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THREE DECADES OF WOMEN IN
POLICING. A LITERATURE
REVIEW.

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INTRODUCTION

While some authors concur that pioneering policewomen have been around since at least the beginning of the century, particularly in the United States and Great Britain, the massive influx of women in what has been traditionally known as a predominantly male occupation actually took place around the 70's. In fact, the laws eradicating all forms of discrimination (be it race, sex or religion-related) have, in principle, opened the doors to women wishing to enter the profession. However, there existed conflicts and difficulties along the way for both men and women.

This literature review constitutes the basic working document of a research project concerning women involved in police work in Canada. It is intended to provide a non-exhaustive assessment of the broad research issues that surfaced when women first joined the police. It complements other bibliographic studies that have already touched on this question (US Department of Justice, 1995; US FBI, 1982; Townsey, 1980; Martin, 1979; RCMP, 1979; Breece, Garrett, 1974; Davis, 1976; Sherman, Sherman, 1972, 1976).

Assessing the situation of women in police work calls for making choices that necessarily limit the potential scope of problems, the issues that are to be examined and the solutions found, or even an evaluation of these solutions.

It has been proposed that an assessment of the writings on the issue of women and policing, generated in the 1970's right up until the mid-90's, be conducted. This assessment is broken down into 3 decades. We have elected to proceed this way to keep tabs on the progress of women in the police.

A final part will focus on background studies.

The research was taken mostly from other countries, i.e. the United States and European countries. However, some of the research took place in Canada. We will refer to it in due time. The research topics reflect the difficulties encountered by policewomen, policemen and their institutions. Four main related research and/or reflection topics on women and policing stand out. These are not presented in order of importance or in the priority given to them by authors of the above mentioned works.

The first one, i.e. working conditions, deals with such issues as recruiting efforts, equity programs, maternity leave, etc. The second one has to do with the status given or bestowed on women. The status of women in the police is closely akin to questions concerning how far up the organizational ladder women are able to get, their numbers, etc. A third one concerns issues of police culture and the integration of women in the police and male universe. Police culture and the integration of women hinge on thoughts on the acceptance of women by their male counterparts, the expectations of police organizations and the citizens as far as they are concerned, the career barriers that affect women. A fourth one pertains to the initiatives that were required to integrate women and provide them with a work environment that is conducive to the achievement of daily success in police corporations and the planning of individual long term careers.

As can be seen, these issues not only call for an assessment of the women's situation once research is completed but is also meant to be, over the longer term, a step to facilitate not only the definite integration of women but also their fulfilment as individuals in a state-run institution considered essential by the entire public sphere.

The document is broken down into four main parts that are distinct, but not mutually exclusive

when it comes to thoughts, work perspectives and solutions found. In each case, we will review the working topics and the main research issues. We will see that each decade has given rise to appropriate sets of problems which constitute in the final analysis an ever increasing wealth of information and lessons for women, for their male counterparts and for the institutions to which they belong.

The first part deals with the 70's, the second with the 80's and the third with the 90's. The final part provides historical background research unrelated to any decades. With this type of research, it is a question of seeing how women began contemplating about joining the ranks of those who enforced the law and how their progress is not always what it seems.

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

Before we address our study of the various decades and the pertinent findings, two comments should be made.

The first comment concerns the history of women. As previously mentioned, some women belonged to law enforcement organizations well before the 70's. However, the laws against all forms of discrimination enacted during the 60's in the United States (Milton, 1972) and in the early 70's in Canada, in 1975 in Great Britain (Sullivan, 1979), in 1977 in Australia (Foreman, 1978) forced organizations to see to it that women could also pursue careers in the police field (Armat, 1975). They also gave rise to new recruiting and hiring policies (Brousseau, et al., 1980). Generally speaking, the purpose of historical research is to show how women integrated this market at the turn of the century in Great Britain, thanks among other things, to the suffragettes (Amidon, 1986; Lock, 1979; Becke, 1973). It teaches us that there were policewomen in more than 200 American cities at the end of the First World War (House, 1993) and that they filled vacancies left by men until the Second World War (Price, Gavin, 1982). This research also describes how, due to their persistence and strong personalities, women became involved in specialized agencies such as Scotland Yard (Taylor, Maffei, 1978) or were integrated, but in specialized units only, with young offenders, missing persons and women (Albrecht, Stern, 1976; Hamilton, 1971). It should be mentioned that, like men, women will always be subjected (even though they feel the effects more directly) to the major upheavals affecting organizations, such as budget constraints, line organization compressions, which adversely have an impact on

advancement opportunities and promotions, the merging of police forces and fire departments and the numerous job rotations during the course of their careers (Home, 1979).

A second comment, which is related to the first, pertains to the designation set aside for women or, if you will, granted them. While, as we can see, women's roles at the time were restricted to certain specific fields, it is easy to understand that the manner in which they were appointed was not all that obvious either. Indeed, if for a long time there was no need to specifically appoint them because they were very much in the minority, their mass influx dictated that they be appointed as policewomen. Now, this new designation actually made a difference when it came to assigning duties. As we shall see later, similar and equivalent duties for men and women called for an equivalent designation for all individuals, to wit *police officer* or constable (Garnire 1974; Sichel, 1978). We shall use the designation that best reflects the women's situation at the time the research was done.

PART ONE: THE SEVENTIES - A DIFFICULT INTEGRATION AND THE RELEVANT FINDINGS

Attempting to use an expression to describe the research of the 70's means raising a major fundamental question to which there are several answers: in spite of the laws that made it mandatory to grant women their place in the police, did the latter actually have a role to play? In turn, this question raised several other ones that were either closely or remotely related to the performance of women, to their physical skills, etc. in accomplishing the duties asked, their attitudes, etc.

