

“DOING GENDER” OR “DOING POLICING?”

GENDER IDENTITY AND GENDER ROLE

BELIEFS AMONG POLICE OFFICERS

by

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all the dear friends that have supported me through my time as a master's student at Texas State University. A special thanks to my roommate and best friend, Griffin Gregor for tolerating all the midnight trips to procure caffeine (the real hero of this story), endless heaps of articles, and the usual carryings on that go with writing a thesis. I would also like to extend my thanks to all my fellow officemates, Matt Morgan, Billy Sandel, Stephanie Foster, and Brianna Murphy. The endless amounts of pranks, philosophical discussions, and laughter have made the hardship of completing a graduate degree a pleasant and memorable experience. I will always remember our brilliant idea of rolling chair jousting to cure afternoon boredom, which resulted in breaking Matt and the chair. May you all be successful and fulfilled in your future endeavors.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study is to increase understanding of the gender identity and gender role beliefs of male and female police officers. Officers were asked to complete the Personal Attributes Questionnaire and the Attitudes Towards Women scale in order to assess their gender identity and role beliefs. Results indicated that male officers held more egalitarian gender identities, self-identifying as having equally masculine and feminine qualities. Female officers tended to view themselves as having more feminine qualities. A majority of officers held contemporary gender role beliefs, although females were more likely than males to hold traditional gender role beliefs. Both male and female officers adhered to traditional gender ideology in relation to roles for men and women in marriage and dating. Male officers' gender identities were more likely to be egalitarian than masculine; this may be the product of a police department's style of policing. Community policing emphasizes stereotypically feminine attributes. Because policing is a male-dominated profession, female officers may feel threatened and over-present feminine qualities and role beliefs in order to assert their identity as women. Overall, the results suggest a complex interplay between gender and police identity that requires further research.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Until recently studies in criminal justice and criminology have used the terms sex and gender interchangeably. Gender is a far more complex concept than simply describing the biological sex of a male or female. Rather, gender is a socially constructed concept that is used to distinguish between what a culture, society, or social institution describes as masculine or feminine. Sex, the product of an individual's chromosomes, is a state of being that remains static over time. However, gender is a dynamic characteristic that may be altered, or even rejected, by the individual themselves or society as a whole which makes it an unstable personal characteristic. Researchers are beginning to investigate the complexities that gender brings to the way police officers interact with themselves as well as with the public.

Social institutions within societies further encourage the “doing of gender.”¹ Religious, educational, and labor institutions are also environments that shape how people “do gender,” in that environment as well as in society as a whole. Workplaces, especially for particular occupations, are zones for social construction of gender, both reinforcing and redefining the culture's gender definitions. The organizational structure of workplaces is assumed to be gender-neutral, partially as a result of anti-discrimination laws and policies. However, organization structure is inextricably tied to gender and the reproduction of gender role norms (Cockburn, 1985). Work environments construct gender in various ways. Acker (1990) outlines the process by which organizational structure fosters gender in the workplace. The first of which is dividing up labor or

¹ “Doing gender” is a theoretical perspective of gender as a psycho-social construction rather than a physiological attribute.

assignments along gendered lines. Generally, this is accomplished under the guise of men and women being naturally suited to certain types of tasks beyond the simple dichotomy of work sphere versus domestic sphere. Second, employees are socialized into these roles within the workplace through gendered imagery and ethos. Finally the division of labor and socialization through imagery produces a gender social hierarchy that perpetually reinforces the gendered structure of the organization. Essentially, the workplace structure is a product of gender roles while in the same instance reproduces societal expectations and constructions of gender roles.

All of the ways in which organizations produce and reproduce gender are present in police organizations. Police organizational, or “canteen culture,” is based primarily on masculinity and machismo, creating a myriad set of workplace rules and codes new officers must navigate. Fielding (1994) notes that the police canteen culture represents the purest form of hegemonic masculinity through

(1) aggressive, physical action; (2) a strong sense of competitiveness and preoccupation with the imagery of conflict; (3) exaggerated heterosexual orientations, often articulated in terms of misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes towards women; and (4) the operation of rigid in-group/out-group distinctions whose consequences are strongly exclusionary.” (Fielding, 1995:47)

Police officers who do not fit the stereotypical police model, due to being female, homosexual, or an ethnic minority, will sometimes suppress personal attributes or behaviors in order to conform to the model that has been set out for them. Such an environment makes gender a barrier to women’s advancement in law enforcement careers.

Gender ideology also presents a barrier to civilian women seeking criminal justice services. Gender ideology has the potential to affect the way police officers make decisions about criminal investigations and arrests, particularly when it involves crimes aimed at women. One common reason women give for not reporting rape or sexual assaults are fear of not being believed, being shamed, and further victimization by police personnel and other actors in the criminal justice system (Ahrens, Campbell, Ternice-Thames, Wasco, & Self, 2007; Patterson, Greeson, & Campbell, 2009). Alderden and Ullman's (2012) study of gender and detectives' decision to arrest in sexual assault cases revealed that both male and female police officers were less likely to arrest if they had high rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance was astoundingly high among the 400 officers that participated in the study, particularly among officers who lacked any college education. Even more surprising is that the female police officers were as likely as males to accept rape myths (Alderden & Ullman, 2012).

Further research suggests that harsh attitudes and behavior toward victims of domestic violence and sexual assault are not held just by male officers with rape myth beliefs, but are also pervasive among female officers (Rich & Seffrin, 2012; Wentz & Archbold, 2012). In the general population, higher rape myth acceptance has been linked with sexist attitudes towards women as well as traditional gender role ideology (Aosved & Long, 2006; Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997). Attitudes toward women and acceptance of rape myths are primarily founded on gender stereotypes of how men and women think and behave.

Police officers often, consciously or unconsciously, factor gender into decisions to arrest and process women who violate the law. Earlier arguments regarding why women

were under represented as offenders was tied with men's socialization to protect and respect lady-like women, leading male police officers to be more lenient when it comes to formally arresting women (Pollak, 1950; Feinman, 1986). Visher (1983) found that chivalry comes into play only for upper to middle class white women who exhibited behaviors and characteristics in line with socially accepted gender roles for women. Women who were racial or ethnic minorities and those women who deviated from socially acceptable gender norms were not afforded the same chivalry (Visher, 1983). Further research indicates that women are arrested, and consequently convicted, for less severe offenses than their male counterparts. Both girls and women who exhibit antisocial (i.e. unfeminine) behaviors are more vulnerable to arrest for minor infractions than those who do not (Jadani, Sadeh, & Verona, 2011). However, these studies are relatively few and have no specific data as to the gender ideology of the police officers making the arrest decisions, leaving some questions unanswered.

Gender also factors into female police officers' experiences in police academies and law enforcement agencies in the United States. Recent studies have documented female officers' experiences with gender ideology, sexism, and barriers to advancement through the course of their careers (Morash & Haarr, 2012). Women have recounted systematic isolation and sexual harassment from male colleagues and supervisors (Chaiyavej & Morash, 2009, Prokos & Padavic, 2002), as well as segregation from what is considered "real" police work (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). The result of a hyper masculine environment's strong emphasis on sexual harassment and discrimination contributes to male police officers' gender beliefs about women and further place obstacles in the way of female officers' advancement. Clearly gender identity and

acceptance of traditional gender role stereotypes is an important avenue of research that has been left unexplored at present.

In spite of the role that gender plays in the American criminal justice system, there is a gap in the literature regarding how police officers score on gender identity and gender attitude scales. While the previous studies in feminist criminology have given some insight into the experiences and gender ideology that police officers hold, there are some glaring limitations that have yet to be overcome. A particular problem is that all previous research used interview methods, which could not be reliably reproduced, as opposed to survey methods. Content of the interview questions sometimes limited respondents. For example, studies that questioned female officers on gender identity were often constrained to the gender stereotypical typologies created by male officers rather than a method whereby the female officers could be assessed for their true gender identity and beliefs.

Previous research of police officers and gender has been limited to interviews focused on the experiences and identities held by only female police officers. Particularly absent from the literature are the gender beliefs and identities of male officers, making a comparison between men and women's views of gender in the policing environment problematic. Also of note is that such research has not employed traditional survey or psychometric instruments from sociology and psychology to gauge beliefs about gender. This thesis aims to lessen the information gap by providing insight as to the beliefs about gender and gender identity among male and female police officers. An understanding of police officers' gender identity and attitudes towards gender role stereotypes is

fundamental to understanding their behavior towards women in all facets of the criminal justice system.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This research is guided by several primary questions regarding gender beliefs and identity among police officers. Do police officers have gender identities that match their biological sex? Do police officers have traditional or contemporary beliefs about gender roles? What factors, other than the respondent's sex, contribute to traditional or contemporary gender identity? What factors, other than the respondent's sex, contribute to traditional or contemporary beliefs about gender roles? These questions will be addressed by the follow set of hypotheses:

Hypothesis #1: Male and Female police officers will have gender identities that correspond with their biological sex.

