assignments in state police vary less than they do in municipal departments, but follow a similar pattern. How can these patterns be explained? In virtually all agencies, rookies of both sexes begin their careers on patrol. Thus the overrepresentation of women in field operations units may to some extent reflect their newness in policing.

Most officers, sooner or later in their career, seek to leave patrol and obtain a specialized assignment. Women appear to have taken advantage of opportunities to transfer, particularly to support-staff positions, in disproportionately large numbers as a result of both pushes out of patrol and pulls toward such assignments. As will be elaborated in chapters six and seven, the pushes result from the persistence of the attitude held by many male police officers that most women officers are unsuited for the danger of the street. The pulls are due to the desire of women to escape from harassment, use the clerical or administrative skills that many possess, and obtain daywork hours that ease the burden of finding child care and are more compatible with family life than rotating shifts. Because in smaller departments the proportion of administrative and specialized assignments is smaller and many of them are reserved for injured or pre-retirement officers (almost always male), women make up a smaller percentage of such jobs than they do in big agencies.

Investigative and vice units tend to be more "elite" and, therefore, are more difficult for women to enter. Vice work also tends to involve extensive overtime and evening working hours that are difficult to mesh with family life. For these reasons they may be less attractive to some women officers.

### **Sex Differences in Officer Selection and Training**

**I**n the long run, the proportion of female officers is shaped by the rate at which they apply to and are accepted by police departments and the

TABLE 3-6

1986 PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE OFFICERS IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS  
BY TYPE ASSIGNMENT AND CITY SIZE

CITY SIZE	TOTAL FEMALES (N=293)	FIELD (N=292)	CID (N=293)	VICE (N=250)	ADMIN (N=283)	OTHER (N=196)
Million +	9.9	10.9	7.9	9.6	17.5	12.4
500-Million	9.9	10.3	6.7	7.4	11.6	10.9
250-500,000	8.8	8.9	7.0	7.2	10.8	10.2
100-250,000	6.6	7.1	5.0	6.7	5.7	6.3
50-100,000	5.1	5.3	5.3	3.6	4.1	4.5
TOTAL	8.4	9.2	6.6	7.5	10.2	9.1

rate at which they leave policing. Application and selection rates, in turn, are shaped by the eligibility criteria and the mechanisms used to recruit, screen, and select candidate officers. For many years, minimum height and weight standards, as well as educational standards that were higher for women than men, served to greatly limit the pool of female applications (Milton, 1972; Sulton and Townsey, 1981). In the past 15 years, however, the eligibility criteria for policing positions have been dramatically altered (Sulton and Townsey, 1981; Fyfe, 1987). This change has been the result of a series of legal battles won by plaintiffs alleging past, present, and future discriminatory impact of such standards, as well as by the adoption of regulations prohibiting discrimination by state and local recipients of funds by the Justice Department. Consequently, the pool of eligible candidates for policing includes virtually all healthy high school graduates.

In 1981, only 13 percent of municipal agencies retained height requirements and by 1986, Fyfe (1987) found that in fewer than 4 percent of municipal departments minimum height (mean = 5' 4") and weight (mean = 135.3 pounds) standards remain as entry criteria. More than 60 percent of the responding agencies simply require candidate weight be in proportion to height (Fyfe, 1987:6). In addition, the use of physical performance tests to assess fitness has increased from 58 percent of responding municipal agencies in 1982 to 76 percent in 1986 (Fyfe, 1987:7).

The types of selection mechanisms used by municipal and state police departments responding to our survey, as shown in Table 3-7, are quite similar. The vast majority of both municipal and state departments require applicants to pass written, oral, and medical exams, a psychological screening test, and a pre-training physical agility test. What those tests contain and how they are administered, however, probably varies widely.

In the past, interviews also were used to screen out prospective officers who made it through the eligibility requirements but who did not express the "correct" predispositions toward certain values and possess "the mark of affinity" demonstrated by the candidate's conception of masculinity (Gray, 1975). In contrast, interviews that use predetermined questions and answers and are administered by panels of trained interviewers that include minorities and females, tend to leave less room for subjective and arbitrary decisions.

Our data suggest that despite variation, the administration of oral interviews has become substantially more routine and objective than in the past, probably as a result of successful legal challenges. For example, 76 percent of the municipal agencies and 88 percent of the

state agencies that use oral interviews have standardized questions; 60 percent of those municipal departments and 44 percent of those state departments using interviews have pre-identified acceptable responses. Only about a quarter of departments using panels require female or minority representation.

TABLE 3-7

SELECTION MECHANISMS USED IN POLICE DEPARTMENTS  
BY DEPARTMENT TYPE

TYPE OF MECHANISM	PERCENT USING SELECTION MECHANISM	
	MUNICIPAL DEPTS. (N=317)	STATE DEPTS. (N=38)
Written exam	95	97
Medical exam	100	100
Physical agility test	80	84
Some college	20+	21
Psychological screening	94+	82
Urine test	52	65
Oral interview	93+*	90
Standardized questions	76+	88
Standardized answers	60	44
Panel of interviewers	88+	88
Female on panel	21+*	32
Minority on panel	29+	34

+ Chi square test for differences by region in the use of this mechanism indicate statistically significant regional differences.

\* Chi square test for differences by size in the use of this mechanism indicate that larger departments are significantly less likely to use oral exam and more likely to have a female on the oral panel if one is used.

To permit examination of the selection process, departments provided data on the number of male and female officers of each ethnic group who: (1) filed an application in 1986; (2) were offered employment by the department; (3) entered the training academy; and (4) completed training. Because in many jurisdictions, county or municipal personnel boards administer the initial entry test and certify qualified applicants from a list ranked by written exam score, only 60 percent of the departments were able to provide data on the number of applicants, 72 percent supplied data on the number of acceptances, and 77 percent on academy entrance and completion.<sup>9</sup>

Focusing first on municipal departments, Table 3-8 shows the proportion of applicants, persons accepted, those entering, and those completing training in 1986 by sex and ethnicity. Twenty percent of the applicants were women; virtually the same proportion of those accepted (20.6 percent) and completing training (19.2 percent) were females. Because the actual qualifications of the male and female applicants are unknown, it is impossible to determine whether there is discrimination in the selection process. The data presented in the table, however, suggest that there is no systematic bias against selecting women applicants. The large standard deviations, however, suggest that the recruitment and selection policies among departments vary widely within size and region categories.

TABLE 3-8

OFFICER SELECTION IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS  
BY CANDIDATE RACE AND SEX

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF CANDIDATES	MALE			FEMALE		
	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL
Applicants (N=189)	50.1	29.9	80.0	11.0	9.0	20.0
Accepted (N=231)	50.1	29.4	79.5	10.3	10.3	20.6
Entered academy (N=246)	53.6	26.6	80.2	10.7	9.2	19.9
Completed academy (N=246)	55.2	25.4	80.6	10.7	8.5	19.2

Focusing on the ethnic differences shown in Table 8, minority women make up 45 percent of the female applicants and 44 percent of the females that complete the academy. In contrast, minority males make up 40 percent of all male applicants but only 32 percent of those completing the academy. The difference appears to arise both because minority males are more likely than white men not to accept the offer of employment in policing and not to complete the academy. It also appears that while the pool of white male candidates seeking to enter policing and actually entering remains large, white females are more underrepresented than minority women in the proportion applying to and entering police work.

Breakdowns of the application, acceptance, entrance, and completion rates by city size indicate that there is a direct relationship between the size of the jurisdiction and the proportion of women among applicants, accepted candidates, academy entrants, and persons completing the academy. At each stage of the selection process, the proportion of women in departments in cities over a million is nearly twice that found in agencies in cities of 50,000 to 100,000. Statistical significance tests are based on a measure of the differences within groups. Wide variation within makes significant findings harder to achieve—as shown here.

A similar breakdown by region suggests that there was a higher proportion of female applicants in the South and a smaller proportion in the Northeast than in the North Central and Western States ( $F=5.83$ ;  $p < .001$ ), but there were no significant regional differences in the acceptance, academy entrance, or academy completion rates for the women.

Factors other than size and region also affect the rates at which qualified women apply and are accepted for police jobs. Selection criteria and the department's affirmative action policy both affect the size of the female applicant pool and the proportion of female applicants accepted.

As indicated in Table 3-9, using the agency as the unit of analysis and taking the unweighted mean number of female applicants by agency size category, the agency affirmative action policy has a statistically significant effect on both the proportion of women among all applicants and the proportion of women accepted. In agencies with court-ordered affirmative action plans, an average of 21 percent of the applicants were female, in contrast to 17 percent in agencies with voluntary affirmative action plans and 13 percent in ones with no plan. Women also made up a significantly larger proportion of the applicants accepted in agencies with court-ordered affirmative action plans (21



percent) than those with voluntary plans (18 percent) or no plans (14 percent).

TABLE 3-9

IMPACT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON  
UNWEIGHTED PROPORTION OF FEMALES AMONG  
APPLICANT AND PERSONS SELECTED BY DEPARTMENTS

TYPE AA PLAN	% OF APPLICANTS THAT ARE FEMALE	% OF ACCEPTED APPLICANTS THAT ARE FEMALE
Court ordered	20.5 (6.7)*	21.3 (13.2)
Voluntary	16.7 (8.7)	17.6 (12.8)
None	12.9 (7.8)	14.1 (12.6)
TOTAL	15.7	16.7
	N=181 F=9.46 P < .001	N=220 F=4.09 P < .02

\* Standard deviation in parenthesis

Thus, departmental policies do make a difference. To increase female representation in policing, agencies must enlarge their female applicant pool, and they can accomplish that primarily by actively recruiting females. Once there are more female applicants, finding qualified candidates among them does not appear to be difficult.

Among the selection criteria, the presence of a pre-training physical agility test, the use of an oral panel, and the presence of a female on the panel all were associated with female application rates. Only the agility test had a statistically significant impact on the rate at which female applicants were accepted. There was a significantly higher proportion of female applicants (19 percent) in municipal agencies who do not have a pre-training physical agility test than in those that do (15 percent;  $F=7.34$ ;  $p < .01$ ) and a similar difference in

female acceptance rates (22 percent versus 15 percent of the persons accepted, respectively  $F=11.59$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Similarly, more women applied in departments that do not use an oral interview (20 percent) than in those that do (15 percent  $F=5.71$ ;  $p < .02$ ), and more applied in those that include a female on the interview panel (18 percent) than in those that do not (14 percent  $F=8.66$ ;  $p < .02$ ). Neither of these factors, however, was significantly associated with the proportion of females among all candidates accepted for police employment.

Because several factors were found to be associated with the rates at which females apply to and are accepted by police departments and the rate at which they complete academy training, multivariate analysis was used to look at the simultaneous effects of these variables. Both the percentage of females and percentage of blacks in a department were positively associated with female applications; the presence of a pre-training agility test, as well as small city size (50,000-100,000 population), were negatively associated with female applications. (See Appendix for regression equations.)

To focus specifically on the effect of affirmative action policies on the proportion of female applicants, two regression models were developed. The "full" model included as independent variables agency size, region, percent black, percent hispanic, percent female, whether the agency had increased its authorized sworn personnel since 1982, whether women had been assigned to patrol prior to 1974, the total percentage of applicants accepted in 1986, whether the agency uses a pre-training agility test, whether there is either female or minority representation on the oral panel, and whether the agency has either a voluntary or a court-ordered affirmative action policy. The "restricted" model included all but the two affirmative action variables. A test of the significance of the difference between the two models (Nambodiri, Carter, and Blalock, 1975) indicated that the affirmative action variables do indeed make a difference after controlling the effects of the other variables ( $F=2.31$ ;  $df 16, 150$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

Three independent variables were found to be significant predictors of the proportion of female recruits accepted for training. These were: (1) the percent of females already in the department; (2) the percent of female applicants; and (3) the absence of a pre-training agility test. The affirmative action variables were not significant in either the best fitting regression model or the test of difference between the full and restricted models. This finding suggests that the principal impact of affirmative action policies in the selection process is on candidate recruitment, primarily in widening the applicant pool; once that pool is enlarged, women are simply selected roughly in

proportion to their presence in that pool. The previous effects of affirmative action policies are reflected in the significant association between the proportion of blacks and females already in the department and the proportion of females among the applicants and persons accepted for training.

A third regression model examined the factors associated with the proportion of females among the recruits completing academy training. Only two variables were significantly associated, the percentage of females among persons accepted for academy training, and the presence of a voluntary affirmative action (but not a court-ordered) policy. The size, region, and ethnicity variables had no separate effect.

These findings suggest that departments that seek qualified female applicants are able to find and select them. Since the future representation of women in policing is likely to be close to their proportion in the recruit pool, without additional recruiting efforts or a change in the women's application rates, women are not likely to make up more than 20 percent of all officers.

## **Sex Differences in Promotion**

**A**re women getting their fair share of promotions? The response to this question depends on how one measures the appropriate proportion of promotions and whether the mechanisms used to select persons for promotion are unbiased. The criteria for selecting persons for promotion to sergeant and lieutenant in state and municipal agencies are shown in Table 3-10. The vast majority of agencies promoted people to sergeant on the basis of a written examination and one or more additional criteria, most frequently an oral interview or a supervisor's evaluation of the officer's recent job performance. About 20 percent used an assessment center and nearly a quarter relied on additional factors, including points for seniority, veteran preference, or simply the choice of the chief. Criteria for promotion to lieutenant are generally similar to those for sergeant, although in both state and municipal agencies there is less reliance on written examinations and more use of assessment centers and other selection mechanisms.

Comparisons of male and female officers eligible for promotion to sergeant and lieutenant with those who were actually promoted or likely to be promoted in 1986 by city size are presented in Table 3-11. Overall, although 6.8 percent of all persons eligible for promotion to the rank of sergeant were female, they made up 8.8 percent of those actually promoted. Similarly, at the rank of lieutenant, women made up 2.7 percent of those eligible, but 3.5 percent of those actually

TABLE 3-10

PROMOTION MECHANISMS IN MUNICIPAL  
AND STATE POLICE DEPARTMENTS

PERCENT OF DEPTS. USING MECHANISM	MUNICIPAL		STATE	
	SGT. (N=306)	LT. (N=299)	SGT. (N=37)	LT. (N=37)
Written exam	93	81 <sup>c</sup>	84	73
Oral interview	67	61	54	62
Assessment center	21 <sup>a</sup>	30 <sup>c</sup>	19	24 <sup>a</sup>
Psychological test	7	6	5	5
Performance evaluation	57 <sup>c</sup>	53 <sup>c</sup>	76	81
Other mechanisms*	24 <sup>c</sup>	23 <sup>a</sup>	32	30

\* Includes points for seniority, veteran's preference or choice of chief.

<sup>a</sup> Significant differences by region.

<sup>b</sup> Significant differences by city size.

<sup>c</sup> Significant differences by both region and city size.

promoted or likely to have become lieutenants in 1986. Furthermore, with only one exception, women beat the odds and were promoted in proportions greater than would be expected on the basis of their representation in the eligible pool for sergeant and lieutenant.

Table 3-11 also shows that both the proportion of women eligible for promotion and the rate at which women were promoted were directly related to size of the city served; the larger the city, the higher the percentage of women among those eligible and promoted. The biggest gains for women came in departments serving populations over half a million. At the rank of lieutenant, women made the biggest gains in cities serving populations between 250,000 and 500,000.

There also were differences in eligibility and promotion by region. Most striking is the high proportion of women among those eligible for promotion in the South (9.2 percent) and the high proportion actually promoted (10.6 percent) in contrast to eligibility and promotion in the Northeast (3.0 and 2.5 percent respectively), North Central (5.6 and 5.3) and West (6.4 and 5.9).

TABLE 3-11

WOMEN'S PROMOTIONS IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS  
BY CITY SIZE

CITY SIZE	SERGEANT		LIEUTENANT	
	MEAN % ELIGIBLE (N=192)	MEAN % PROMOTED (N=192)	MEAN % ELIGIBLE (N=157)	MEAN % PROMOTED (N=157)
> 500,000	9.5	15.8	2.9	3.4
250-500,000	6.1	8.0	3.1	7.7
100-250,000	6.6	7.1	3.0	3.2
50-100,000	4.5	6.2	1.8	0.9
TOTAL	6.8	8.8	2.7	3.5

The criteria used in the promotion system also affect women's promotion rates. Three elements included in a number of weighting systems are likely to hinder women's chances for promotion: supervisor's performance evaluation, seniority (beyond minimal eligibility requirements), and bonus points for veterans. Supervisor evaluations (used in more than half the responding departments) are likely to work against women because effective measures of police performance have not been developed, thus leaving room for subjective judgment. Women's lack of seniority still is a handicap, although in another decade its effects are likely to largely disappear. Similarly, female officers are far less likely than males to have the advantage of veterans' points, although this gap probably has narrowed in recent years as fewer men enter policing with military experience and more women have the opportunity for military service. Both seniority and veteran's points are included in the "other" criteria category.

In agencies that place greater weight on objective measures, such as written examinations (used in the vast majority of departments in making promotions) and assessment centers (a series of written and oral exercises presented to examiners who usually are drawn from other departments), it was anticipated that women's opportunities for

moving into middle management would be less likely to be hindered by sex bias.

The unweighted proportions of women eligible for sergeant did not differ significantly by selection criteria. We found, however, that the proportion of females promoted to sergeant in agencies using an assessment center (12.2 percent) was significantly higher than those that did not use it (4.9 percent;  $F=10.4$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The effects of using oral boards and performance evaluations were in the expected direction, but did not reach statistical significance. The numbers on promotion to lieutenant were so small within each criterion group that none of the selection criteria was significantly associated with women's promotion rates.

A department's affirmative action policy also has an effect on promotion rates. We found that significantly more women were eligible for promotion in departments with court-ordered affirmative action (8.3 percent), than were those in departments with voluntary (6.0 percent) or no affirmative action policies (4.5 percent). Variations in promotion rates within affirmative action categories, however, were so great that no statistically significant differences were found.

To control for the diverse effects of size, region, selection criteria, female and minority representation, as well as affirmative action, we developed a regression model focused on the proportion of women promoted to sergeant. Only the proportion of women among the eligibles and use of an assessment center were significant predictors of promotion to sergeant. Affirmative action was not significantly associated with the rate of women's promotion to sergeant.

Only 27 state police departments provided promotion data, and these present a discouraging picture for all officers, especially women. The proportion of eligible officers—both males and females—that were promoted was less than half that found in municipal agencies; only 2.6 percent of the males and 2.3 percent of the females eligible for promotion to sergeant in state police departments were promoted or likely to be in 1986. In those agencies, women made up 3.4 percent of the persons eligible for promotion, but only 2.9 percent of those that achieved promotion to sergeant. The raw numbers most clearly tell the story: a total of only 10 women troopers from eight agencies were promoted to sergeant in 1986. Given such small numbers, further analyses would have proved fruitless and were not conducted.

## Sex and Turnover Rates

The occupational literature indicates that women workers in private industry have slightly higher turnover rates than male workers. Several critics, however, suggest that the difference is attributable to the lower pay and less desirable working conditions women workers face, including high levels of sexual harassment and job discrimination (Kanter, 1977; Jurik, 1985; O'Farrell and Harlan, 1982). Indeed, when controls are introduced for pay and working conditions, these factors do account for the high turnover among women.

Research on sex differences in turnover in law enforcement is limited and inconsistent. Women officers were found to have higher turnover rates by Linden and Minch (1984) and Fry (1983), but other studies have found that male and female turnover rates in municipal departments are similar (CMA, 1977; Sulton and Townsey, 1981).

The Police Foundation's survey obtained the number of male and female sworn personnel in each agency on January 1, 1986, and the number of officers that separated from the department during that year due to disability, voluntary resignation, involuntary removal, and death. It deliberately omitted normal retirements because of the obvious difference in male and female seniority.<sup>10</sup>

Table 3-12 shows turnover in municipal departments by city size, officer sex, and type of separation. Total turnover for males and females during 1986 appears in the first pair of columns on the left; to the right each of the four components of normal turnover are displayed. Across all departments surveyed, women officers have a higher turnover rate (6.3 percent) than men (4.6). There were no sex differences in the rates of turnover due to disability or death, but women had higher rates of both voluntary and involuntary separations than male officers.

Women have higher turnover rates than men in departments serving cities of less than a million people. In agencies in cities with over a million residents, however, the women's turnover rate is lower than that for males. In this case, however, the turnover rate is due almost entirely to a higher disability rate for males than females. In all the other city size categories, in contrast, women leave voluntarily and are forced to leave policing at higher rates than their male counterparts.

A regression model developed to explore the importance of the other factors associated with female turnover in municipal agencies indicated that the male turnover rate was the best predictor of the



TABLE 3-12

1986 WEIGHTED PERCENTAGE TURNOVER IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS  
BY TYPE OF SEPARATION, OFFICER SEX, AND CITY SIZE

CITY SIZE	TOTAL TURNOVER		DISABILITY		VOLUNTARY SEPARATIONS		INVOLUNTARY TERMINATIONS		DEATH	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Million + (N=5)	5.1	4.2	1.7	.9	2.7	3.0	.4	.3	.2	.1
500-Million (N=15)	3.8	7.4	.6	.7	2.4	4.4	.6	2.2*	.2	.2
250-500,000 (N=32)	5.3	7.0	.5	.2	3.8	5.0	.8	1.7	.2	.1
100-250,000 (N=83)	4.3	9.3	.5	.7	3.1	6.7	.6	1.9	.1	.1
50-100,000 (N=168)	4.5	7.8	.7	.8	3.2	5.2	.6	1.7	.2	.1
TOTAL (N=303)	4.6	6.3	.8	.7	3.0	4.3	.6	1.2	.2	.1

\*In one department, 21 of 126 females (17 percent) and 28 of 1,870 males (1.5 percent) were involuntarily terminated in 1986. Excluding this department, the mean involuntary turnover rate for departments in this size group would be 1.4 percent for females and .5 percent for males.



female rate. In departments where female turnover is high, male separation rates also are high. Female turnover also was significantly higher in the West than the Northeast and in agencies with voluntary affirmative action than in those with court-ordered affirmative action or none at all. Neither city size nor percent female or minority was associated with turnover.

The association between male and female turnover rates suggests that the same factors affect each group: internal policies that eliminate officers who do not "fit" and alternative employment opportunities that appear to be greater in the expanding cities of the "Sunbelt" than in cities in the Northeast.

The gender difference in turnover is greater in state police departments than in municipal departments both because there is a higher female turnover rate and a lower male turnover rate among state troopers than is found among municipal police. The women troopers' turnover rate (8.9 percent of all officers separating in 1986) is three times that of the men (2.9 percent of total officers). Table 3-13 shows that women's turnover rates, much more than men's, were related to agency type, region, and affirmative action policy, but not to agency size.

Focusing first on region, women troopers in the South and Northeast have higher overall turnover rates than those in agencies in the North Central and Western States (contrary to the pattern in municipal departments). The differences are primarily due to the higher voluntary separation rates found in these two regions, for officers of both sexes, but particularly for women.

The type of agency also affects turnover for both male and female troopers. Agencies were divided into highway patrol and other, full-service types. As shown in Table 3-13, both male and female trooper turnover is lower in highway patrol agencies than full service agencies but women had a particularly high voluntary turnover rate (9.6 percent) in non-highway patrol agencies.

Turnover for both women and men in state police departments is only modestly related to department size and affirmative action policy.

Several factors (more fully discussed in Chapter 7) may contribute to the finding that women leave policing at a faster rate than their male counterparts in both state and municipal agencies. Differences in the socialization of males and females, current sex role norms, the perception of policing as "men's work" that enhances a man's sense of masculinity, and the hostility of some men to the presence of women officers, contribute to a work environment that is more supportive of male than female officers. This may be particularly true in agencies

TABLE 3-13

## 1986 WEIGHTED PERCENTAGE TURNOVER IN STATE POLICE DEPARTMENTS BY TYPE OF SEPARATION AND SEX

REGION	TOTAL TURNOVER*		DISABILITY		VOLUNTARY SEPARATIONS		INVOLUNTARY TERMINATIONS		DEATH	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Northeast	3.1	10.4	.4	.7	2.5	9.4	.2	.4	.1	—
N. Central	1.6	7.0	—	—	1.1	5.1	.3	1.9	.1	—
South	3.8	11.1	.3	—	3.0	10.3	.4	.6	.1	.2
West	2.4	5.1	1.0	1.7	1.1	.4	.2	.4	.1	—

## AGENCY TYPE

Highway	2.6	5.5	.8	1.1	1.5	4.0	.3	.4	—	—
Other	3.1	10.8	.3	.3	2.5	9.6	.3	.8	.1	.1

## SIZE

>1,000 Officers	2.9	8.6	.6	.9	2.0	7.0	.3	.6	.1	.1
500-1,000 Officers	3.2	10.3	.2	—	2.5	9.7	.3	.7	.1	—
> 500 Officers	2.8	7.7	.2	—	2.1	6.3	.3	1.4	.1	—

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Ct. Order	3.6	13.3	.8	1.1	2.4	11.4	.3	.7	.1	.1
Voluntary	2.5	4.4	.1	0.0	2.1	3.3	.2	1.1	.1	0.0
None	2.1	6.8	.1	.5	1.7	6.3	1.1	0.0	.2	0.0

TOTAL	2.9	8.9	.4	.6	2.1	7.6	.3	.7	.1	.1
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\* Includes disability, voluntary separations, involuntary terminations, and deaths but NOT normal service retirements.

that actively seek female candidates to meet court-ordered affirmative action goals or quotas if a recruitment pitch results in a gap between women's expectations and the reality of the work and environment they find. Women's higher turnover rates may also be related to (1) difficulties in meshing policing with family life, and (2) inadequate light duty/pregnancy leave policies.

## **Agency Policies and Their Impacts**

The survey explored three policy areas having a particular impact on women officers: sexual harassment, pregnancy and maternity leave, and affirmative action policies. With respect to each issue, responding agencies were asked whether they had a general order or policy independent of county or municipal personnel policies. With respect to pregnancy and maternity leave, each agency was asked what its actual practice was regardless of the presence of a policy.

Although we did not specifically seek to determine whether women's separations were due to either sexual harassment or the lack of available maternity leave, our data indicate that most departments lack such policies and suggest that their absence may contribute to women's higher voluntary turnover rates. Only 30 percent of the municipal agencies in cities of 50,000 to 100,000, and about 60 percent of the departments in larger cities, have their own sexual harassment policy. Women officers' greater vulnerability to sexual harassment in smaller departments may contribute to higher voluntary turnover.

Because of the nature of police work, most police agencies permit or require pregnant officers to leave patrol assignments. Yet only 25 percent of municipal agencies have policies related to pregnancy and only 74 percent of the agencies state that their actual practice is to reassign a pregnant officer to a light duty assignment until delivery. In 14 percent of the agencies, the woman is forced to go on leave when she can no longer continue in her normal assignment, and 12 percent have not yet had to deal with a pregnancy. The absence of the availability of light duty is more likely in smaller departments in small cities (18 percent) than in cities of greater than 100,000 people (10 percent). Many, if not most, of the women forced to leave policing for six to eight months in order to have a child, resign temporarily or permanently from their departments.

Affirmative action policies have had a major impact on both the representation of women in policing and the rate at which they enter policing. As indicated in Table 3-14, in agencies under court order to

increase the representation of women and minorities, women made up 10.1 percent of the sworn personnel in 1986; in those with voluntary affirmative action plans, women made up 8.3 percent of the personnel, and in those without such plans women constituted only 6.1 percent of the personnel. The effect of affirmative action is even greater for minority women.

Because the representation of women and presence of affirmative action policies was found to be directly related to agency size, it was necessary to control for the effects of size as well as region, minority representation, and the proportion of women officers in 1978, in order to determine whether the presence of either a court-ordered or voluntary affirmative action policy has an independent effect. After including these variables in several regression models, both court-ordered and voluntary affirmative action remained significantly associated with the proportion of women in a department (see Appendix).