The question as to "whether women have their place in the police" was supported by at least three major types of studies which themselves constitute questions, assessments and a questioning of the status of women in the public sphere, long before being part of the police. These questions somewhat bear testimony to the prejudices and stereotypes with which women in general, and policewomen in particular, are faced. The first type deals with women's images and the second, which is still by far the most documented, concerns their skills as persons. A third type may explain the little influence exercised by women at the time, to wit their sources of discrimination.

1. THE GENERAL IMAGE OF WOMEN AND THE MATCHING STEREOTYPES

The so-called basically female qualities of women, which are considered an impediment to effective police work, were assessed and challenged by the results of scientific evaluations. Are women too "emotionally unstable, do they lack confidence in themselves, particularly during incidents involving violence. Is there an incompatibility between police work and their feminine nature (Crites, 1973)? To put it another way, are tasks related to police work too hard on a woman (Armat, 1975)? Finally, what duties do they actually perform (Kruckenberg, 1974)? More generally, can the sexual stereotypes of the two groups create problems in the daily performance of police duties (Heffner, 1976)? As research shows, women have to fight on several fronts to assume all the duties of policing and to ward off all forms of sexism that are stacked against them (Abrecht, Stern 1976).

1.1 THEIR IMPACT

The advent of women in the police field appears to have sown the seeds of change in the attitudes of policemen (Sutton, Carlson, 1977) and the public with regards to law enforcement in general.

Near the late 70's, however, the perceptions and attitudes of men in general towards the policewoman are still relatively negative. An investigation shows that they considered women to be part of a police force, but in limited duties, such as young offender or crime prevention sectors. Men tend to view patrol duties as basically a man's job requiring more physical strength than they have. Most of the persons interviewed rejected the idea of police work as being mostly considered social work (Johns, 1979).

Research shows that, even if women were perceived negatively when they first massively joined the police, their contribution was eventually viewed in a positive light. Their presence gave the police a more humane appearance (Susini, 1977; Hilton, 1976), or at least generated attempts to make it more so. This relative success in a traditionally male universe paved the way for a change of attitude in the police environment and, as a result, new opportunities for women (Stuart, 1975). It should be further stated that the latter were not to become totally assimilated with the police until their cultural roles were actualized (Vastola, 1977). It was not until the 90's that concerns in this regard finally emerged.

Furthermore, other benefits derived from women's work are illustrated by a decrease in public complaints

with respect to police brutality and by an increase in interest in police service. From an operational standpoint, it is said that, because women are not as conspicuous, it is easier for them to obtain surveillance-related information (Crites, 1973).

2. WOMEN'S COMPETENCE AS A FIGHTING AND REJECTING TOOL

Questions regarding the competence of policewomen led to a great deal of research. Skills are not only considered the greatest constituents to gain the respect of their male counterparts and bosses, but they appear to be the most valuable in obtaining promotions and going up the police ranks, which is not an effortless task. The key to success resides in a simple solution that has yet to be developed, to wit obtaining the required preparation to successfully pass the promotion exams (Knoohuizen, Gutman, 1974).

Women's various skills, their characteristics and their careers, their performances, their attitudes and the sources of discrimination they are subjected to are areas which have been researched, in part or in entirety, with regards to women's overall competency. Let us explore these specific research facets.

2.1 WOMEN'S DISTINCT SKILLS

Based on the finding that women could, from now on, become law enforcement officers, it was a question of seeing whether they could perform duties as well as men (Bartlett, Rosenblum, 1977). Consequently, did they deserve equal pay (Horne, 1972)? Actually, the real question was: should women be allowed to perform all police duties, including those related to patrols (Los Angeles P.D., 1973)?

Affirmative answers were given to the above empirical research. In fact, the research helped prove that, in the heat of action, policewomen are just as competent as men (Clark, 1978; Morgan, 1974) provided that they receive adequate training and supervision. They are also just as (if not more) competent in positions of authority where they display character and leadership (Price, 1974). It must be noted, however, that research shows that policewomen are still too often required to assume, during this decade, the duties that were traditionally set aside for them in young offenders' or clerical work sectors (Horne, 1975).

The physical and moral skills of women were also assessed (Washington, 1975). Here, it was not so much a question of documenting the differences in relation to men, but to see how these influenced the effectiveness of women's actions. A source of concern stemmed, among other things, from the finding that women are not as physically strong as men. Yet, as it was shown, women's strength lies in their ability to curtail the potential for violence in numerous situations (Ayoob, 1978). Hence, the observation that the main value of women in police work stems from their difference, or in other words from the fact that they are women (Pownall, 1978).

Furthermore, a more contentious issue has to do with the emotional stability of policewomen and in their ability to distinguish right from wrong (Washington, 1975). As if, in some way, a policewoman was different from any other woman and more fragile than a policeman. Let us just say that, at the time, a woman involved in police work appeared to be such.

2.2 THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND CAREERS

Already, by the early 70's, policewomen's characteristics were established in the United States: the average age was 35 years, 35% had university training, 20% were visible minorities. They had held previous jobs such as nursing, teaching and social work. Their main reason for becoming policewomen was a need for security in general, hence the finding that stereotypes associated with policewomen needed to be reassessed some day because, as it was noted, police work involved more social work than was generally claimed (Perlstein, 1972, 1971).

In a more subtle, and let's acknowledge it, sexist way, research issues show that insinuated differences arise in the work culture's socialization process where it is claimed that women are integrated into the structure but not within the culture (McGeorge, Wolfe, 1976). Further research attempted to assess real policewomen's characteristics, which implies a distinction between those who struggled to abide to the standards of their occupational groups in the hope to develop some form of loyalty and those who had a "ladies on the job" attitude and for whom a police career was strictly a source of income (Martin, 1979b). This distinction poses a dilemma which seems to stem particularly from the fact of being a woman involved in police work and having to choose between an institutional and cultural loyalty and an income-paying job. In the first case, this means virtually blindly adopting the values belonging to the police culture whereas, in the second case, police work is viewed as any other type of job, which is perceived as being negative. The arrival of women in the police universe made it possible to partially desegregate, or at least broaden the horizons of police work by putting an end to the admission into a police force as an admission into a religious order. Their arrival promoted other models and roles for women than the ones that

were traditionally accepted by the public sphere (Vastola, 1977).