Hypothesis #2: Male officers will have more traditional beliefs about gender roles; Female officers will have more contemporary² beliefs about gender roles.

Hypothesis #3: An officer's gender identity will be related to their gender role beliefs. Those officers with masculine or feminine gender identities will have more traditional beliefs about gender roles; Egalitarian officers will have more contemporary beliefs about gender roles.

Hypothesis #4: Age, level of education, race/ethnicity, religious affiliation, rank, and marital status will all be correlated with gender identity.

² Contemporary beliefs refers to gender role ideology that views men and women as equally suited to all roles in society. Further defining will be done in the methods section.

Hypothesis #5: Age, level of education, race/ethnicity, religious affiliation, rank, and marital status will all be correlated with beliefs about gender roles.

Structure of Thesis

Chapter II presents past and contemporary research on gender beliefs, identities, and attitudes in criminal justice. The three sections address women's history in the law enforcement profession, pre and postmodern feminist gender theory, and the relationship between police culture, gender, and female officers. Chapter III discusses the data collection methods used, outlining the particulars of the survey instruments, as well as the validity of these instruments. Chapter IV is devoted to the results of this study, including graphical and statistical representations of the sample's responses. Chapter V situates the results of this thesis within the context of the current literature in criminal justice, as well as other closely related fields of study. Also the last section of Chapter V will examine the limitations of this study. Last, Chapter VI presents the overall conclusions of the finding in this thesis, and makes suggests as to the direction of future research in this area of criminal justice.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

This study is concerned with male and female police officers' gender identities and beliefs about gender stereotypes. The first section of this literature review is an overview of women's entry and advancement in law enforcement, beginning with their early traditional roles up to women's presence in modern law enforcement. Particular attention is given to gendered job expectations as well as to legal advances in workplace equality and protection. The second section explores classic, modern, and postmodern feminist theory pertaining to the construction of gendered identities. The specifics of stereotypes and sexism are discussed as well as how these processes hinder women's ability to advance. The final section explores police organization culture and the effect that it has on the construction, or deconstruction, of masculinity and femininity.

History of Women in Policing

The progression of women in policing follows the same pattern of women's entry into other traditionally male occupations. Women's first emergence as workers in the American criminal justice system came in the form of prison matrons who supervised female prisoners. This persisted from the 1820s up to the 1930s. Prison matrons were generally upper class, Quaker women who volunteered to assist with incarcerated women and children. Their roles as prison matrons were for practical as well as moralistic reasons. The prison matrons were genuinely concerned about the safety of female inmates, a concern justified by early sex scandals involving male guards. However, the prison matrons were also concerned with the morality of female inmates, providing them with spiritual and domestic skills training. These prison matrons' roles were far from

challenging the gender roles of the time period, if anything; these matrons were reinforcing gender stereotypical behavior for themselves as well as female inmates (Joseph & Taylor, 2003).

In the early 1900s the Women's Christian Temperance Union lobbied against what some perceived to be corrupt moral and social practices in post-Civil War America; specifically alcohol use. These women's campaign efforts resulted in the creation of police matrons in some cities. These positions were similar to prison matrons; their main task was caring for women and children that were either in police custody or had sought refuge at a police station. Lola Baldwin was the first female to be sworn in as a policewoman on April 1st, 1908 for Portland, Oregon's municipal police (Myers, 1995). However, Baldwin's work, as well as other policewomen of the social reform era, was not similar to her sworn male counterparts' work. Early roles for policewomen emphasized tasks more akin with those of modern social work and public health.

These new policewomen, while sworn, refused the uniforms and firearms that were standard of policemen. The title of 'policewoman' was begrudgingly accepted by the women only because they believed that it provided them with the authority with which to accomplish their work. These early policewomen were primarily concerned with the morality of certain segments of America, particularly focusing on social vices such as alcohol, gambling, and female promiscuity. Along with the social work aspect of their roles, they were also able to offer preventative help and intervene in instances of women and children's delinquency (Schulz, 1995a, p. 84). However, their efforts were not well received by those they sought to help nor by city and police officials.

Female police officers' "help" was directed to uneducated, lower-class or immigrant women and youth. Rather than policing crimes, the policewomen policed social behavior, and, to an extent, gender roles. The Social Reform Era, and consequently the first wave of policewomen, prioritized the policing and prevention of female sexual delinquency. However, the spectrum of behavior that fell within their definition of delinquency varied widely as Myers' (1995, p. 76) sums up: "Although some delinquent girls literally were sex offenders, others simply offended their sex." Criminal activity such as prostitution or running away from home could result in a girl being labeled a sexual delinquent. The expanded definition of delinquency encompassed behaviors such as using foul language, dressing outside of conventional norms, and being sexually active. Early policewomen were very much involved in policing gender, ensuring that girls adhered to societal gender norms, rather than policing crime (Chesney-Lind, 1995; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2004). This one-sided enforcement of morality placed greater formal and informal social controls on women's behavior, restricting their personal autonomy.

Women labeled as morally corrupt or criminally delinquent were viewed as unnatural, as either completely evil, mentally ill or as something other than a woman (Balfour & Comack, 2006; Klein, 1973). Intervention and prevention of delinquency in women, particularly when a woman acted outside of gender norms, could be dealt with in several ways. For slight moral transgressions female-to-female mentorship with a policewoman was a means to reestablish correct gender norms. Mentorship also addressed basic housing and job needs, female offenders were often taught domestic skills to prepare them to work on their own. However, more severe violations of morality

and gender norms could result in a girl being institutionalized in a mental asylum for extended supervision (Corsianos, 2009). As could be expected, the women that the social reform era policewomen aimed to help were less than thrilled by the attention.

These newly minted policewomen were not so much accepted by male police officers and city officials as they were simply tolerated. Policewomen requested and were given separate stations, believing that women's crime problems were the result of exposure to the corruption and violence of men. These work accommodations were grudgingly made, but resistance to policewomen was relatively slight. Outright resistance was avoided because these women were not attempting to violate the gender status quo or to seek assignment equality with male policemen. The social work assignments they selected for themselves were assignments that policemen did not want, making the initial entrance of women into policing non-threatening (Corsianos, 2009)..

As world war erupted in 1914, the dynamics of the American workforce changed, adapting to an increase in women entering the public labor sphere. Census data from 1930 revealed that 1,534 women served as police officers in approximately 175 cities (Shultz, 1995b). Also during this time the first professional organization for police women, the International Association of Women Police (IAWP), was chartered in Washington, D.C. in 1916. The IAWP held their first election of officers in 1927 and focused their attention on crime prevention among youth and women as their early predecessors had done. By the 1940 census, the number of women in policing dropped dramatically down to approximately 500 women (Shultz, 1995b). Some scholars theorize that the decline was in part due to the veterans returning from World War I as well as the shift in police personnel taking on more crime fighting qualities. World War II did little

to advance women in policing. While the war efforts required women to fill positions left vacant by men, policing was not among the professions that experienced a large influx of women. While police did hire some women to complete administrative tasks as well as work with women and children, they were never meant to be replacements of male patrol officers (Shultz, 1995a). It was not until the mid-1960s that women were allowed to join their male counterparts in non-administrative police work.

A series of legislative acts and court rulings in the 1960s and 1970s advanced women's ability to seek the same assignments and advancement in their careers as their male peers. One of the first challenges to employment inequality came in *Shpritzer v. Lang* (1961). Felicia Shpritzer, a highly educated former teacher, filed a civil suit on behalf of herself and other women that were denied the right to take the sergeant's exam at New York City Police Department. The lower court, as well as the New York Supreme Courts Appellate Division, found in favor of Shpritzer resulting in 126 women at the department being allowed to take the sergeant's exam. The Appellate Court held that denying the petitioners the ability to take promotion exams on the basis of their sex was discrimination and violated the equal protection clause of the United States and New York state constitutions. Shpritzer and her co-plaintiff, Gertrude Schimmel, were both promoted to the rank of sergeant in 1967, and were both further promoted to the rank of lieutenant (Schulz, 1995a).