TABLE 3-14

WEIGHTED PROPORTION OF WOMEN OFFICERS AND SUPERVISORS BY AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY TYPE

TYPE OF POLICY	WHITE OFFICERS	MINORITY OFFICERS	TOTAL OFFICERS	TOTAL SUPERVISORS
Court ordered (N=45)	5.7	4.4	10.1	3.5
Voluntary (N=126)	5.5	2.8	8.3	2.4
None (N=126)	4.1	2.0	6.1	2.2
TOTAL	5.3	3.5	8.8	3.3

### Changing Practices and Policy Needs

In summary, the survey findings show that the representation of women in policing in agencies in both large and small cities and all geographic regions has increased steadily in the past 15 years. With changes in the recruit pool and selection criteria, women now are ap-

plying to and being accepted in policing in proportion to the rate at which they apply. Women are now assigned to patrol and other line units approximately in proportion to their representation in policing. And women appear to be gaining promotions to first line supervisory positions at a rate slightly higher than their representation in the group of candidates for sergeant. These changes have occurred despite some federal opposition to affirmative action programs, which are found in more than half the municipal agencies that responded to the survey. Nevertheless, the pace of change is slow. Women still are present in policing in only token numbers (i.e., less than 15 percent overall as defined by Kanter [1977]) and court decisions limiting the scope of affirmative action may have a lag effect in the next decade.

One may view these data as indicating that the proverbial glass is half empty or half full. Since women make up 44.7 percent of the labor force, but only 8.8 percent of all police officers, they are clearly underrepresented in policing. Similarly, if one looks at the proportion of women in other traditionally "male" professions, policing appears to be lagging. According to U.S. Department of Labor data, in May 1987 women made up 21 percent of the nation's lawyers and judges; 15 percent of the health diagnosing occupations; 38 percent of all executive, administrative, and managerial personnel; and 15 percent of all farm operators and managers. In comparison with other "blue collar" skilled craft occupations, however, women in policing have done well since females made up only 4 percent of mechanics and repairers and 2 percent of workers in construction trades in May 1987 (U.S. Dept. of Labor cited by Powell, 1988:76-78).

The findings with respect to assignments also are equivocal. Although women now are proportionately represented in the patrol or field operations divisions, their career paths seem to diverge from those of the men in the patterns of "special" assignments they obtain.

Although women are being promoted at a rate slightly higher than might be expected based on their proportion among the eligible, their movement into supervisory ranks is still slow. At the current rate, despite gains in the middle management level (in all but a handful of agencies), women are not likely to assume departmental leadership and policy-making positions for many years.

Clearly, affirmative action policies have substantially changed the composition of large municipal agencies. For women officers, the initial hurdle—gaining entry into policing—has been surmounted. The challenge is to accelerate the slow pace of change through several policy initiatives, including more aggressive recruitment of women; review of policies related to physical conditioning, selection, and

training to eliminate criteria that are not job related; and the development and enforcement of policies that reduce work-related stress, sexual harassment, and conflicts between work and family.

To provide a more detailed perspective on these findings we collected quantitative data and conducted in-depth interviews with policy-makers, supervisors, and officers in five of the responding departments. These findings, presented in the next five chapters, support and expand on many of the conclusions from the survey data.

## Endnotes: Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Hawaii does not have a state police agency.

<sup>2</sup> The 1986 list of agencies was taken from a tape provided by the FBI which was used to prepare its annual Uniform Crime Report. Forty-one of the departments surveyed were in the 50,000 to 100,000 size category in 1986 but previously had fewer than 50,000 inhabitants. The other nine were larger departments, six of which appear to have been used for a pretest.

<sup>3</sup> Similar response rates were obtained by Sulton and Townsey. They reported receiving completed surveys from 74 percent of both state and municipal agencies as well as higher response rates among large and southern agencies.

<sup>4</sup> Agencies are classified according to region based on the FBI's classification system. The South includes agencies in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, and Virginia, as well as the District of Columbia. The Northeast region includes the following states: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont. Agencies in the following states are included in the Northcentral region: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The Western region includes agencies in Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

<sup>5</sup> Tables 3 through 14 use the individual officer as the unit of analysis and thus have been weighted to reflect the actual number of persons in each of the city-size and region categories. A weighted mean is obtained by adding together the number of persons in the category, then dividing by the number of agencies in that category. The weighted mean thus gives greater weight to larger agencies.

In subsequent tables that focus on departmental policies, the department is the unit of analysis and there was no weighting. To obtain the unweighted mean, a single mean for each category was calculated, then the overall mean was obtained by summing category means and dividing by the number of agencies in each category. Thus

each agency counts as one unit regardless of agency size or number of persons in the category.

<sup>6</sup> There is no uniform rank system across American police agencies nor a clear demarcation between supervisory and other assignments. For example, the rank of corporal is used in about 15 percent of agencies. In some instances, a corporal is a first line supervisor; in others, after a certain period of police service, all officers are “promoted” to corporal. Sergeant is a rank found in nearly all agencies and generally is a first line supervisor. Although in a number of departments, sergeants may be assigned either to supervisory or investigative responsibilities, in this report sergeants are counted as supervisors; corporals and persons with the rank of detective are classified as officers unless otherwise specified.

<sup>7</sup> In 1985, only 2 percent of the top corporate executives of Fortune 500 companies was women (Powell, 1988:75) and 6 percent of law firm partners were women, according to a study by the ABA’s Commission on Women in the Profession (Washington Post, 1988: A1).

<sup>8</sup> Some caution is necessary in interpreting this table. First, in the assignment data provided by respondents, women made up only 8.4 percent of all sworn police, thus they are slightly underrepresented. Second, in many departments an unknown proportion of the officers who are assigned to patrol or field operations units, in fact, serve in clerical or staff support capacities in precinct or district stations. Third, an unexpectedly large proportion of officers appear to be assigned to “other” units. What functions these individuals perform appears to vary across agencies but were not specified by the responding departments.

<sup>9</sup> A number of the departments that did not provide the latter information indicated that no officers had been hired and/or completed training in 1986.

<sup>10</sup> Because the survey did not explicitly instruct them not to include normal retirements, a few departments may have included such retirements in the voluntary resignation. To the extent that this occurred, the figures for the male separation rate may be inflated.



## CHAPTER 4

# RECRUITMENT, SELECTION, and TRAINING in CASE STUDY AGENCIES

The Police Foundation's survey findings indicate that there has been change in the representation of women in policing between 1978 and 1986. They also point to some factors associated with the change, including selection and promotion criteria and affirmative action policies. To further illuminate these changes, explore the influence of various department policies, and view the change process from the perspectives of the officers, supervisors, and command staff, we undertook case studies in five agencies. The case study findings are based on (1) analysis of statistical information provided by the agencies for a matched sample of male and female sworn personnel, and (2) interviews with a subset of approximately 25 of these officers and a dozen high-ranking policymakers in each agency.

### Site Selection

Case study agencies were selected on the basis of several criteria. We sought to include some above the mean in the representation of women and others at or below it in order to understand the factors that contribute to one measure of success in raising the status of women. We also sought diversity in terms of region, agency size, ethnic composition, and affirmative action policies. Finally, because an important focus of the study was women in supervisory roles, we sought agencies in which there were at least 10 females at the rank of sergeant or higher to interview. This latter criterion eliminated the majority of medium-sized departments; even an agency as large as the Phoenix Police Department had fewer than 10 female supervisors at the time it was selected.

Table 4-1 indicates the diversity of the five case study agencies with respect to size, region, representation of female officers and supervisors, proportion non-white, and affirmative action policies.

TABLE 4-1

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CASE STUDY DEPARTMENTS

CHARACTERISTICS	DEPARTMENT				
	BIRMINGHAM	CHICAGO	DC	DETROIT	PHOENIX
Department Size—end of 1986	644	12,448	3,869	5,049	1,757
Region	South	North Central	Northeast	North Central	West
% Female—end of 1986	15	10	13	18	7
% Non-white—end of 1986	25	25	56	48	15
% Female supervisors—end of 1986	10	2	7	12	2
Affirmative action	court ordered	court ordered	voluntary	court ordered and voluntary	voluntary
# Officer in sample	124	no data	212	222	192
% Non-white	42	no data	84	29	16
% Supervisors	27	no data	21	31	9

## The Sample and Data

From each agency's complete listing of sworn personnel, matched samples of male and female officers were selected for further study. In the Birmingham and Phoenix department samples, all female officers sworn in by December 31, 1987 were included; from the Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. departments random samples of female officers and supervisors sworn in between January 1, 1973 and December 31, 1987 were selected. For each female selected for the study, a male matched on rank, ethnic group, and date sworn was randomly selected from those that were eligible. The size of each of the samples, proportion non-white, and proportion of supervisors in each of the samples also are shown in Table 4-1.

Each case study agency was asked to provide the following data for each of the sample officers: officer date of birth or age as of December 31, 1987; education, score in the training academy and academy class rank; number of days lost during career due to a disciplinary board action; number of commendations; number of days of sick leave used in 1986 and 1987 (with sick days due to pregnancy or maternity leave indicated); days lost due to an on-duty injury in 1986 and 1987; most recent performance evaluation rating; assignment history; and, for supervisors, dates of promotions. The Chicago Police Department provided no data; the others provided as much data as was available.

All five of the case study agencies provided data on all separations between January 1, 1986 and December 31, 1988 by officer sex, rank, length of service, and reason for separation. Analyses of the data on sick leave, assignments, and evaluations are presented in Chapter 5; discussion of the promotion data is presented in Chapter 6; turnover is explored in Chapter 7.

The final phase of the study involved in-depth interviews with administrators on departmental policies and procedures related to women and with both male and female officers and supervisors regarding their own careers, views of departmental policies, and perceptions of the acceptance of and opportunities available to women officers in their department. In each department, approximately 30 females and 20 males were selected from the larger sample and sent personalized letters from the Police Foundation requesting an interview. These were delivered through departmental mail and accompanied by a memo from the chief stating that he supported the study and approved participation in the interview on duty time. In each agency about half of these officers actually were interviewed. The final selection depended on willingness to participate, being on duty during

day or evening hours in the week of the interviews, and other scheduling contingencies. Table 4-2 shows the distribution of officers and mid-level supervisors interviewed by sex, ethnicity, rank, and department.

TABLE 4-2

CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFICERS AND MID-LEVEL SUPERVISORS WHO WERE INTERVIEWED

	MALE					FEMALE				
	WHITE		NON-WHITE		TOTAL	WHITE		NON-WHITE		TOTAL
DEPT.	SUP.	OFF.	SUP.	OFF.		SUP.	OFF.	SUP.	OFF.	
Birmingham	-	3	3	-	6	4	6	4	3	17
Chicago	3	1	2	1	7	2	4	2	4	12
DC	1	1	6	1	9	3	2	9	2	16
Detroit	4	4	2	2	12	5	2	4	4	15
Phoenix	4	-	-	2	6	5	2	1	4	12
Total	12	9	13	6	40	19	16	20	17	72

The officer interviews were semi-structured. They consisted of open-ended questions related to the officer's assignment history, career aspirations, experiences with affirmative action policies and discrimination while in the department, perceptions of the acceptance of and opportunities for women in policing, and problems related to meshing work and family life. Most interviews lasted about two and a half hours.

The interviews with administrators were semi-structured and lasted about an hour. Some questions were assignment-specific and designed to elicit information about previous and current policies and practices; others sought administrators' perspectives on changes in the status of women and factors that contributed to these changes. Those interviewed included persons in charge of recruitment, selection,

psychological testing, the training academy, the promotion process, the equal employment opportunity program, and field operations or patrol division; one or more precinct or district commanders; the union or bargaining agent for the officers; the general counsel or legal advisor; and any other individual regarded as knowledgeable about department policies affecting the status of women officers.

To protect the confidentiality of the informants, department-specific terminology has been eliminated in this report. For example, the chief executive in all departments is referred to as “chief” even though, in Chicago, the title is Superintendent; the term “precinct” is used in all respondent statements even though Chicago and Washington, D.C. assign officers to districts; and generic types of unit names such as “tactical unit” rather than “special operations unit” are used.

## **Recruitment, Selection, and Training**

**A**lthough women made up no more than 17 percent of the sworn personnel in any of the case study agencies, as shown in Table 4-3, they constituted between a fifth and a third of all applicants and academy entrants in the case study agencies. Recruitment and selection mechanisms vary somewhat among these departments. For example, some have pre-training agility tests; others do not.

In each department, however, the eligibility requirements and selection criteria that previously had an adverse impact on the employment of women and minorities (particularly height and weight requirements, physical agility tests, and subjective oral interviews) had been eliminated or replaced with agility tests that are scored on age and sex-based norms and with standardized interviews and selection panel processes.

All case study agencies require only a high school diploma or GED. Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. have residency requirements. In the first two, the applicant must reside in the city in order to apply; in Washington, D.C., officers must move to the city within 180 days of being sworn in. These policies have accelerated the racial integration of these agencies but, at the same time, appear to have reduced the proportion of white female applicants.

As shown in Table 4-4, all case study department selection processes include an initial written test, psychological screening, and physical examination. In each agency, investigators check the criminal history, school record, employment history, and other background information about the applicant. Agencies differ with respect to the use of polygraph, urine screening, pre-employment

TABLE 4-3  
 PROPORTION OF FEMALES AMONG APPLICANTS,  
 ACADEMY ENTRANTS, AND PERSONS COMPLETING ACADEMY TRAINING  
 IN 1986 IN CASE STUDY SITES

PROPORTION FEMALE	DEPARTMENT				
	BIRMINGHAM	CHICAGO	DC	DETROIT	PHOENIX
Applicants	24	no data	no data	37	21
Academy entrants	32	33*	29	32	24
Completed academy	34	no data	29	34	20

\* Figure based on requirements of consent decree.

physical agility test, and oral interview, as well as the sequence in which the screening process is carried out. The recruitment, selection, and training procedures of each case study agency as they affect women are briefly set forth following Table 4-4.

TABLE 4-4  
ELIGIBILITY AND SELECTION CRITERIA IN  
FIVE CASE STUDY SITES

INCLUDE CRITERION in SELECTION PROCESS	DEPARTMENT				
	BIRM.	CHICAGO	DC	DETROIT	PHOENIX
Age minimum	21	20	21	18	21
Education minimum	HS/GED	HS/GED	HS/GED	HS/GED	HS/GED
Height/weight	proptl.	proptl.	min.60"	proptl.	proptl.
Residency	county	city at applic.	city w/in 180 days	city at applic.	state
Written entrance exam	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Agility test	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes*
Physical examination	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Psychological screening	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urine screening	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Polygraph	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Oral board	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

\* Applicants are not rejected on the basis of their agility test; those who are otherwise qualified but do not achieve a passing score are deferred and permitted to retake the test.

## 1. Phoenix

**F**emale representation has increased substantially in the past few years in the Phoenix Police Department, but remains below the norm for cities of its size. In 1978, the department had 1,533 officers of whom only 42 were female (2.7 percent); at the end of 1986, there were 1,749 officers, 125 of whom (7.1 percent) were female; and at the end of 1988, there were 151 women making up 8 percent of the 1,829 sworn personnel.

Efforts to increase female and minority representation through voluntary affirmative action and to integrate these officers into the department are clearly visible. In 1988, the department met its goal by having women make up 20 percent of its new hires.

### a. Recruitment

The police department and city personnel office coordinate recruitment activities, and five times annually have brief “open recruitment” periods followed by administration of the written entrance test.

Recruitment efforts include announcements in the departmental newsletter encouraging officers to recruit acquaintances; television spots and print media ads; and presentations at clubs, community meetings, and college campuses—particularly local community colleges. The department’s minority recruitment efforts also include an incentive program whereby the department pays \$100 to an officer for each minority individual he or she recruits who subsequently enters the academy; and a contract with a minority contractor to recruit black officers.<sup>1</sup> A similar contract is being developed with an Hispanic organization. No comparable special emphasis is put on recruiting women.

### b. Selection

Potential recruits receive a study guide which changes with each test administration. About 70 percent of the questions come directly from the material in the study guide, which is qualitatively different from those provided by the other case study agencies. The contents of one 60-page guide included:

- (1) General information (including screening and testing procedures, police officer’s code of ethics, and leave procedures);
- (2) Disciplinary action and appeals;
- (3) Police functions;
- (4) Driving rules;



- (5) A list of the most frequently misspelled words in police reports;
- (6) First aid;
- (7) The Bill of Rights;
- (8) Excerpts from the Arizona Revised Statutes; and
- (9) Form completion exercises (including directions for completing a commonly used agency form, a model of a completed form, and questions regarding the numerous errors it contained).

The study guide makes clear to potential recruits that they must prepare for the entrance test, be willing to study, read and understand technical material, and be able to master details. The actual examination is written and administered by city personnel who review questions for any adverse impact against minorities and women.

Recruits are graded on a curve so the cut-off point varies from test to test. Those who pass are added to the existing eligible list on the basis of their test scores and asked to complete an 11-page background information form. Further processing for those high on the eligibility list involves the following sequence of steps:

- (1) Background investigation by department investigator;
- (2) Polygraph test and oral interview regarding background information and polygraph results;
- (3) Physical examination;
- (4) Oral board examination; and
- (5) Psychological screening.

The final selection decision is made by the sergeant and captain assigned to the police department's Employment Services Bureau based on their assessment of all the information collected in the preceding steps.

Recruits are automatically disqualified for alcohol misuse or abuse, conviction for a felony, mental problems, accepting pay-for-sex acts, sale of marijuana, use or sale of opium derivatives or LSD, falsifying the questionnaire or application, lying during the oral interview or background exam, or a dishonorable military discharge. Factors subject to discretionary consideration include use of marijuana, debts, bankruptcy, excessive traffic violations, and commission of a misdemeanor in the past 12 months.

The oral board consists of three members. Whenever there is a minority or female candidate, at least one minority or female member is included.

Each applicant has approximately a half hour during which he or she is asked standard questions and rated on a scale from "zero" (very poor) to "five" (excellent). About twice as many persons as are needed

for the next academy class are invited to participate in the oral board. Candidates not selected for the class may be rejected (rare) or held over for the next class (to compete with new applicants).

The psychological screening of candidates is conducted by a private contractor. Screening includes three components: review of background data; administration of a psychological test battery;<sup>2</sup> and an interview. The psychological testing results in a rating for each candidate from "one" (ideal candidate) to "five" (reject). The ratings are advisory but the department has agreed not to hire those rated a "five" and to carefully scrutinize those with a "four" rating. A follow-up study of probationary officers found that officers rated "four" failed to complete their probationary year at a significantly higher rate than those with higher scores.

At the time that candidates take their physical exam, they also take a physical agility test on which they must achieve a passing (70 percent) score before being admitted to the academy. To pass the test they must do 40 sit-ups in one minute, 35 push-ups in one minute, run a mile and a half in 12 minutes or less, and scale a six-foot wall.<sup>3</sup> The recruitment literature notes "if you do not do well on the (physical) evaluation, further consideration will be delayed until your performance improves to an acceptable level." Minority and female candidates that appear to be promising in other respects may be "pre-hired" as civilians and given two hours per day to do physical conditioning at the training academy facility.

### **c. Training**

Academy staff includes 21 sworn permanent officers, one of whom is a female responsible for teaching arrest tactics and implementing an in-service physical fitness program. Each class also has a minimum of two "recruit training officers" who are temporarily detailed to the academy from line assignments and act as guides and role models for two classes. Several recent training officers have been women.

Academy training lasts 16 weeks. Early in this decade, the department replaced the "stress academy" with a structured program that emphasizes accountability. Currently, about 15 percent of the recruits drop out before completing the academy. The department's prevailing philosophy is that it is better to weed out those who are likely to have problems early than risk having them remain in the department for another 20 years. For example, one woman officer related the following incident that indicates both the department's determination to weed out potential problems and the seriousness with which sexual harassment is viewed:

There was a male officer in my academy class who got drunk when about 10 of us went to the FOP. He became vocal and told me I couldn't be a cop; he doesn't want me out there backing him up. We left and he was still sitting on his knees, saying 'choke me out, show me you can.' The rest of class went to the class sergeant about him 'cause he was definitely sexually harassing me. Several days later the sergeant said this guy was fired cause he threatened the sergeant when he gave him notice of an investigation of the incident.

The Academy director asserted that there is no current difference in the male and female drop out rate, but between July 1982 and July 1984, 13 percent of the male trainees and 36 percent of the female trainees dropped out with 5 and 14 percent of the dropout, respectively, attributed to physical conditioning. This finding led to adoption of the pre-hire program.

The existing physical fitness standards soon will be replaced by "Cooper Standards," which also are age- and sex-based, but emphasize all-around fitness as a wellness standard. Once they are adopted no candidate will be accepted if he or she is below the 40 percent level; averaging of scores on different tests will not be permitted. Passing standards for job-related physical skills (i.e., the ability to scale a six-foot wall) will remain the same for all.

Department administrators acknowledge that it has been a battle to get both women and men to accept the idea that the goal of training is fitness and health rather than skill. As one administrator observed, "The idea that she must do the same number of push-ups as me is hokus pokus but it's been bred into many officers, including the women."

Following academy training, recruits are sworn in and participate in a 12-week field training experience in a precinct. Field training also is viewed as a time to test officers and weed out the unfit.

## **2. Birmingham**

**A**lthough women had been "meter maids" and jail matrons for many years, not until late 1974, more than two years after Title VII became applicable to government employees, were the positions of patrolman and policewoman combined and women assigned to patrol duties in

Birmingham. As late as 1981, when a consent decree went into effect, minimum height and weight requirements, which were shown to have had adverse impact on selection of women officers, were included in the selection process. Since that time, the representation of women officers and supervisors has accelerated. By the end of 1986, women made up 15 percent of the sworn personnel, 12 percent of the supervisors, and 34 percent of the recruits that completed the training academy.

### **a. Consent Decree**

Jefferson County's personnel board is responsible for recruiting, testing, and certifying candidates for all county employment. Board actions now are guided by a consent decree signed in 1981 after seven years of litigation. The case was initially filed as a racial discrimination suit and subsequently was consolidated with a case alleging sex discrimination. Through two trials the plaintiffs challenged: 18 personnel board tests; board rules affecting promotion opportunities; the imposition of height, weight, and educational requirements for certain jobs; and the restriction of some job announcements and certification to persons of a particular sex.

Following the second trial, the parties began serious negotiations to resolve these issues. In June 1981, the court accepted two proposed consent decrees to settle plaintiffs' claims against the personnel board and City of Birmingham. Turning aside objections asserting that the decrees constituted impermissible "reverse discrimination" the court ruled that the decrees were "fair, adequate, and reasonable," and ordered their adoption.

The decrees, which are still in effect, provide that the personnel board will certify for police officers, one black applicant for one white applicant, and one woman to three male applicants. They also stipulate that, subject to the availability of qualified candidates, the city will hire as entry-level officers one black for one white and one woman for every three men. The long-term goal established in the decrees is the employment of blacks and women in percentages approximate to their respective representation in the Jefferson County labor force. The police department's 1987 affirmative action plan established its goals as 27.9 percent black and 44 percent female officers.

With respect to promotion to sergeant, the decree requires the promotion of blacks at a rate of one black to one white, and women at the rate of one woman to three men. For promotion to higher level positions, if blacks represent 20 percent of all sergeants, they are to comprise 40 percent of the new lieutenants. In the certification,

hiring, and promotion process, a black woman is counted both toward the goal for blacks and the goal for women.

### **b. Recruitment**

County personnel board recruitment tends to be “passive” since an ample number of applicants (between 1,500 and 2,000) take the law enforcement test from which 15 departments in the county draw officers. The test is administered approximately once every 18 months.

A city personnel officer oversees the affirmative action aspect of recruitment to assure there are a sufficient number of black and female candidates.

### **c. Selection**

Selection begins with a test of general knowledge including questions such as map reading and problem solving. The test is administered by the personnel board.

When the department needs to hire a new class of recruits (between 25 and 40 rookies), it requests names through the city personnel department. The board sends three names for the first vacancy and one more for each vacancy (following the “rule of three”). Since it takes as many as 300 names to select 30 officers, however, the department requests that 300 names be certified, 150 of whom are blacks. Although it is bound to start hiring from the top of the list, in selecting recruits, the department may skip for affirmative action hires.

The internal affairs unit is responsible for screening applicants. The first step is a pass/defer physical fitness screening test based on minimum statewide standards, with scoring adjusted for the applicant’s sex and age.

Those who pass the physical are interviewed by a polygraph officer regarding their employment history, criminal history, and drug use. At the same time, internal affairs investigators check the applicant’s criminal history and references.

Candidates are disqualified if they have ever used a hallucinogen, are “habitual drug users,” or used any illegal drug in the previous 12 months. Based on state standards, applicants must never have been convicted of a felony or misdemeanor involving force, violence, or moral turpitude. The consent decree, however, requires that background investigations be conducted so as not to unlawfully discriminate and that applicants not be automatically disqualified on the basis of an arrest or conviction record or poor credit rating. Consideration of the effect of a criminal conviction must include consideration of the nature of the crime, period of time elapsed since the conviction, and the success or failure of rehabilitation efforts.

The final stage in the selection process is the psychological test which tends to result in deferral of those with questionable profiles. The test includes reading comprehension scores; candidates scoring below a certain proficiency level on this part also remain on the pending list.

#### **d. Training**

The police academy staff consists of a director and nine instructors, including one female sergeant in charge of the field training program. Academy training lasts 16 weeks, followed by a 12-week period of structured field training. At the time of the interview (December 1987), the civilian academy director had modified the department's policy and was failing a higher proportion of trainees than his predecessors.

The physical education training procedures include a two-minute obstacle course and a physical profile evaluation taken at the beginning of training. On the basis of this profile, a set of individual goals is set for each recruit. The department places a strong emphasis on fitness. Since 1988, sex and age adjusted semi-annual fitness tests have been required for all officers. After 1989, these test scores will be considered part of officers' performance appraisals.

### **3. Detroit**

**T**he Detroit Police Department began hiring female officers in 1921 and assigned all "policewomen" to the Women's Division until it was disbanded in 1971.

In April 1973, a class action suit was initiated on behalf of all women who had applied for employment with the Detroit Police Department since April 1970. The lawsuit, *Schaffer v. Tannian*, Civ. No 39943 (E.D. Mich. 1976), charged the city, police department, Detroit Police Officers' Association, and Detroit Police Lieutenants and Sergeants Association with sex discrimination in hiring and promoting. In 1974, the court held that the Detroit Police Department had violated Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and ordered the department to institute affirmative action by increasing the number of female new hires and promotions. The city did not contest the decision, which was consistent with its changing voluntary affirmative action goals. It adopted the goal of hiring and promoting women to make up one third of all sworn personnel.

The progress made prior during the mid-70's, however, was sharply curtailed by layoffs that lasted from 1979 until 1984 and affected many newly hired women and blacks. New hiring only began again in 1985

after recall of all laid-off officers. By the end of 1986, 18 percent of the sworn personnel, 12 percent of the supervisors, including three precinct commanders, and about one third of all persons hired were women.

### **a. Recruitment**

The Detroit Police Department has four full-time recruiters. They recruit at high schools, college campuses, churches, community meetings, ethnic festivals, union halls, and through the military.

In the mid-70's recruiters actively sought out women; more than a third of all applicants currently are women, so special efforts to attract them have not been viewed as necessary.

### **b. Selection**

The Michigan Law Enforcement Officers Training Council (MLEOTC) has developed two examinations, one to measure writing skills and reading comprehension required on the job and one to measure necessary strength and agility. Both tests are based on extensive job analyses, have been validated for persons entering law enforcement jobs in Michigan, and have been mandated statewide since July 1985.

The tests are administered several times a year. The application booklet includes a brief practice test indicating the types of questions that will be asked on the writing and reading comprehension test. Persons who pass are given a letter grade indicating in which third of the field of applicants their score falls. Based on their test score, candidates are invited in for a pre-investigation interview and assigned a date to take the physical skills test.

Candidates are disqualified for the following reasons: use of marijuana since filing their initial application; any prior use of heroin or cocaine; alcoholism; an arrest or conviction for a felony; more than 10 points on their driver's license; three traffic accidents in a five-year period where they were at fault; a drunk driving conviction; bad work record; and less than honorable military discharge. The department is somewhat flexible regarding a misdemeanor arrest or conviction but any arrest must be expunged before selection. Persons with arrests for serious juvenile offenses also may be rejected.