2.3 THEIR PERFORMANCES

An assessment of regular duties (patrolling, use of a service revolver, cooperation with one's partner, etc.) shows that the difference in men's and women's skills were of benefit to both the former and the latter, from which one may conclude that women have the same capacities as men (Bartlett, Rosenblum, 1977; Melchionne, 1974). Yet, women apply laws differently and are viewed as being less aggressive, more inclined to communicate orally, and as being less provocative than men. (Greenwald, 1976; Armat, 1975). Likewise, the performances of policewomen were evaluated in relation to the statistics pertaining to the number of arrests carried out, issued traffic tickets, written incident reports, supervisors' evaluations, public opinion surveys, etc. These statistical data reveal, once again, that the performances of policewomen are equivalent to those of policemen (Sherman, 1975). Therefore, it was found that policewomen are just as able as policemen to do regular patrol work (Anderson, 1976).

2.4 THEIR ATTITUDES

Another question that was assessed were the attitudes of fellow officers regarding their performance. Fellow officers, or prospective fellow officers, claimed that women were unable to perform as well in dangerous situations, that they were more likely to risk losing control. One study, for example, examined the impact of a female partner in a particular team in circumstances where a service revolver was used. It appears that the presence of a woman has an impact on the men's shooting response. They tend to shoot more often and to make less mistakes. (Johns, Barclay, 1979). Furthermore, bringing a man and a woman together as patrol partners results in the woman being less aggressive in her actions and conduct; however, when two women are assigned together, they become even more aggressive (Sichel, 1978).

3. THE SOURCES OF DISCRIMINATION

During the 70's, policewomen made little headway in the institution. One explanation may be the sources of discrimination and the subsequent stress they encountered.

Between the active and passive sources of discrimination recorded (Lehtinen, 1976), some are situated at the beginning of their careers, i.e. during the selection and initial training processes. It occurs, for example, that the selection exams are different for women. Positive discrimination programs were suggested, along with techniques to interview prospective policewomen (Dutton, Britt, 1997). In the same light, informative guides on applicant selection procedures, designed to inform them of police career opportunities, the types of jobs they could expect, etc. were developed (Muro, 1979; Snarr, McCauley, 1976; Abramowitz et al., 1974).

Furthermore, even when the initial training is identical, what can become a clear disadvantage, from a physical standpoint for women, are the different duties and responsibilities assigned afterwards. Throughout their careers, not only are the duties to be performed not equivalent but access to promotion exams and promotions as such appear limited. In 1976, for example, 46 women were promoted in England and in Wales, while the following year, only 38 were promoted (Sullivan, 1979). In 1974, *The Chicago Police Department* comprised more than 14,000 members, 1% of which were women. Only one occupied a supervisory position (Knoohuisen, Gutman, 1974).

A subtle form of discrimination exists for women who actively pursue police careers. It is noted that their presence has a disrupting effect on their male counterparts and jeopardizes their marriages because, among other things, of the proximity and prolonged contacts while on two-member car patrols (Krunenberg, 1974).

IN SHORT

With hindsight, the numerous research topics of this decade constitute a wealth of information on the skills, stereotypes and sources of discrimination regarding policewomen. In a fairly simplistic fashion, it could be said that the research questions call for a review of women's personality types and behaviour which are said to be typically feminine. The questions clearly have less to do with the institution recruiting women than with the women who are

attempting to be admitted and to find a place therein.

Since women made their way into the police ranks for good, there was then a need to assess their skills in performing all police duties. Hence concerns arose to gauge and compare their skills, ways of doing things, etc. with those of policemen. We can ask ourselves whether such a research approach was not intended to further prevent the normal mistakes of these newcomers rather than stop the problems that they would inevitably encounter just as any other workers would.

For many years, the paramilitary image of the police prevented women from freely entering the police field. Anti-discriminatory laws had a major impact on the police forces' administrative policies. Other impediments were the discriminatory selection, training and promotion practices. The physical standards that were, among other things, based on physical strength constituted a nearly uncircumventable system for women. The studies, research and opinion surveys began to show that people were not opposed to the idea of women in the police. The strongest opposition originated from within the organizations, particularly from male partners called upon to share in the patrol duties. It turns out that women have something important to contribute to policing whether it lies in their perception of the organization, the use of force or in the relationships they establish with both citizens and victims of crime.

PART TWO: THE EIGHTIES - THE SOURCES OF STRESS AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST POLICEWOMEN

If there is one thing that is definite, it is the massive influx of women in the police field. Once considered a revolutionary idea, the policewoman reflects a situation that is here to stay. Women's access to police structures did not come about smoothly or without hitches. It is not easy to enter a field in which the values, images and stereotypes match those of the male gender.

As we can see, for more than one decade now, policewomen have been the subject of numerous research topics, including their competence in performing the duties related to police work. Even though women are integrated into the police, but not yet totally assimilated to its very particular culture, policewomen still remain a relatively new research domain. During the eighties, research issues branched out and became more complex. Thus, for example, it became less important to question whether women were capable of performing the duties properly (a question,

however, that still seems relevant for certain authors), than to determine the sources of stress that could prevent them from performing the duties as they wished.

Furthermore, it is impossible to determine whether research on policewomen has increased its scope. We would be inclined to believe, on the basis of computer data on the subject, that the eighties stood out as the decade in which there was a decrease in the number of reference works on women police officers. This remains to be proved. However, one undeniable fact is that women have definitely found their niche in police work. Nonetheless, this integration does not obviate the difficulties that they are continually faced with. Among those are sexual harassment and gender discrimination which, according to an American survey, are more prevalent than anyone could imagine (Timmins, Hainsworth, 1989).