Women were afforded greater protection through legislation, beginning with Congress passing the Equal Pay Act in 1963. The Equal Pay Act prohibited pay differences for equal work, particularly prohibiting pay discrepancy based on personal characteristics of the employee. However, the Equal Pay Act provided that pay

discrimination based on seniority or a merit system was exempt from the law, thus the Act proved of little help to women who had little seniority when compared with their male counterparts of this time and subjective merit points rarely ended up being distributed favorably to female applicants for promotion. Further protection came a year later with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that made it illegal for employers to use sex as well as race and national origin as a means of discrimination in employment practices. The anti-discrimination restrictions of Civil Rights Act of 1964 were restricted to the private sector of the job market, government agencies were exempted. The exemption was short lived as President Richard Nixon issued Executive Order 11478 in 1969, which made it illegal for the federal government to discriminate on the basis of sex or race as an employer. Nixon's order also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as a means of enforcing and regulating antidiscrimination policies (Executive Order 11478, 1969). Police departments at the state levels were further compelled to alter their hiring practices when Congress passed the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. The new act, under the direction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, extended the anti-discrimination Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to include government employment at all levels.

Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal Robinson were assigned to regular patrol duties in Indianapolis, Indiana in 1968. Both women were the first to be equipped with firearms as well as to engage in police tasks comparable with their male counterparts (Schulz, 1995a). Opportunities for women within policing were enhanced further with the Crime Control Act of 1973 which amended the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (1968). The new act added provisions which prohibited agencies that received Law

Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds from discrimination based on sex. Noncompliance with LEAA employment guidelines resulted in funding being withheld.

Further protections were extended to women in the American workforce through United States Supreme Court cases such as *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (1971) and *Meritor Savings Bank FSB v. Vinson* (1986) that addressed hiring practices and sexual harassment. The Court held in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (1971) that under Title VII job requirements, standardized or fitness tests must be used to measure a candidate's aptitude to perform specific occupational tasks. Standardized tests, physical fitness tests, and educational requirements had been used as a means to eliminate potential employees based on race or sex, but after these rulings, the tests or requirements needed to be related to "bona fide occupational qualifications." The Court also noted that the burden of proving such job requirements were not discriminatory fell upon the defendant rather than the plaintiff.

In *Meritor Savings Bank FBS v. Vinson* (1986) Mechelle Vinson argued that her rights under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were violated by the hostile work environment that was created by constant sexual harassment and assault by her supervisor. The Supreme Court held that discrimination, as defined in Title VII, does not pertain to simply discrimination in hiring or promotion decisions. Hostile work environments due to sexual harassment could rise to the level of sex discrimination, and, therefore, fell under the purview of Title VII. The legal theory that supported sexual harassment as employment-related sex discrimination was that either quid pro quo sexual harassment (the victim was threatened with the loss of her job or promotion if she did not engage in a sexual relationship or sex-related act), or hostile work environment (where

the egregiousness or pervasiveness of sexually oriented harassment made the individual likely to quit her job) was similar, in effect, to not hiring or promoting the victim based on her sex.

Despite these efforts to level the employment opportunities, the percentage of women in policing is nowhere near representative of the percent of women in the population. Women are also underrepresented in leadership roles in policing. In 1986 women represented 8.8 percent of law enforcement officers and 3.3 percent of supervisory positions (Martin 1989, p. 24). However, these percentages varied by city, and department size. The largest cities had the greatest numbers of women serving as officers and supervisors, whereas the lowest percentages were in small cities serving less than 50,000 citizens.

According to the United States Department of Labor, in 2011 approximately 58.6 percent of the 123 million women ages 16 years or older were a part of the workforce. These 72 million women made up 47 percent of the total United States workforce (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011, p. 31). However, women make up only 15.2 percent of all sworn law enforcement personnel (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010, p. 2). Disaggregating employment data by department size and type shows further disparity between male and female sworn officers. In 2007 women accounted for only 12 percent of sworn officers at local level police departments, 11.2 percent of sheriffs' offices and 6.5 percent of state police or highway patrol agencies (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010, p. 3). Even at the largest police departments in the country, women still remain under represented. New York City has more than 36,000 sworn personnel, the largest police department in the United States, but women only represent 17 percent of sworn police

officers. The city with the highest percentage of women as sworn personnel is Detroit with 27 percent of their sworn personnel being female (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010, p. 3).

Social Construction of Gender

One cannot approach gender perceptions among police officers without first examining feminist literature discussing power, cultural construction and the politics of the body. Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* (1979) discussed human bodies as political fields, being inscribed and molded by power relations. For Foucault, discipline and power are the primary mechanisms that carefully produce docile bodies, or bodies that can easily be manipulated and transformed. Docile bodies are made through institutional discipline and self-discipline directed by social and cultural norms. Discipline is instilled in an individual through rules of communication and behavior by institutions that have power over them, such as schools or workplaces. Eventually the individual internalizes the institution's discipline and polices their behavior without prompting. Foucault likened power to the panopticon prison structure designed by Jeremy Bentham, in which the cells are placed around a central guard tower. A guard in the tower has the ability to monitor the inmates in their cells, but the inmates are not afforded the same surveillance abilities. Power is omnipresent and renders the inmates docile, policing their own appearance and behavior even in the absence of the panoptic gaze (Foucault, 1979).

Foucault's concepts of the panoptic gaze can be observed in the interactions of women, femininity, and patriarchal culture. Western society views sex as a dichotomy between "male" and "female" and gender as a dichotomy between "man" and "woman"

or “masculine” and “feminine” (Lorber, 1994). However, neither sex nor gender is a pure category. Sex, the product of an individual’s chromosomes, hormone chemistry, and physiology, is a state of being that remains static over time. However, gender is a socially constructed concept that is used to distinguish between what a culture or society describes as masculine or feminine (Connell 1992). Gender is a dynamic characteristic that may be altered, or even rejected, by the individual themselves or society as a whole which makes it an unstable personal characteristic (Butler, 1990).

Women’s subjugation in patriarchal cultures takes place through gendered stereotypes of femininity based on perceived biological differences that have been perpetuated through a false dichotomist paradigm. Aristotle viewed the female body as afflicted with “natural defectiveness,” and St. Thomas Aquinas regarded women as the mentally and biologically inferior versions of men, terming them “misbegotten male” (Tseëlon, 1995, p. 11). Susan Bordo (1993) argues that female bodies, and the myths surrounding them, are at the center of the social construction of femininity. Gender as a social construction comes out of the social constructionism school of thought. Social constructionism argues that everything that a society takes as a natural fact is not reality at all, but rather the result of social phenomena.

Goffman (1976; 1959) argues that social and cultural norms have fabricated differences between men and women that society takes as natural law. Furthermore, gender is a false dichotomy that cannot be used to categorize or constrain individuals. In Goffman’s view, gender is a performance between the individual and their social environment. These performances are dependent on how the actor perceives themselves in addition to how they believe that society perceives them, as in Charles Horton

Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self." The looking glass self refers to the idea that individuals see themselves as they believe others perceive them to be. These differences between society's expectations and the actor's perceptions results in the "front-stage" and "back-stage" identities. The public image that an actor gives off is the front-stage; in essence the actor is performing what they believe that society wants to see. However, the back-stage is where the actor prepares the front-stage identity, hiding any characteristics that run contrary to society's perceptions (Goffman, 1959). Goffman's theory supports the idea that individuals can have, at the least, two different socially constructed identities.

Judith Butler (1990) in *Gender Trouble*, argues that gender is a performance by an individual that chooses to either adhere to socially constructed gender norms or deviate from norms. Previous theories of gender as performance highlighted that a person's gender expression revealed their true identities, regardless of their sex, through social conditioning. The way one carries herself (or himself), performs social rituals, or dresses is a constructed display of masculinity, femininity, or androgyny. However, such identities are subject to maintenance and transformation through social institutions.

Gender is socially perpetuated through virtually all aspects of human life. West and Zimmerman (1987) have nicknamed the everyday social production and reinforcement of gender as "doing gender". Doing gender is the daily subjection to culturally prescribed gender roles through social interactions. This process begins even before a child is born. Once the sex of a fetus is known then the cultural construction of their gender begins. The process of "doing gender" is continued throughout life by a strict code of conduct, behaving as masculine or feminine, which is ascribed to an individual

depending on their sex. Traditionally gendered conceptions of how a man should behave includes showing strength and leadership skills outside of the domestic sphere. In contrast, women are socially expected to be feminine, embodying traits such as compassion and gentleness. Their behavior should be the opposite of masculinity. This dichotomy that culture has created between the sexes has also created an unequal balance between men and women.