The interview is followed by a background investigation to verify and supplement interview information. Applicants also must pass a complete physical examination including a urinalysis test for drugs, a psychological test (MMPI), and a physical skills test that consists of six events: push-ups; right and left hand grip; obstacle course; 165-pound drag; 95-pound carry; and half-mile run. They are scored from one to



nine on each event on age- and sex-based scales. Scores are then added for a composite converted score.

The final step for applicants is the oral board interview with three supervisors (usually a black male, a white male, and a female) who individually rate the candidate on a scale of one through four, then achieve a consensus on each candidate.

Data on the selection process for 1986 indicate that females made up 31 percent of those filing preliminary applications (26 percent black and 5 percent white); 37 percent of those who took the written test; 29 percent of those accepted by the oral board; and 31 percent of those who were subsequently hired (26 percent black and 5 percent white).

### **c. Training**

New recruits receive 19 weeks of training at the Detroit Metropolitan Police Academy. Its staff includes 41 sworn officers, 10 of whom are females.

The MLEOTC Defensive Tactics Program is the result of several years of job analyses. Each police recruit is first tested on a set of physical skills. During defensive tactics training each officer is taught different tactics and permitted to select those best suited for him or her. The curriculum thus allows small officers to achieve competence and gain confidence in their ability to defend themselves.

About 90 percent of the rookies complete academy training. The prevailing philosophy is that academy staff does all it can to provide a support system to get the rookies through.

## **4. Washington, D.C.**

**A**ll female officers in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) from 1917 until 1967 were assigned to the Women's Bureau. In 1967, the Women's Bureau was combined with the department's all male Juvenile Bureau to form the new Youth Division. In 1970, the department enacted guidelines for the interchangeable assignment of men and women and hired about 100 new women to be placed on patrol. The initial assignment of women to patrol was regarded as an experiment but was continued when an evaluation found it to be a success (Bloch and Anderson, 1972 and 1974). By late 1986, women made up 13 percent of sworn personnel.

### **a. Recruitment**

The MPD's personnel office's recruitment efforts are largely passive. Because half the applicants and about 40 percent of the new recruits are female, department officials feel no need to actively recruit



women. Indeed, one respondent, only partly in jest, noted that soon the department will have to aggressively recruit men.

### **b. Selection**

The first step for potential recruits is an exam administered and scored by the city's personnel office. Currently every two months about 400 persons take and 300 pass the exam. The candidates that pass are ranked by score and, when the department seeks to hire, their names are given to the MPD in rank order.

The second step in selection is the background check. Next is a physical examination including a standard check up and urine test for drugs but not a physical agility test. About a quarter of the eligibles are eliminated for drug use or other physical disabilities.

Included in this process since 1986 is the psychological exam administered to candidates by the psychological staff at the Police and Fire clinic; this is followed by a psychological interview.

There is no oral board or interview except a meeting with a recruiter prior to the background check to make sure the department has the information it needs. On the basis of all information in the candidate's file, recruiters make a recommendation which is usually approved by the Deputy Chief for Administrative Services.

### **c. Training**

The District of Columbia's police training staff includes 41 sworn officers and supervisors, four of whom are female. Academy training lasts 26 weeks. Physical training consists of push-ups, sit-ups, flexibility, agility, and endurance exercises based on sex and age-differentiated standards.

Currently, about 95 percent of the recruits graduate from the academy with training staff offering extensive remedial training and three opportunities to repeat a course.

## **5. Chicago**

The recruitment, hiring, and promotion of officers in Chicago are the responsibility of the City of Chicago Department of Personnel. Initially all women took a separate entrance exam, were assigned to the Women's Bureau, and worked with juveniles. The women were reassigned to the Youth Division in the early 1970's but did not receive the same pay as the male officers in the division until they successfully sued the department for discrimination in 1976. In 1975, these "policewomen" were given the option of remaining in their special status without any opportunity for promotion or becoming "patrol officers" (although the badge still said "patrolman" 15 years later) with

the opportunity to take promotional exams as well as the possibility of being reassigned to patrol. Under pressure from the department, most converted. Also in 1975, women for the first time took the same "unisex" entrance exam as the men.

In 1976, the department entered into a consent decree on officer hiring which required that each recruit class entering the training academy be 33 percent white male, 34 percent minority male, and 33 percent female. By late 1986, nevertheless, women made up only 10 percent of sworn personnel and 2 percent of all supervisors.

### **a. Recruitment**

Prior to administering an entrance exam, the Personnel Department puts out an announcement booklet and registration form. Given the large number of applicants, recruitment activities are limited to public announcements.

### **b. Selection**

The written examination is given only once every three years (and has been given less frequently during some periods). More than 20,000 persons took the test administered in January 1988 (of the 29,000 that signed up for it), and about 14,000 passed it. The examination is a general reading comprehension test.

When the department needs to hire, it calls city personnel for a list of eligibles who are invited to take the drug and psychological screening examinations administered by the department. Among the more than 14,000 eligibles who passed the 1985 test, about 10 percent failed the urine and psychological tests, leaving approximately 9,000 persons eligible for the Assessment Center. Nearly 7,000 candidates completed the exercises at the Center. These required answering written questions about a film to test powers of observation and recall, writing responses to three different situational narratives in which people give conflicting statements about an incident (testing logic and reasoning), and participating in a leaderless group discussion. Assessors discuss candidate responses, observe the group discussion, and arrive at a consensus rating.

Candidates then are subjected to a background investigation conducted by one of 14 investigators.

According to terms of the 1976 consent decree, candidates may be rejected for convictions for forcible felonies or offenses involving honesty; possession or sale of narcotics, dangerous drugs, hallucinogens, and marijuana; sex offenses; criminal damage or trespass; weapons offenses; driving under the influence; failure to honor court judgments (including alimony or payment of a fine); accumulation of personal

debts exclusive of a home mortgage or auto loan in excess of half the starting salary of an officer in the Chicago Police Department; discharge from prior employment for insubordination or absenteeism; and dishonorable military discharge.

The final portions of the screening process are a physical abilities test and medical examination. The department adopted a physical abilities test when the height and weight requirements were eliminated, but the test was rejected by the court when it was found to have an adverse impact on selection. The state's physical test which has different norms for males and females currently is being used.

Final selection of candidates who have passed each portion of the process is made on the basis of scores in the assessment center.

### **c. Training**

The Chicago Police Academy has a staff of 68 sworn officers, seven of whom are women. Academy training lasts 18 weeks and is followed by an 18-week field training assignment. For the remainder of the probationary year an officer may not patrol alone, is technically assigned to the academy, and is monitored by academy staff.

Training includes 93 hours of physical training. The department will soon institute a physical conditioning test that rookies will be required to pass in order to complete their probationary year successfully; there is no ongoing physical conditioning program for officers.

## **Conclusions**

**M**ost of the eligibility requirements and selection criteria that systematically eliminated women from policing had been eliminated by the end of the 1970's. Despite generally similar selection procedures, the manner in which the case study departments recruit women and the proportion they selected varies widely. Currently women make up between 20 and 40 percent of the applicants in the five case study agencies, and comprise about the same proportion of new hires. In two of these agencies, the changes in hiring have come as a result of consent decrees; in another, a voluntary affirmative action plan was adopted in the wake of litigation; and in the remaining two agencies, affirmative action plans were instituted voluntarily.

The proportion of women applicants in the case study agencies appears to be related to the representation of women already in the department. In Detroit and Washington, D.C., where the proportion of women officers is the largest, recruitment efforts are largely passive, yet large numbers of women apply and are selected. The visibility of women officers coupled with the starting salary which is substantially

more than women could earn in traditionally female jobs appear to make policing sufficiently attractive to women, particularly black women who make up the majority of applicants. The Phoenix department, in contrast to the others, has a more vigorous recruitment effort aimed at women and minorities, including a "pre-hire" program that allows otherwise qualified applicants to get into physical condition but has a much higher attrition rate during training than other departments.

Several case study departments illustrate the change in thinking regarding physical fitness and skills that appears to be gaining support among police administrators. There is growing recognition that self-defense skills can be used by officers of all sizes; that the fitness includes far more than upper body strength that must be maintained to be useful; and that officers who do not stay fit are more likely to be injured, disabled, or die. Consequently, departments are altering their standards both to insure that there is no illegal disparate impact in selection procedures and to maintain officers' physical conditioning. In testing job-related physical skills that can be learned (e.g., scaling a six-foot fence and subduing a prisoner using defensive tactics), a single standard prevails. Legal challenges to physical standards for selection and training alleged to be discriminatory have contributed to modification of those standards and a new emphasis on maintaining the health of both male and female officers through conditioning, diet, and stress reduction programs.

Both male and female officers still express concern about the physical abilities of small officers, particularly women, in all out fights and recognize that an officer's size may occasionally deter a citizen's assault. Indeed, the physical difference issue has been and continues to be a substantial barrier to full acceptance of women officers. Nevertheless, the salience of this issue has decreased because women officers have proven their ability to defend themselves and their partners; defensive tactics courses have been developed to overcome many of the disadvantages of smaller stature; and departmental policies (often designed to avoid lawsuits) have curbed officers' physical aggressiveness.

Other changes that have eased the difficulties women rookies faced in the academy are:

- Including instructional materials spelling out EEO and sexual harassment policies and grievance procedures;
- Including women as role models both as recruiters and academy instructors;

- Providing rookies with a “taste of reality” through changing hours during academy training and giving academy trainees the opportunity to meet with female officers to help them anticipate problems; and
- Providing structured field training programs.

**Endnotes: Chapter 4**

<sup>1</sup> This incentive program was discontinued in 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Tests include the MMPI, California Personality Inventory, and FIRO-B as well as the Wonderlick General Mental Abilities Test that measures deductive and inductive reasoning, verbal comprehension, and vocabulary.

<sup>3</sup> Since these data were collected, the Phoenix department has adopted the "Cooper 40 Percentile Standard" based on age and gender. The principle that recruits must be physically fit, however, remains.

**C H A P T E R 5****PERFORMANCE,  
EVALUATIONS,  
and ASSIGNMENTS**

In comparison with their male counterparts, how successful are women officers in obtaining desirable assignments? How effectively are they performing as officers and supervisors? Do their performance or behavior patterns differ from those of their male counterparts? The case study data, based on matched samples of male and female officers from four departments, turnover data from five agencies, and interviews with officers, supervisors, and command staff members from these agencies permit some tentative conclusions and explanations of the differences we found.

Table 5-1 characterizes the sample officers in four case study agencies and presents some comparisons from the data they provided. In each department, the male and female samples were nearly perfectly matched with respect to length of service as well as age and education. There are differences among the departments, however, that reflect the length of time that women have been on patrol in each case study agency as well as variations in their recruitment patterns. Officers in the Birmingham and Detroit samples, for instance, have substantially more college education than officers in Washington, D.C.

**Academy Performance, Discipline,  
and Sick Leave**

Scores for training academy performance were available from only two departments. In Detroit, final male and female scores were identical.<sup>1</sup> In Phoenix, male officers' scores were a fraction of a point higher than those of the women but the difference achieved statistical significance; male trainees thus also achieved significantly higher class ranking than female trainees.

In the two agencies that provided data, there were no sex differences either with respect to the amount of time lost due to disciplinary actions or in terms of the proportion of males and females who were

TABLE 5-1

CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE AND FEMALE SAMPLE  
IN FOUR SITES

CHARACTERISTICS	BIRMINGHAM		DC		DETROIT		PHOENIX	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Mean month service to Dec. 31, 1987	100	101	112	111	102	102 <sup>1</sup>	88	88
Mean age	34	35	33	33	37	36	no data	
Education	14.6	14.6	2.3	12.3	14.0 +	13.5	no data	
Academy score	no data		no data		82	82	88.7 x 89.2	
Academy class quartile	no data		no data		no data		2.4 * 2.8	
% ever disciplined	18	19	no data		no data		12	17
Discipline days	3.7	4.0	no data		no data		.99	.84
% with commendation or department awards	no data		19 *	34	no data		36	43
Months to make sgt.	90	87	108	102	115	115	102	104
Mean days sick leave in '86+87	6.4	5.3	no data		8.2 + 6.7		8.3 * 4.8 <sup>2</sup>	
Mean days out on-duty injury in '86+87	16.6	12.3	no data		4.6	4.4	no data	
Mean # assignments	no data		2.1 *	1.7	4.0 + 3.5		4.4 * 3.3	
Mean performance evaluation	85.6	85.9	no data		80.9	79.6	see Table 4-2	

+ p < .10; \* p < .05; x p < .01

<sup>1</sup> Net months of service after adjustment for layoffs between 1976 and 1985.

<sup>2</sup> When Phoenix data are adjusted to remove sick leave due to pregnancy and maternity leave, the mean leave used by women decreases to 6.7 days per year. The male-female difference, however, remains at the .05 level.



subjects of departmental disciplinary actions. Male officers received more departmental awards and commendations than female officers in Washington, D.C. and Phoenix, although the difference between the sexes was not statistically significant in the latter department.

Three of the case study agencies provided data on use of sick leave in 1986 and 1987, although only Phoenix was able to indicate how much of an officer's sick leave was related to pregnancy and childbirth. In each of the agencies, women used more sick leave, but the difference achieved statistical significance only in Phoenix (even after removing leave due to pregnancy and childbirth). Days lost due to on-duty injury did not differ by sex in the two agencies providing data.

## Performance Evaluations

A performance evaluation provides one indicator of officer performance although it does have shortcomings. A performance evaluation, for instance, may (1) reflect seniority and the informal status system of the agency rather than the individual's actual performance; (2) include sex-biased measurements; (3) rely on subjective criteria; and (4) include criteria that are not related to the work in making judgments.

The performance evaluation forms used in the case study agencies illustrate some of these problems. In Birmingham, Chicago, and Detroit, for example, the evaluation forms use the masculine pronoun throughout in defining traits and characteristics. In Birmingham, officers are rated on "physical ability to perform the job" and "personality" described on the rating form directions as including "his success in winning confidence and respect" and "his influence on fellow workers."

In Chicago, police are rated in five categories: quantity of work; quality of work; dependability; personal relations; and attendance and promptness. Although these are not sex-stereotyped characteristics *per se*, the directions provided for evaluating officers leave ample room for bias. In assessing the quantity of work, for example, the suggested criteria include only arrest activity, traffic enforcement, court attendance (which stems from the prior two) and award history; public service, crime prevention, and other types of activities receive no notice. The personal relations criteria include the employee's ability to cooperate in team efforts, with the supervisor being instructed to consider whether the employee is "someone with whom most other members are able to work comfortably." If men are not comfortable working with a female officer and overprotect or ostracize her, she is the one to be negatively evaluated for her "inadequate" personal

relations. Furthermore, an officer is not rewarded for positive interaction with the public, but only for a presumably positive "attitude toward service to the public."

In response to such criticisms, both the Washington, D.C. and Phoenix police have eliminated supervisory evaluations from consideration in the promotion process and are revising their evaluation systems (as is Detroit, although the evaluation remains a component of the promotion process).

Despite the shortcomings of existing officer rating systems, comparative data on performance evaluations (after controlling for the effects of seniority and assignment) provide a rough indication of supervisors' perceptions of officers' work performance and areas of strength and weakness. Comparisons across agencies, however, are not valid because standards and scoring systems differ. In Detroit, the maximum rating is 90; in Birmingham, it is 100. In Phoenix, officers are rated on a scale of one to four, with the following values: (1) exceeds performance expectations; (2) meets performance expectations; (3) needs improvement; and (4) unsatisfactory performance.

Data in Tables 5-1 and 5-2 indicate that in the three agencies providing data, mean overall performance evaluation scores for males and females did not differ. The data provided by Phoenix permitted an examination of sex differences in ratings on specific attributes and activities. Because ratings of "three" and "four" are very infrequent, ratings of "two," "three," and "four" were combined and compared with ratings of "one."

Table 5-2 shows that the summary or overall ratings of men and women in Phoenix were virtually identical: 60 percent of the women and 61 percent of the men were rated as exceeding expectations. Furthermore, in only four of the 20 standard categories and two others calling for supervisors' written comments were there statistically significant sex differences in performance ratings. Three of these differences favored the men. They were significantly more likely than the women to be rated as exceeding expectations with respect to job knowledge, job skills, and effectiveness under stress. The women were more likely than the men to be rated above standard only in the appearance of their work stations. Other items in which men tended to be rated higher than women include work judgments, acceptance of responsibility, and initiative. Women tended to be rated higher than men in written and oral expression and dealing with the public, although none of these differences achieved statistical significance.

Thus, women officers were rated as exceeding expectations as often as the men but supervisors continue to perceive each group as

TABLE 5-2  
PERFORMANCE EVALUATIONS OF SAMPLE OFFICERS  
IN PHOENIX POLICE DEPARTMENT

PERCENT EXCEEDING STANDARD ON CRITERION	FEMALE (N=80)	MALE (N=81)	$\chi^2$	SIGNIF.
Observance of work hours	1	4		ns
Use of sick leave	1	4		ns
Grooming and dress	3	4		ns
Compliance with rules	-	1		ns
Safety practices	1	2		ns
Gets along w/ fellow employees	6	14		ns
Meeting and handling public	63	54		ns
Knowledge of work	53	68	3.37	p<.07
Job skill level	55	74	5.60	p<.02
Work judgments	49	59		ns
Planning and organization	31	30		ns
Meeting deadlines	29	21		ns
Quality of work	65	65		ns
Volume of acceptable work	56	63		ns
Accepts responsibility	67	77		ns
Accepts direction	68	70		ns
Accepts change	43	46		ns
Effectiveness under stress	39	54	3.15	p<.08
Operation and care of equip.	11	5		ns
Appearance of work station	26	12	2.75	p<.10
Work coordination	44	45		ns
Initiative	69	80		ns
Written Expression	58	46		ns
Oral expression	48	37		ns
Attitude*	75	79		ns
Other**	46	54		ns
Summary	60	61		ns

\* Not included on evaluation form but written in for 71 of the males and 66 of the females in the sample.

\*\* Includes a variety of other supervisor-initiated evaluative criteria provided for 65 females and 63 males in the sample.

having different strengths and weaknesses that conform to long-standing sex role stereotypes. The categories in which the men surpass the women are those informally regarded as more important aspects of work than those for which women are rated higher.

### **Differences in Assignment Patterns in Case Study Agencies**

The case study data show consistent sex differences across case study agencies in male and female officers' prior and current assignments. As Table 5-1 shows, in the three departments for which assignment history data were available, women had a significantly greater number of different assignments than the men who had been officers for the same length of time. This difference is most striking in Phoenix where the women in the sample have the shortest average length of service and the greatest number of assignments.

In part, however, this is a reflection of the fact that temporary details or assignments (such as serving as a class officer in the training academy or working as a decoy for a detective unit) were recorded in departmental records; in other agencies temporary details were not included in the assignment data they provided. For example, several of the Washington, D.C. officers who were interviewed stated that they had year-long "temporary details" to specialized units, which never appeared in the assignment history data available to the Police Foundation. The high average number of assignments of officers in Phoenix also reflects the fact that the department tripled in size between 1965 and 1980, creating more opportunity for mobility for officers than occurred in the other case study departments, which were stable or decreased in size. Although these differences suggest caution in making cross-agency comparisons, such factors should have no effect on differences between assignment patterns for males and females within each department.

Tables 5-3, 5-4, and 5-5 provide details of the prior assignment histories for the sample of officers in three departments. In the Phoenix department, women officers were significantly more likely than men to ever have been assigned to the criminal investigation bureau and the training academy (see Table 5-3). The high proportion of officers with academy assignments reflects the practice of detailing an experienced officer to serve as "class officer" for each class of recruits. Although the differences did not reach significance, in every other category women were more likely than men with the same seniority and rank to have had that assignment.

TABLE 5-3

## PRIOR ASSIGNMENTS OF OFFICERS IN PHOENIX PD SAMPLE

PERCENT EVER ASSIGNED TO UNIT	FEMALE (N = 128)	MALE (N=128)	$\chi^2$ & SIGNIF.
Administrative (including Chief's office and internal affairs)	9	7	ns
Communications (phone unit)*	20	10	ns
Special operations (SEU, tact)	16	14	ns
General criminal investigative bureau	16	4	7.84 p<.02
Special investigations bureau (vice and organized crime)	17	9	ns
Training academy	16	6	3.42 p<.06
Community relations	15	9	ns

\* Communications unit includes telephone call back unit to which officers on light duty frequently are assigned; does NOT include dispatchers who are civilians in Phoenix.

In Detroit, as shown in Table 5-4, women officers were significantly more likely than their male counterparts to have been assigned to community services, vice and narcotics, management, personnel, and training units. Men were significantly more likely to have been in a patrol support unit (responsible for tactical operations and traffic).

In the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department, female officers were significantly more likely than male officers to have had an assignment in the Administrative Services Bureau (which includes the training academy, police and fire clinic, planning and development, labor relations, community relations, and personnel units) and the communications division of the technical services bureau (to which dispatchers are assigned). Men were significantly more likely to have been assigned to the special operations and traffic divisions (see Table 5-5).

The low proportion of officers of both sexes in Washington, D.C. to have had assignments outside of patrol is attributable in part to the degree of decentralization in that department. Each of the department's seven districts is a "mini-department" with its own evidence technicians, property-crime detectives, youth officers, vice investigators, community service officers, and tactical officers. Precinct commanders in the other case study sites have small special investigative or tactical units under their immediate command, but substantially more non-patrol functions are under separate specialized commands in Washington.

What is common to assignment patterns in the three departments is the tendency of women to have had administrative and other staff support assignments and for men to have predominated in the specialized uniform tactical and patrol-support units.

TABLE 5-4

## PRIOR ASSIGNMENTS OF OFFICERS IN DETROIT PD SAMPLE

PERCENT EVER ASSIGNED TO UNIT	FEMALE (N=77)	MALE (N=77)	$\chi^2$	SIGNIF.
Chief's staff	16	9		ns
Internal controls bureau	12	6		ns
Patrol support	4	14	6.53	p<.01
Management, personnel, and training	18	9	3.12	p<.08
Community services	23	11	5.50	p<.02
Criminal investigative bureau	19	22		ns
District detectives	5	6		ns
Narcotics and vice	18	7	5.05	p<.02
Youth	9	12		ns

TABLE 5-5

PRIOR ASSIGNMENTS OF OFFICERS IN WASHINGTON  
METROPOLITAN PD SAMPLE

PERCENT EVER ASSIGNED TO UNIT	FEMALE (N =106)	MALE (N=106)	X <sup>2</sup>	SIGNIF.
Administrative services	11	2	5.26	p<.03
Communications (dispatchers)	13	2	8.17	p<.01
Chief's office and internal affairs	4	1		ns
Special operations and traffic divisions	4	18	8.61	p<.01
Youth division	3	1		ns
Criminal investigative division	4	6		ns
Morals (vice & narcotics) division	2	3		ns
Technical and inspectional services bureau (minus morals)	6	6		ns

In all four case study agencies there were significant differences by sex when current assignments were divided into three groups: patrol, other line units (i.e., traffic, vice, investigations, and other patrol support units), and administrative and other staff-support units. In three of the departments, women were less likely than men to be assigned to the patrol division. In Birmingham, where there was very little sex-based difference in the proportions currently in patrol assignments, women were more likely to have staff assignments and less likely to have line assignments than men. Across the board, a higher proportion of women than men were in staff support assignments.

The perception of many of the persons interviewed in each of the case study departments—that women leave patrol more quickly than men and take “inside” assignments—thus appears to be borne out by the data. Several reasons for this finding are provided by the interview data as well as other studies of organizational and occupational mobility patterns.

### **Organizational Factors Affecting Assignments**

**M**ost occupations and workplaces are sex segregated (Hartmann and Reskin, 1986; Bielby and Baron, 1986). Beyond occupational segregation by race and sex, women and men in the same occupations are segregated into different jobs: they work in different firms or industries, hold different ranks, and often perform different tasks. In a study of the progress of women in a number of traditionally male occupations, Reskin and Roos (1989) observed that occupational ghettoization and resegregation have occurred more frequently than true integration. In each of a number of increasingly integrated occupations they studied, men kept the more desirable jobs, leaving for women the lower-status specialties, less desirable work settings, and lower paying industries, thus ghettoizing the women pioneers into female enclaves within customarily male occupations. Occupational resegregation also occurred in some industries in which women replaced men as working conditions or occupational rewards deteriorated, making the work less attractive to men than other alternatives.

Both formal and informal organizational features affect sex segregation and the differential placement of male and female workers in organizations. Among the formal factors contributing to sex segregation in the workplace are recruitment and job assignment practices, promotion systems, administrative regulations regarding transfers including seniority systems, and certain aspects of training programs (Roos and Reskin, 1986; Williams, 1989).

Informal processes limiting women's attainment of certain prestigious jobs include exclusion from informal work group (after hours) activities, lack of access to information, absence of a mentor or sponsor, and co-worker harassment or sabotage (Epstein, 1981; Kanter, 1977; Wolshok, 1981; Martin, 1980; Roos and Reskin, 1986).

Both formal and informal systems and worker placement in them are affected by the distribution of power, the opportunity structure, and relative numbers in an organization (Kanter, 1977). The relatively rare token employee, whose social type constitutes less than 15 percent of the group, faces three perceptual phenomena that have behavioral



consequences: high visibility which results in performance pressures; boundary heightening which leads to exclusion; and stereotyping that results in role encapsulation.

Reskin (1988) argues broadly that men respond to token women's intrusion into their spheres by three types of sex differentiation: allocating jobs and tasks according to sex (task differentiation); treating women paternalistically; and sexualizing the workplace by emphasizing the sexual status of women through sexual talk and sexual advances (now generally identified as sexual harassment).

Several studies have found that male gatekeepers assign women different tasks or jobs when women enter male occupations and that these tend to be the less desirable and lower-paying activities (O'Farrell and Harlan, 1982; Deaux and Ullman, 1983; Reskin and Roos, 1990). Paternalism, another form of sex differentiation, generally involves males extracting submission, dependence, and gratitude from subordinate women in exchange for being excused from difficult or undesirable jobs. At the same time, however, women are denied opportunities that test their ability to advance.

How do these formal and informal factors affect the assignments women officers have and their long-term career opportunities? Our data find little evidence that policing is becoming resegregated as a female occupation, despite the growing number of women entering policing. Women still comprise less than 10 percent of police personnel. Nevertheless, differences in assignment patterns raise questions regarding the extent that true integration has occurred. Because the processes that lead to job placement in policing differ in some respects from those found in the professions and the corporate world, however, the formal processes as well as the informal rules of the occupation must be explored.

In police work, all rookies enter with the rank of officer, are subjected to a relatively brief but intense formal training course, and initially are assigned to patrol duty. After serving a minimal period (usually at least a year) on patrol, where they learn the informal rules of the police culture and earn a reputation that tends to remain with them throughout their careers, officers may enter a wide variety of specialized assignments. Subsequently, they also may become part of management, since virtually all police supervisors are promoted from within the organization. As one officer observed:

In police work you can do what you want for a living. There's competition for those (desirable) places but there are always opportunities to go some place else.

We have our own air force and navy; (the police department) is a mini-country.

Most officers, in fact, remain patrol officers assigned to one precinct or station for many years. Yet, there is consensus on what constitutes a good assignment. It is one that permits autonomy and discretion, limits routine supervision, and permits intrinsic rewards like making a "good pinch," as well as allowing additional income through overtime. This most closely fits the work of detectives and officers in tactical units who are line officers freed of close supervision and having to respond to calls for service. Support staff, "inside," and administrative positions (including supervisor), in contrast, while often conferring more organizational power, are viewed by the rank and file as removed from danger and from "real" police work (Reuss-Ianni, 1983).

The distribution of both daily assignments within a precinct and permanent non-patrol assignments is shaped by organizational structures and rules, informal work culture, and an individual officer's skills and interests. The effects of each of these will be explored below.