1. THE WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLICING

One fundamental and recurring issue is women's role in the police. This issue in itself has ramifications that bears witness to the complexity and the significance of the question. Addressing the role of policewomen appears to be a determining issue from many standpoints. It also implies reviewing police values, sources of stress and discrimination, their place in the organization, the image of policewomen and the careers and successes of some. These are topics that we will reassess.

1.1 THE ACTUAL OR CREDITED ROLE

In 1988, the results of a survey conducted among American and Canadian policewomen revealed that women felt that they had been adequately assigned to their duties and that, in general, they had the same opportunities of being so. However, the more years of experience a woman accumulated, the less she tended to recommend police work as a career (Garrison, Grant, McCormick, 1988).

It was also found that policewomen confronted resistances, abuse and other problems related to their

situation by trying, at the same time, to respect their femininity and to assert themselves as professionals (Jacobs, 1987).

1.2 THE VALUES OF POLICEWOMEN

One of the relatively new topics pertaining to the issue of women was that of policewomen's values. In an attempt to weigh the values of women against the values traditionally understood as feminine, researchers challenge the real place of women not only in the universe of duties known to be masculine, but also in the overall public sphere. For example, a study assessed the interest of women in general in what were traditionally known as male jobs. The author found that women had a marked interest in specialties requiring skills linked with women's traditional role (Golden, 1982). This type of research found that women are more skilled in traditional roles and indicated that they have little interest, among other things, in police work. We can understand then why the next question was asked, i.e. Do policewomen have values that are comparable to or less feminine than nurses? One needed to go only one step further to find that policewomen have interests that are more masculine, are open-minded when it comes to new experiences (i.e. not known as women's experiences) and have a desire to confront the stereotypes that the public sphere has bestowed upon them (Kennedy, Homant, 1981). The stereotypes that are deeply entrenched in attitudes surface not only when policewomen assume their duties but also during the recruit training stage (Pope, Pope, 1986). A study completed on this particular aspect showed that the ways female recruits are treated (as sex objects, defenceless, hysterical, trouble-makers, etc.) and trained are rooted in social causes and reveal an image that make policewomen unfit for patrol duty (Pike, 1985).

1.3 THEIR PLACE IN THE ORGANIZATION

The place that they hold in the organizational structure is a recurring question which, it seems, more or less justifies women's progress in the police field. Yet, almost 15 years after the adoption of anti-discrimination laws in the United States, a review of the issue revealed that, in 1978, this country had approximately 9,000 policewomen (Sulton, Townsey, 1981). More than 10 years later, in 1989, another study carried out as a follow-up to a 1984 review (Smith, 1982) found that a very small minority ever went beyond the constable rank and reached the rank and duties

of a supervisor (Martin, 1989). In 1989, the RCMP had approximately 30 policewomen who were ranked as corporals and policewomen in several units such as the tactical troop, training at the Regina Academy, etc. (Anonymous, 1989). In Ontario in the mid-eighties, policewomen made up only 2.7% of the personnel. One report explained that, in fact, very few police forces adopted special initiatives to hire women (Ontario, 1986). Furthermore, in cases where they happened to be members of police forces, they were mostly limited to the constable rank because of stereotypes connected with the policewoman's image but also because of the opportunities, or the lack thereof, provided by the organization (Price, 1985). According to a survey carried out among American police chiefs, women now have access to all lines of work; however, they excel in rape situations, child abuse and domestic violence (Lewis, 1993). In fact, policewomen are faced with internal organizational problems and not problems with citizens. They must confront stereotypes and prejudices conveyed by the public sphere. More often than not (some will say too often), they work at the reception counter or behind a desk or are involved in youth work or in special investigations.

Conversely, in Ontario, a study reported that, during the mid-eighties, 77% of policewomen were assigned to general police duties (Canada, 1986). The findings of the study suggest the production of recruiting policies for women as well as information programs for the general public regarding the need to hire competent women within police forces.

As a result of another study in the early eighties (and this is still relevant today), it was found that the status of women in the police would continue to remain marginalized as long as the recruiting policies and opportunities to go up the ladder are not significantly changed (Price, 1982).

2. THE IMAGE PROJECTED BY POLICEWOMEN

The images projected by policewomen are illustrated and reinforced by their own successes throughout their careers as well as by their male colleagues' perceptions.

2.1 THE IMAGES AND THE PERCEPTIONS

A recurring question that carries in its own way the stereotypes afflicting women has to do with their image and the way they are perceived as police officers. An investigation of the population reveals that women have a much more positive attitude toward policewomen and women in the work force than men (Koenig, Juni, 1981). On the same wavelength, a study with policemen showed that the perceptions of male colleagues, in the Southern United States, were that women did not have the required strength to tackle patrol duty, particularly when it came to violent occurrences. Men preferred to work with a male partner. The policewomen themselves felt they were less skilful in handling violent situations. However, it was said that the more a policeman worked with a policewoman, the more the attitudes were likely to turn in her favour (Vega, Silverman, 1982).

Policewomen are called upon, not only to fight crime but also to contest the negative attitudes and stereotypes of the feminine nature (Hernandez, 1982) and of policewomen in particular (Dreifus, 1980). Throughout her career, a policewoman must constantly negotiate her interactions with both male and female colleagues alike. Incidentally, little literature treats this issue. If she attempts to conform to the typical police image, it is said that policemen consider her in terms of the Madonna/whore stereotype (Feinman, 1980). This “defeminization” process, which, it goes without saying, is unique to women, can create conflicts not only in the work place but also in one’s family and private life (Berg, Budnick, 1986).