Gender roles are expressions of, as well as justification for, power inequalities between men and women (Eagly, 1987). Patriarchal cultures place pressure on individuals to conform to gender roles that match their sex, although pressure is almost always disproportionately placed on women. The pressures can still be seen in present society as women are still faced with the glass ceiling, little job protection when it comes to maternity issues, as well as continued regulation of their bodies and choices. Women present an enigma to men in a patriarchal setting in that they are both a threat due to unconstrained sexuality, but are also desired for companionship and procreation (Bailey, 1993; de Beauvoir, 1988). Therefore women must be socially restrained and are encouraged to remain conservative in appearance and conserve their energies for marriage and childrearing. Previous research on gender stereotypes argues that they have been constructed from the traditional division of labor, women confined to the private space of the home and men, being the breadwinners, being assigned to the public sphere. The stereotypes constructed from these divisions of labor depict women as nurturing and emotive whereas men are ambitious and assertive (Bailey, 1993). Being non-categorical or identifying with a gender that does not match your biological sex troubles

the social order. Any violations of perceived norms, regardless of the degree of severity, receives swift and severe backlash from society.

Normative violence may include physical violence, abuse of the justice system, or any other forceful action that is used to coerce an individual into changing their behavior or appearance to match a societal norm (Butler, 1990). Normative violence may be used by individuals and social institutions alike to ensure that others conform to cultural definitions of femininity or masculinity. American culture engages in normative violence in a number of ways. One that has recently been the focus of news media and academia has been the pervasiveness of “rape culture” and “victim blaming.” Such activities absolve perpetrators of sexually motivated crimes against women, citing inappropriate behavior or appearance from the victim as the reason for the attacks. Other legally ambiguous forms of normative violence can be seen in the informal social controls of harassment due to sex as well as in “slut shaming”. Slut shaming was a term coined to describe the systematic ways in which women and girls are made to feel guilty or inferior for engaging in sexual or relational lifestyles outside the cultural norms (Lamb, 2008). Such shaming is intended to curtail culturally inappropriate behavior for women through fear of admonition. Sexual harassment can be seen as a similar mechanism. MacKinnon (1979) and Connell (1987; 1992) both agree that sexual harassment is an expression of men’s power over women’s behavior, particularly in places of work or education.

American culture expressed backlash against feminist movements starting in the late 1980s and early 1990s which fostered a new era of feminist thought (Tong, 2009). Postmodern feminist thought began early in the 1990s and continues to present, critiquing

much of the earlier feminist theory as well as expanding their focus from just women. They assert that there are many different stereotypes about femininity that should be explored rather than concentrating on a universal feminine ideal. This area of study often incorporates race and sexuality to provide a more complete picture of women's experiences, given that most early feminist theory and studies involved only adult, middle to upper class Caucasian women (Tong, 2009). Postmodern feminism's goals are to document how far women have advanced socially and economically, as well as what barriers are still present that prevent women from further advancement.

Postmodern feminist studies have noted that despite all of the media and new projections of modern women as having made leaps and bounds in the workforce, women are still faced with underrepresentation in most non-traditional fields. Top positions in government, academia, medicine, and law enforcement see relatively few women occupants. With legal protections against outright discrimination, many feminist scholars argue that sexism had to become more covert to avoid social and legal penalties (McRobbie, 2009). Postmodern feminism identifies two very different forms of sexism-- hostile and benevolent sexism. The beliefs that women are inferior and less competent than men, and thus deserve less power or social status are tenants of hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism is much more covert in its application, often masking paternalistic control as protection. Representations of women as the "better" sex, moral compasses or in need of protection are the beliefs behind benevolent sexism. In essence benevolent sexism is the chivalry of earlier eras. Benevolent sexism, while not strictly reserved to language, is predominately in the form of verbal communication.

According to Glick and Fiske (1996) hostile and benevolent sexism work in a rewards (benevolent sexism) and punishment (hostile sexism) system that affect a woman's acceptance of the gender status quo. In an international study, Glick and Fiske (2001) document the patterns and effects of hostile and benevolent sexism in 19 countries. They found that men and women that endorsed hostile sexism also saw nothing wrong with benevolent sexism as well. However, beliefs about hostile sexism were not a prerequisite for benevolent sexism. Of the two types of sexism the acceptance and use of benevolent sexism was the better predictor of the country's gender inequality. In countries with high rates of benevolent sexism, while controlling for hostile sexism, men achieved higher education, were more likely to engage in political and economic affairs, and made significantly more than their female counterparts.

Social psychology doctoral student Melanie Tannenbaum's (2013) article in Scientific American explored the increasingly subtle sexism that women experience daily without even noticing. Tannenbaum first notes that comments on a person's appearance or skills can often be sexist but not appear overtly so, because of the differences of language surrounding men and women. She notes that way in which rocket scientist Yvonne Brill's obituary was written:

She made a mean beef stroganoff, followed her husband from job to job, and took eight years off from work to raise three children. "The world's best mom," her son Matthew said. But Yvonne Brill, who died on Wednesday at 88 in Princeton, N.J., was also a brilliant rocket scientist, who in the early 1970s invented a propulsion system to help keep communications satellites from slipping out of their orbits. (as cited in Tannenbaum, 2013, p. 2)

Tannenbaum notes that writer's flaw in this piece is not the inclusion of family or hobbies, but rather the downplaying of Brill's role as a scientist over the role of mother. In a Becker and Wright's (2011) study of benevolent and hostile sexism in the work environment, they found that men as well as women are almost blind to benevolent sexism. Men and women alike were given phrases to which they would respond to as sexist or not sexist. Comments could be hostile (i.e. women are too easily offended) or they could be benevolent (i.e. women have a way of caring that men are not capable of in the same way.) Both men and women when showed the benevolent sexism comments were less likely to think they were sexist and even less willing to take collective anti-sexist action. Rather, women that responded positively to benevolent sexist comments also reported beliefs that being a woman gave them several advantages in the workplace as opposed to women who responded negatively. Overall, hostile sexism has a greater ability to motivate women to collectively take action against sexism, whereas benevolent sexism often went unnoticed or tolerated due to its perceived benefits and flattery (Becker, 2010; Becker & Wright, 2011). While incidents of hostile sexism still occur feminist scholars believe benevolent sexism is becoming the most prominent form of sexism in American culture.

Researchers are also beginning to recognize that sexism is not unilaterally against women. Now more than ever before men are choosing to involve themselves with work in the domestic sphere as stay-at-home fathers or in professions that have been considered traditionally feminine (such as nursing). Companies are just now beginning to accept maternity leave for women, yet paternity leave, which is recognized in Europe, is

still a luxury in the United States. Yet a double standard is still in effect, men that are stay-at-home dads are often portrayed as good, caring fathers and given much more leeway in making mistakes than mothers in the same role.

Not all researchers in social science agree that gender is a singularly social construction; a second way to view gender is through a biosocial approach, which moves away from sociological explanations for gender differences and towards a biological explanation. Tinbergen (1963) states that to understand behavior you must first understand how a specific behavior contributes to the reproductive and evolutionary success of a species. An evolutionary approach to gender presumes that men and women behave differently from one another because of procreative differences that are important to the survival of the species (Walsh, 2011). This framework relies on principles of Darwinian evolution. Traits or behaviors that give an organism a survival and reproductive advantage will be naturally selected for over traits that do not provide the same benefits (Darwin, 1872). However, natural selection is limited to explaining trait variation between species rather than variation within a single species. Sexual selection was Darwin's remedy, arguing that morphology and behavioral traits that differ between biological sexes is due to natural selection acting on a case-by-case basis (Darwin, 1871). Organisms that have traits or characteristics that allow them to out-reproduce others of their species will be preferred to other traits that do not give them an advantage.

Males and females, while subject to natural selection in a sex-blind environment are subject to sexual selection differentially due to males and females having much different mating strategies. The human species has selected for offspring that are precocial, meaning that a majority of their growth and maturation takes place outside the

womb requiring high parental investment for survival (Bateman & Bennett, 2006). Since females invest a greater amount of parental investment in offspring, their mating strategy is to be conservative, selecting mates that are likely to contribute to the care of the offspring. Males, who are required to provide a minimum of parental investment, have more liberal mating strategies so as to maximize on the production of offspring (Campbell, 2009). These differences in mating strategies and patterns of parental investment are the basis for the differences in behavior. Females, whose reproductive success is tied closely with survival, are generally more risk-averse, cooperative, and caring. Males, whose reproductive success are not tied to survival and must compete with other males, are generally less risk averse and cooperative, and more aggressive.

Using evolutionary theory as a foundation for understanding behavior is not professing that biology is destiny, on the contrary, for evolution to operate, a trait must have a high degree of variation. Nor is a biosocial approach to differences in behavior of men and women making moral assumption about how society is orders. Walsh (2011) argues that social scientists should not confuse the terms natural and moral when discussing men's and women's differences in behavior. Evolution is morally blind, meaning that it can only make statements about the natural order of species rather than the morality behind such organization. A biosocial approach to gender differences is simply a tool to understand the behaviors that come from the interactions of biology and culture.