Several structural factors affect the distribution of specialized assignments and promotions in a police organization. These include: administrative regulations regarding transfers, including seniority rules and selection procedures; the division of labor and presence of specialized units, including the degree of civilianization; procedures for announcing openings and specified selection criteria that facilitate or discourage applicants; the availability of training through the department or other organizations that permit an individual to qualify for a special assignment; and agency policies regarding the equal employment opportunity programs designed to integrate women and minorities.

Seniority rules, often written into union contracts, assure that certain positions are given to the most senior officers seeking them. Other positions may require specialized training or experience. In choosing from among candidates, seniority is considered only "if all else is equal," although such positions as those on a precinct commander's administrative staff or in a special troubleshooting squad may be exempt from seniority rules and awarded at the discretion of unit commanders.

Prior to the rise of police unions, seniority was the informally accepted rule for distributing assignments, but there was no recourse against management harassment if the rules were not followed and few protests of such informal practices as assignment "sponsorship" by

departmental mentors. The rise of unionism, with its emphasis on seniority and its frequent opposition to the various forms of integration in policing, slowed the integration of the first generation of women and minorities when departments were seeking to accelerate it. On the other hand, unionism contributed to adoption of policies that in the long run have made the allocation of assignments a more open process and to the creation of grievance mechanisms for protesting violations of these rules.

The Chicago Police Department's General Order 84-4 illustrates a policy that gives considerable weight to seniority, establishes broad selection criteria that may serve as the basis for a complaint by a candidate who is not selected, but leaves latitude for commanders to select their own staff and special squad members. It specifies that "recognized vacancies" are offered for department-wide bidding and that "recognized openings" are duty assignments biddable by members within the unit. Such vacancies and openings must be posted for 72 hours and read at all roll calls for three days, then expire. They are given to the "most senior qualified member submitting a bid who is able to perform to the satisfaction of the Department, after orientation, without further training when the qualifications of bidders are equal."

In making the selection, the employer "shall consider training, education, experience, skills, ability, demeanor and performance." The general order allows the department to fill a vacancy temporarily "in an emergency or as an interim assignment during the bidding process."

Despite these seniority rules, a 1988 audit of all "inside" biddable slots found that 53 percent of these positions were held out of rotation by women. How could this happen? Several factors contributed to the extensive evasion of the seniority rules by supervisors anxious to bring women into the station and by women who sought such assignments. These include stereotyping by male supervisors, pressure from male peers and family members to transfer, the lack of interest in such positions on the part of men, a pattern of paternalism, and the particular skills and interests of women officers. One respondent cited an instance in which a commander wanted a particular woman for an assignment; he even threatened to punish others who bid for it.

When seniority rules have come into conflict with the administrative policy of fully integrating the department, some administrators have found ways around those rules. In Detroit, for example, in order to integrate several elite units in which seniority weighs heavily in the transfer process, the department assigned recruits straight from the academy to them because the transfer rules do not apply for initial

assignments. While achieving one goal, the department put the women so assigned into a very difficult situation since they had neither patrol experience nor the specialized training required of more senior officers to get into the unit.

Departments also differ in selection procedures for investigative positions and these differences affect opportunities to become a detective. In Chicago, candidates are selected on the basis of their score on an investigator's test that is given every few years.<sup>2</sup> A new test had not been given since the early 1980's, when the number of women was quite small. As of the end of 1988, therefore, there were only 30 white and seven black women among the 1,001 investigators. In Detroit and Birmingham, detectives normally are selected from persons who have been promoted.<sup>3</sup> In Phoenix, a prospective investigator applies to get investigator training, then is placed on a transfer list based on class ranking in investigator school. In Washington, D.C., criminal investigative division positions are announced and candidates are selected by the unit commander following an interview.

Several respondents in Detroit and Birmingham asserted that women sergeants had been rapidly transferred into detective slots as a way of removing them from supervising squads of male patrol officers who were strongly opposed to taking orders from women supervisors. A patrol division commander, on the contrary, observed:

We can't keep women supervisors in the patrol division. They are in high demand so the most competent move out to CID and who can blame them?

The extent to which functions are civilianized also affects the distribution of police assignments because most such positions involve technical and clerical work for which female civilians generally are hired and paid less than what an officer would make. In Birmingham, Phoenix, and Detroit, for instance, dispatching now is done by civilians. Washington, D.C. and Chicago, which have sworn dispatchers, have disproportionate numbers of women in that assignment.<sup>4</sup>

Birmingham and Phoenix have a higher proportion of civilian employees than the three other agencies. In the former—jail, personnel, research, records, community services, and crime prevention functions are entirely or primarily performed by civilians and on each shift there is only one desk officer per precinct. One result of the Birmingham department's extensive civilianization, combined with the absence of a pregnancy policy and lack of assured light duty assign-

ments for officers with non-duty related injuries or disabilities, is the lack of available assignments for and ensuing legal threats from pregnant officers that have not arisen in the other case study agencies.

The division of labor also affects assignment patterns. In general, larger departments have a larger cadre of administrative personnel as well as more specialized units. The Chicago and Detroit police departments, for example, have internal inspections and audit units in addition to internal affairs units and a variety of community services units, including mini-stations in Detroit and a "beat representative program" in each precinct in Chicago.

Opportunities for non-patrol assignments also are affected by departmental growth and turnover rates. The Phoenix police department tripled in size between 1965 and 1980, providing wide opportunities both for promotion and non-patrol assignments for the early cohorts of women officers. By contrast, in Detroit, the officers hired in 1977 (many of whom were black and female) were laid off in 1979 and many were not recalled until 1985. During those years there was no new hiring, gradual recall of officers, and few promotions and transfers from patrol. In addition, some of the officers hired between 1974 and 1977 who had obtained transfers were returned to patrol.

Women's assignment mobility also is shaped by the commitment of the department's command staff to fully integrate women into policing. All of the case study departments have EEO policies and affirmative action plans; respondents from each agency referred to the degree to which the chief and mayor are committed to affirmative action as a primary factor in the representation of women officers and the opening of various opportunities. In several departments, top administrators have sent a clear message that sex discrimination and sexual harassment are no longer permissible. They have issued directives calling for sex integration of all units and have established more formalized selection procedures. As one precinct commander asserted:

This city is very affirmative action oriented and complexion aware, as it should be....If there are four (specialized squad) sergeants, they can't all be one race or sex....It is important to demonstrate to everyone they have an opportunity to advance and I may...give a position to someone who has less ability and expertise who is of the appropriate group rather than to someone who may be more skilled to show that I've done a visible job of being equitable.

TABLE 5-6

CURRENT ASSIGNMENTS OF SAMPLE OFFICERS IN  
FOUR MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS

PERCENT ASSIGNED TO	BIRMINGHAM		DC		DETROIT		PHOENIX	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Patrol*	57	53	70	78	51	64	66	80
Investigation or field support**	24	40	11	16	25	23	18	7
Community relations, technical and administrative units	19	7	19	6	24	12	17	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	$\chi^2=9.04$ p<.02		$\chi^2=6.58$ p<.05		$\chi^2=5.72$ p<.06		$\chi^2=6.14$ p<.05	

\* In D.C., within each of the department's 7 districts, officers may be assigned to patrol or, alternatively to specialized vice, detective, tactical, youth, and community relations units. There are, in addition, citywide specialized units. Because data provided only indicated the unit to which an officer was assigned, all officers assigned to a district were included in this category.

\*\* Includes detectives, vice and narcotics units, traffic, special operations, tactical and tactical-support units except as noted above.

A strong EEO policy coupled with the effects of promotions of women and minorities to supervisory positions appears to have resulted in a reduction in "rational bias" discrimination. Such discrimination occurs when mid-level personnel act on the basis of cues from superiors that suggest that a show of bias seems likely to be rewarded or, in the absence of such cues, on the basis of what they believe to be the preferences of their bosses (Larwood et al., 1988). As chiefs, unit

commanders, and other supervisors have made clear that discriminatory treatment, including sexual harassment, is no longer acceptable and that unit supervisors are evaluated on achieving the department's EEO goals, their subordinates have altered their behavior.

Despite EEO and affirmative action efforts to integrate women through the agency, however, the data shown in Tables 5-3 through 5-6, as well as the interviews, suggest the persistence of different assignment patterns for male and female officers. And, in each department, respondents pointed to units from which women have been excluded and instances of sex bias in the distribution of assignments.

### **Informal and Individual Factors Affecting Assignments**

**V**irtually all police officers seek to leave patrol at some time in their careers and, as the data presented earlier in this chapter suggest, many have been able to do so. Some move into specialized units, others are promoted. Even those who remain in the precinct throughout their career may be assigned to tactical or crime prevention squads, administrative assignments, or station house desk duties on a daily or longer term basis.

None of the patrol officers that were interviewed for the case studies stated that they wanted to remain in their current assignment more than five years. Looking at the entire group of respondents, a few (mostly the newer female officers) were unsure of their career goals; the majority (except those who expect to retire) desire promotion; others hope for another assignment at the same rank; a few (12 percent of the women and 3 percent of the men) plan to quit within five years. The overall pattern of officers' aspirations showed marginal differences by sex; the women, particularly sergeants, were as ambitious as the men, but were somewhat less content with their present assignments or police work in general.

Although the individual goals of the respondents did not differ, both men and women perceived that women leave patrol faster than men and are more likely to obtain "inside" assignments.

#### ***Women and Street Patrol***

In examining assignment patterns, two phenomena need to be explained: (1) daily assignments within precincts/districts that result in women being less frequently assigned to street patrol; and (2) the pattern of transfers from street patrol to other units.



Both male and female respondents in all departments asserted that a higher proportion of women than men are unsuited for, uncomfortable with, or seek to leave street patrol; their explanations for such assertions, however, vary widely. A male command staff member who expressed continuing opposition to women on patrol gave the following confusing explanation that seems to assert that most women are inadequate patrol officers because they are unwilling to do the job:

A few women can work in the precincts and do the job; the majority don't...Working patrol cars...takes a special person. Most women in policing don't care to do this type of work. The first thing a woman looks for when coming on is a soft job.

A male lieutenant emphasized women's concern with danger:

Women go inside 'cause they want to. We have a timekeeper who's afraid to go back on street and will quit if she has to. Women actively seek out these (inside) spots...I'd hate to be afraid of my job.

A female officer who plans to quit soon after three years of patrol experience supported his assertion:

I'm most concerned about lawsuits; you can be sued if you don't do something right....If I could transfer to where I don't have to worry about lawsuits or endangering my life, I'd stay.

Some women also have negative opinions of women patrol officers but regard themselves as exceptions. In the words of a female sergeant:

(On the street) there's constant danger and I don't think women are as geared to accepting that, don't feel as prepared to handle physical situations as well as men, and don't handle them as well although we can talk our way out better.

The comments of others, however, indicate that women are put in the station because they are assumed to have office skills, perform well there, or are less likely to complain than men about that assignment when they do not want it. A new female officer noted:



A lot of times they try to train the newest females on the desk. They don't do this with the new males, just the new females. The guys then teased 'you're a desk dog now...' I hated it and bitched and did things wrong, but now I can do it. I've learned a lot. For example, I know what happens with a prisoner. I feel lucky to have learned it for the next sergeant's exam... We told them we don't mind helping out but we want to be outside... They always want to put the females inside.

A female sergeant observed that she often was assigned to write her supervisors' reports:

Once they found you could write, they'd give them to you.... There was some benefit in it; I learned how to assemble decent reports so when I was promoted to sergeant... I had a little edge.

Ironically, as these women observed, the assignments benefitted their careers and might benefit male rookies as well. At the same time, these women illustrate another characteristic of female officers that several respondents pointed out, flexibility. As a male sergeant observed:

Females will take a variety of assignments to acclimate themselves to the policing environment. Men, in contrast, will wait for the big payoff. Females move around more, get more exposure, get to know more people; men are content to stay where they are.

Several informants asserted that lazy or incompetent male patrol officers are comfortable on patrol and remain there; the same poor performance in women, however, is more visible, makes the men uncomfortable, and results in an inside assignment.

Male supervisors' tendency to assign women to the station is increased by the woman's sexual attractiveness. A male field training coordinator commented:

The precinct and shift commanders favor females with inside positions before they learn to be a street patrol officer. Attractive females are nice to be

around and they bring the attractive girl inside. When I go to precincts and see a woman behind the desk, I ask what did she do to deserve this. She says 'the commander brought me in.'

Women not only are put inside more frequently than the men, they also are given quiet beats, denied certain assignments such as working the wagon, put with partners who tend to take the initiative, and generally are protected. This pattern, observed in an earlier study of women officers, results in a cycle of protection, incompetence, and demotivation which Martin (1980: 129) described thus:

(Rookie) officers...face unfamiliar and unpredictable situations on the street. In successfully taking action and overcoming their fears, most officers gain confidence as they develop policing skills. The ability to cope with the paperwork, the law, the courts, and most importantly, the citizens they encounter all bolster confidence. Self-confidence grows when peers say 'good job.' ...The officer who does not have nor does not take the opportunity to develop street patrol skills as a result of limiting assignments, inadequate instruction, or overprotection is likely to act hesitantly or fail to act in a confrontation. Because an incompetent officer is regarded by colleagues as a potential danger to themselves as well as the officer in question, they are anxious to get such an officer off the street or minimize his or her street activities, thus perpetuating the cycle of incompetence on patrol.

This pattern persists and creates a "Catch 22" for women officers who are protected and then blamed for failing to meet standards that, in fact, they were not really expected or required to meet. In at least one department, for example, precinct commanders still prohibit assignment of women to the wagon. A high ranking male official confirmed and justified this practice. His words illustrate both the operation of the cycle of protectiveness and the tendency to blame the victim for the policies of the male commanders:

The wagon is considered the garbage detail. Women don't want to work this detail. Why do women

think they should be exempt from working it? Men don't like to work it either and greatly resent being pulled off the street to work the wagon. Here is another example of wanting to be treated as an equal, just like the man, but not wanting to do the same jobs that men are required to do.

The problem of male protection and its impact was expressed most poignantly by a three-year woman from the same department:

When I first came to xx precinct, because I was a white female, my assignment was in a predominantly quiet white area that didn't require a lot of work. I was not happy and verbalized it. I was then moved around. The sergeants saw I had more ability than they saw in the beginning because before I had no way to learn or exhibit my skills. Maybe there are a lot of people that don't know their talents or abilities because (the men) are protecting them and, as a result, losing something. Until I started speaking up, I felt like I was being left to die....

My sister has been on two years and they put her on the desk. She's had very limited street experience. Now, with the change in command, she is out more and that is bad. She could get hurt or get someone else hurt...Lack of exposure makes you lose your edge... These females (who had inside assignments) were robbed of experience of street time.

The cycle of protection leads to pressure from fellow officers to leave street patrol before anyone gets hurt. It hurts both individual women who are deprived of the opportunity to become effective patrol officers and women as a group. Women are divided between those who accept or seek paternalistic protection and those who reject it and, by criticizing the protected women, try to disavow the label of incompetence that is placed on all women. Paternalism that involves a sexual bargain between a male supervisor and female officer is particularly problematic for women.

Protectiveness also creates dilemmas for women supervisors who are criticized by some women officers for failing to give women special treatment. As one noted:

The women expected me to be partial to them and when I wasn't they felt I let them down....They didn't want to walk footbeats and wanted scout car assignments and better details. But those things come as part of the rites of passage, unrelated to sex. You have to put in your time.

Male supervisors' paternalism creates resentment of women by male officers who blame the women rather than the men for the situation. Yet, as one female lieutenant stated:

As long as men keep putting women inside, they have no grounds for complaint....I'd spread women out so it appears fair to men. It's important to have things be seen as fair by men. Men pull women inside and the problem perpetuates itself.

When individual women have fought to overcome protectiveness and restrictions on their assignments, a command staff tactic used to thwart their efforts has been "divide and conquer." The most blatant example (but not the only one) occurred in Birmingham in the summer of 1978 when the department anticipated riots and set up a voluntary riot training program. One woman volunteered, but the department refused to accept her in the training class, and she threatened to sue to assert her right to equal treatment. The department responded by punishing all the women for her assertiveness by setting up a special riot class and forcing about 20 women into it.

### *Sex Differences in Non-patrol Assignments*

Both the cycle of protection that leaves women inadequately prepared for street patrol and a wide variety of opportunities for token women have resulted in a steady channeling of women out of patrol. But women are not distributed evenly in non-patrol assignments; they are overrepresented in "inside" community service, administrative, and clerical assignments and underrepresented in tactical and other line units.

Women are overrepresented in staff positions for several reasons. Men tend to stereotype women and assume they have office skills. In fact, a substantial number of women officers previously held clerical or administrative jobs, although several respondents stated that they had

sought policing jobs to escape such work. Some women even were recruited with the expectation of obtaining clerical assignments.

One commander noted that several of the female civilians on his staff realized they would make a great deal more money by becoming officers, went through training, and quickly were reassigned to his staff. A recruiter in another department reported interviewing female applicants for civilian positions, showing them the announcement for police officers, and encouraging them to become sworn officers, probably with the expectation that they would quickly obtain clerical positions.

Some male officers have encouraged their wives to join the police only to pressure them into or assist them in gaining a non-patrol assignment with regular hours and less exposure to danger. As one woman supervisor (who has since divorced her husband who could not cope with her promotion) explained:

A lot of women come on the job for wrong reasons; for money and, like I did, because our husbands say 'get through training and I'll get a friend to take care of you.' But when (the women) do get taken care of, the men get pissed.

The visibility of the token women results in performance pressures and stereotyping not faced by male officers. One way to ease these discomforts is to obtain an assignment where there are other women or the work is viewed as "sex-appropriate" by peers. Women's clerical, writing, and administrative skills (actual or presumed) make office assignments and the work environment more hospitable to women than units with "macho" images. Several male commanders said they prefer having a female staff because, as one asserted, "with men (on my staff) there's the tension of competitiveness that I don't have time for."

Administrative assignments with fixed, daytime hours often are attractive to women with young children because regular hours greatly ease the burden of finding child care. A divorced woman officer with two pre-teen daughters, "major babysitting problems," and an 11 to 7 shift noted that since taking a day-work position, "I feel like a mother again."

Although some women with clerical, writing, and office management skills have sought to use them, several women detectives were pressured to assume administrative rather than investigative responsibilities. One stated:

I was the first black female at xx....At first they gave me these (dirty) assignments to discourage me; then when I started going out on my own, they pulled me inside (and made it a permanent administrative assignment)...when the two sergeants that managed the administrative section retired.

(Interviewer) You mean you're doing what two male sergeants did?

You got it right. My advantage was that I knew how to type and would do it myself. Males waited for a typist...Now everything runs smoothly...Supervisors are looking for good administrative people. Before, they couldn't stand the thought of (a woman) being around them; now all the administrative units are run by females.

Other women detectives complained that they were reassigned to sex crimes without requesting a transfer because the department believed it needed women to talk to women victims. At the same time, they were denied assignment to the homicide squad. Both assignment decisions were based on stereotypes of women and others' reactions to them.

In contrast to the generally favorable treatment women report receiving when they hold inside assignments conforming with sex role stereotypes, several assigned to tactical units have paid a heavy price. A male co-worker observed that the first woman in his specialized unit "had to put up with a whole lot of BS." Because she did, she allayed some of the fears of the men.

Other women have not been able to cope with the harassment. One female recounted an extreme example of the cycle of harassment, angry reaction, and further hostilities that finally led her to seek reassignment. Initially protected because she was dating a man in the unit, once they split up, the men were "like sharks...and I was available for attacks." Hurt by the men's gossip about her, initially "I wouldn't talk to anyone," then "became a mean bitch as my anger came out." As an older, divorcee with two children, she felt she was at a different "maturity level" from the male officers who talked about sports and sex; however, they interpreted her talking to the sergeants about books and her kids as "kissing ass." The men also criticized her for "being a hotdog," i.e., working too hard, and for seeking back up too often, and,

in several instances, they failed to assist her. As she felt increasingly ostracized but determined that they would not drive her out, she reacted by becoming aggressive, “determined to put them down in front of the others.”

One day she grabbed her daughter “like she was a street criminal” and saw a look in her face that said, “I don’t know you anymore.” Realizing that the work was affecting her family relations, she decided to seek a transfer.

This is an extreme case but one illustrating clearly the dynamics of tokenism and sexual harassment. Faced with performance pressures, combined with boundary heightening that excluded her from the group, this female officer actively adopted the stereotypic “bitch” role. That led to further peer harassment and rejection, which subsequently increased her anger to the point that it affected her personality and family life.

## **Discussion and Policy Implications**

**D**ata from four agencies suggest that women officers: (1) have performance evaluations as high as those of men although an examination of specific skills suggests that they continue to be evaluated in stereotypic ways; (2) use slightly more sick leave than the men; (3) have had a greater number of non-patrol assignments than their male counterparts; and (4) hold somewhat different assignments than male officers.

Sex differentiation in both daily and permanent assignments results from organizational rules and policies, informal norms, and individual preferences and experiences. Organizational factors that affect transfers to non-patrol assignments include the specificity of formal selection criteria (reducing opportunities to reward “buddies”), the influence of seniority, the degree of civilianization and division of labor, department growth and turnover rates, and the department’s commitment to implementing an equal employment opportunity policy.

There has been a shift from decision making based on the norms of the informal “street cop culture” that distributes rewards (including valued assignments) based on one’s influence with “the old boy network,” toward adherence to the norms of the “management cop culture” that emphasizes bureaucratic rules and universalistic criteria (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). This change has opened wider opportunities for women. Nevertheless, “street cop” values, including paternalistic attitudes and negative stereotypes of women continue informally to



influence assignment decisions. On a day-to-day basis, rookie women officers get "protected" into station house assignments and a self-perpetuating cycle often is created; protection leads to incompetent street performance which becomes a justification for further protection and inside assignments.

Sex differences in assignments also are based on prior socialization, work experiences, and skills; the generally greater weight of family responsibilities that fall on the women officers (particularly single parents); the status still attached to certain "macho" assignments for men; and the tendency of commanders to stereotype assignments and some women to go along with the stereotypes, all contribute.

Assignment patterns should be carefully monitored by police agencies to distinguish between those that demonstrate the availability of wider opportunities and signal more fully integrated departments and those that suggest the ghettoization of women based on sex role stereotypes and paternalism.

When a department makes a commitment to integrating women into all assignments, an initial diffusion effect occurs, as women have many opportunities throughout the department. Subsequently, male and female officers should have similar opportunities for transfer to non-patrol assignments. It is likely that there will continue to be sex differences in assignment opportunities and patterns, however, as long as women are represented in policing in token numbers and are encouraged and permitted to fill a disproportionate share of administrative positions.

Police administrators cannot assume that time and numbers alone will end male protectiveness and women's acquiescence to it. To assure fair and equal assignment opportunities, departments should consider: (1) implementing a policy stating that rookies must spend a certain amount of time on street patrol and make that policy clear to police recruits; (2) reviewing the daily assignments of rookies throughout their probationary year to insure that all have similar opportunities to work in the station, on a footbeat, and in a scout car and that the standards by which male and female performance are judged are the same; and (3) adopting and enforcing sexual harassment policies. Adopting an equal employment opportunity policy is an important first step; but it must be vigorously implemented. As one official explained, equal employment must be "not only a matter of policy but of practice."



## Endnotes: Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup> The only additional data on academy performance provided by the Detroit department indicated that men scored significantly higher on firearms training than did women. This suggests that women's performance must have been higher on one or more other aspects of training.

<sup>2</sup> Up to 15 percent permitted to be given "merit" assignments on the recommendation of unit commanders and the superintendent.

<sup>3</sup> Until 1987, investigators in Detroit were drawn from persons with the rank of sergeant. Since that year, a new rank—investigator—was created and candidates permitted to follow a separate career track. The promotion of a group of investigators then permitted the department to transfer many sergeants back to patrol supervisory positions.

<sup>4</sup> Table 5-5 indicates a sex difference in communications division assignments in Washington. Although data were not available from Chicago, one knowledgeable respondent asserted that of the approximately 300 sworn personnel assigned to communications, about 120 (i.e., 40 percent) were females.



## CHAPTER 6

**PROMOTIONS and WOMEN  
as SUPERVISORS**

Officers not only may move around in a variety of assignments, they may also move up the organizational hierarchy through departmental promotion processes. In policing, supervisors at all levels are selected from a pool of officers within the department and rise from the ranks through standardized written and oral written examinations. The importance of prior experience, supervisor recommendation, and informal political influence vary across departments, but generally has declined, while that of affirmative action has increased, opening opportunities for women and minorities willing and able to study.

Above a certain rank, however, the selection process becomes more political; the department's top managers are chosen by the chief executive with the approval of the mayor. As has been shown in Chapter 3, the higher the rank, the smaller the proportion of women in it. As of June 1989, among the five case study agencies there were no women at an appointed executive level in Phoenix, one each in Birmingham and Washington, D.C., two in Chicago, and nine in Detroit.

Promotion procedures for sergeants and lieutenants in the five case study agencies all begin with a written examination; they differ, however, with respect to the additional elements considered in compiling the final list of candidates for promotion, as shown in Table 6-1. They also differ with respect to the nature of affirmative action policies affecting promotion. In Chicago, from 1973 to the end of 1988, civil service promotions were supervised by a federal district court. In Birmingham, a consent decree is in effect. Detroit's voluntary affirmative action plan includes quotas for promotion of women and minorities. And in Washington and Phoenix, the departments have adopted voluntary affirmative action policies, but have a single list from which individuals are promoted in turn.

Consistent data on promotions across case study sites were not available. Data for 1986, collected as part of the survey and shown in

Table 6-2, suggest that the proportion of women among persons eligible for promotion to sergeant varied from less than 4 percent in Chicago to more than 17 percent in Birmingham; promotion rates in 1986 also varied widely. Women constituted more than 17 percent of the new sergeants in Washington, D.C. and Birmingham, but less than 5 percent of the persons promoted to sergeant in Chicago.

In this chapter, the operation of each case study agency's promotion system is described, the barriers to and strategies of women gaining acceptance as supervisors are explored, and officers' perceptions of women's opportunities to move into executive level positions are examined.

TABLE 6-1

CRITERIA FOR PROMOTION TO SERGEANT AND LIEUTENANT  
IN CASE STUDY SITES

INCLUDE CRITERION IN PROMOTION PROCESS	DEPARTMENT				
	BIRM.	DC	DETROIT	CHICAGO	PHOENIX
Written exam	B	B	B	B*	B
Oral interview	B	N	N	B	B
Assessment center	N	B	B	N	N
Performance evaluation	N	N	B	S	B
Seniority	B	N	N	N	B
Military service	N	N	B	N	N

\* B=both sergeant and lieutenant; S=sergeant only; N=neither.

TABLE 6-2  
 PROMOTIONS TO SERGEANT IN 1986  
 IN CASE STUDY DEPARTMENTS BY SEX

FEMALES AS PERCENT OF PERSONS	DEPARTMENT				
	BIRM.	DC	DETROIT	CHICAGO	PHOENIX
Eligible	17.4		15.1	3.8	
Completed process		13.9			7.7
Promoted or likely to be	17.6	17.9	no data	4.3	9.3

## Promotions in Case Study Agencies

### 1. Washington, D.C.

New promotion rosters for sergeant, lieutenant, and captain (the ranks under civil service promotion) are established every two years in the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD). One's final position on a roster is based on the average of the written exam and assessment center scores. There are no supervisory ratings involved and no consideration given for seniority, education, or veteran status. Prior to each promotion process the department performs a job analysis that defines the primary tasks of the rank and guides development of test questions and the dimensions and scoring directions for assessors. The department has no specific affirmative action goals regarding promotions although the promotion process is closely monitored and occasionally adjusted if a particular test appears to have an adverse impact on women or minorities.

To be eligible for promotion to sergeant a person must have been a sworn officer for three years; to become a lieutenant or captain, one year in the rank of sergeant or lieutenant, respectively, is required. Promotion to the ranks of inspector, deputy chief, and assistant chief is made by the chief with the approval of the mayor from among incumbents of the next lower rank.

The promotion process through the rank of captain is designed to be conducted entirely internally. The written exams are developed by a captain assigned to the task full time, a staff psychologist, and three other captains on temporary detail. They develop more than 400 multiple choice items based on all the departmental general orders, city ordinances and regulations, and several management books identified in the exam announcement. Every exam requires new questions since candidates are given their test booklet to review and challenge.