2.2 THE CAREERS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF POLICEWOMEN

Why become a policewoman and remain one? In other words, what are the factors that could positively influence women to join the police ranks and make a career of it? At the outset, it does not appear that there exists any dissimilarity between the motives of men and those of women in becoming police officers. For most, the will to serve one’s community and job security appear to be the most important factors. Likewise, the perceptions of men and women regarding the reasons why their colleagues joined the police ranks were noticeably the same, i.e. once again the will to serve one’s community (Meagher, Yentes, 1986). But why remain in the police? The most deciding factors for policewomen are the pay and social benefits linked to the job and the challenge that the work poses. Also, the opportunity for making a career is important but for those policewomen who have three years of service or less to their credit. Policewomen quickly realized that few of them were actually being promoted (Poole, Pogrebin, 1988). The limited promotion opportunities appear to be the deciding factor in leaving the field (Fry, 1983).

Moreover, a detailed research in the latter part of the eighties reviewed 12 aspects as they pertained to policewomen, i.e. their backgrounds, families, lifestyles, personalities, values, attitudes, professional interests and incentives and satisfaction, stress factors, traditional style of the police, ways of responding, social relationships outside the job, women's family-related roles, etc. (Lunneborg, 1989; Wehrle-Einhorn, 1980). It seems that all these aspects have to be connected to be able to keep policewomen in the profession, to facilitate their integration in the culture and to grant them promotions to senior management ranks.

3. THE SOURCES OF STRESS AND DISCRIMINATION

The sources of stress experienced by women stem from career circumstances in state organizations but more particularly within the context of police work.

3.1 THE PROBLEMS FACING POLICEWOMEN

Various job-related sources of stress were also identified. Research shows that women do have some clear advantages over men: they have less tendency to become alcoholics, they adapt quickly to change, they can withstand fatigue more easily, they are open-minded when it comes to their emotions, etc. In general, it seems that policewomen are more subject to stress as a result of their condition. In other words, policewomen feel more pressure while on and off duty because of the fact that they are women (Bass, 1982). Women, who are part of so-called visible minorities, experience this situation even more intensely (Townsey, 1982a; Washington, 1981).

On a personal basis women are expected to deal with the complex, and sometimes compelling roles, of workers, mothers, wives and heads of family. Faced with a lack of peer support at work they have to deal with the conflicting roles associated with the hostility on the part of their colleagues and all forms of harassment as well as the mixed responsibilities of fulfilling their obligations both at work and at home. Moreover, they have had to prove to themselves that they are as capable as their male colleagues, and this is particularly true for women who are promoted to supervisory positions (Wexler, Logan, 1983). On the other hand, it was said that career opportunities as well as success in police work could alleviate stress in comparison to other employment sectors for women (Pendergrass, Ostrove, 1984).

Furthermore, women's physical ability to assume police work continues to raise doubts (Townsey, 1981; Linden, 1983) which, in turn, becomes a source of stress. Even if that suggests all work being equal, the female employee category is considered less skilful and effective. Yet, the rationale which indicates that physical size equals strength and thus competence is dismissed by empirical research. Women are also capable of performing patrol duties, without running a greater risk of being wounded during altercations, even though they are obviously generally weaker than men, which is not to say that they are in poor physical condition (Grennan, 1987; Townsey, 1982b).

It is not wrong to say that policewomen have mixed feelings with regards to their actions, mostly because of the environment in which they work. However, they consider themselves just as efficient as their male counterparts (Davis, 1984). Equivalent training for both men and women and a joint training based on agility and dexterity skills coupled with alternative response techniques without resorting to physical force are recommended to compensate for their lack of physical strength (Charles, 1982; Horne, 1980; Patterson, 1980).

In a more subtle way, one study attempted to determine whether work distribution between policemen and policewomen was determined on the basis of accumulated work experience or on gender (Snortum, Beyers, 1983). It is obvious that the argument concerning the allocation of duties in light of the skills obtained through experience is once more a direct "opposition" to women working within the police structure.

3.2 THE DISCRIMINATION

Among the sources of stress, sex discrimination is the most disturbing and refined form. Policewomen find the integration into the police world difficult because, it is said, men feel threatened, particularly if they have to share roles of authority. (Stratton, 1986). These integration problems have been documented. They are reflected, for example, in the lack of support given by a supervisor to a policewoman, particularly when the latter is black, is in a crisis situation, or in the non-involvement of the police association to defend issues related to problems based on sexual differences. Whenever budget cuts are imposed, the first individuals to lose their jobs are, for the most part, women because they have less seniority (Dreifus, 1982). This particular situation illustrates in a glaring fashion how equity programs for minorities and women, set up to facilitate access to police work and to a career therein (Keefe, 1981), are subjected to the whims of political, budget and/or legislative constraints (Dreifus, 1982; Southgate, 1981).

These uncircumventable contingencies could thus be seen as a long term negative response to the existing legislated equity programs which paved the way for women but also for minorities. Without considering them failures, the fact remains that legislation is still one of the many ways of making it possible for women to penetrate the police organization (Potts, 1983; Atkinson, 1980) but not to eliminate gender-based discrimination. Thus, the structure of the police institution must also become involved. In this regard, as early as the '80's, a study concluded that policewomen had at least two ways of handling their very particular situation, with many of them adopting a form of behaviour that could be found somewhere between these two poles. A first one consisted in developing extreme compliance with the group's rules and regulations in performing one's duties. The second one placed greater emphasis on the standards of one's sex and a mitigated involvement in general police work (Martin, 1980). These models of adaptation stem not so much from a sexual difference as from the effects of an organizational structure which confirms gender-based differences. As long as the police organizations and the nature of police work are not being assessed and modified accordingly, in light of the male and female individuals who are members and constitute the very soul of these organizations, the traditional work barriers of the male nature cannot be eliminated (Price, Gavin, 1982; Martin, 1980).