Police Culture and Gender Construction

Anthropologist Margaret Mead once said that “Men have been afraid that women could get along without them (Mead, 1949).” Her statement holds some truth for why

there has been so much resistance to women entering into police work. Several job performance studies were conducted throughout the 1970s. The primary findings were that women were equally as capable of fulfilling their duties as their male counterparts and, secondly, citizens regarded female officers as being equally capable as their male counterparts (Poole & Pogrebin, 1988). Furthermore, more recent studies have shown that women are more capable than men at some aspects of policing. Women are generally better at interpersonal communication and more often diffuse tension in potentially violent encounters (Balkin, 1988). So, then, if women are equally capable of performing police tasks, why are male officers so resistant to women?

Both police organizational culture and subculture are bound up with masculinity, particularly hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is the term used to describe the patterns of beliefs and behaviors that legitimize as well as reinforce males' dominance over females (Connell, 1987). Resistance to women in policing reflects deep rooted beliefs about who has the "right to manage law and order," and in the case of policing, men and masculinity are the rightful law enforcers (Heidensohn, 1992). Asserting the dominance of men's power takes place through a variety of places and behaviors including physical aggression, heterosexism (expressed through overt homophobia and misogyny), and loyalty among male peers (Fielding 1999:47). Such hyper-masculinity creates a narrow definition of what behaviors and attributes are masculine as Levant (1994; as cited in Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997) outlines:

Men must (1) avoid all things feminine, (2) severely restrict their emotions, (3) display aggression and toughness, (4) exhibit self-reliance, (5) Strive for

achievement and status, (6) exhibit non-relational attitudes toward sexual activity, and (7) engage in homophobia. (p. 69)

Women, categorically defined as “the other,” have been used as foils against which masculinity can be defined. Prokos and Padavic's (2002) study of informal lessons given to police academy recruits revealed that masculinity is touted as a requirement for being a good police officer. Masculinity, particularly the dominant masculinity these authors are concerned with, comes from defining women and femininity as the “other” and then denigrating the “other.” Academy instructors and students alike accomplished this through the extensive use of gendered language, particularly the use of male pronouns as the norm.

Gendered differences were further perpetuated through formal instruction by the “human diversity” instructor where recruits were taught that males and females were profoundly different mentally and biologically. Denigration of women for the sake of building up masculinity was not reserved only for female recruits; rather it extended to female instructors as well. Male students resisted the authority of female instructors through being overly rowdy, causing interruptions and, on rare instances, exhibiting outright rebellion (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). According to this research, the instructors and male students use the female recruits as a way to juxtapose gender differences and construct masculinity within the academy environment.

The masculine image of the police officer is one that involves glorification of violence, and aggression which manifests in how they identify what police work should be and who should be doing it (Shelley, Morabito, & Tobin-Gurley, 2011, Franklin, 2005). The terminology “real police work” generally refers to the parts of policing that

are considered masculine, requiring physical prowess to complete, such as subduing defiant arrestees. Other tasks necessary for policing, such as report writing, were deemed not real police work due to their association with femininity. Those officers that do not respect or threaten these constructions of masculinity are subjected to a variety of resistance tactics. Officers at the Los Angeles Police Department are divided between “hard chargers” and “station queens” simply based on the assignments that they select (Herbert 2001). Hard chargers are those police officers that have preferences for high risk assignments whereas those labeled station queens prefer tasks that require more interpersonal communication and clerical skills. These labels were assigned to both male and female officers depending on the tasks for which they exhibited a preference rather than their gender identity.

One prominent theory of why police have put up such resistance to women joining their ranks has been the fear that they will reveal the “police myth” (Manning, 1977:35). The image that police portray of their work as action oriented crime fighters is in direct contradiction to the majority of situations they are tasked with. Police work is less about fighting crime and is predominately made up of order maintenance and responding to calls for service (Walker & Katz, 2005). Excelling at order maintenance and service tasks does not necessarily require physical strength and aggression. Rather verbal and conflict resolution skills are more suited to such tasks (Miller, 1999). Such skills have also been described as being feminine and devalued as tools for policing. Introducing women to policing and having them excel at these tasks symbolically redefines traditional beliefs about policing (Waddington, 1999; Walklate, 1995). More importantly if women can excel at police work, and expose the fact that police work does

not often require physical strength, they pose a threat to the police masculinity identity by feminizing police work (Fielding & Fielding, 1992). Prevention of women from entering policing would not only preserve the police myth, but would also prevent police work from becoming feminized.

Another theory regarding why there is resistance to women is that women will disrupt the male peer support network. Part of the police personality is suspiciousness of outsiders and the use of solidarity and a “code of silence” in order to protect themselves from being exposed and punished for conduct violations (Barton, 2003; Harris, 1973). Officers are expected to cover for other officers, including criminal behavior and corruption, violations of this unwritten code of conduct is seen as the ultimate betrayal of trust (Harris, 1973; Shernock, 1990). Hunt’s (1990) study of sexism in policing revealed that the male officers viewed female police officers as incorruptible. Therefore male police officers are resistant to women in policing in order to reduce the risk that illicit or immoral behavior will be exposed and punished. While there is resistance to women on the basis of fear of exposure, some similar resistance is felt by male officers that expose corruption. New York City officer Frank Serpico, who testified about police corruption at the Knapp Commission, was viewed by fellow officers as either feminine or homosexual due to his violation of police solidarity (Maas, 1973).

Resistance to women in policing takes two primary forms, control and segregation (Ackers, 1992). The first response of control is to prevent or discourage women from entering into a male dominated environment. This is usually done through ostracizing and harassing women with the hopes that a hostile work environment will cause them to vacate their position and deter other women from joining. Academic literature is rife with

examples of female police officers' harassment by fellow officers. Unfair, even abusive, treatment of female police officers has been recorded in criminal justice literature.

Heidensohn (1992) noted that a training officer prevented a female officer in training from speaking or using restroom facilities while on duty for the entirety of the training period. Male officers often used profane, primarily misogynistic, speech when speaking with female officers or addressed them with inappropriate monikers such as "hon" or "sweetheart" (Martin & Jurik, 1996; Morash & Haarr, 1995). Some male officers even refused to speak with female officers under any circumstances (Wexler & Logan, 1983). More recently, studies have revealed that sexual harassment in various forms, and the mental and physical stress that follow, are still issues female officers face during academy training (Morash & Haarr, 2012; de Haas, Timmerman & Höing, 2009; Hassell & Brandl, 2009).

Control also takes the form of sexual harassment of female officers. Several studies found that between 53 percent and 99 percent of female officers report being victims of sexual harassment in the work place (Bartol, Bergen, Volckens, & Knoras, 1992; Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Chaiyavej & Morash, 2009; Prenzler & Ransley, 2002). Sexual harassment can be as blatant as male officers placing sexually explicit materials or objects in female officers' lockers, name calling, and comments about their sexual preferences (Martin & Jurik, 1996). Hypersexualization of the workplace, referring to prevalent sexual innuendo and sexual references, also categorizes female officers into sexually based typologies (Berg & Budnick, 1986; Brewer, 1991; Martin, 1979).

In her classic study of female police officers' responses to stress and harassment in the workplace Martin (1979) identified two primary divisions based on demeanor:

policewomen and *policewomen*. The *policewomen* (also known as pseudo-masculine by Berg & Budnick, 1986; and amazons by Brewer, 1991) were those officers that embraced the typically masculine aspects of police work and refused to follow gender stereotypical norms in the workplace. In contrast, *policewomen* (also known as feminine by Berg & Budnick, 1986; and hippolyte by Brewer, 1991) place emphasis on their femininity and adhered to the workplace's definitions of feminine norms. In all the aforementioned studies, categories are in a strict dichotomy lacking a category for anyone that may be in between categories. However, since behavior may change, category assignment is also fluid. A woman classified as a *policewoman* could easily be reclassified as *policewoman*. Also consistent between these studies were a subset of women that did not fit into any typology category that were often left unclassified on the fringes of station social life.

The *policewomen* are seen as trying to occupy a male position, therefore they must either be “dykes” or trying to be men (Hunt, 1990, p. 19; Hunt, 1984). Female police officers within this category are subjected to degradation and de-feminization as a means of informal social control. De-feminization specifically refers to depriving a female police officer of her feminine qualities through verbal, physical, and sexual harassment, as well as denying her the ability to engage in dialogue about her femininity. *Policewomen*, who adhere to socially appropriate roles are tolerated, but excluded from the masculine aspects of the work. In this way the boundaries between the public, masculine sphere and the private sphere of the police station and femininity are maintained (Hunt, 1990). Even in the absence of overt categorization, female police officers are aware of the informal social controls they are being subjected to as one British police officer quotes:

Whatever you are they'll neatly categorize you from one extreme to the other to diffuse and deny what you're doing. There are two stereotypes for women: the hooker and the dyke. There are no good stereotypes for women and both are sexual. (quote by Heidensohn 1992, p. 140).