Candidates are ranked based on their written exam scores. Then twice the average number who have been promoted during the past 10 years in each rank are invited to complete the assessment center process. This list is reviewed for adverse impact on women and minorities. In 1986, four female and minority lieutenants were added to the list of persons to go to the assessment center for promotion to captain; there were no changes in the list of eligibles for lieutenant or sergeant.

The current system was adopted in 1980. Previously, a performance evaluation including a rating of one's "promotional potential" and seniority accounted for half of the candidate's raw score. These were replaced by points awarded on the basis of performance in the internally managed assessment center.

The assessment center involves four exercises, the content of which differ by rank. For example, exercises for candidates for captain involve an in-basket (i.e., typical paper work that a captain will have to handle), written incident report, 15-minute oral presentation based on evaluation of written materials, and a leaderless group discussion. The written exercises test both writing and management skills. All candidates take the two written parts at the same time. Role playing and leaderless group exercises are conducted over the next four weeks. Each candidate is assigned a panel of three assessors who are selected by the chief and provided 40 hours of training prior to beginning the assessment process. Each panel of assessors includes two MPD officials who are two ranks higher than the candidates and a third person who is a psychologist or personnel specialist either from the MPD or an outside agency.

Assessors make independent evaluations of candidates on each of 12 skills or characteristics including sensitivity, flexibility, written and oral communication, planning, initiative, leadership, and judgment. After completing individual ratings, panel members meet, and arrive at a single score between "one" and "five" for each candidate. About 90

percent of the time, at least two of the assessors give the same rating (and all three agree about 6 percent of the time).

In general, women have done well on both the exam and assessment center, achieving promotion ratios between 1.25 and 3, (i.e., women have been promoted at rates between 125 percent and 300 percent higher than their proportion in the candidate group.)

But, women have been less successful in entering the ranks of top management: until July 1989, when a woman was promoted to inspector, there was only one female, a deputy chief, included in the command staff.

## 2. Detroit

To be eligible for promotion to sergeant in Detroit, an individual needs three years of experience as an officer if he or she has no college credits, two-and-a-half years of experience with two years of college, and only two years of service with a bachelor's degree. Candidates for lieutenant must have either a bachelor's degree and one year in grade as a sergeant, a year-and-a-half in grade with two years of college, or two years in grade with less education. A minimum of 45 college semester hours is required before one is able to take the test.

Final ranking on the promotion list is weighted: 65 percent of the rank is based on the written exam score, 15 percent on the performance evaluation rating, 10 percent on the promotional evaluation board (assessment center) rating, up to 6 percent for seniority, 2 percent for college credit, and 2 percent for veteran's preference. The performance evaluation score is the average of the two ratings received since the previous exam; seniority is computed on the basis of 1 percent for the first through the fifth year of service and half a percent for the sixth and seventh year of service. College credit is computed on the basis of half a percent for each full year of college.

A score of 70 or better is required on the written test to be eligible for further processing. If the department determines that 300 names will be placed on a promotion register to meet its anticipated supervisory needs for the year, only those officers with the top 300 written exam scores will be completely processed and placed in rank order.

The exam announcement is accompanied by a list of materials and their approximate weight on the exam. Study material includes all general orders; training and information bulletins published since April 1970; Legal Advisor updates published since February 1982; labor contracts; the Michigan Liquor Control Act; traffic and motor vehicle

ordinances; applicable city ordinances; and specific books on Michigan criminal law and police procedures, human relations, criminal investigations, and police personnel supervision.

The written exam is prepared by staff in the department, aided by knowledgeable officials who are asked to write questions that go into a pool. One recent test included 224 multiple choice questions, 124 of which were unique to each rank. The emphasis given to various types of subject matter in the exam is based on a job analysis conducted every few years. By giving the exam annually, department administrators assert, studying becomes an "ongoing training process."

Assessors drawn from outside the department receive one day of training and are assigned to three-member panels that change daily. Candidates are given a list of "critical incidents" to rank for seriousness and discuss their ranking before the panel. During the interview one interviewer creates a disruption to assess the candidate's reaction under stress. Candidates are given their score immediately after the interview.

Since 1974, Detroit's voluntary affirmative action plan calls for promotion of one black for each white until half of the supervisors in a rank are minority members. In 1980, women were added to the plan. Although the percentage of women to be promoted is decided by the Police Board of Commissioners annually, it has ranged from 20 and 30 percent of the promotions. Detroit maintains separate lists for black and white women who are promoted in equal numbers, although approximately 80 percent of the female officers are black.

Executives holding the rank of inspector, commander, or deputy chief are chosen from among incumbents in the next lower rank by the chief with the approval of the mayor. Detroit has one female deputy chief, three female commanders, and five women inspectors among a command staff of approximately 90 persons. Most of these women initially served in the Women's Division of the department prior to the integration of women into patrol.

### **3. Phoenix**

**P**romotion examinations are given every two years in Phoenix. To qualify for the sergeant's examination, an officer must have four years of service as a Phoenix Police Department officer and an associate degree or 60 college credits. Candidates for lieutenant must have two years of service as a sergeant and 90 college credit hours; beginning with the exam to be given in 1990, a bachelor's degree will be required. Candidates for captain must have two years of service as a lieutenant



and a bachelor's degree.

The ranks of major and assistant chief are filled from the rank of captain at the discretion of the chief and city manager. The first female to attain the rank of captain was promoted in December 1987.

For each supervisory rank, an announcement stating the dates of the written examination and the application period preceding it is published in the department's *Operations Digest* several months in advance of the exam. The announcement also lists the bibliography of material that will be covered in the exam and the weighting of each of the promotion components.

For sergeants in 1987 and for lieutenants in 1988, the written exam was worth 45 percent, the oral board counted 40 percent, a performance rating (based on the last two regularly scheduled evaluations) counted for 10 percent, and seniority accounted for 5 percent of the final rating score. Only the 75 applicants for sergeant with the highest written exam scores and the top 25 for lieutenant were invited to take the oral portion of the exam. As openings occurred, promotions were made from a final list based on totals of the four components.

Concern with the possibility of litigation alleging that evaluations are subjective, however, led to the decision to eliminate them from future promotion processes; the weight of the written and oral exams each was increased by 5 percent.

In 1987, only 146 persons took the promotion exam for sergeant, the top 75 went to the oral board, and 68 made the promotion list.

#### **4. Birmingham**

Since the signing of a consent decree in 1981, one black is promoted to the ranks of sergeant and lieutenant for each white promoted, and one woman is made sergeant for every three males promoted. Women's promotions to higher ranks are in proportion to their percentage in the position from which they are drawn. The consent decree reduced the requirements for eligibility for promotion to sergeant from five to three years of uninterrupted service in rank (or two years in rank for candidates with two years of college). Eligibility for lieutenant requires two years of service as a sergeant. The decree also eliminated the "promotional potential" rating system which was demonstrated to have had an adverse impact on blacks.

Currently, countywide promotion exams for the ranks of sergeant, lieutenant, and captain are designed and administered by the Jefferson County Personnel Board. Promotions to the rank of inspector and

assistant chief are the prerogative of the chief in consultation with the mayor, although there are currently no assistant chiefs.

Because the test is given countywide, it does not include questions on departmental regulations or city ordinances. A study list of books and state laws is distributed to candidates with the exam announcement several weeks prior to the test. Exams are given about once a year.

The consent decree specifies that notification of the exam (as well as other specialized job assignments) is to be posted. Several officers indicated, however, that the old practice of removing the notice from the bulletin board and from the mail boxes of blacks and women, still occurs so that some could not take the exam because they did not register for it within the brief sign-up period.

For each year of service up to 20 years one point is added to a candidate's test score, giving a heavy weight to seniority. When a vacancy occurs, the rule of three is applied: for the first opening, the personnel board sends the department the top three names on the final list; for each additional opening an additional name is provided. If there are not enough blacks or women, a supplemental list is certified, with enough names to meet the promotional goal. Thus, if four persons were to be promoted to lieutenant, two of whom had to be blacks and one of whom had to be a female, up to four additional blacks and two women might be added to the original six names, depending on minority representation on the original list.

To gain greater control over promotions, the chief recently created promotion review panels for each rank. Each panel consists of persons two ranks higher than those they are to review. Panel members review the personnel file of each candidate with respect to leave record, attendance, disciplinary record, productivity, and performance evaluations, and conduct 30-minute interviews with candidates whom they rate as "acceptable" or "unacceptable" for promotion. If all certified candidates are rated "satisfactory," the chief selects from among them.

## **5. Chicago**

**F**rom 1973 through 1988, nearly all hiring and promotion issues related to the police were dealt with by Judge Prentice Marshall under *U.S. v. City of Chicago*, a case that consolidated several discrimination suits including one brought by the U.S. Department of Justice.

In 1976, the court permanently enjoined the city from using qualifications, tests, standards, and other procedures, which discrimi-

nated against black and Hispanic males seeking promotion to sergeant. To ensure a supervisory staff reasonably representative of the patrol force, the court required that 40 percent of promotions to sergeant consist of minority persons. The ruling also permitted the city to go outside the existing sergeant roster by finalizing promotion of some "temporary" sergeants to achieve the quota.

In 1978-79 there were new examinations for sergeant, lieutenant, and captain. The resulting rosters had an impermissible adverse impact on minority candidates. Promotions for the next decade, nevertheless, came off these lists with the rank order altered by imposition of promotional quotas. As a result of an intervening decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1981, previous quotas were modified to insure 25 percent black and Hispanic males and 5 percent females were promoted to sergeant.

This decision, while generally benefitting women, had a different effect on black women who came to be treated simply as women in the allocation of promotions. Initially under *U.S. v. City of Chicago* procedures, black women were promoted as blacks. When white females realized that some black women were being promoted ahead of them, they sought a change in the allocation of quotas so that all women were treated as a single minority group. Judge Marshall held that black women could not be given double benefits and the legal representative of the Afro-American League (which was representing black officers) agreed to a change so that black women would be counted as part of the quota for women rather than as blacks. Subsequently a group of black women brought a suit objecting to the change. Judge Marshall deemed their claims to be meritorious but rejected them because they were "not timely."

In 1984, although the court invalidated the lieutenant roster because it was based on a test that was not job-related and had an impermissible discriminatory impact on minority promotions to lieutenant (*Bigby et. al. v. City of Chicago*), promotions from that list (with superimposed quotas) continued because the city could not come up with an alternative promotion procedure that would satisfy the court.

In 1985, the city gave the first new sergeant's exam since 1978 (but did not make promotions from it until the end of 1988); in 1987, it administered tests for promotions to lieutenant and captain for the first time in eight years. These resulted in promotions the following year.

Persons eligible for promotion to sergeant included all persons who were employed at the rank of police officer and had completed the

probationary period before the date of the examination. Persons eligible for lieutenant and captain included all persons currently in the ranks of sergeant and lieutenant, respectively.

The sergeant's examination announcement noted that the examination consisted of written multiple choice questions, and, subsequently for those that achieved a certain score, a written short essay, an interview before an oral board, and departmental performance ratings. Scoring procedures, however, were not announced. A list of primary sources to be included on the exam was provided.

For lieutenant, the announcement indicated, the written multiple choice examination would be scored on a pass/fail basis and those who passed would qualify to take the written essay examination and be interviewed by an oral board, which would include discussion of the candidate's written responses on the essay. Final scoring procedures and weights would be announced at a later date, subject to review of the U.S. District Court.

The sergeants' exam was not graded for more than two years and promotions continued to be made from the old lists until the department was enjoined by the court from making further promotions.

The new tests were constructed following steps that were supposed to produce an unbiased test. After eliminating the multiple-choice questions and supervisor evaluations and weighing the oral examination as 80 percent of the final score, the tests for captain and lieutenant were found to have no disparate impact and promotions were made from them.

For promotion to the rank of lieutenant, 72 percent of the candidates were white, 24 percent were black, and 4 percent Hispanic. Among the top 200 on the list that the city estimated would remain in force for three years, the percentages were 71.5 percent white, 23.5 percent black, and 4.5 percent Hispanic.

The sergeants' exam, however, produced legally unacceptable results. The test consisted of four parts: a multiple choice written test; a short answer written test; an oral board examination, and performance evaluations. Initially they were weighted 28, 29, 40, and 3 percent, respectively. Of the 3,416 candidates who took all phases of the test, 67 percent were white males, 27 percent were black males, 6 percent were Hispanic males. Twelve percent of all candidates were females. The original test scores would have resulted in a group of 500 (the number expected to be promoted from the list) that was 83 percent white, 13 percent black, and 4 percent Hispanic; 15 percent of the total would have been female. Because this would have resulted in an adverse impact on blacks and Hispanics (but not on women of all

ethnic groups), the city standardized the scores on each part by rater and race and re-weighted the sections so that the oral exam made up 80 percent of the final score.

The resulting standardized list presented by the city to the court consisted of 66 percent white, 28 percent black, and 6 percent Hispanic officers. Sixteen percent of those on the list were female. In addition, the city sought permission to superimpose on the promotion roster a promotion quota of 20 percent for females and 10 percent for Hispanic males.

Judge Marshall granted the motion of the city to promote to the rank of sergeant from the roster, denied the motion to superimpose any quotas, and permitted the city to adopt its own affirmative action program voluntarily.

As a result of that ruling in December 1988, the Chicago Police Department promoted 257 new sergeants, including 29 white females, 17 black females, and three Hispanic females.<sup>1</sup> The number of women sergeants increased from 26 at the end of 1986 to about 70 at the end of 1988. As a result, women represent 6 percent of the Chicago Police Department's sergeants.

Finally, the superintendent's command staff of "exempts" includes persons with the rank of commander or deputy superintendent who serve at the pleasure of the superintendent. They may be selected from any rank, though usually they hold the civil service rank of lieutenant or captain. There are only two women (one a sworn officer) among more than 200 exempts.

## **Officer Perspectives on the Promotion System**

In each department, officers were asked whether the components of the promotion system and the system as a whole are fair, what they view as the characteristics of a "good supervisor," and whether it results in supervisors who met these criteria. There was general agreement that the written test is fair since everyone is responsible for knowing the same material, takes the same test, and thus has an equal opportunity to do well. Most believe, however, that the exam does not systematically test for nor result in good supervisors because it identified persons with book knowledge, but not the important qualities of fairness and leadership. Similarly, there was little sense of injustice with the principle that promotion is based in part on an assessment center or oral board; but, in three departments, officers felt that decisions continued to be influenced by politics. The generally prevailing views were best expressed by two respondents:

(The promotion system) is not effective in selecting for the most important characteristics. But it's as fair as it's going to be.

Human qualities don't come from a book....I've seen morons get promoted...(but) I don't know how to design a system that would be better. It's an improvement over the old system...(when) they'd ask who was studying and give those people high ratings or deny them ratings if they wanted to hold them back.

The promotion components that most systematically disadvantage women are seniority and veteran's points. In Detroit, a number of the women observed that the two points male veterans got substantially affected their placement on the list. None has complained formally, however, because they have benefitted from the affirmative action policy (which several oppose in principle), and so do not feel justified in protesting another unfairness. Nevertheless, as one woman noted, she might have been promoted "on her own" had the system been different, and would have avoided the harassment faced by women and blacks who are assumed to be "affirmative action sergeants." Another anomaly of the system is that, because black women outnumber white women by three to one in Detroit, the one white for one black promotion formula gives white women an advantage over black women.

In Birmingham, although women still are disadvantaged by the heavy weight of seniority in the promotion system, its effect is negligible because it is overridden by affirmative action policies. Consequently, it is not a source of complaint.

## **Women as Supervisors**

**W**omen police supervisors, like other women managers, face a variety of sex-based disadvantages that hinder their movement up the organizational ladder. For example, studies of women in management have found that male managers are rated as more powerful and effective than women regardless of the objective situation (Schein, 1975; Wiley and Eskilson, 1982; Larwood and Wood, 1977; Dobbins, 1986; Heckman et. al., 1989), that women in leadership positions are less confident of their own abilities (Deaux, 1979; Grant, 1983), are perceived to be less confident by men (Carr-Ruffino, 1985), and are



less often given credit for their successes (Deaux, 1979); and that both men and women describe the good manager as higher in stereotypically masculine traits than stereotypically feminine ones (Heckman et. al., 1989).

Sex bias permeating the informal culture of the organization also results in exclusion from informal gatherings and access to information, as well as experiences that make clear to a woman that she is treated first as a woman and second as a supervisor. As women rise further to the top they encounter an increasingly smaller band of acceptable behaviors that are both feminine and managerial. "Top executives are quick to feel the woman who is tough isn't being womanly, while the woman who isn't tough isn't worth having around" (Hymowitz and Shellhard, 1986:1).

Studies differ with respect to whether male and female managerial styles differ. Some assert that male managers are more task oriented and female managers more people oriented; others have found there are no sex differences in task- and people-oriented behaviors toward subordinates. A third group has identified sex differences in specific behaviors such as influence strategies which, Powell (1988) asserts, may reflect differences in self-confidence.

Even when behaviors achieve the same outcome, however, women managers are at a disadvantage, particularly in supervising men. Studies have found that both male and female subordinates appear to prefer supervisors who display the sex-appropriate style but, as previously noted, the stereotypically "feminine" style is viewed as less effective (Powell, 1988). In fact, Statham (1986) found that men who worked for women perceived their style more accurately than men who worked for men, were less likely to stereotype, but did not like the women's management style.

Women police supervisors face many of the difficulties of women in other management positions, as well as a renewal of some of the problems they faced in gaining acceptance as patrol officers. As supervisors they again become more visible, face increased performance pressures, are excluded from informal networks while being forced to separate from those they worked hard to enter as officers. And, they must cope with a new set of sex role stereotypes regarding women managers. The assumption that they did not gain promotion on their own merits increases the pressure to prove themselves, particularly in agencies with affirmative action quotas. They are less likely than their male counterparts to have had informal training and mentoring and are more likely than the men to adopt a supervisory style that others regard as either too unassertive or too bossy and rigid.

Because patrol officers resent and resist any supervisor whose experience on street patrol is limited, women, who tend to have less patrol experience than their male counterparts, face increased difficulties in functioning as a patrol sergeant. Finally, they are isolated and criticized by male supervisors and female subordinates when they challenge the prevailing double standards of performance, sexual bargaining, and overprotection of some women officers.

In contrast with supervisors in other occupations, however, police managers are drawn from entry-level personnel without receiving or being required to have any specialized management training. Increasingly, promotion is based on the previously noted objective criteria—performance on a written test and at an assessment center where performance is judged on specified criteria by trained raters from outside the department. To the extent that objective judgments actually occur, women officers have greater control over their individual promotion opportunities than they had in the past and than women in many other occupations.

### **Learning the Role of Supervisor**

**F**or most respondents, the most difficult transition is moving from officer to sergeant because it means separating from the group, becoming responsible for others' actions, and "thinking like management." For some women, this transition was easier than for a man either because they had not become part of the precinct work group or because they had worked in an administrative job where they had been part of management culture. For many others, the transition was harder than for male counterparts because it had been harder for the women to gain acceptance as "one of the boys" and therefore was more difficult to relinquish that identity.

New patrol sergeants are tested by their squads; if they are lucky they get support and assistance from other sergeants and lieutenants. Many of the women respondents stated, however, that as new sergeants they did not get such support. Mentors, found to be vital in the career development of many top executives, also were less available to women than men because of the limited number of powerful females and reluctance of men to sponsor women. The lack of sponsorship and support also makes assuming a supervisory role more difficult for women. As two women stated:

A new male is taken under the wing of an older male; this does not occur for women. You're there, on your



own. If you're lucky, you won't make a serious mistake; if you're very lucky, you'll have a male official you can ask questions. The central characteristic of (our) situation is isolation; you have to touch and feel your way with very few mentorships.

For both male and female supervisors, the experience of being an "acting sergeant," a practice found frequently in Washington, D.C., but rarely in the other sites, facilitated role learning. This was particularly useful for women, because until recently, they had no female role models or sponsors.

Most women supervisors believe that they are challenged more than their male counterparts because "men have a problem with us telling them what to do." A few told of instances of open resentment and insubordination; others asserted that the men who have problems taking orders from a female are not insubordinate, but show contempt in mannerisms and speech. One said a man who failed to get a transfer when he discovered he had a female sergeant was "absolutely resistant to doing anything I wanted him to. I had to assert myself more, and sent him for disciplinary action." Another noted, "men feel if they have a woman boss they can run over her." Yet women with an assertive style were criticized by several men as more rigid than their male counterparts.

One form of resistance to women supervisors' authority is "the language problem." One woman observed that some male subordinates refused to acknowledge the women supervisor's rank: "they don't call you sarge, lieu, or anything. They just come in the office and start speaking." Others reported inappropriate familiarity, including being addressed by their first names or being called "honey" and "babe" or having subordinates refuse to respond "yes, ma'am" in situations dictating formal displays of respect to rank. Some women responded by refusing to acknowledge officers who did not formally acknowledge them, correcting males when they feel the use of the first name was disrespectful, and taking stronger action in response to insubordination in roll call. In each instance, the woman was forced to find a balance between appearing too formal and too weak.

Adding to the problems for women who have difficulty with particular subordinates is the tendency to question themselves. One female captain noted that when she was new in the precinct she had a series of confrontations with one lieutenant. After he transferred to another unit, she subsequently learned that his new (male) supervisor also had problems with him,

(so) it wasn't a female thing; he was rebelling against the department....But at the time I couldn't be sure. At the time I felt he was rebelling against me because I was a female captain and a black captain. I had a double whammy on me as female and black.

Women supervisors often have difficulty using their power. Those who do so effectively, however, enter the cycle of empowerment. As they succeed in motivating or shaping a squad and asserting their authority, their self-confidence and assertiveness increases and the cycle continues. As one woman supervisor stated, "I have control over leave day-requests. That's all the power in the world and I just needed the guts to use it."

Achieving rank does not guarantee inclusion in the informal management culture of the department. Indeed, several women asserted that their worst problems came from peers and higher ranking supervisors. Some men simply excluded them from discussions, or ignored their suggestions; others undercut women's authority by sexualizing the workplace. One woman sergeant reported, "the captain tried to hit on me in front of others." A new sergeant was in tears talking with her lieutenant about an upsetting incident when the captain entered the office and said, "The problem with you is that you need a baby."

Several women supervisors complained that they were undermined by male peers when they tried to discipline a woman subordinate. One was upset when a female subordinate, fearful of being on the street, managed to get reassigned to headquarters without her approval. She noted:

There were six or seven men trying to find a place for her! The men felt I didn't like her; they were wrong. But they were trying to protect her...and that was an obstacle to (my ability to assert my authority).

## **Supervising Men and Women**

**A**lthough both male and female supervisors see few differences in the problems male and female subordinates pose, there were some exceptions. They felt, for instance, that women are more likely to bring personal or family problems to the job. Both also viewed the task of supervising women as easier than supervising men because women are less likely to challenge their authority. As one woman noted:

I didn't have to stay on females. They knew what to expect. Often I had to curse males who were more responsive to harsher language so I had to be more authoritative.

A male supervisor agreed:

Females are a lot easier to supervise; they accept policies, procedures, and direction and don't challenge you as much.

Several male supervisors acknowledged that they had difficulty dealing with tears. Female supervisors, in contrast, resent women's tears when they are used to manipulate male supervisors and the latter's inability to be firm. One asserted, "I say up front (to women) you can't pull the stuff on me you pull on male supervisors. Don't come here crying."

Women supervisors face a dilemma in dealing with women. Most expect more of them and resent those who "just want to get by" because they reflect negatively on the group. "You just need one acting like a 'whiny broad' and we all take a step back" was a widely shared sentiment. Many male supervisors, on the other hand, have lower standards for women officers. The result is that female supervisors are criticized and their authority undermined by both those male supervisors and female officers who want to perpetuate traditional sex role norms and stereotypes. When women supervisors come down hard on a woman's unacceptable behavior that, they note with irony, has been condoned by men who fail to address the problem, they are criticized for not liking women or failing to uphold the common bond.

### **Perceived Sex Differences in Supervisory Style**

**A**lthough several men criticized women supervisors as rigid, respondents tended to agree that women were more likely to address people's feelings while men were seen to "deliver orders following the chain of command, issuing directives without concern for feelings." Women generally were critical of this style because they felt "people respond to requests before they respond to directives in non-crisis situations." A woman supervisor noted with irony that male supervisors are critical of women's style, but "it is exactly the way they want to be treated."

A number of females, but no male supervisors, noted the importance they place on acknowledging positive behavior. They frequently

have officers written up for citations or give little joke awards at roll call. Even if men cynically say the awards are worthless, "nobody's thrown one away yet."

Several women observed that initially they tried to motivate by explaining and being compassionate, but discovered that this was interpreted as weakness, so they sometimes have to use threats. Others criticized their own tendency to become too involved with the personal problems of their subordinates, but concern with subordinates' emotional well-being was frequently expressed in women's discussion of their supervisory role.

### **Moving to Command Staff**

**A**lthough women in the past few years have been promoted to sergeant at rates higher than their statistical representation in the candidate pool, their representation in command level positions is virtually nil in most departments. In part, this is due to the small pool of female mid-level managers. It may also reflect the continuation of systematic barriers to women's entry into top-level management in diverse occupations that has been characterized as a "glass ceiling" that occurs at a level where merit no longer matters and politics does (Hymowitz and Schellardt, 1986).

Women respondents were significantly more pessimistic than men about the likelihood of women moving into command staff positions in their own departments, as shown in Table 6-3. Most men, but less than half the women interviewed, perceive no "glass ceiling" limiting women's mobility opportunities. There were differences, by department, among the women's degree of optimism, however.

TABLE 6-3

PERCEPTIONS OF A "GLASS CEILING" ON WOMEN  
IN POLICE COMMAND STAFF POSITIONS BY SEX

PERCENT RESPONDING	FEMALE (N=64)	MALE (N=38)
No	47	79
Yes	31	11
Not sure	22	11
TOTAL	100%	100%*

$$\chi^2 = 10.3; p < .01$$

\* Not equal to 100 percent due to rounding.

The women in Chicago and Birmingham were much more pessimistic about their chances for entering command positions than those in Phoenix, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. In the latter three agencies the women regard their chief as more strongly committed to affirmative action and women's advancement than in the former two, where changes have been made in response to court orders. The presence of at least one woman in a highly visible position, such as precinct commander, contributes to the belief that there are similar opportunities for others. In Washington, interviewees noted that four of the top 10 candidates on the newest captain's list were female and, when all of those are promoted, women would comprise nine out of 58 captains (16 percent); the larger pool would increase pressure to promote at least one "token" woman inspector.<sup>2</sup>

Most respondents agreed that departments are feeling pressures to promote women; men and women differ, however, in their perception of their department's commitment to go beyond minimal compliance with the law. A man with a consistently negative view of women said:

They're going to make two of the (highest ranking females) members of the command staff without regard to merit 'cause they want more female commanders. This group absolutely will get breaks.

Another male who believes "the doors are wide open," contradicted himself by observing that the women who get promoted will have to stand out among the females who are competing with each other rather than competing with the men for command staff positions.

The optimistic females tended to point to the highest ranking women in their departments as proof that doors are open. The skeptics pointed to the failure of certain qualified women to be promoted as proof of a "glass ceiling," asserted that no ceiling was necessary because "women aren't seen as eligible," or noted that only enough token women would be promoted, "to make the department look good."

Even the women optimists, however, do not expect women to become part of the informal power structure or gain important operational or tactical command positions. As one noted:

There are certain positions that require admission to the old boys club that are closed to us. The (director of) field operations has too much power to be given to a woman. No woman in the department is

considered capable of operating in the inner circle....It's an exclusive club at the top....The department hasn't grown in certain ways and having a woman as his right hand man (sic), the chief would suffer ridicule from ranking men....The department is like a large company 'though things are a bit different. They don't make deals on the golf course but there's plenty of socializing, drinking, and informal meetings after hours.

Most respondents believe men are unwilling to share power and authority with women unless forced "to have statistics to avoid being charged with discrimination." Furthermore, one woman noted, the department is hoping that "the federal government will stop looking."