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Here again, towards the late eighties, the issue of performance resurfaces. It is a question of assessing the front line female workers and those who have supervisory positions, who still constitute a very small minority, or the ones with training positions. Questioning performance was actually tantamount not so much in assessing the undeniable contribution of women to police work and culture as to quantitatively measuring the impact of their work. Because, from all indications, the presence of and the place that policewomen hold has had an impact on violence and the use of force, the machoism between fellow police officers, the desire for improved individual performance, etc. (VanWorkmer, 1981). The barriers which constitute the obstacles to the actual integration of women in the police stem from structural characteristics related to the duties and work organization and more generally to the manner in which the cultural issues and behavioural standards are connected to gender differences.

These relationships are reinforced in the police world. They must be taken into consideration during the training provided to prospective supervisors and leaders (Wexler, Quinn, 1985).

If women have definitely invaded the police work force, they still have to go up the ladder to reach

management positions. Towards the end of this decade, Martin's research (1989) showed that only a few women had succeeded in attaining the supervisory ranks in the United States, a situation which is no doubt comparable with those of Canada, the European countries and Australia.

Finally, the absolute gem, the exceptional person is the example shown by authors to illustrate how women have found their niche in the police (Lindsey 1983). Once in a while, a woman comes along and relates her experience, her problems and her achievements (Lancaster, 1983). One comment made by Glatzle and Fiore (1980) on one particular policewoman's success emphasized the fact that she was one of the women who had received the most awards in the United States. Does one have to be such an exceptional human being to be quoted as an example of one policewoman who has succeeded? That is the question.

PART THREE: THE NINETIES - THE DEFINITE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE POLICE

As we shall see, the research themes of this decade acknowledge the fact that women definitely have a place in the police. First of all, we must determine just exactly what this place is and secondly, is this place automatically granted or do women have to fight to obtain it and keep it?

A new category of questions has surfaced in the nineties. It is no longer a question of merely asking fellow male police officers or citizens in general what their perceptions of the policewoman are. Instead we must concentrate on those who are the main concern. How do they view themselves as women and as policewomen having besieged an occupational field that for the last thirty years has been reserved mostly for men.

1. THE POLICEWOMAN'S SELF-IMAGE

How do policewomen see themselves in relation to the obstacles they are faced with? A survey carried out among policewomen during the late eighties dealt with the general situation of women in the police. It turned out that the lower the number of policewomen, i.e. 10% or less, in a police force, the more likely policewomen were to be seen as women rather than policewomen. They state that quality work is recognized and given notice. They also claim that

they have a police style that differed from that of their male counterparts. However, it seems that the more policewomen accumulate years of experience, the less they are seen as women and the more they are seen as full-fledged fellow police officers. Policewomen with several years of experience under their belt feel that policing is a man's world, regardless of the amount of success achieved by a woman (Belknap, Shelley, 1993). This survey is important because of the approach that has been used, to wit that the authors had focussed on women without comparing them with their male counterparts. It is also important because of its findings, that those regarding the real impact of policewomen in the police is understood. This impact, which has already been discussed in other works, reflects the open-mindedness and greater flexibility of perspectives with respect to the scope of law enforcement (Martin, Levine, 1991). Such a finding shows, once again, that the place of policewomen has yet to be defined. How will police organizations succeed in tapping the full potential of their policewomen?

2. THE INTEGRATION PHENOMENON

The integration phenomenon requires a review of the following issues which pertain to the measures needed to keep policewomen in the organizations, the reasons why they are more inclined to leave than their male counterparts and the recruiting and promotion policies.

2.1 HOW CAN THEY BE RETAINED IN THE POLICE ORGANIZATION?

Such a question must necessarily be asked in the light of the problems experienced by policewomen and their very poor representation (Quebec, 1991), even if, in Canada, the numbers have definitely risen (Walker, 1993). It then becomes less a question of challenging the contribution of women in the police than of creating an environment in which retention policies are used, according to Silverberg (1994) and in which the women's potential will be tapped to the maximum, according to Sharp (1993). This means, for example, offering awareness programs on temperament and skill diversity, creating an environment in which each individual is responsible and must be held accountable for his/her actions, identifying and remedying any handicaps in women's work through training programs, and requiring a strict supervision on the supervisors' part (McCoy, 1993, Hale, 1992). In a way, it could be said that the ball is partly in the court of the senior managers, the police chiefs and their assistants, to make sure that the distinctive qualities of women are maximized and to give them equal opportunities to pursue their careers as their

male counterparts (McCoy, 1993). As one researcher has already noted, policewomen contribute specific skills and talents to their work, such as an interest in human relations. They have a lower propensity for provoking violence than men. In general, they get less public complaints. Yet, these qualities still create situations of alienation and frustration for themselves and confirm the difference in approaches used by policewomen as well as limit the scope of their actions. Policewomen reportedly still do not represent real police, or rather, represent a more complex and less physical form of policing (Schultz, 1993).

On a more practical note, special attention should be paid to career planning, acceptable maternity leave, work adjustments during pregnancy periods (to ensure that quality workers do not leave the police ranks), adequate parental leave, stimulating part time jobs, better access to daycare in the work place and to the practical aspects of police equipment such as uniforms, service revolvers that are specifically designed for women's hands, etc. (Higginbotham, 1993; Hirschman, 1993; Dene, 1992; Harman, 1990).

In order to carry on with their careers, policewomen must face a number of challenges, including establishing their credibility, fighting gender-related stereotypes, proving themselves in the eyes of the police organization, facing up to uneasy situations stemming from the male/female line relationship, living in isolation, overcoming personal problems and coping with sexual harassment (Silverberg, 1994).

2.2 WHY ARE THEY LEAVING?

Why are they leaving is a fundamental question because it suggests numerous answers concerning women's problems to adjust to and fit into police life. These answers are not simple because they refer not only to the police culture but to work and employment conditions that are governed by collective agreements.

The finding that women generally resign from police work more often during their career than men is still true. The main identified reasons are the attitudes of fellow police officers and supervisors, sexual harassment (More, 1992), family/career conflicts, and family and maternity issues (Silverberg, 1994).