Another form of control that is exerted over women in policing is isolation from police culture and co-workers. Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism argues that groups that comprise less than 15 percent of the workplace become "tokens." Consequences of being a token come in three primary forms: (1) visibility, (2) polarization, and (3) assimilation. Visibility refers to the extra scrutiny or isolation that comes with being a token in the work environment. Polarization is simply the exaggeration of differences in behavior or personal traits that exist between the majority and the minority groups. Kanter's definition of assimilation is less about integration with the work community and more about relegating the minorities into positions that are deemed appropriate for them.

Stroshine and Brandl (2011) applied Kanter's theory of tokenism to policing, using gender as an example of tokenism. Female police officers in the study reported stronger effects of tokenism than their male counterparts. They cited feelings of job frustration as well as increased isolation from their cohort. Females, as well as minority males, also perceived that their opportunities for advancement were less than those of non-token officers. While all females in the study reported experiencing tokenism, race provided a doubling effect. Further disaggregation of data found that Black and Latino female officers experienced the effects of tokenism at greater levels than those of white females and minority males.

If women cannot be controlled or prevented from entering into policing, the secondary response is to relegate them to a position that is less threatening to male officers' masculinity (Acker, 1992). In order for women to be less threatening to the masculine culture, they must either be rendered unprofessional or relegated to gender appropriate tasks. Showcasing women's ineptitude for police work begins early in the police socialization process. Prokos and Padavic (2002) observed during a defense tactics class for police recruits the male instructor singled out females for more intense scrutiny. The tasks were to defend one's self blindly against the attacks of a fellow student. However, the male instructor, of significantly higher experience, would perform the attacks on only the female recruits. The women were less able to fend off the experienced attacker and were placed in a situation that made them appear less capable and unprofessional, further perpetuating the belief that women are not capable of working in law enforcement.

Mentorship is an essential part of training and socialization for all police officers, especially when seeking supervisory positions. However, women in supervisory positions are not given the same amount or quality of mentorship afforded to male officers in supervisory positions (Inwald & Shusman, 1984). Selective mentorship of male police officers over female police officers is yet another barrier to advancement that depicts the women as being ill equipped for not only police work, but particularly supervisory roles within the department. Female police officers are also faced with segregation from assignments and areas of police work that would assist with advancement. Female officers are more often assigned, either willingly or unwillingly, to paperwork duties, incidents involving domestic or sexual violence, and non-emergency situations than their

male counterparts (Brown & Fielding, 1993; Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). Female officers are also more likely to be assigned to community policing divisions due to their perceived superiority in interpersonal communication skills. Assignments based on gender stereotypes make it difficult to perform proper evaluations of female officers' performance, often hindering females' advancement and maintaining males' dominance in the police hierarchy.

An examination of self-initiated resignations of police officers during training revealed that men and women have different motivations for leaving law enforcement. Of the four women in the study, three cited that one of the primary motivations to drop out of police work was due to the over-sexualization of the work environment, constant harassment, and isolation from coworkers (Haarr, 2005). The workplace environment created by police organizational culture clearly expresses the message that departmental control is in the hands of male officers and that women cannot consider any part of policing as "their" place (Morash and Haarr, 1995). The control and segregation tactics, as well as the masculine ideology, used by male officers also affects how women interact with each other within the department. Martin (1979) first identified that female police officers do not engage in friendships with one another and prefer to distance themselves from one another in a bid to gain acceptance from male peers. The division between female officers, due to competition for promotion or avoidance of harassment, also serves to reinforce the hegemonic environment. Female officers that gain acceptance from their male peers often antagonize other women that seek relief from discrimination and harassment (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; Martin, 1979). Such behavior, by both male and

female officers, serves to reinforce the misogynistic environment and can be damaging for recruitment and retention rates of women.

Despite the police occupational culture being a boys' club, female police officers are not passively accepting the gender roles and norms set out for them. Rather, they are also actors who contribute to constructing gender in the workplace environment. In an attempt to investigate the pervasiveness of gender stereotypes among police officers Morash and Haarr (2012) conducted interviews with female police officers in supervisory positions. Interviews focused on career experiences and how officers perceived gender differences between their experiences and those of their male counterparts. A majority (76.2 percent) of the women in their sample stated that males and females have fundamental differences in characteristics and roles (p. 11). Women also tended to describe themselves as possessing traditionally feminine characteristics rather than masculine characteristics, particularly as a rank increased. These findings are contrary to other studies that argue women in policing have chosen to emphasize masculine traits and behaviors.

Similarly, Rabe-Hemp (2013) tested the assumption that female police officers conformed to the stereotypes set out in Martin (1979). In her study, female police officers expressed gender stereotypes and expressed aversion to displaying any feminine characteristics. However, female officers often expressed opinions and exhibited behavior that ran counter to the police culture prescribed roles for them. These studies, while providing insight into female officers' navigation and responses to socially prescribed gender roles in the workplace, have still left much to be explored. For one, such studies are still working with gender as a binary, with an individual being assigned

to either the masculine or feminine category. This not only limits the possibilities of gender expressions outside of this dichotomy but also does not reflect that gender is a fluid state of being that can be altered given different social environments and stimuli.

Summary

Women's entry into law enforcement careers followed traditional gender roles, such as prison or police matrons, until they were allowed to enter into non-administrative positions in the mid-1960s. However, despite the plethora of legal protection from discrimination and unreasonable fitness expectations, women still face informal barriers to advancement and remain underrepresented in the policing profession. One of the primary sources of resistance has been the hyper-masculine culture that is touted by male police officers. The police subculture is formed around the beliefs as to who should have the right to manage law and order, which excludes those that are not heterosexual males. Women, as well as homosexual officers, have often been excluded from the police culture and labeled as "other." Women being classified as the "other" results in them being subjected to informal social controls dictated by the police culture or segregation into less threatening, more gender appropriate tasks. Social controls, which are meant to modify or restrict behavior, include sexual harassment, de-feminization, and over-sexualization of the work environment. When informal social control fails to alter a woman's behavior, or deter her from a career in law enforcement, she is then relegated to tasks that are viewed as more appropriate for a woman.

Gender is a complex, multi-dimensional concept that refers to sets of behaviors and characteristics that are classified as either masculine or feminine. Feminist theorists such as West and Zimmerman (1987) and Butler (1990) adhere to the social

constructionist view of gender, in which gender and subsequent gender roles have no biological basis. Rather, they view gender as constantly being created and recreated through social interactions. Other researchers, such as Walsh, take a more bio-social approach regarding gender as a result of both biology and culture. Gender differences in this approach are a result of the different reproductive roles of males and females in early hominids that have carried over into modern behavioral differences between men and women. The existing literature in feminist criminology has not incorporated either theoretical approach to gender; rather it has been preoccupied with the experiences of sexual harassment and role conformity among female officers rather than gender identity and beliefs of police officers. This thesis aims to aid our understanding of the complexities of gender identity and gender role beliefs of male and female police.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Sampling Frame and Administration of Surveys

This study is concerned with the gender identity and ideology of male and female police officers currently employed in the state of Texas, so the sampling frame may be defined as police officers of any sex or rank currently employed in the state of Texas. A non-probability convenience sample was used to select police departments for participation, specifically selecting police departments in large, metropolitan areas of Texas due to the ease of access to police officers. Not all police departments in the state of Texas will be represented in this sample due to the selection method. Furthermore, not all police officers at a given department will agree to answer a survey reducing the sampling frame to cooperative police officers in these large, urban departments. Any systematic bias encountered due to these sampling methods are addressed in the limitations section of the conclusion.

Data collection was done through pen and paper surveys given to officers in each participating department. Permission to give the surveys was given from a supervising officer at each department, although some officers were recruited to the study through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling was particularly used for identifying and surveying female police officers. Officers that completed this survey came from a variety of departments throughout Texas. Departments represented in this sample include Arlington PD, Austin PD, Dallas PD, Fort Worth PD, San Marcos PD, and Carrollton PD. All police officers were given verbal and written instructions as to participant consent, Institutional Review Board protocols, the purpose of the research, and how to properly

complete the survey forms. The survey was administered to lower ranking officers during briefing at the start of new shifts. The researcher met with higher ranking officers individually to explain the survey instruction, inform them of consent, and the purpose of the survey. All officers were able to complete the survey privately before returning them to the researcher.