In all case study departments, the pool of women eligible for entry into the command staff is still small.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that some of these women will be promoted to command staff ranks to satisfy the requirements of EEO policies, but much less likely that any will be given key operational responsibilities or be included in the inner circle that informally controls the department.

**Endnotes: Chapter 6**

<sup>1</sup> Although its self-imposed quota called for women to make up 20 percent of the new sergeants, the 49 women constituted only 19 percent of the promotees.

<sup>2</sup> One woman was promoted to inspector in July 1989 in the first group of promotions made by a new chief.

<sup>3</sup> In late 1989, Phoenix and Birmingham each had one woman captain; in Chicago, there were six women lieutenants (all promoted since 1986) and no captains, although “exempts” may be drawn from any rank; in Washington, D.C. and Detroit, the pool is (or soon will be) somewhat larger.





## CHAPTER 7

**TURNOVER in CASE STUDY AGENCIES**

Turnover patterns in the case study departments vary widely, as they did among those agencies responding to the Police Foundation survey. In each of the case study agencies women officers have higher turnover rates than their male counterparts although these differences are small. Furthermore, patterns for males and females in the same department tend to be similar. Where women leave after only a few days or years, so do the men; where women leave infrequently and only after a number of years on the job, the men tend to stay longer. The details of and reasons for these findings are the subject of this chapter.

Sex differences in turnover have been found in many occupations (Sawhill, 1973), but these generally are small and a function of the job's status rather than that of the worker's gender (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984). For example, Waite and Berryman's (1986) comparison of turnover rates of women and men in military and civilian occupations found that young civilian workers of both sexes had annual turnover rates of over 50 percent and that 26 percent of the women and 20 percent of the men separated from the military during one calendar year. Thus there was "striking similarity between the sexes in turnover rates in both sectors" (Waite and Berryman, 1986: 17). In addition, they found little support for the hypothesis that being in a job traditional for one's sex affects turnover, after controlling statistically for the effects of the individual's social and demographic characteristics and the nature of the job.

Jacobs (1989), in contrast, found unexpectedly huge levels of women's entry into male-dominated jobs but women in male-dominated occupations also had higher rates of change than women in sex-neutral and women-dominated occupations. They also were unlikely to enter another male-dominated occupation. In 1977, 50 percent of the women who had been in male-dominated occupations in 1967 were employed in sex-neutral or female-dominated occupations. Among women who had changed occupations during this period, over

80 percent who had been in male-dominated occupations in 1967 had left by 1977. Jacobs concluded, therefore, that the barriers to women's entry are less than might have been expected, but employment in male-dominated occupations is less of a permanent achievement for women than a temporary pass through "a revolving door."

## **Methodology**

**T**he data in this chapter are based on information provided by the five case study departments on separations from 1986 through 1988 by officer sex, length of service, and type of separation. Because so few women retired, the analysis does not include full service retirements. The non-retirement turnover rate, however, was adjusted to take account of service retirements by subtracting male and female retirements during the year from the total number of officers present at the beginning of the year prior to calculating the annual non-retirement separation rate.

Differences in agency recording procedures also should be noted. In Chicago, a disabled officer usually remains on the department rolls (often on a prolonged leave of absence) until reaching retirement age or dying. In the other agencies, officers with long-term disabilities are retired on disability. This helps explain Chicago's very low disability and high death rates.

The death rate in each agency includes those few officers killed in the line of duty, but consists primarily of officers who died of a variety of other causes prior to retirement.

## **Findings**

**F**rom 1986 through 1988, in all the case study departments but Phoenix, sex differences in turnover rates were less than 2 percent, as shown in Table 7-1. The average annual non-retirement turnover rate across the five agencies for the men was 3.2 percent of officers and for the women was 5.3 percent.

Like the survey findings reported in Chapter 2, it is clear that in each of the case study departments, women's separation patterns were similar to those of the men in their department. Birmingham's turnover rates were the highest of the five agencies for both men and women; Chicago had the lowest turnover rates for both men and women. Male and female officer turnover rates were identical in Detroit, and, in Washington, D.C., both men and women had rates below the overall average for their sex. Only in Phoenix was there a

substantial difference between male and female turnover rates, and even these converged over the three-year period for which data were available. The higher rates of women's turnover in both Birmingham and Phoenix (as well as the overall low rates in Chicago, the largest agency in the study) may be explained in part as statistical artifacts; the base number of women in these departments was small, so that each separation affects the group percentage more heavily than in larger groups.

TABLE 7-1

TURNOVER RATES IN CASE STUDY SITES  
BY OFFICER SEX: 1986-1988

YEAR	DEPARTMENT									
	BIRM.		CHICAGO		DC		DETROIT		PHOENIX	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1986	7.5	4.5	3.2	1.8	3.4	1.9	3.3	2.7	6.6	2.3
1987	3.7	8.7	2.4	1.2	2.8	2.0	2.9	3.1	6.3	3.6
1988	8.3	5.7	1.7	1.3	3.9	1.9	2.8	3.1	5.8	4.0
3 Year Average	6.5	6.3	2.4	1.4	3.4	1.9	3.0	3.0	6.2	3.3

Table 7-2 shows the proportion of male and female separations in each department by type of separation, and (at the bottom) indicates the results of a Chi square test of the significance of the difference between male and female patterns within each department. In three of the departments, there was no statistically significant difference between male and female officers in the type of separation.

In Chicago, male and female patterns differed significantly primarily because 34 percent of the men that separated died while still on the department rolls (with a mean of 23 years of service) in contrast to only 5 percent of the women separating due to death; conversely, 68 percent of the female separations were voluntary in comparison with only 42 percent of the male. The apparent difference in male and female dismissal rates in Chicago virtually disappears if one counts as dismissals those who quit in lieu of being fired.<sup>1</sup> In Detroit, nearly half the male officers but less than one third of the women separated due to

TABLE 7-2

TYPE OF SEPARATION BY DEPARTMENT AND SEX

PERCENT SEPARATING DUE TO:	DEPARTMENT											
	BIRMINGHAM		CHICAGO		DC		DETROIT		PHOENIX			
	F (N=23)	M (N=111)	F (N=81)	M (N=412)	F (N=54)	M (N=187)	F (N=87)	M (N=375)	F (N=47)	M (N=173)		
Disability	22	14	4	3	22	25	30	49	4	1		
Dismissal	13	15	22	15	13	16	17	10	4	8		
Death	4	3	5	34*	—	5	5	9	—	3		
Separation in lieu of firing	no data	no data	1	7	no data	no data	—	1	4	9		
Voluntary termination	61	69	68	42	65	54	48	31	87	80		
Personal			31	14					15	9		
Other employ			10	21					30	37		
Family			21	4					21	19		
Medical/other			6	3					21	15		
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		
	$\chi^2$ - ns		$\chi^2=75.9$ p<.001		$\chi^2$ - ns		$\chi^2=17.2$ p<.01		$\chi^2$ - ns			

\* Injured officers remain on the department (often on a leave of absence) until they reach retirement eligibility. The mean service time for this group of men was 23 years.

a disability; these figures are almost exactly reversed with respect to voluntary terminations. Why such a large proportion of officers in Detroit separate due to disability in comparison with the other departments is unclear.

Table 7-2 also indicates that there is wide variation among departments in the reasons for officer separations and within-department similarity in male and female turnover patterns. For example, in Phoenix more than 80 percent of both the male and female officer terminations are voluntary; less than 5 percent of the officers of either sex separate due to death or disability. In contrast, less than half of all separations in Detroit are voluntary and nearly half are due to disability. The Phoenix dismissal rate is substantially lower than Chicago's.

For the two departments where reasons for voluntary separations were available, it appears that women were more likely than men to leave for personal or family reasons; men were more likely to leave to take another job. Their reasons for leaving, however, also differed by department: in Phoenix officers of both sexes were more than twice as likely as their counterparts in Chicago to leave to take another job.

In Table 7-3, the length of service of the officers prior to separation is displayed by sex and department. In all of the departments but Birmingham, there is a significant difference between men and women officers in the amount of time they serve before leaving policing. At the same time, there are substantial differences in the average length of service before separation both by department and by type of separation.

For example, the average officer separated from the Phoenix department in less than four years and voluntarily quit in less than three; in Chicago the average length of stay prior to non-retirement separation was more than 12 years and those leaving voluntarily stayed nearly 10 years.

In all male-female comparisons, females had fewer months of service than their male counterparts. At the same time, in all departments women (and men) separated due to death or disability after longer service than those who quit voluntarily. What is striking, in fact, is the brief length of service of women who quit voluntarily: just over four years in Washington, D.C.; less than three years in Birmingham and Detroit; 22 months in Chicago; and only 15 months in Phoenix.<sup>2</sup>

Tables 7-4 and 7-5 indicate the impact of rookies on the overall turnover rates. Table 7-4 shows that a higher proportion of females than males who separated were on probation at the time of their separation in all case study departments, but the differences achieved statistical significance only in Detroit, Chicago, and Phoenix. In the

TABLE 7-3

## LENGTH OF SERVICE BEFORE SEPARATION BY DEPARTMENT, SEX, AND TYPE OF SEPARATION

NUMBER MONTHS OF SERVICE BEFORE SEPARATION DUE TO:	DEPARTMENT											
	BIRMINGHAM		CHICAGO		DC		DETROIT		PHOENIX			
	F (N=23)	M (N=111)	F (N=81)	M (N=412)	F (N=54)	M (N=187)	F (N=87)	M (N=375)	F (N=47)	M (N=173)		
Disability	78	150	54	180	142	195	142	196	157	146		
Dismissal	44	64	21	83	36	121	62	94	12	103		
Death	150	237	114	279	—	210	77	173	—	53		
Voluntary termination*	27	51	22	120	49	55	33	61	15	36		
Average months of service	46	71	27	170	68	108	73	140	21	46		
	F=1.97 ns		F=99.1 p <.001		F=10.3 p <.01		F=42.2 p <.001		F=8.0 p <.001			

\* Includes resignations in lieu of firing.

latter two, in fact, about two-thirds of all the women who left did so as probationers. In contrast, in Detroit and Washington, D.C., where women have made up about 10 percent of the sworn personnel for a decade, less than a third of the women who separated were probationers.

Table 7-4 also makes it clear that departments differ greatly in the proportion of separations by probationers. In Phoenix, 47 percent of those who separated were rookies (i.e., sworn officers less than one year); in Washington, D.C., only 15 percent of the officers who terminated were rookies. These differences clearly reflect the departmental policies and practices noted previously in Chapter 3. The Phoenix and Birmingham departments strictly adhere to departmental standards, preferring to dismiss rookies who have adaptation problems rather than risk retaining those likely to have chronic difficulties.

TABLE 7-4

PROPORTION OF OFFICERS ON PROBATION AT THE TIME OF SEPARATION BY DEPARTMENT AND SEX

DEPARTMENT	F	M	TOTAL	$\chi^2$	SIGNIF.
Birmingham	39	39	39		ns
Chicago	67	17	26	88.8	$p < .001$
DC	22	13	15		ns
Detroit	55	27	33	7.6	$p < .01$
Phoenix	64	43	47	5.8	$p < .02$

In Washington and Detroit, the departments are somewhat more flexible. They both allow those trainees having problems to repeat units and tests because these departments are concerned about losing their substantial investment in each trainee and view early termination as a departmental failure.

Table 7-5 shows the percentage of persons hired from 1986 through 1988 who separated during their probationary year. Again, it is clear that differences in departmental policies had greater impact than officer sex. Both male and female rookies in Phoenix and Birmingham were more likely to quit while on probation than were rookies in the other case study sites.

To simultaneously control for the effects of type of separation and department, as well as sex on turnover rates, the former two variables were entered first in a multiple regression model, to which the sex variable was subsequently added. Each of the independent variables was dummy coded; the omitted categories in the equation are Birmingham, disability, and female (which are represented by the intercept). As shown in Table 7-6, the model has very great explanatory power; taken together, sex, type of separation, and department explain about half of all the variance in length of service (and the addition of sex to

TABLE 7-5

PERCENT OF NEW HIRES THAT LEFT DURING  
PROBATIONARY YEAR BY DEPARTMENT AND SEX

DEPARTMENT	FEMALE	MALE
Birmingham	11	14
Chicago	8	5
DC *	5	5
Detroit *	8	9
Phoenix	26	18

\* Represents average for 1986 and 1987 only.

TABLE 7-6

REGRESSION OF MONTHS OF SERVICE ON  
TYPE OF SEPARATION, DEPARTMENT, AND OFFICER SEX

VARIABLE	b	Standard error of b	t
Voluntary	-120.2	5.61	-21.4 ***
Dismissal	-108.3	7.11	-15.2 ***
Death	34.2	7.59	4.5 ***
DC	22.2	8.08	2.7 **
Chicago	53.2	7.47	7.1 ***
Phoenix	-6.7	8.26	-.8
Detroit	17.3	7.55	2.3 *
MALE	52.2	4.92	10.6 ***
Intercept	119.7	9.06	13.2 ***

F = 194.3; df = 8, 1541; adj. R<sup>2</sup> = .499 \* = p < .05; \*\* = p < .01; \*\*\* = p < .001



the earlier model increased the  $R^2$  from .466 to .499 which is a statistically significant increase [ $F=101.5$ ;  $df=9$ , 1540;  $p < .001$ ]). The model also indicates that sex remained significantly related to length of service prior to non-retirement separation after controlling for type of separation and department.

## Discussion

The findings from the case study sites, like those from the survey, suggest that women have somewhat higher turnover rates and shorter careers than men in policing. Several factors help explain these findings. As will be elaborated in the next two chapters, women recruits initially received very hostile treatment. Although opposition to women officers has diminished, many still face harassment and discriminatory treatment, including sexual harassment, denial of job perks such as a locker in the station, exclusion from informal social and information networks, double standards of evaluation, and pressures related to being highly visible “tokens” (Kanter, 1977).

Some women find that they did not have a realistic view of the work or are not suited for policing as it currently exists, particularly if they entered with an image of the job based on media portrayals. A female officer, attracted to policing after writing a college term paper on the portrayal of women on “Hill Street Blues,” stated:

I want to put in my resignation by end of this month.  
My family is conflicting with the job. I'm (also)  
concerned about lawsuits...and endangering my life.

High dropout rates during probation (particularly during field training) were explained by one academy instructor as follows:

Our dropout rate is real high for women. They have boyfriends and families that don't approve of their entering policing, but the biggest factor is the realization of their job duties when they get out on the street. In the academy it's 8 to 5 with weekends off. They can work out babysitting problems. When they leave here, they get bad days off, have problems with midnight shifts. The first time they have to defend themselves or get hit, it's a shock that not even the physical side of the discipline at the academy prepares them for.

Many other women had difficulties with husbands and child care but succeeded in working them out, although in some cases it required sending the child to live with other relatives.

Sexual harassment also appears to contribute to turnover for women. Although data on the relation of harassment to turnover is limited, Gutek and Morash (1982) found 9 percent of their random sample of women had quit a job due to sexual harassment, but more than 20 percent of women working in male-dominated occupations had done so. Since 75 percent of the women officers remaining in policing reported being victims of sexual harassment (see Chapter 8), the inability or unwillingness to cope with such harassment may have contributed to the resignation of others.

Variations in turnover among the five case study sites, however, suggest that they also are affected by departmental policies and the local labor market. In Phoenix, the high voluntary separation rates of both sexes appear to be due both to departmental willingness to eliminate poorly performing trainees and probationers and to a growing local economy that attracts them to other jobs. In contrast, in Detroit, the low voluntary separation rates appear to be related to the depressed local economy and departmental reluctance to dismiss newly hired workers (after not being able to hire any new officers between 1980 and 1985).

The limited job alternatives offering a salary as high as a police officer's probably may have helped lower female turnover rates. Rather than quitting, several former teachers and nurses who faced harassment or other problems on patrol found a solution by obtaining another assignment that better matched their skills.

A respondent asserted that in Chicago, white males with less than 10 years of experience are leaving after seeing they have no opportunities for advancement; the black men and women, who have fewer alternatives, remain. Without data on the race of the officers that separated, it is impossible to assess the accuracy of his perceptions. But male police officers in Chicago (most of whom are white) voluntarily terminated with about 10 years of service and had relatively low voluntary separation rates; more than half the women that left did so during their probationary year and their turnover may not have been as noticeable to the person who was not in a patrol assignment.

Turnover occurs in all occupations and is not necessarily negative; new workers often try a variety of jobs before finding one for which they are suited. Changes in life circumstances may alter a person's occupational commitments, goals, and opportunities. The overall non-retirement separation rates for the five departments are relatively low

in contrast, for example, to military enlistees studied by Waite and Berryman (1986). Nevertheless, the fact that women's turnover rate is about 2 percent higher than men's per year (5.3 percent versus 3.2 percent, annually), suggests that over a decade (unless there is a change in either recruitment or separation rates) the gap will be substantial and needs to be addressed by management.

To the extent that women's turnover is related to the problems of sexual harassment or other pressures related to their representation only as "token" numbers, more vigorous enforcement of existing sexual harassment policies and an increase in their representation should reduce turnover. If, as one official asserted, women's relatively low turnover rate in his department would become higher because all the non-patrol assignments into which women have tended to transfer are now filled by females and in the future are likely to be civilianized, departments may have to take other steps to address women's turnover.

One of those steps would be to ensure that recruiters provide an accurate picture of the opportunities and everyday realities of patrol work so that recruits realistically anticipate the demands of the academy and routine patrol. To address personal problems related to reluctance or inability to handle physical encounters, academy and field training officers and subsequent supervisors must prepare women more effectively for this aspect of the job. They must ensure that all rookies get necessary exposure to patrol activities and sufficient support to develop proficiencies needed for patrol work. Finally, police departments should seek ways to reduce the work/family stress on their officers in order to retain them.

Like most other employers, police agencies have tended to ignore difficulties their personnel face in meshing work and family life. As women comprise an increasing proportion of workers and males assume more domestic responsibilities, employers are being faced with more frequent work/family conflicts. The rotating shifts, uncertain demands for overtime related to arrests and court appearances, and unexpected "call ups" for emergencies, as well as the stressful nature of the job, all put strains on family life for both male and female officers. Since women still bear the greater share of responsibility for household maintenance and child care, however, these strains fall more heavily on women officers. They appear to have resulted in a higher rate of voluntary separations related to so-called family problems and probably contribute to an explanation of the disproportionate number of women in staff positions with weekday hours.

Among the 72 women and 40 men that were interviewed, more of the men (75 percent) than the women (55 percent) were currently

married, but more of the women than men were single parents (24 versus 18 percent). Although a majority of officers of both sexes (75 percent of the women and 68 percent of the men) stated that they had current or previous difficulties meshing work and family life, the nature of their difficulties differed. Thirty-eight percent of the women, but only 16 percent of the men, have or have had problems related to child care; 38 percent of the women and 53 percent of the men have experienced only problems related to scheduling, work-related stress, or spouse jealousy. Since only 65 percent of the women (but 82 percent of the men) have had children, the proportion having to deal with child care problems is very high. Several women said that in order to work as a patrol officer, they had to send their children to live with their parents, in-laws, or former spouses; others have relied on relatives for child care.

Pregnancy and maternity leave-related problems may also cause turnover among women officers. Survey responses suggest that explicit written policies are infrequent and practices vary widely. Only 25 percent of the responding municipal departments had a separate written policy regarding maternity leave, assignments during pregnancy, or a light-duty policy that specifically includes pregnancy. Their absence was most frequent among small agencies. Thirty-six percent of the departments in cities of more than 100,000 residents, but only 16 percent of those agencies serving populations between 50,000 and 100,000, have policies specifically covering pregnancy.

In practice, more than half the departments give light-duty assignments to pregnant officers, but agency practices vary significantly by city size. In 10 percent of the departments in large- and medium-sized cities, there is no light duty and pregnant officers are required to go on paid, then unpaid leave until after delivery; in 40 percent of the smaller departments there was no light duty available or no "usual practice" because the problem of a pregnant officer had not yet arisen.

Three of the case study departments have clear pregnancy and maternity leave policies that ensure that a pregnant officer will have a light-duty assignment when she is no longer able to perform patrol duties. The Phoenix Police Department has the same policy as the city government. That policy leaves the transfer decision in the hands of the immediate supervisor; within the police department, the supervisor is guided by the recommendation of the woman's physician after consultation with the Division Chief. Most supervisors assign pregnant officers to desk jobs in the precinct or request her transfer to the telephone response unit.

The Birmingham Police Department has neither a pregnancy policy nor a policy that assures light-duty assignments to officers who are unable to work due to non-duty related injuries. Several informants stated that they anticipate a legal challenge to the department because of inconsistent handling of several pregnancies at the time of the interviews.

As more women of childbearing age enter policing, the importance of well-designed pregnancy and child care policies will grow. Departments should anticipate problems now and adopt policies which permit women officers to manage both career and family.

In sum, the turnover rate of women officers is higher than that of male officers and the critical period appears to be the initial, probationary year. To ensure a stable work force and reduce the rate at which women leave, departments must address the organizational problems that cause turnover. They can do this in several ways. These include: (1) more active and accurate recruiting to widen the pool of eligibles with realistic aspirations and expectations and careful screening of candidates; (2) self-defense training for recruits designed for both small and large officers; (3) a continuing fitness program to maintain health and reduce disabilities; (4) enforcement of EEO policies which include prohibition of sexual harassment; and (5) efforts to ease the stress work puts on family life, including adoption of policies that permit officers to remain on the job during pregnancy.

**Endnotes: Chapter 7**

<sup>1</sup> Technically, such separations are “voluntary” and, in subsequent tables, are counted as such. Nevertheless, they suggest “problem” officers since there were grounds for dismissal and might better be combined with dismissals for that reason. The fact that women officers have a higher dismissal rate but men are more likely to quit before being fired, suggests that there may be sex discrimination in the handling of such problems. Alternatively, the misconduct resulting in firing or pressure to resign may differ by sex or the men may read “the handwriting on the wall” more accurately. Without more detailed data on actual cases, it is impossible to determine the reason for the statistical difference.

<sup>2</sup> The short length of service time of women in Chicago and Phoenix is partly a statistical artifact related to the low proportion of women in the department.

## CHAPTER 8

**ASSESSING and EXPLAINING  
the CHANGING STATUS of  
WOMEN in POLICING**

Increased numbers of women officers and their movement into a variety of assignments and supervisory positions signal changes in the formal status of women in policing. This chapter, based primarily on interview data, explores the nature and extent of discriminatory treatment of women in the past and present, men's and women's perceptions of changes in men's attitudes and behavior, the factors that have produced the change, and the remaining problems for women officers.

**Discrimination and Harassment:  
Past and Present**

The interviews made clear that most women officers have experienced both sex discrimination and sexual harassment on the job. Two-thirds of the women interviewed identified at least one instance of sex discrimination or illustrated an instance of clearly discriminatory treatment (while denying their victimization); an additional 8 percent claimed to have been a victim of racial discrimination. At the same time, 11 percent of the men asserted they had been victims of sex discrimination. All were white men who had been laid off, passed over or delayed in gaining a promotion, or denied an assignment due to their department's affirmative action policies.

Table 8-1 shows that although the number of respondents sworn in 1985 and 1986 is small ( $N=15$ ), they were significantly less likely (27 percent) to perceive themselves as victims of sex discrimination than women who joined between 1975 and 1980 (73 percent) or earlier than 1975 (83 percent).

Sexual harassment also is widespread but, unlike other forms of discrimination,<sup>1</sup> was as frequently experienced by newer officers as those hired prior to 1980. It was treated separately from other forms of discrimination, however, both during the interview and in the data

TABLE 8-1

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

YEAR OF ENTRY	VICTIM OF SEX DISCRIMINATION (N=72)	VICTIM OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT (N=71)
Before 1975	83%	77%
1975-1980	73	76
1985-1986	27	67
MEAN	67%	75%
	$X^2 = 14.35$ $p < .001$	$X^2 = 1.48$ ns

analysis because the respondents did not identify it as discrimination. In answering the question, "As a police officer, have you been a victim of discrimination due to your sex or race?" very few women mentioned sexual harassment. In discussing their problems as new officers learning the job and dealing with training officers and supervisors, however, they did mention it. Similarly, later in the interview when they were more comfortable, they were asked a question specifically about sexual harassment and many told of their experiences. As shown in the table, 75 percent of the women interviewed indicated that they had experienced some form of sexual harassment, including 49 percent who had been pressured for sexual favors by a supervisor or fellow officers.<sup>2</sup>

### The First Cohort of Women on Patrol

The nature of the discriminatory behavior women reported ranged from "typical male lechery" which one woman characterized as "not heavy-duty, but...omnipresent" to constant, open harassment by a supervisor determined to drive women from the department. Descriptions of harassment recounted by the first group of women on patrol indicated that frequently it was blatant, malicious, widespread,



organized, and involved supervisors; occasionally it was life-threatening. Respondents' reports of recent incidents indicated the persistence of sex bias, but a tempering of its frequency, openness, and toleration by supervisors, as well as greater sensitivity to what constitutes sexual harassment and discrimination and a greater willingness to complain about it.

The pain of harassment they faced more than a decade ago remains strikingly vivid in the memories of many of the first generation of women on patrol. Several broke down in tears during the interviews; others visibly struggled to choke them back; a few appeared to be evasive (particularly in light of subsequent responses), recounting how they had succeeded rather than elaborating on the painful trials they faced; some burned with anger. One characterized her tormentor as a "sexist, racist bastard." Another, recalling an incident with her male supervisor said, "the bastard deserves to die"; a third woman noted, "just thinking back to the early days makes me cold and bitter." At the same time, many of the women noted that the tests and problems they faced strengthened them as officers and motivated them as supervisors to use their authority to address injustice and discrimination in the department.

The forms and sources of discrimination were varied. Male co-workers organized to avoid working with a woman and, when assigned a female partner, gave her the silent treatment so that "eight hours could seem like an eternity." In addition to sexual propositions, they sexualized the workplace (see Enarson 1984; Swerdlow 1989) through frequent pranks, jokes, and comments based on sexual stereotypes of women or calling attention to women's sexuality. Often men refused to share job knowledge or teach women skills they routinely imparted to new men. Some women's lives were endangered by partners and squad members who failed to assist in a physical confrontation or were slow to provide back up. More often, they were overprotected and thus denied opportunities to take initiative, which is necessary in an effective patrol officer. Several examples illustrate the resistance to women in each of the case study departments:

The males didn't want to work with females...I was at the precinct ten days before I knew I had a partner...because the first ten partners called in sick and I was put in the precinct. On the 11th day, the other white guys called the man who was assigned to work with me and told him to call in sick....but he

came in anyway. I was in the scout car with him and he said to me, 'Officer, wake up. Everyone's called in sick and they told me to do so. I just wanted to know why from you...'

We started working together as regular partners....On his day off, I was assigned to work with this officer who they didn't call. When he got to roll call, he was shocked and told the lieutenant he wouldn't work with me. He said 'I won't work with a dumb female and get my ass kicked.' The lieutenant didn't say a thing; the sergeant was laughing with everyone else. At end of roll call, they were all laughing....I challenged him to fight....After that I had no more problems working with guys.

There were constant comments and always a Hustler lying around. (In the) locker for supplies...there'd be an enlarged centerfold. I never said anything, but every time I had to open (the locker), I had to see it. The shift commander had a sexually explicit photo on the front of his desk when I was working inside....It made me uncomfortable and he put it there for that reason.

I had a partner who tried to pry into my private life. He called me stuck up....When he put his hand on my arm, I slapped him, and after that, on runs, he wouldn't get out of the car.

Some supervisors abused their authority by directly harassing their women officers. Some harassment was indirect—ignoring, and thereby encouraging mistreatment by peers. Respondents recounted instances of denial of job perks such as lockers in the station, regular scout car assignments, and opportunities for training; overzealous and discriminatory enforcement of rules; lowered performance evaluation ratings; sexual harassment (both a *quid pro quo* and condition of work); denial of desired assignments; and overprotection and "favoritism" that singled them out and caused male officer resentment.