A Canadian study involving four major police forces focussed on the causes of stress that can lead to such

consequences as quitting. The authors point out that policewomen on duty tend to be more satisfied than the ones who have left as a result of family/career conflicts. It seems that men are also beginning to feel pressure in this respect, as a result of the fact that family obligations are being increasingly shared by spouses. Furthermore, the sources of stress identified as being more specific to women are incompatibility with their partners, the announcement of an accidental death and duties with which they are little familiar. In the men's case, stress is associated with political pressure from the outside, attempts to go up the ladder in the organization and a heavy workload (Seagram, Stark-Adamec, 1992). As one can see, both policemen and policewomen identify sources of stress relating to duties in the organization but with results that are very different for both groups. An American study carried out among policemen and policewomen in small municipal forces on the same issue produced relatively similar results. The authors found that the sources of stress were relatively identical for both men and women with three exceptions in the latter's case, to wit being exposed to tragedies, assuming duties related to the security of the general public and fellow officers, and the fact of working in a male-dominated universe (Bartol, et al., 1992).

While the sources of stress are relatively similar for both men and women such as, for example, experiencing tragedies, others are linked more with policewomen and can be attributed to their insignificance or inferiority in the police organization.

2.3 THE RECRUITING AND PROMOTION POLICIES

In general, under affirmative action programs, where two people are of different genders but equally competent, the woman is given priority at recruiting; this has been considered a step in the right direction for women (Felkenes, Schroedel, 1993). Likewise, standards such as age and minimum weight have been abolished which is a boost to the selection and recruiting of women. Had it not been for such changes, there would not likely be as many women recruited, even though the present figures indicate that there is still a great deal of work to be done if their numbers are to increase (Walker, 1993). However, as a Canadian study shows, although there have been changes made with respect to the recruiting policies, which is a major breakthrough, the fact remains that 50% of the police forces contacted did not have any women assigned to recruiting duties (Walker, 1993).

Are affirmative action programs still needed in the mid-nineties? Just how effective are they? In the light of

the results of a research study carried out in the United States in 1978 and followed up in 1986, it seems that affirmative research programs, such as the cutback in government subsidies to law enforcement agencies that do not recruit women, have had a real and determining impact on the recruiting of women but not on their opportunities for advancement in the police organization, i.e. promotions (Martin, 1991). These programs are subject to the whims of budget constraints, the political context, the administrative structures (Felkenes, Schroedel, 1993). Another avenue is the one followed by Great Britain which has set up two government agencies, i.e. *The Commission for Racial Equality* and *The Equal Opportunities Commission* to hear complaints and take remedial action. Yet, the results reveal that very few cases have ever been taken to court. This approach seems less effective than the affirmative action programs and mainly implies that a police force should be sufficiently disciplined to impose sanctions against any discriminatory behaviour and practice within its walls (McKenzie, 1993).

3. THE WOMEN'S ROLE IN POLICING

During this decade, the women's police role has again been researched, as it was in each of the preceding decades, not so much to see whether they do in fact have a role but to assess how it is perceived. Women's participation in the police is still objected to with women being required to prove their effectiveness, regardless of their responsibilities (House, 1993).

A re-assessment of an investigation carried out among female and male recruits in Great Britain reveals that men feel that a woman's place is with her family. Here again, because of a lack of physical strength and, consequentially, the dangers posed by situations involving violence, policewomen are looked upon in a negative light by police officers (Fielding, Fielding, 1992). If, as it seems, the total integration of women as full-fledged workers depends on their acceptance by their male counterparts, which appears to be doubtful judging by the results of the evaluation, it is also obvious that the public has to support women in this area. A relatively recent survey confirmed what other studies had shown during the previous decades to the effect that the public supports policewomen because they help create constructive interactions between the police and the general public (Jacobs, 1992).

Another American study confirmed that women's performance is equal to men's. However, their absence is still evident in leadership positions, a problem that will in all likelihood sort itself out, once policewomen have accumulated the years of experience required to gain access thereto. However, it is also said that policewomen are

still experiencing problems in the promotion process. This situation can be attributed to the police culture and the informal pressures of the people in place (CJ, 1991). The same question was reviewed by a Canadian researcher. She found that women had started making their way to the lower supervisory rungs, particularly in the major police forces. However, they had yet to reach the senior management ranks, with a few exceptions. It seems that the performance evaluation measures for the promotion programs need to be re-assessed (Walker, 1993).

4. MINORITIES AMONG MINORITIES

Minorities among minorities is an issue which remains basically untouched. According to an American study, black policewomen are confronted with two problems that are intertwined and difficult to dissociate, i.e. the fact that they happen to be both women and black. Problems are reflected in career prospects, structural barriers and their day-to-day duties. Yet, discrimination problems are experienced by most policewomen, whether they are white or black. However, black policewomen are more directly affected by discrimination as it relates to their colour (61% of black women responding to the survey), and also their gender (48%) (Martin, 1994). Martin found that in general, there is little solidarity among women to handle this particular problem. She also added that black women experience unique problems because of their condition. Furthermore, another study found that non-white women are exposed to discriminatory practices from the time they begin basic recruit training. Because there are even fewer black women if compared to the number of white, a high percentage of them do not complete their training (Felkenes, Schroedel, 1993).

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Judging by these references, policewomen are about to become partners in the field of law enforcement. While they were considered unsuitable in the seventies because of their gender, research results clearly show that a certain number of conditions must be met, not only by senior level managers, but also by supervisors and fellow officers to ensure that policewomen are given the same opportunities for fulfilment in their day-to-day activities, for planning their careers and for attaining the top levels in the organization. In fact, police management should not be

restricted to the very few exceptions among policewomen but, instead, it should become an equal opportunity challenge for both men and women.

PART FOUR - THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND STUDIES - TEACHINGS AND REFLECTIONS

This final part shall be brief. It deals with a subject matter that could easily become a research topic in itself.