Conceptualization and Operationalization of Variables

Several variables and terms have been defined for the purpose of this study. Gender identity is a person's sense of being masculine or feminine as assessed through the administration of Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp's (1975) Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ). Gender roles are socially constructed beliefs about behavior and characteristics that are socially appropriate for men and women based on sex differences. Scores on the Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes Towards Women Scale 15-item version (ATWS-15) are the indicator for an officers beliefs about gender roles.

In addition to the survey, demographic as well as career specific information was also collected from each officer in the sample. These control variables included a variety of personal characteristics as well as law enforcement career characteristics. Officers were asked to give their age, racial or ethnic identity, religious preferences, as well as their current marital status. These were given as multiple choice or open ended questions in the demographics section of the survey. Despite the relationship between sexual orientation and beliefs about gender roles, this study did not ask officers about their sexual preferences. The questions specific to their occupation as law enforcement officers pertained to their rank at the time of the survey as well as their length of their tenure at their current police department.

Survey Instruments

Survey research methods are used to obtain information directly from a subset of individuals in order to estimate the beliefs of a larger population. Generally these surveys are geared towards understanding aspects of people's beliefs or attitudes pertaining to a specific topic. The specific psychometric instruments used in this study are Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp's (1975) Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) accompanied with Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes Towards Women Scale 15-item version (ATWS-15). Both of these survey instruments were designed specifically for measuring and comparing gender related social phenomena and have been used extensively in psychology, anthropology, and sociology.

Gender identity and beliefs about gender are complex identity issues that present methodological challenges, particular in operationalizing variables and defining them as independent, dependent, or control variables. For the purpose of this study, a respondent's gender identity is defined as one of these three categories: masculine, egalitarian, or feminine, as ascertained from their score on the PAQ. The PAQ is a 24-item self-concept scale in which the respondent gauges how well a given characteristic applies to their overall pattern of behavior. The characteristics are divided into two general categories: 1) characteristics that are stereotypically defined as masculine, and 2) characteristics that are stereotypically defined as feminine. For example, some of the masculine traits listed are "rough," "not aware of other's feelings," and "competitive." Examples of feminine characteristics include "gentle," "aware of other's feelings," and "home oriented." For the full list of characteristics see Appendix A. This creates two

separate subscales on which an individual is scored, the masculine subscale (PAQ-M), the feminine subscales (PAQ-F), and the androgyny subscale (PAQ-MF)³.

Each trait on all three of the subscales are scored from 0 to 4 and summed for a total score. These scales are compared with one another to estimate the individual's gender identity as one of three categories: 1) masculine, 2) egalitarian, and 3) feminine. An individual with a higher PAQ-M score than their PAQ-F has a more masculine gender identity. The reverse is that an individual with a PAQ-F higher than their PAQ-M has a more feminine gender identity. However, if there the scores for the PAQ-F and PAQ-M are similar then the individual has more egalitarian gender identity, meaning that they perceive themselves as having equal masculine and feminine characteristics.

Using the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS), a respondent's gender role beliefs were assigned to one of two categories, either traditional or contemporary gender role ideology, as determined by their score on the AWS 15-item scale. The original AWS consisted of 55 items on a 4-point Likert Scale designed to measure attitudes towards women's behavior, rights, and overt sexism (McHugh & Frieze, 1997; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Creators Spence and Helmreich (1978) modified the scale into two shorter forms, the AWS-25 and AWS-15. The AWS-15, which is the short form used in this study, consists of 15 statements to which the respondent selects a response based on a 4-point Likert Scale (see Appendix B). Examples of statements are "a woman should be free as a man to propose marriage," "sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters," and "Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man." For the complete survey instrument see Appendix B. Each

³ The androgyny scale (PAQ-MF) was not analyzed due to its repeated lack of validity in previous literature.

response is scored from 0 to 3, with a score of 0 being given to responses reflecting traditional views of gender roles. The most contemporary gender roles responses were given scores of 3. Scores on the AWS-15 scale ranges from 0 to 45 from traditional to contemporary views.

Survey Validity and Reliability

A valid and reliable survey instrument is one that yields accurate results and has very little measurement error. Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient is given as a proportion between 0 and 1, the closer a psychometric survey instrument's score is to 1, the greater the test-retest reliability it has. George and Mallery (2003) set out a guideline for determining the level of validity an instrument has:

- _ > .9 – Excellent,
- _ > .8 – Good,
- _ > .7 – Acceptable,
- _ > .6 – Questionable,
- _ > .5 – Poor and
- _ < .5 – Unacceptable (p. 231).

The AWS, in some form, has been used in over 300 studies being given to adults and children in various settings. All AWS versions have been extensively studied for test-retest reliability, and the AWS test-retest reliability is exceptional ($r = .91$) (Spence & Hahn, 1997). Men and women that take the AWS and retest at various times are repeatedly scoring very similarly with their initial score. The PAQ scale has slightly less overall reliability than the AWS, but still in the good range, having a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of .85 (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Since each of the different

subscales measure different aspects of gender identity independently of one another, a few other studies have investigated the reliability of each subscale. The three subscales all differed on test-retest reliability: PAQ-F ($\alpha = .79$), PAQ-M ($\alpha = .75$), and PAQ-MF ($\alpha = .60$).

Validity pertains to how well a survey or psychometric instrument measures what it was designed to measure. The AWS-15 has the same goals as the original ASW-55, to measure attitudes and beliefs pertaining to gender roles. The extensive use of the short form has yielded associations with several gender related variables including attitudes towards rape (Lee, Kim, & Lim, 2000), male and female patterns of criminality (Rudolph, 1996), attitudes towards sex roles and domestic violence (Hillier & Foddy, 1993), as well as gendered acculturation (Bhanot & Seen, 2007; Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982). The AWS is also culture blind, having been adapted and successfully tested in multiple countries, including China, Taiwan, Korea, and Turkey (Chia, Allred, & Jerzak, 1997; Delevi & Bugay, 2013) When compared with psychometric scales with similar goals, such as the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the AWS demonstrates convergent and construct validity (Delevi and Bugay, 2013; Glick & Fiske, 1997).

The PAQ shares similarities with Dr. Sandra Bem's (1974) Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). While the BSRI was originally designed to measure the degree of androgyny in respondents, it has masculine and feminine subscales used similarly to the PAQ's. Spence (1991) tested both the PAQ and BSRI's masculine and feminine subscales against one another and found that the respondents' scores on the BSRI subscales were mirrored in the subscales of the PAQ suggesting criterion validity. As

with the ASW, the PAQ has also been rigorously tested for accuracy in reporting sex role and gender schema of respondents in other cultural and contextual situations, such as China, France, and Canada, all of which reported satisfactory construct validity (Hill, Fekken, & Bond, 2000; Moneta, 2010).

CHAPTER IV

Results

Sample

The participants for this study were 77 sworn police officers employed in the state of Texas, 44 women (57.1 percent) and 33 men (42.9 percent). The average age of these officers was 38.7 years (SD = 8.3; Range = 23 – 68). Seventy-six percent of the participants identified themselves as white or Caucasian and 23.4 percent as Latino/a, this sample did not have anyone identify as African American or Asian/Pacific Islander. A majority of the officers reported that they were married (76.6 percent), the rest reported being in a relationship (10.4 percent), single (6.5 percent), or divorced (6.5 percent). In regards to religious preferences, fifty-five percent identified as having a protestant faith while a smaller percentage identified as Catholic (20.8 percent) or as having no religious preferences (23.4 percent). The majority of participants were basic peace officers (40.3 percent), detectives (10.4 percent), and sergeants (29.9 percent). However, there was a full range of ranks ranging from basic peace officer up to chiefs of police. The average years of service in law enforcement was 12.1 years (SD = 7.23; Range = 1 – 35).

The mode gender identity for police officers was egalitarian. The average score on the PAQ-M subscale for all officers was 24 points on a 32 point scale (SD = 6.2; Range = 18 – 32). The scores on the PAQ-F subscale averaged 27 points on a 32 point scale (SD = 9.33; Range = 11 – 31). Twenty-six percent of officers identified their gender identity as masculine, 41.6 percent as egalitarian, and 32.5 percent as feminine. Officers' average score on the AWS-15 was 31 points on a 45 point scale (SD = 8.71; Range = 11

– 44). Over twice as many officers expressed contemporary as opposed to traditional beliefs about gender roles (70.1 percent contemporary and 29.9 percent traditional).

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis was that male and female police officers will have gender identities that correspond with their sex. Each officer's gender identity as measured by the PAQ15 (masculine, feminine, or egalitarian) was compared with their biological sex using Pearson's Chi-square test of independence. The results were $\chi^2 (2) = 29.531$ ($p < .01$) meaning that there is an association between the biological sex of an officer and the officer's gender identity. Furthermore, a Cramer's V of 0.62 notes that there is a strong association between biological sex and gender identity in this sample.