For example, a woman detective whose lieutenant "was always trying to find reasons to get rid of me," was working on a report in the office when a co-worker leaned over and kissed her. She did not stop or say anything. His behavior was unprovoked, but not upsetting since

the man was “a nice guy.” The lieutenant, however, ordered the woman’s sergeant to request that she be transferred.

A woman who appealed an evaluation and won back points stated that her lieutenant was so humiliated that she “won” that “he’d split me and my partner up, put me on inside details, and not give me the days off (I’d put in for)... After I got off his shift, my new (male) lieutenant raised me five points right away.”

Another woman stated:

My lieutenant hated women way beyond a professional thing.... When I was given an evaluation that consisted of slanderous lies that disqualified (me) from taking the promotion exam, I requested an interview with the lieutenant (as a first step up the chain of command)....After three days, he agreed to see me. He made it sound like it wasn’t anything at all. It was my whole life. I said I wouldn’t sign it. I asked to see the captain. It went up and up. The deputy chief said, ‘Well, sweetheart, there are some things you just have to live with.’ After I spoke with the chief, I realized I had a choice: either to sue or accept it. There was a suit being filed against (this lieutenant)...but I worked out terms with the chief....If I had sued, I’d have been annihilated...I was a three-year person without support. I had respect for the chief who was trying to change the environment and was tremendously supportive of women....I felt there was something to be gained from hanging in over the long haul.

Black women often faced additional burdens and dilemmas, as illustrated below:

The worst harassment I got came from a black male supervisor. He created rules that only applied to me. I was the only one who had to wear a hat inside the building. From the stress, I started getting headaches....It was outright harassment; he didn’t even try to cover up. It was always verbal, not physical harassment, but it was constant....A male colleague said I should go to a lawyer and he’d testify

for me. My doctor agreed to testify too. The only reason I didn't sue is 'cause he's black. I guess that makes me a racist but I looked at the overall problem it would have caused and how it would be played up in the press and didn't do it.

What made the opposition the pioneer women faced so frustrating was the fact that there was little they could do. As the examples illustrate, complaining often resulted in further ostracism and retaliation. Most suffered in silence because they were trying to fit in and "didn't want to make waves" or were looking at the "larger picture" regarding their race and sex. Several only subsequently recognized that the treatment they faced was illegal, "Before EEO and sexual harassment laws, I didn't think of (what we faced) as discrimination. It was just the cost of doing the job."

### **Recent Instances of Discrimination**

**W**omen officers still face discrimination and the problems stemming from token representation. Respondents recounted recent instances of pressure on women not to excel, denial of job perks, sexual harassment, and humiliation by a partner. For example, a woman lieutenant commented that a female rookie who makes many arrests:

...makes the men look bad and they give her a hard time...They avoid her and several times have tried to cut her out on the radio when she stopped a car and gave the location.

Other women told of the following incidents:

When I came to (a headquarters staff position), it took two months to get a staff car; the other new person got it the same day he arrived. When I commented on it, the lieutenant said 'he got it 'cause he's a man.'

I was going to the parking lot and saw two officers in plainclothes. I trusted this one guy, who said the other guy wants to talk to you. I walked over to the car and he has his groin out. He was lucky I didn't write him up; I could have sued him for that. I went

immediately into the station and told the sergeant what he'd done. I didn't file paper on him, but I exposed him.

One supervisor asked me to go out with him. I said, 'No, I don't date my boss.' Suddenly my work was no longer acceptable; he will not speak to me at all now. Up 'til last May, I had rave evaluations; all of a sudden, it changed. I was asked to go to another squad, saw the handwriting on the wall, and I did.

I had a 6'2" partner one night. I dearly love him, but he's a typical male chauvinist; not unkind, but with some outdated attitudes. We went to a threat call. To explain to the complainant why (the situation) technically wasn't a threat, he used an example that if a six foot man came in and said 'I'll beat you up' it's a valid threat, but 'if my partner [a 5' woman] came in and said the same thing' it's not. I reamed him out when we got to the car. I can't see him using the small male in the squad in that light! It was demeaning to me as an officer in front of a citizen.

Although there no longer appears to be an organized effort to force women to leave policing, these incidents indicate the persistence of sexual harassment and "practices that allowed (the men) to preserve their ideology of male supremacy while accepting or tolerating the presence of women" (Swerdlow, 1989: 374).

To be effective on patrol, an officer must acquire a variety of skills and a broad range of knowledge—legal and technical data; the geography of the precinct; how to deal with angry, upset, and dangerous citizens in a variety of situations; and the informal norms of policing. Rookies begin the process in the academy, but only gradually learn to deal with the reality of the street through structured field training and instruction by helpful partners. Without such opportunities and assistance, they are less likely to feel comfortable or gain the confidence of fellow officers.

The impact of discrimination on women is indicated by the fact that significantly more women than men identified officer or supervisor harassment as the primary problem they had faced as rookies. As shown in Table 8-2, 35 percent of the women, but only 8 percent of

the men cited officer or supervisor harassment as their greatest initial problem; in contrast, 39 percent of the women, but fully 67 percent of the men identified such other work-related conditions as having too much to know, a lack of self-confidence, unfamiliarity with the city or area to which they were assigned, or concern about their size or physical abilities, as their major handicap. There were no significant differences by department, officer race, or year sworn.

TABLE 8-2

PERCENT EXPERIENCING PROBLEM AS  
ROOKIE PATROL OFFICERS BY OFFICER SEX

TYPE OF PROBLEM	FEMALE (N=66)	MALE (N=39)
Citizen hostility	11	8
Supervisor or officer harassment	35	8
Other work-related problem	39	67
No problem	15	18
TOTAL	100%	100%*

$$X^2 = 11.32; p < .02$$

\* Not equal to 100 percent due to rounding.

### Women's Coping Strategies

Faced with openly discriminatory treatment and the burdens of being tokens including performance pressures resulting from high visibility, group boundary heightening, and encapsulation in stereotyped roles (Kanter, 1977), the women adopted a variety of coping strategies. Some women officers were overwhelmed with feelings of helplessness or the desire to remain a "lady"; accepted the stereotypic seductress, mother, pet, and helpless maiden sex roles into which they were cast (Kanter, 1977); welcomed or tolerated the "protection" of males; and adopted the deprofessionalized policewomen role (Martin, 1980).

Unable or unwilling to prove themselves “exceptions,” they tended to embrace a service-oriented approach to police work, display little initiative or aggressiveness on street patrol, seek personal acceptance, and obtain non-patrol assignments.

Others, characterized as policewomen (Martin, 1980) resisted those sex role stereotypes and were labeled “dyke” or “bitch.” They identified with the policemen’s culture by seeking to be more professional, aggressive, loyal, street-oriented, and macho than the men. Yet these women also faced contrary stereotypes and additional dilemmas. When they outproduced the men, they were punished for overachievement; they craved acceptance, but never could quite become “one of the boys” and paid a price for being “too friendly” which, one woman noted, was interpreted as being easy “so they hit on me.” But, she added, “when they thought you were easy and didn’t come across, they became angry.” Compounding her problem was the fact that she had more activity than the men in the precinct which made the men look bad. “They hated me.”

Although pressed to respond in one of these two broad patterns, many women actively sought to resist attempts to reproduce traditional gender arrangements and in doing so contributed to modification of definitions of femininity and masculinity and the emergence of new cultural patterns. In resisting gender role stereotypes, Jurik (1988:292) found that women prison guards sought to “strike a balance” between accepting the stereotypes into which men pressed them and the “opposite but equally negative gender stereotype.” Their balancing strategies included projecting a professional image, demonstrating unique skills, emphasizing a team approach, using humor to develop camaraderie and thwart unwelcome advances, and using sponsorship to enhance positive visibility.

Women police used similar techniques. They projected a professional image by proving themselves physically, by showing courage, and by skillfully talking their way out of situations, as well as by “sticking it out, making (policing) a career.” Some women used humor to show their ability both to “take it” and “give it back” while avoiding a predictably “feminine” reaction or ignoring harassment. For example:

When we first went on the street we didn’t have locker room facilities; women had to use the public rest room to change. I went in one day and everyone got quiet. I began to wonder....I went in, turned the light on, glanced down, and saw a snake coiled on



the floor. I reached for my gun but it was dead. I went out and said, "I heard of using a snake for plumbing but this is ridiculous"....and it was O.K. for me. I guess 'cause I reacted to the situation without anger or fear, they accepted me.

Others "gave it back" by exacting petty revenge when they continued to receive stereotypically female assignments. Despite an officer's requests to work on the street, one sergeant continued to assign her to type his reports. Initially, she had edited them, correcting spelling and grammar. To get even and escape the station, however, one day she typed a report exactly as the sergeant gave it to her, he signed it without looking at it, and was called on the carpet by the lieutenant.

Several women observed that sponsorship by a supervisor or peer was an important source of acceptance for women officers. A woman whose male partner would vouch that she was "O.K." on patrol was able to gain acceptance; others gained sponsorship through romantic or sexual relationships. Sponsorship based on what officers perceived as a "sexual bargain," however, tended to result in ostracism and limit long-term career success.

## **The Meanings of Acceptance**

**M**ost respondents agreed that women are more accepted as officers now than they were a decade ago. "Acceptance," however, has several meanings for both men and women.

### *Men's Views of Women Officers*

Initially, most men opposed the entry of women to patrol. Although they often argued that women could not handle the physical aspects of the work or act with authority, underlying these arguments was the fear that the women would make their work more difficult, dangerous, and less rewarding. Women threatened to disrupt the work norms, group solidarity, and already insecure occupational status of policing. They also feared that if women did meet the norms, the meaning of masculinity and femininity would become blurred and the men's sense of masculine identity would be undermined. Work group cohesiveness also was threatened by the presence of women inhibiting "male" language, creating competition for female attention, and forcing men to relate to women in new ways (Martin, 1980).

Men's attitudes, however, were not uniform. Most men were



“traditionals” who emphasize the enforcement aspects of the work, value “aggressive policing,” and strongly oppose the presence of women on patrol. They criticized women for being unaggressive, undependable, physically weaker, and for making fewer arrests. Underlying their rational arguments was a diffuse anger at the weakening of the traditional cohesive police subculture, resulting, in part, from sexual and racial integration. The most vocal leaders of the traditionals were white men with many years of experience.

A few men were “moderns” who seemed to feel little need to prove their manhood by physical feats, included sensitivity in their definition of masculinity, and regarded the less aggressive style of policing characteristic of women officers as an asset rather than a liability. This group included a number of blacks who support the inclusion of women as a matter of principle as well as others who were critical of traditional policing norms and saw the inclusion of women as a way to accelerate occupational change.

Between these poles were the moderates. One type of moderate accepted the principle of women’s right to equal opportunity in policing but was uncomfortable working with women; the other type disliked women officers as a group but accepted individual women officers (particularly those they trained).

Interviews with more than 70 males (15 officers, 25 mid-level supervisors, and about 30 men in executive positions), suggest that the diversity of opinion among men continues today, but the proportion and influence of traditionals has diminished while that of the moderates and moderns has increased in the past decade. Some men continue to oppose the presence of women in patrol assignments (and probably in policing). To them, acceptance of a woman in policing means recognition of the women’s presence as a fact of life that must be dealt with, largely by avoidance, by making their views known to sympathetic supervisors, and even by stating that a female partner would cause “marital tension.” They cling to traditional sex role stereotypes, emphasize male physical domination, and assert that women cannot be feminine and adequate officers at the same time. Their views are illustrated by the following statements:

People like myself were brought up in a gracious style of dealing with women; we don’t want our women to dirty their hands or do anything strenuous....Guys my age (30) think it’s more acceptable for women to work...as doctors and teachers....Policing continues to be very physical. A lower percentage of females

can do the job...You know, very few women can shoot another person without some hesitation. I don't know many women who will be able to take a preemptive strike. The female mental make-up is slightly different from the male's.

This is a man's job. The majority of women are not capable of handling physical encounters on the street....Women rely too heavily on their service revolver....Men have it in their minds that women are going for a free ride...and have no intention of staying on 20 or 30 years....A woman can't be refined and be a police officer too. Women give up some of their femininity to work this job. How many women do you know go to work prepared to kill? Women officials have met negative response....It goes back to home training; how many mothers give orders to fathers?

Frankly, I think women, and some men, don't belong in policing....I'm trying to remember when a female generated a felony arrest as opposed to when they got an arrest from a radio run....Women avoid (taking action) because they know they will be beat.

Moderates have more positive views of women as officers. For some, these are related to successful and satisfying experiences with women partners; for others, they arise from the perception of changes in the newer generation of women, and empathy gained through marriage to a female officer.

I was one of those men who was very vocal saying this is no place for women. I admit I was wrong. I thought we'd have women killed right and left and it didn't happen. Fewer women (than men) are injured 'cause macho men do not want to hit a woman....Having women joining patrol force has not hurt us and in fact has at least doubled our possible pool of resources. I've seen women work over the years and I've had to change my mind, much as it hurt. Some of the ways women approach things are better; we still have things to learn too.

I didn't think women could be confronted with the daily stresses police officers face. I thought they couldn't handle bar fights for example. But I was wrong....I've been saved by a woman on several occasions. I got careless in talking to the mother of a 17-year-old. The kid hit me and my female partner knocked him down and handcuffed him.

The things I visualized then I no longer visualize. You can resent (a change) more or look objectively... So my attitude has changed over 13 years. The attitude of women coming on the job also is different; women now come on with idea that (patrol) is what I want to do.

Several respondents characterized men's views as accepting of individual women, but critical or skeptical of their performance as a group. Other moderates were reluctant to generalize, focusing on assessing the individual women with whom they had worked. One precinct commander observed that men "accept women with a degree of reservation." They recognize that women deserve an equal chance, are comfortable with those who perform well, but are dubious about whether women as a group can "cut the mustard," both because they tend not to adopt an aggressive patrol style and quickly find non-patrol assignments.

Although the interviews suggest that men now take the presence of women co-workers for granted, they continue to maintain a belief in male superiority. By sexualizing the workplace, for example, they superimpose sexual identities and male status superiority over co-worker equality. In addition, the men exaggerate women's errors, frequently refer to physical differences and their impact on effectiveness, and insist that women receive favored treatment over men.<sup>3</sup> Thus men are able to accept female coworkers, but retain their preconceptions about policing by rationalizing that women do not actually do the same work because they get certain breaks men do not enjoy.

### *Women's Perspective on their Acceptance*

Most women, too, perceive a change, but have different views about the extent and nature of the change. Some believe that it is merely cosmetic; men have not altered their attitudes but are more

circumspect in their words and “not as confrontational now as they were ten years ago.”

It used to be ‘cute’ to see a few women in policing;  
now that we’re here in large numbers, the men feel  
threatened.

Others assert that blanket stereotyping and rejection has been replaced by greater willingness to accept an individual woman on the basis of her performance. As one female supervisor explained, acceptance “depends on a woman’s approach and demeanor.” Women that do the job that is expected, gas the scout car, take assignments without complaint, and avoid “getting cute” are accepted; those that try to use their femininity with supervisors to get ahead, are not. Another noted a reduction in both overprotection and underinstruction: “Before, either they wouldn’t let you do anything or wouldn’t show you how to do anything.”

The women who see least change in men’s attitudes and behavior tend to stereotype the men as chauvinists or criticize women. For example, one woman stated, “men are men, male chauvinists on ego trips, and you can’t change that.” Several woman supervisors regard the inadequate performance of some women as the reason that many men still do not want women on patrol. As one explained:

There was one woman I supervised who...wouldn’t get her fingernails broken or get dirty or go on assignments ‘cause she was in the bathroom putting on more makeup....I don’t want to sound anti-anything, but...lots of times women cry wolf quickly to be appeased to get what we want....These things are real issues. So when men look at women differently, lots of times there are reasons for that...real, sound, profound reasons.

Other women supervisors, however, attribute such behavior to male supervisor toleration—and even encouragement—of stereotypically feminine behavior.

### *Continuing Double Standards and Double Messages*

Many respondents suggest that there still are double standards of behavior for men and women and different criteria of evaluation for assignments and promotions. For women, who are still visible tokens,

“one bad female really stands out whereas a bad male doesn’t.” As a result, a “male can goof off all day and nobody would say a thing.... We have to work twice as hard; once you do, they give you a chance.”

A particularly troublesome aspect of the double standard noted by both male and female officers is the readiness to label women but not men as cowards when they fail to act in questionable or dangerous situations. As one woman stated:

A new female officer lost her gun in an incident and it was all over the department. Males lose guns too, but are not the object of so many rumors.

Double standards related to gender role performance also affect language, sexual behavior, appearance, and demeanor. Women still face the language dilemmas of whether to curse or not and whether to tolerate gross language on the part of the men. Male colleagues still frequently refer to women officers as “girls” or call them “hon” or “sweetheart.” A male supervisor’s appearance or overweight condition was ignored in the interviews; the appearance of several women supervisors, however, received comment. As a woman sergeant observed:

There’s a certain finesse a woman has to have, a certain feminine grace. If you tell it like it is and don’t watch your figure or fix yourself up or have what the men expect, you won’t be given quite the preference.... For example, they let a capable woman go from (a detective assignment) ‘cause she’s fat; they don’t do that to a man. They won’t give breaks to a woman who doesn’t have feminine finesse; they’ll give breaks to the biggest male toad with a foul mouth.... That’s where I see discrimination.

## **Explaining the Change**

**P**ositive change over the past decade can be attributed to changes in police departments’ formal policies and practices; personnel turnover; the informal occupational culture; and the law, public attitudes, and sex role norms in the society at large. Together, these have resulted in greater power and opportunities for women and a reduction in tokenism and its detrimental consequences.

### *Department Policies and Practices*

Several important internal changes that began during the 1970's have continued to alter the occupational role and work environment of police. These include (1) a movement to professionalize the police; (2) sexual, racial, and ethnic integration; (3) emphasis on community relations and the service aspects of police work; (4) deemphasis on the violent and physical aspects of the occupation; and (5) creation of procedural safeguards for police officers through police unions and EEO regulations. These changes have increased the proportion of officers who are willing to challenge both the prevailing street cop norms and arbitrary actions of supervisors and undermine the solidarity of the formerly all white male work group.

The professionalization of policing has brought closer supervision of officers, increased accountability of supervisors, universalistic rules, and a "management cop culture" that has undermined the solidarity of the dominant "street cop culture" (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). As a result, some officers now challenge assignments and other decisions, making it more difficult simply to reward drinking buddies and cronies.

Women's success in obtaining desirable assignments and promotions has increased their power and informal influence. Men may not like women better, but they cannot express their feelings as freely since this may result in retaliation and charges of insubordination. Many of these women who have gained promotions or important administrative positions and the power that goes with them, have entered cycles of empowerment. Several women officials stated they have gained self-confidence as they have risen in rank and are increasingly willing to use their power to challenge discriminatory practices and to informally support and become mentors for other women. One woman observed, "I wasn't as assertive as a sergeant as I was as a lieutenant and I've grown more assertive as a captain."

The department's willingness to support their complaints or difficult decisions has also contributed to women's empowerment. A female sergeant illustrated this point:

A male officer made an obscene gesture to me just after I'd made sergeant. The department righted the wrong quick and fired him....When he made that gesture to me, I brought it to my supervisor's attention, they investigated, and found he'd been doing it for years. Women try to get accepted; they don't want to make waves. Once I brought it to light... then other victims came forth.

Although women rarely file a formal complaint because it is likely to hurt their career, many have learned how to use the system to handle grievances informally. Several told of threatening to file grievances to obtain informal redress of such situations as arbitrary assignments, depressed evaluations, and sexual harassment. The presence of a number of supervisors and union representatives (both male and female) sympathetic to women's concerns or fearful of failure to protect their rights has encouraged more women to challenge discriminatory treatment.

Ironically, the EEO mechanisms that serve to protect women against discriminatory treatment, also now serve as a new justification for tolerating a double standard for performance to avoid complaints and conflicts. Unfortunately, in the long run both the department and women as a group suffer from "a tendency to accept behavior from female employees that we wouldn't from a male cause we're afraid of an EEO complaint."

Departmental practices in implementing EEO policies and addressing or ignoring discrimination have played a key role in altering the status of women officers. All five of the case study agencies have EEO offices but their scope and level of activities vary. In each agency, information on EEO law and employee grievance procedures has been incorporated into the curriculum for new recruits and for newly promoted sergeants.

In Washington, D.C., the mayor and chief of police have been vigorous in pursuing an equal employment opportunity policy, have adopted a departmental sexual harassment policy, but have been less active in enforcing it. The department's EEO officer has 21 days to investigate and settle a complaint before it leaves the department for a formal hearing in the local Office of Human Rights or the federal EEOC. Most of the complaints regarding sex discrimination that reach the EEO office are characterized as management problems that had been mislabeled; they usually are dealt with informally.

The EEO officer most often becomes involved in complaints of sexual harassment when a rookie officer feels uncomfortable with unwanted attention from her supervisor or when a veteran female officer complains about a romantic arrangement with a supervisor that has turned sour. The latter type of sexual harassment often was characterized by respondents as "sexual advancement" about which the department could do little; EEO staff, however, view this as a serious problem that requires attention from management.

The Birmingham Police Department does not have its own EEO officer or sexual harassment policy; the city personnel department that



monitors implementation of the provisions of the consent decree and the department's affirmative action policy also handles complaints of discrimination and sexual harassment (a term only implicitly covered in the city's non-discrimination policy). The FOP provides legal representation for members, but is not an official bargaining agent.

The department has hired and promoted women according to the law, but done little else actively to integrate them. The department's growing emphasis on professionalism and accountability during the 1980's, however, may have affected the status of women indirectly by reducing the influence of the "good old boys" who previously dominated the department. Many have retired after the current chief, who took over in 1981, promoted a new cadre of leadership to his command staff, including one woman.

The Chicago Police Department updated its sexual harassment policy in 1987 by establishing procedures for processing complaints. Supervisors must formally register complaints in the Complaint Register; they then are handled according to complaint and disciplinary procedures. The Office of Professional Standards conducts investigations of the most serious allegations; the majority are returned to the district for completion. A copy of the findings are sent to the department's EEO officer. Other complaints of discrimination must be investigated by the EEO officer within 30 days. Alternatively, complainants may file with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and most have chosen that route.

When the new sexual harassment policy went into effect, the EEO officer gave in-service training to all supervisors. Written information on EEO and employee rights is taught by the academy's staff as part of the human relations unit for rookies.

In 1987 the Coalition of Law Enforcement Officers (CLEO), comprised primarily of black women officers, was formed to provide education, support (particularly following a shooting or other incident), and information about assignment opportunities and other available resources. It has about 60 members (out of the department's 250 black women, although it is formally open to all officers).

In Detroit, the EEO officer in the Special Projects Office coordinates implementation of the department's affirmative action plan and investigates complaints of discrimination. The voluntary affirmative action program has received strong support from the mayor and chief for more than a decade. Most complaints of discrimination have been initiated by white males claiming to have been victims of reverse discrimination.

Recently the department adopted guidelines on sexual harassment



that parallel those of the federal EEOC and include a mechanism for complaint handling through the EEO officer. When the order was issued, all officers got a copy and had to sign a statement that they had read it in roll call. Nevertheless, there were only three sexual harassment complaints (one founded) investigated by the EEO officer in 1986 and 1987.

The Detroit Police Department never has had a women's coordinator or women's program. Since the mid-1980's a substantial number of women officers have joined Women Police of Michigan which provides educational programs and networking opportunities.

The Phoenix Police Department began aggressively seeking to increase minority and female representation through a voluntary affirmative action policy in 1980. That year, the chief created the Women's Issues Committee which consisted of nine members (six female). The committee, which met monthly until it deactivated itself in 1986, functioned as an advisory group to the chief. Opinion is divided about its effectiveness.

Initially, it addressed such issues as assertiveness training for employees, the availability of weight room equipment for women in headquarters, hair and jewelry regulations, assuring the availability of training opportunities for all officers, and women's reluctance to seek promotion. Later, it developed a pregnancy policy, which was subsequently rejected by the department due to general counsel's legal concerns. Though it failed in this major undertaking, for a number of years the committee provided management with a useful channel of communication regarding women's concerns, changed several policies to the benefit of all officers (e.g., hair standards), and conveyed to personnel the command staff's concern with sex integration.

Complaints of discrimination are handled by the police department's civilian police personnel specialist. That person also instructs the units on employee rights and grievance procedures as part of recruit and in-service training.

Complainants may file with the city EEO office, state attorney general's office, federal EEOC office, the EEO within the department, or with their own unit commander who turns the investigation over to Internal Affairs, if it is serious, or seeks to resolve it otherwise. Several respondents asserted that sexual jokes, touching, calling women "honey," or seeking or accepting sexual favors from subordinates are no longer acceptable, and that the department has taken drastic action when instances of such behavior have come to its attention. The chief believes that aggressive enforcement of anti-discrimination policies is the best defense against lawsuits and the most effective way to con-

vince women that the department is determined to eliminate barriers to equal opportunity.

In addition to individual departments' EEO policies, two other trends in policing have facilitated integration of women officers. First, departments' efforts in the 1980's to improve relations with the communities they serve has led to a variety of community-oriented policing programs involving officers working with the citizens to prevent crime and address community problems. Women have had a disproportionately large share of assignments to community services units and seem to find the work more satisfying than men have. On the basis of the small sample of respondents, 17 percent of the female but only 3 percent of the males interviewed regard such an assignment as the most rewarding of their police careers.

Second, court decisions making police departments and individual officers liable for actions that illegally deprive citizens of their rights have led to reduction in the "take names and kick ass" style of policing. The less confrontational style of policing is more easily adopted by women whom both critics and supporters agree tend to be less aggressive officers.

### *The Impact of Time*

The passage of time has contributed to the increased acceptance of women through greater familiarity and personnel changes. Most male officers today have been trained with women and take for granted a sex-integrated patrol force. Many of the most outspoken opponents of women's presence on patrol have retired. Exposure to a wider variety of women, many of whom violate men's stereotypic expectations, has forced some men to change their views to achieve cognitive consistency. And men with at least a decade of seniority may find themselves allied with the women of their cohort when faced with the attitudes and values of the newer generations of officers.

With the passage of time, women officers have accumulated seniority; some are old enough to be the mothers of the rookies with whom they work (and, in fact, a few are). They exercise the prerogatives of the senior scout car partner; and as senior members of a squad, may be sought out for advice. One woman with 16 years of patrol experience referred to her male partner with three years of experience as "one of my kids," called the men on her shift "my babies," and noted, "the younger men respect me, ask my opinion."

Age and maturity also have reduced the need to be accepted that the first generation of women felt so keenly as rookies. One woman noted:

You reach a certain point of acceptance and don't have to go through these routines....At first, everywhere I went I had to prove myself; now I don't. Part of it is internal; I don't give a shit what they think anymore.

Other women viewed the change as a result of the combination of maturity, self-confidence, rank, and the availability of mechanisms through which to assert legal rights. A woman sergeant stated:

Now, if a man walks on me, I'll look him in the eye and stomp him back. Ten years ago I wouldn't....It's the times that have changed...maybe me also. I'm not obnoxious, but am capable of it if someone is to me. Before, I didn't want to make waves on the job. I had to ask an assistant D.A. who wanted to commend me in a letter to the chief not to do it 'cause if my lieutenant saw it, pressure would have come down on me all the harder. He had me that much under his thumb! We have more rights today...because we now have a union and officers now speak up and say, 'you can't treat me like that!'

### *Change in the Informal Culture of Policing*

The first generation of women officers were met with organized opposition from a cohesive informal work group. The male solidarity was based on the "street cop code" that governed officers and supervisors alike. As a result, those men that were sympathetic toward women officers were silenced by the threat of ostracism and retaliation. As one man stated, "in 1975, even if a woman was good, a guy wouldn't say it." Now supporters of individual women or women as a group are able to speak more freely while those men with negative opinions of women and minorities cannot express them as freely as in the past.

The first cohort of women officers was excluded from most of the informal social activities of the work group. As a result they missed out on an important source of information and feedback, and the opportunity to make contacts, cultivate sponsors, and build alliances that contribute to occupational success. Their discomfort in socializing "with the boys," ironically, was taken as a sign of disinterest and a lack of career dedication.