This part differs from the previous ones in the sense that, until now, did not fit into the chronological order that we had chosen to explain the situation of women in the police. Indeed, by definition, historical studies place analytic facts in perspective by taking a step back and consider how these works have been structured over time. Questions similar to the ones

already discussed during the past three decades are resurfacing. However, the way in which authors discuss and analyse influences one to examine certain targeted factors in a different light.

1. THE EXCEPTIONAL WOMAN

Generally speaking, the reference material depicts an exceptional woman, i.e. someone who, because of her perseverance, character and motivation, has managed to surmount the barriers created by police institutions and the male culture. More often than not, the exceptional woman is named and her rank assigned. In fact, the material is littered with enough examples to convince us that women have always been associated with the police in spite of perceptions to the contrary and elements confirming the opposite.

For example, it is stated in a recent publication (Gendinfo, 1995) that in 1792 Marie Charpentier became the first female member of the "Gendarmerie" in Paris, thanks to a revolutionary document that stipulated that bearers of the "brevet de vainqueur de la Bastille" could join the 37th Division of the "Gendarmerie à pied", which she undoubtedly did. There was also the case of Alice Stebbins Wells, the first American woman, in 1910, to ever be called a policewoman and to have the powers of arrest vested in her (House, 1993).

2. THE WOMEN'S ROOTS IN POLICING

The women's roots in policing are interpreted differently by American and British authors. However, regardless of how the origins of the women's involvement is interpreted, the fact remains that, ever since they joined the police, women have had to put up with problems that can be directly attributed to their gender (Bell, 1982).

From an American standpoint, the arrival of women in the police corresponds directly to crime prevention among children.

The involvement of women in policing in the United States dates as far back as the middle of the previous century, but in limited duties. The City of New York engaged its first police matron in 1845. At the beginning of the century, Lola Baldwin was the first woman to use the powers of arrest against women and children (Hamilton, 1971). 1910 was a special year. It was the year when the first policewoman was recognized as such (Price, Gavin, 1982). By the end of the First World War, more than 200 American cities had women on their payroll (House, 1993). In the meantime, the *International Association of Women Police* was founded. In spite of this relative success, women were still to be subjected for a long time to selection quotas and discrimination (Mishkin, 1981). They were to achieve success in every sector of law enforcement as well as in various squads (investigations, mounted police, airport policing, dog patrol, crowd control, etc.) before being appreciated for their work (Fry, 1983; Smith, 1982).

In Great Britain, the roots of the women's movement in the police were seen as being directly tied to the women's volunteer military organizations moulded in the finest puritanical tradition of the late XIXth Century. They were also tied to the suffragette organizations which fought for the women's right to vote. In 1914, this women's movement led to the creation, among other things, of the *Women's Police Service* volunteer organization which, in turn, led to the introduction of women into the police in order to provide equal treatment to women confronted with the justice system and to children (Judge, 1989; Amidon, 1986; Lock, 1979). In the wake of this movement, Scotland Yard set up a separate patrol women's unit, which was considered a triumph for policewomen (Hoffman, Perlstein, 1978). Subsequently, the Second World War made it possible for women to join the work force, including the police (Dene, 1992).

Initially, well before their massive influx in police ranks, the policewomen's role resided in the powers

inherent to their duties. In other words, it was a question of defining tasks pertaining to law enforcement and requiring powers of arrest, or of a peace officer. These tasks which revolved around the crime prevention model in which women were said to excel by definition (Appier, 1992), were restricted at the start, and for a long time afterwards, to a category of people, i.e. women and children.

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Historical studies have the advantage of putting relevant facts in perspective. They more or less make the lack of pertinent information on this subject relative.

They show that, over the years of integration attempts, women encountered constant problems in being accepted into the profession. Until the eighties or almost, they were given limited police duties. The nature of police work, the culture of policemen and the social attitudes in general proved to be major stumbling blocks not only to their integration but also to their success as peace officers.

CONCLUSION

Women are faced with an organizational structure that limits them in many ways. We have seen that the roles of policewomen, including their performance, their competence and their ability to enforce the law have been reviewed at great length. Furthermore, their image, the perceptions of male colleagues, including supervisors, citizens in general and women, were also discussed on more than one occasion. Finally, their careers, experiences and levels of advancement were also researched during each decade. At this point in time we can deduct that women's roles, images and careers are intertwined into a triangular relationship which is firm and impervious to any outside influences. In other words, a policewoman is positioned in the middle of this triangle, giving her access to the police organization but, at the same time, imposing restrictions on her when it comes to its contingencies.

One controversial issue concerns the challenge of women's roles in the police, i.e. must they be considered first as women or as policewomen? In fact, such a question has never been reviewed as such with regards to police officers in general, seeing that men are an integral part of police work. Yet, with the arrival of women and their final integration in the police field, questions have been raised as to who they really are, what some call their femininity, what others have considered as having to do with the stereotypes found in society. This type of questioning highlights the positive contribution of policewomen, not only to their work, but also to the police culture, since they do make an undeniable contribution, which as we have seen came to light with the research results of the nineties. If, as we have correctly assumed, a policewoman can also be a wife and mother at the same time, i.e. combine two careers, one professional and one personal, it appears fitting that women in police organizations are preoccupied with obtaining working conditions that are more reflective of living conditions in the late nineties and understandably are becoming priorities for them, and undoubtedly also for policemen. It can then be assumed that one of women's contributions as officers is to crush the massive and weighty organization's structure, that incidently is considered cumbersome and fixed in traditional values, in order to progress in the right direction.

It appeared obvious, and it was deemed necessary to remark in the research, that women have run into technical difficulties while trying to adjust to problems that had nothing to do with their competence but that had a direct influence on the results of their performance. For example, the use of a service revolver designed for a man's hand poses a major problem that can easily be resolved by replacing it with one that is more tailored to the needs of a woman. Besides helping women by providing them with suitable equipment, these revelations can be a means

of fighting prejudices related to the weaker sex and to the substandard performance of women.

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