Clear changes in informal social activities of the police signaling changes in both the police culture and in broader societal values have reduced the informal isolation women officers face. Both male and female respondents asserted either that “choir practice” no longer occurs or has changed in character. The frequency and amount of after-work drinking and the “stag party” atmosphere have been reduced and, in all case study agencies, women more frequently participate. One male respondent asserted:

We wouldn't consider it a decent choir practice if the girls weren't there....Attitudes have completely changed over the last eight years.... Even the good girls in the precinct may come by...now you get labeled as an outcast if you don't.

Shift-change parties are social events that include all members on the shift and, with increasing frequency, spouses or significant others. Several males with female partners noted that they had broken the barrier of not socializing with females off duty by having their families socialize together. One respondent summed up the changes by asserting, “The guys treat the women a lot more normal now.”

Having a mentor or sponsor continues to be an important factor in organizational influence and success, but the bases for sponsorship have shifted slightly. The emphasis on professionalism and accountability have diminished the importance of being a “drinking buddy” and increased the effect of job performance. Similarly, the effect of supervisor evaluations and their potential for cronyism on promotions has been reduced by organizational changes. As women and minorities move up in the power and influence structures, they sponsor other women and minorities; at the same time, the ethos of “equal opportunity” impels white male command staff personnel to support and select persons from all groups.

Although informal values and group solidarity have weakened, women's acceptance in informal activities and their influence in the informal networks that shape organizational policies is conditional. Some women limit socializing because of family responsibilities or concern with gossip. Others are uncomfortable participating in certain activities, such as hunting and fishing trips. One woman noted:

When I was new (about three years ago), the guys went on a fishing trip and didn't know what to do about me 'cause all squad members were invited but

they really didn't want me....It helped (gaining acceptance on the squad) not going 'cause it showed it didn't matter to me, that I was still giving them their privacy....and let them know I'm not going to force myself on anyone.

### *Societal and Cultural Changes*

Changes in the gender role socialization of youth have somewhat eased the transition to police work for the newer cohort of women. Men's prior socialization gives them an advantage over women when they enter police work. Males are more likely to have played "cops and robbers" as youngsters, have fantasized about police work, used firearms, and participated in contact sports, which introduced them to elements in the police subculture such as the controlled use of violence, teamwork, and group loyalty. Females are likely to have been taught to be "little ladies," skilled in verbal manipulation but not physical assertiveness (Martin, 1980). Although these differences remain, the definitions of acceptable "masculine" and "feminine" behavior have expanded and increasingly overlap.

Girls now have more opportunities to participate in team sports and become physically fit, reducing the physical differences between male and female rookies. Women also are more likely to plan a career, have considered police work from an early age, and have had female role models to emulate. Boys now learn that sensitivity and expressiveness are desirable traits. Students of both sexes take shop and home economics and participate in coeducational physical education classes. More and more children see their fathers participating in domestic work and their mothers holding full time paid jobs.

In addition, male and female rookies now are likely to have had some college education and not to have been in the military. The decrease in the proportion of police who are veterans also has reduced the impact of legally permissible, preferential treatment that men got, as well as the experience gap faced by the first group of women on patrol who worked with men who were used to military discipline.

Increased public acceptance of women officers also has diffused some of the men's fear that females would be resisted by citizens and thus undermine the authority of the officer. Instead, male officers discovered that citizens often feel less threatened by a female officer and that their presence defuses situations. Together these changes have eased some of the burdens of prior socialization and differentness borne by women officers.

## Discussion

In all case study agencies, the “sex neutral” policy initially adopted to assimilate women actually has put the burden for being different on the women. They were expected to be like men, and where there were differences, to change to overcome the handicaps imposed by their prior socialization, the men’s attitudes, and department policies. This assimilation model still prevails; women officers are overprotected, presumed not to be capable until they prove otherwise, highly visible targets of discrimination, and considered outsiders who are pressured simultaneously to act like a man and act like a lady.

Despite evidence of continuing sex discrimination, however, in the past decade women have made progress in expanding their opportunities, power, and numbers in policing, and perhaps because the changes are relatively small and gradual, they appear to signal real integration rather than reghettoization or resegregation of the occupation.

The assimilation of women into policing in the 1980’s is a continuation of changes set in motion in the two previous decades relative to society’s laws, norms, and values; the police informal subculture; and departmental policies and practices. Social changes continuing into the 1980’s that have affected the status of women include the continued increase in the proportion of women in the labor force, including those in male-dominated jobs; changing sex role norms, which have eased slightly the conflict female officers face between sex role expectations of them as women and occupational role demands of them as police officers; and the continued impact of laws that outlawed sex discrimination and required employers to take affirmative action to ensure equal employment opportunities. Gradual implementation of legal changes has resulted in vast reduction of entrance requirements and selection standards that are not job related or have a disparate impact. Despite the Reagan Administration’s effort to undo or limit the effects of affirmative action, at the end of 1986 more than half of all large municipal agencies had affirmative action policies.

Work organizations shape their workers’ performance through training, work environment, and opportunities they provide. They may actively seek to limit discrimination, provide learning opportunities, ensure channels of complaint, and correct problems or fail to do so. The case study agencies differed both in their EEO policies and grievance procedures and, more importantly, in how vigorously their

chiefs have conveyed their concern with equal employment opportunities and how actively they have enforced them.

An unanticipated finding of this study is that the current proportion of women officers is not necessarily the best indicator of the status of women in a police department. Phoenix was included in the study because the proportion of women was lower than the other case study agencies. Its vigorous voluntary affirmative action and EEO programs, however, not only have increased women's representation in the past several years, but have altered the work environment. By making it clear that sexual harassment and discrimination will be addressed and that the department is serious about providing equal opportunities, women have been encouraged to speak out about problems (often without having to resort to formal complaints) and seek out the opportunities available to them.

Because the barriers to equal treatment of women in policing are built into the formal and informal structures of the work organization and the culturally prescribed habits of male-female interaction, major alterations in both occupational structures and culturally defined patterns of behavior are necessary to eliminate them. Such changes appear to be underway at a slow and uneven pace; they can, however, be fostered by department policies, some of which are identified in the final chapter.



## Endnotes: Chapter 8

<sup>1</sup> Legally, sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination covered by Title VII.

<sup>2</sup> Most respondents could state their department's policy on and definition of sexual harassment, yet did not make the connection between sexual harassment and sex discrimination. Others denied being harassed yet told of experiences fitting into their department's definition of legally proscribed behavior. In Table 8-1, persons included as victims of such harassment are both the 67 percent who said they had been harassed and the 8 percent who denied harassment, but described an incident of such behavior.

<sup>3</sup> Swerdlow (1989) observed "the myth of female preference" in transit operators and a study of male state troopers observed that it is unclear whether "affirmative action policies foster resentment of women or merely serve to help rationalize it" but men clearly are sensitive about what they regard as women's unfair advantage (Weisheit, 1987: 143).



## CHAPTER 9

**RECOMMENDATIONS for  
POLICY and RESEARCH**

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

The next decade promises further progress for women and continuing challenges for police departments to recruit, retain, and promote qualified female officers. Projected demographic shifts suggest that the labor pool of 18- to 25-year-olds from which police agencies draw will become smaller, better educated, and made up of increasing proportions of females and minorities. More and more women will be heads of households. Police agencies will face significant turnover as the generation of police recruited from the military in the late 1960's and early 1970's will retire in the next few years.

To meet personnel needs, therefore, agencies will have to identify, train, and retain large numbers of officers, including a growing proportion of women. They will also have to alter the pattern of paternalism and sex differentiation in assignments that result in a disproportionate number of women officers and supervisors being removed from line responsibilities; address other problems stemming from discriminatory treatment; and actively implement equal employment policies in order to meet personnel needs. In brief, they need to make clear that "there's room for women in police work."

The findings of this study point toward a number of policy recommendations for addressing remaining barriers to women's

integration into policing; they also suggest the need for further research. These are discussed below.

### **Management Commitment**

- Departmental leaders must make a commitment to increase the number of women officers and actively integrate them into all aspects of police work.
- Chiefs and high level administrators must initiate or continue to closely monitor the implementation of equal employment opportunity policies.
- They also must plan and implement programs designed to recruit, train, integrate, and retain women officers.

In the future, it may be possible to ignore gender in employment practices and assume that all persons are treated solely on the basis of individual merits. Eliminating sex discrimination, which was the legally accepted norm in police agencies until 1972, however, will require strong, active commitment from police managers.

### **Involvement of Women in Planning for Change**

- When departments plan a substantial increase in the representation of females, women officers should be involved in planning the transition.
- An advisory committee that includes both men and women of diverse ranks and has direct access to the chief can facilitate change by providing a valuable two-way channel of communication.

In the late 1970's, when the chief in Phoenix decided to hire more women, he created a Women's Advisory Committee that included both male and female personnel from all ranks. The committee served as both a symbolic and substantive means of communicating management's commitment to sex integration. It also informed policy makers about a variety of problems confronting women officers, such as sexual harassment and inadequate facilities, and resulted in policy changes including new hair and jewelry rules affecting officers of both sexes. By including men and addressing problems that affected all officers, the onus of "reverse discrimination" and "special treatment" for women was reduced.

In agencies where management was hostile to hiring women, provided no channels of communication for addressing their problems, or adopted a policy of benign neglect, the effects of harassment and overprotection were ignored and continue to be felt more than a decade later.

## **Sexual Harassment Policies**

- Departments should adopt and enforce policies prohibiting sexual harassment. Their policies should make clear that both sexual harassment as a *quid pro quo* and as a condition of work are illegal, unacceptable, and grounds for appropriate disciplinary action. They should include an enforcement mechanism outside the immediate command structure.
- All supervisors should receive in-service training regarding the sexual harassment policy and the importance of enforcing it. Training should make clear that some relationships between a supervisor and subordinate that may appear to be “consensual,” have been identified by the Supreme Court in *Meritor* as sexual harassment that may result in liability for the department and the individual.

## **Recruitment, Selection, and Affirmative Action**

- Departments that have voluntary affirmative action programs to recruit women should continue them; those that do not have them should adopt them.
- The best way to increase the representation of women is by intensifying recruitment efforts to broaden the pool of qualified female applicants. Recruiters should encourage women to consider a police career and, at the same time, present a realistic picture of patrol assignments and other opportunities.
- Selection criteria should be reviewed and any procedure or criterion that is not job-related should be eliminated.

## **Training**

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

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

- Police departments should encourage women trainees to develop a support network to help them cope with problems incurred as women officers in predominantly male organizations.
- Academy curricula and field training programs should include instructional units on verbal and non-verbal communication to promote understanding of sexual and cultural differences. They should recognize and welcome the fact that some women may employ a less confrontational policing style to achieve the goals of policing.
- Departments should ensure that limited in-service training opportunities are distributed among interested officers on a basis that is free of sex discrimination. For example, the Phoenix Police Department established a training committee to establish selection criteria and review applicants in each unit.
- To overcome what is often viewed as a handicap, i.e., generally smaller size, women should be encouraged to independently take additional training in self-defense tactics or karate.

### **Assignments**

- A rookie's assignments have long-term effects on his or her policing career. Departments should routinely review the daily assignments of all probationary officers to assure they have equal opportunity to become effective patrol officers. No officers should be given permanent station assignments before completing at least a year on street patrol.
- All rookies benefit from learning station procedures and should get an equal number of station assignments during their probationary year regardless of gender or presumed clerical abilities.
- Departments should announce or otherwise post openings for specialized assignments, have developed clear written criteria for selection to such assignments, and review choices to assure that the criteria are met.
- Departments should conduct periodic audits of assignments to ensure that women are not diverted into clerical or other so-called female assignments.

### **Promotion**

- Departments should encourage women to seek promotion by creating and maintaining an open and fair promotion process. When

people believe they will be treated equitably, they are more likely to put in the effort to study and compete for promotion.

- Those criteria—particularly seniority and veteran bonus points—that systematically disadvantage women in competing for promotions should be eliminated or reduced in weight in the promotion process, unless it can be shown that they are related to superior performance as a supervisor.
- Promotion exams should be given as frequently as possible, based upon department needs. This will increase advancement opportunities for all candidates, give women and minorities experience in competing on the various criteria, and encourage all officers to study the criminal statutes and department regulations on a regular basis.
- All eligibles should be given individual notification of the date of the promotion exam and sign-up period at least several months in advance to ensure that they know about and have the opportunity to sign up.
- Newly promoted supervisors normally should be assigned to patrol responsibilities for at least a year prior to transferring to specialized assignments.
- Police executives and managers should take steps to ensure that female supervisors and mid-level managers receive diversified experiences within the parameters established by the agency's personnel guidelines.
- Mentors and informal networks are an important ingredient of organizational success. To help women supervisors cope with the performance pressures and stresses related to being “pioneers,” department managers should encourage formal mentor relationships and facilitate participation in state and national professional organizations such as the International Association of Women Police and the National Organization of Black Women in Law Enforcement.

### **Reducing Work/Family Conflicts**

- Departments should establish a leave policy that explicitly covers pregnancy-related disabilities and maternity leave. The policy should ensure to the extent possible that a non-contact assignment is available to a pregnant officer when she and her physician determine that such reassignment is necessary. Officers should be assured of their right to have a family and continue their careers without facing severe economic hardship or an extended layoff.
- The leave policy should permit family leave related to the care of a newborn, newly adopted child, or infirm family member without regard to officer's sex.

- Departments and unions should jointly take the initiative to address family/workplace conflicts when possible. A primary concern should be the availability of child care for police personnel of both sexes.
- Departments should review their shift rotation policy in order to make it more compatible with the family needs of officers. They also should explore job-sharing, part-time work, and flexible scheduling as ways to reduce turnover, burnout, and abuses of leave. Rotating shifts create physiological and family scheduling problems. These sometimes result in illness, abuse of sick leave, burnout, and turnover problems for police agencies. Scheduling problems tend to fall more heavily on officers who are single parents, most of whom are women. As the representation of women increases, addressing the family-related problems of officers becomes an increasingly important personnel concern.

### **Other Policy Recommendations**

- When a department provides equipment and uniforms, it should assure that the women's version is available to female officers. Similarly, a firearm that fits the officer's hand should be available. Equipment, facilities, and seemingly small but symbolic differences can have a substantial impact on an officer's effectiveness and sense of acceptance. As one female officer observed, when the department authorized a firearm that fit her hand, her shooting score improved markedly.
- Sexist language, including the term policeman, should be replaced in performance evaluations, departmental forms, policy manuals, and on the officers' badge with sex neutral terminology.
- Officers involved in a shooting need emotional support. Departments should require that under such circumstances officers get counseling and provide it either through a staff psychologist or a counselor under contract to the department. This is particularly important for women because they often do not get a sympathetic response from male colleagues. More broadly, because policing is stressful, an important fringe benefit that should be available to officers is psychological support through individual counseling or voluntary support groups, including those for women officers.
- Performance evaluations should be based on specific, written, job-related criteria rather than on such vague measures as "quantity of work" or "promotional potential." Departments periodically should review supervisor evaluations, not only to determine if there are sex differences in overall scores, but to identify patterns that indicate either specific problem areas for males and females or the persistence of

sex role stereotyping. Double standards of evaluation should be identified and addressed.

### **Research Recommendations**

Many questions about the changing status of women in various occupations, the nature of the change process as it relates to gender and occupational roles, and the way to measure that change remain.

- Studies comparing policing with other male-dominated occupations are needed to illuminate those features of the work organization and informal culture that shape opportunities for success and mobility. This should include an examination of sexuality and strategies of gender management in organizations.
- More carefully controlled examination of the differences in career paths and assignment patterns of male and female officers in different types of agencies is needed.
- A termination study with both males and females who separate from several departments would help answer questions identified in our study about differences in turnover rates and would provide insights into effects of the agency's recruitment, selection, training, placement, and career advancement or officer retention.

Implementing change that challenges deeply held beliefs and long-standing customs is difficult. In contrast with several other male-dominated occupations, in the past two decades women have made gradual but steady numerical gains, have attained assignments in virtually all aspects and units of policing, and have gained some acceptance in informal networks. A few women have moved into supervisory positions. These changes have occurred largely in response to regulatory pressures, but have brought sometimes grudging recognition of the contributions women can make to police work. In addition, it appears that the sexual integration of policing has contributed to greater racial balance while women of color have benefitted from the opening of the station house doors.

Policing continues to be a male-dominated occupation and given the nature of the work—authoritatively controlling people sometimes by physical means—it is likely to remain so for many years. The barriers to the integration of women into the formal and informal work structures and culturally prescribed patterns of male-female interaction which must change. At the same time, police departments can help that process by heeding the words of one lieutenant concerned about both the appearance and reality of departmental policies: "The attitude here is that we want to look like we are fair and to do that you have to be fair."





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# **APPENDIX**

TABLE A-1

DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEYS AND RESPONSES  
BY AGENCY TYPE AND REGION

REGION	MUNICIPALITY			STATE		
	NUMBER SENT	NUMBER RESPONDING	RESPONSE RATE	NUMBER SENT	NUMBER RESPONDING	RESPONSE RATE
Northeast	107	67	63	9	7	78
North Central	115	80	70	12	9	75
South	111	91	82	16	14	88
West	113	81	72	12	8	66
TOTAL	446	319	72	49	38	78

TABLE A-2

MEAN PERCENTAGE\* OF FEMALE POLICE IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS BY CITY SIZE, ETHNICITY AND YEAR

CITY SIZE	1978**			1986***		
	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL
Million +	2.5	3.3	5.8	5.7	4.7	10.4
500-Million	2.2	2.1	4.3	4.5	4.8	9.3
250-500,000	3.0	1.3	4.3	6.1	3.0	9.1
100-250,000	2.9	.9	3.8	5.3	1.5	6.8
50-100,000	2.2	.4	2.6	4.0	.9	4.9
TOTAL	2.6	1.6	4.2	5.3	3.5	8.8

\* Mean percentage refers to unweighted mean. See footnote 5, Chapter 3, page 53.

\*\* Based on personnel data from 290 responding departments

\*\*\* Based on personnel data from 316 responding departments.

TABLE A-3

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE OFFICERS IN STATE POLICE  
IN 1978 AND 1986 BY ETHNICITY AND REGION

REGION	1978*			1986**		
	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL	WHITE	MINORITY	TOTAL
Northeast	.8	.1	.9	3.2	.3	3.5
North Central	1.0	.2	1.2	3.9	.4	4.3
South	.4	.2	.6	1.9	.7	2.6
West	1.0	.1	1.1	3.9	.9	4.8
TOTAL	.8	.1	.9	3.1	.6	3.7

\* Based on personnel data from 36 responding departments.

\*\* Based on personnel data from 38 responding departments.

TABLE A-4

1986 MEAN PERCENTAGE OF SUPERVISORS\* IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS BY CITY SIZE, SEX, AND ETHNICITY

CITY SIZE	WHITE MALE	MINORITY MALE	TOTAL MALE	WHITE FEMALE	MINORITY FEMALE	TOTAL FEMALE
Million +	80.1	15.5	95.1	2.5	1.1	3.6
500-Million	74.9	20.9	95.8	2.4	1.8	4.2
250-500,000	81.3	14.3	95.6	3.1	1.2	4.4
100-250,000	89.2	8.1	97.3	2.3	.4	2.7
50-100,000	92.9	5.7	98.6	1.0	.3	1.4
TOTAL (N=316)	83.1	13.6	96.7	2.3	1.0	3.3

\* Includes ranks of sergeant and above.

TABLE A-5

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF SUPERVISORS\* IN STATE POLICE DEPARTMENTS IN 1986 BY REGION, ETHNICITY, AND SEX\*\*

REGION	WHITE MALE	MINORITY MALE	TOTAL MALE	WHITE FEMALE	MINORITY FEMALE	TOTAL FEMALE
Northeast	95.1	4.2	99.3	.57	.10	.7
North Central	96.4	2.6	99.0	.85	.15	1.0
South	94.7	4.7	98.4	.58	.02	.6
West	92.9	6.2	99.1	.79	.11	.9
TOTAL	95.5	4.4	99.3	.67	.07	.7

\* Includes ranks of sergeant, lieutenant, and above.

\*\* Based on personnel data from 38 responding departments.



TABLE A-6

1986 MEAN PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE OFFICERS IN STATE POLICE DEPARTMENTS BY TYPE ASSIGNMENT AND REGION\*

REGION	TOTAL FEMALES	FIELD	CID	VICE	ADMIN.	OTHER
Northeast	3.5	3.9	2.7	3.4	3.7	2.5
North Central	2.8	4.1	5.8	—	1.9	4.6
South	2.6	2.7	2.5	3.2	2.1	1.7
West	5.1	5.2	1.6	—	3.7	6.4
TOTAL	3.5	3.8	3.0	2.8	3.8	3.2

\* Based on personnel data from 37 departments.

TABLE A-7

THE EFFECT OF SELECTION CRITERIA ON THE UNWEIGHTED PERCENTAGES OF APPLICANTS AND ACCEPTED CANDIDATES WHO ARE FEMALE

DEPARTMENTAL SELECTION CRITERION	% OF APPLICANTS THAT ARE FEMALE		% ACCEPTED APPLICANTS THAT ARE FEMALE	
	MEAN	F & SIGNIF.	MEAN	F & SIGNIF.
Agility test	14.9 (7.5)*	7.33	14.9 (12.2)	11.6
No agility test	19.0 (11.5)	p < .01	21.9 (14.3)	p < .001
Oral interview panel	15.1 (7.1)	5.71	16.4 (13.1)	.14
No interview panel	19.6 (14.3)	p < .02	17.4 (11.0)	ns
Standardized responses	15.3 (9.0)	.02	16.6 (13.3)	.71
No standardized responses	15.5 (8.0)	ns	18.1 (12.3)	ns
Female on panel	17.7 (7.5)	5.66	18.5 (12.1)	1.6
No female on panel	14.4 (6.9)	p < .02	15.5 (13.4)	ns

\* Standard deviation in parenthesis.

TABLE A-8

STEPWISE REGRESSION ANALYSES OF PROPORTION OF FEMALES AMONG APPLICANTS, PERSONS ENTERING, AND PERSONS COMPLETING ACADEMY TRAINING IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	APPLICANTS			NEW ACADEMY TRAINEES			COMPLETED ACADEMY		
	<i>b</i>	<i>se<sub>b</sub></i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se<sub>b</sub></i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se<sub>b</sub></i>	<i>t</i>
Percent black in department	.405	.064	6.33***						
Percent female in department	.502	.072	3.02**	.965	.273	3.53***			
Agility test	-.039	.013	-3.09**	-.053	.022	-2.47*			
Small department	-.025	.01	-2.29*						
Voluntary affirm. action policy							.030	.014	2.13*
Percent of female applicants	(not applicable)			.235	.118	1.99*			
Percent of females accepted	(not applicable)			(not applicable)			.947	.053	17.7***
Constant	.137	.019	7.3***	.09	.028	3.05***	.005	.012	.43

adj.  $R^2 = .42$   
 df = 4,162  
 F = 32.09\*\*\*

adj.  $R^2 = .197$   
 df = 3,163  
 F = 14.6\*\*\*

adj.  $R^2 = .60$   
 df = 2,213  
 F = 162.7\*\*\*

- \*  $p < .05$   
 \*\*  $p < .01$   
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE A-9

THE EFFECT OF PROMOTION CRITERIA ON WOMEN'S  
PROMOTION TO SERGEANT IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS

SELECTION CRITERION	% OF ELIGIBLES THAT ARE FEMALE		% OF PROMOTED THAT ARE FEMALE	
	MEAN	F & SIGNIF.	MEAN	F & SIGNIF.
Oral board	5.6 (4.8)*		6.8 (10.8)	
No oral board	5.5 (6.1)	ns	5.6 (10.8)	ns
Assessment center	6.7 (5.4)		12.2 (18.7)	10.4
No assessment center	5.3 (5.2)	ns	4.9 (11.9)	p < .01
Performance evaluation	5.3 (5.0)		6.8 (15.9)	
No performance evaluation	5.9 (5.5)	ns	6.0 (6.5)	ns
Other criteria	6.0 (5.5)		6.3 (12.0)	
No other criteria	5.4 (5.2)	ns	6.5 (14.5)	ns

\* Standard deviation in parenthesis.

TABLE A-10

## EFFECT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON UNWEIGHTED WOMEN'S PROMOTION RATES

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	SERGEANT		LIEUTENANT	
	WOMEN AS PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE	PROMOTED	WOMEN AS PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE	PROMOTED
Court ordered	8.3* (5.6)	10.1 (12.3)	4.0 (5.2)	7.4 (12.1)
Voluntary	6.0 (5.3)	4.9 (9.8)	2.9 (5.7)	4.5 (14.9)
None	4.5 (4.9)	6.2 (17.0)	1.8 (4.1)	1.0 (4.9)
TOTAL	5.6	6.2	2.7	4.2

N=210

F=6.07

p &lt; .003

N=205

F=1.39

p=ns

N=183

F=2.21

p=ns

N=165

F=3.33

p=ns

\* Standard deviation in parenthesis.

TABLE A-11

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF FEMALE TURNOVER RATE  
IN MUNICIPAL AGENCIES

VARIABLE	<i>b</i>	<i>se<sub>b</sub></i>	<i>t</i>
Male Turnover Rate	.825	.229	3.59***
West	.045	.017	2.61***
Voluntary Affirmative Action	.034	.015	2.28*
Constant	.012	.014	.89

adj.  $R^2 = .08$   
 $df = 3,286$   
 $F = 9.91***$

\*  $p < .05$   
 \*\*  $p < .01$   
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$

TABLE A-12

PERCENT OF MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS WITH SEXUAL  
HARASSMENT AND PREGNANCY-RELATED POLICIES  
BY CITY SIZE

DEPARTMENT POLICY	CITY SIZE			
	> 250,000 (N=55)	100,000 TO 250,000 (N=84)	50,000 TO 100,000 (N=177)	TOTAL (N=316)
Have pregnancy policy	38	35	16	25*
Do not	62	65	84	75
Have sexual harassment policy	63	60	30	49**
Do not	37	40	70	51

\*  $\chi^2 = 17.89$ ;  $p < .002$

\*\*  $\chi^2 = 17.68$ ;  $p < .002$

TABLE A-13

PERCENT OF MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS WITH PROCEDURE  
FOR HANDLING PREGNANCY BY CITY SIZE

DEPARTMENTAL PROCEDURE	CITY SIZE			
	> 250,000 (N=53)	100,000 TO 250,000 (N=83)	50,000 TO 100,000 (N=165)	TOTAL (N=301)
Light duty at woman's request	25	30	18	22
Light duty per management decision	19	27	19	21
Light duty on doctor's orders	17	8	7	9
No light duty; stay in assignment until sick leave	9	10	18	14
No woman has been pregnant	—	—	22	12
Other	30	25	16	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2 = 48.33; p < .001$



TABLE A-14

REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE OFFICERS  
IN MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	FULL MODEL			RESTRICTED MODEL		
	<i>b</i>	<i>se<sub>b</sub></i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se<sub>b</sub></i>	<i>t</i>
Large department	.016	.005	3.08**	.018	.005	3.47***
Small department	-.002	.004	-.70	-.006	.004	-1.53
Percent female	-.009	.013	-.71	-.005	.013	-.34
Percent Hispanic	-.012	.017	-.69	-.018	.017	-1.04
Percent Black	.101	.020	4.99***	.107	.021	5.21***
Females assigned to patrol before 1974	.003	.003	1.12	.004	.004	1.04
North Central	.011	.005	2.28*	.012	.005	2.52
West	.018	.005	3.30***	.020	.005	3.74***
South	.030	.005	5.73	.030	.005	5.79
Increased in size since 1982	.006	.003	1.64	.006	.003	1.85
Voluntary affirmative action	.012	.004	5.02***			
Court ordered affirmative action	.017	.005	3.22**			
Constant	.028	.006	5.02***	.034	.005	6.38***

adj.  $R^2 = .395$   
 $df = 12,279$   
 $F = 16.86***$

adj.  $R^2 = .367$   
 $df = 10,281$   
 $F = 17.89**$

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$