	Female	Male
Masculine	5	15
Egalitarian	14	18
Feminine	25	0
Pearson's Chi-Square	29.53**	
Cramer's V	0.62	

** Denotes Significance at the $p < .01$

Details regarding the relationship between sex and gender identity may be observed in Table 1. Female officers predominately identified as having feminine gender identities (56.8 percent), however at least a third of women possessed more egalitarian (31.8 percent) identities, and a few possessed masculine (11.4 percent) gender identities. Male officers were split more evenly between egalitarian (54.5 percent) and masculine

(45.5 percent) gender identities. While a few women held gender identities opposite of their biological sex, no male officers did.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis asserts that there is a relationship between the biological sex of an officer and their beliefs about gender roles. Specifically it was predicted that female officers will have more contemporary beliefs about gender roles while male officers will have more traditional beliefs about gender roles. Pearson's Chi-Square Test of Independence, $\chi^2 (1) = 8.685$ ($p < .01$), yielded an association between sex and gender beliefs. However, the strength of the association was minimal (Cramer's $V = 0.34$).

Table 2. Biological Sex and Beliefs About Gender Roles

	Female	Male
Contemporary Beliefs	25	29
Traditional Beliefs	19	4
Pearson' Chi-Square	8.69**	
Cramer's V	0.34	

**Denotes Significance at the $p < .01$

While there is an association between the sex of an officer and their beliefs about gender roles, the hypothesis that female officers would have more contemporary beliefs and males would have more traditional beliefs was disproven. In fact, the data suggests almost the exact opposite of the second hypothesis with men holding more contemporary beliefs about gender roles than their female counterparts. In this sample, 87 percent of male officers scored high on the AWS and were classified as having contemporary

gender role beliefs. However, only 57 percent of the female officer respondents held contemporary gender role beliefs.

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis predicted that gender identities on the opposite ends of the spectrum, masculine and feminine, will be related with traditional beliefs about gender roles. A Pearson's Chi-Square Test of Independence between gender identity and beliefs about gender resulted in $\chi^2 (2) = 24.83$ ($p < .01$). The two variables are related and a Cramer's V of 0.4 suggests that the relationship between the two variables is of weak to average strength.

Table 3. Gender Identity and Beliefs About Gender Roles

	Masculine	Egalitarian	Feminine
Contemporary Beliefs	14	31	9
Traditional Beliefs	6	1	16
Pearson's Chi-Square		24.83**	
Cramer's V		0.4	

* Denotes Significance at the $p < .05$
 ** Denotes Significance at the $p < .01$

While gender identity and beliefs are related, the assertion that officers with stronger masculine or feminine gender identities will have more traditional beliefs is partially false. Seventy percent of officers that identified as masculine held contemporary beliefs rather than traditional beliefs about gender roles. However, sixty-four percent of feminine officers, which are all female in this sample, have more traditional beliefs about gender. As for officers with more egalitarian views, 96.8 percent reported having

contemporary views on gender roles, whereas only 3.6 percent reported having traditional beliefs about gender roles.

Hypothesis 4

The fourth hypothesis predicted that the age of an officer, their level of education, racial/ethnic identity, religious preferences, marital status, and rank will all be related with their gender identity. It should be noted that sexual orientation, while probably related to gender identity, was not included in this analysis. For this sample, none of the above variables had a significant relationship with gender identity, however not all variables were of statistical value.

Table 4: Officers' Gender Identity and Their Age, Education, Religion, and Rank

	Pearson's Chi-Square	Cramer's V
Age	12.92	0.2
Level of Education	19.25	0.33
Religion	6.25	0.21
Rank	5.62	0.19

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$
 ** Denotes statistical significance at $p < .01$

Expectations were that the older an officer was the more their biological sex and their gender identity would correspond. However, male and female officers of all ages had a variety of responses, lacking any perceptible pattern. It was also predicted that the level of education would affect gender identity in that those officers with higher degrees would identify as more egalitarian rather than masculine or feminine. However, level of education and gender identity resulted in a $\chi^2 (4) = 19.25$ without statistical significance.

Religion was not related with gender identity in a statistically meaningful way. Rank was also not meaningfully related with gender identity ($\chi^2 (5) = 5.62$). These findings suggest that gender identity is, at least for this sample, a stable personal characteristic.

Any potential relationship between marital status or racial/ethnic identity of the officers and their gender identity could not be analyzed. The sample in this study was very homogenous for each of these demographic variables, thus violating the assumptions of every statistical test. In specific regard to Pearson's Chi-Square Test of Independence, these variables violated the assumption that all cells in the contingency table have an expected frequency of at least 5.

Hypothesis 5

The fifth hypothesis predicted that the age of an officer, their level of education, racial/ethnic identity, religious preference, marital status, and rank will be associated with their beliefs about gender roles. Specifically it was hypothesized that older officers, those with less educational experience, officers that identified a religion, and those with lower rank would hold more traditional gender role beliefs.

The age of an officer did not have a statistically significant relationship with their beliefs about gender roles. An officer's level of education and gender role beliefs were related, ($\chi^2 (2) = 10.67$; $p < .05$). The relationship between education and gender role beliefs can be characterized as fairly strong (Cramer's $V = .32$).

Table 5: Officers' Gender Role Beliefs and Their Age, Education, Religion, and Rank

	Pearson's Chi-Square	Cramer's V
Age	5.06	0.26
Level of Education	10.67*	0.37
Religion	6.92*	0.3
Rank	9.1**	0.35

* Denotes statistical significance at $p < .05$

** Denotes statistical significance at $p < .01$

In this sample, the more highly educated officers held contemporary gender beliefs. Specifically, 48 percent of officers with some college or less have traditional beliefs about gender roles. However, only 21.4 percent of those officers with a bachelor's degree held gender role beliefs that were traditional. Religion also has a statistically significant relationship with an officer's gender role beliefs ($\chi^2 (2) = 6.92$; $p < .05$). However, the relationship between these two variables is weak to moderate. The lack of a strong relationship between these variables may be due to this demographic questionnaire only asking about an officer's affiliation with a specific faith rather than the extent to which the officer was affiliated with their faith. Of those officers who identified themselves as Protestant, 41.8 percent held traditional beliefs about gender, of those identified as Catholic, 18.8 percent expressed traditional beliefs. Only 11.1 percent of officers who expressed no religious preference held traditional beliefs about gender roles.

There is also a statistically significant relationship between an officer's rank and their beliefs about gender ($\chi^2 (2) = 9.1$; $p < .01$). The relationship between these two variables has moderate strength but there is an absence of directionality. Direction of the relationship could not be established due to the level of measurement of the variables.

Findings indicated that 80.6 percent of lower ranking officers, 52.9 percent of mid-level ranked officers and 91.7 percent of high ranked officers held contemporary beliefs.

Contemporary beliefs referring to an individual's belief that males and females may fulfill multiple roles rather than complementary roles. However, the relationship between rank and beliefs about gender roles may be spurious as level of education is related with both rank and gender role beliefs. Generally, an officer's rank will increase as their level of education increases, meaning the relationship between gender role beliefs and rank may both be a function of education level.

Responses on the Attitudes Towards Women Scale

A respondent may give responses that vary between traditional and contemporary gender role beliefs. A few responses that score in the traditional range of the scale did not necessarily mean that the overall score would be in the traditional range or visa-versa. In the AWS-15 the statements vary between overarching statements about equality, public division of labor, and behavior of men and women but it also has statements pertaining to aspects of personal and intimate relationships. There were differences in the way that both men and women responded to these types of statements, meaning that although respondents were only categorized as have contemporary or traditional beliefs, belief systems are actually much more complicated. A respondent could have contemporary views about equality of women in terms of workplace equality but still have traditional beliefs about a man and a woman's place within a marriage or household.

In order to analyze how respondents may differ in their situational gender role beliefs statements from the AWS form were separated into four different situational dimensions: 1) Public sphere equality, 2) Domestic sphere equality, 3) Relationship

equality, and 4) Equality in behavioral expectations. Overall officers gave predominately contemporary responses to statements in the public, domestic, and behavioral dimensions. However, officers tended to give more traditional responses when it came to statements regarding roles in intimate, personal relationships (Table 6).

Table 6: Relationship Equality					
		Female		Male	
Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.	Agree Strongly	2.27%	Agree Strongly	12.10%	
	Agree Mildly	0.00%	Agree Mildly	15.20%	
	Disagree Mildly	59.09%	Disagree Mildly	66.70%	
	Disagree Strongly	38.63%	Disagree Strongly	6.00%	
A woman should be free as a man to propose marriage.	Agree Strongly	6.81%	Agree Strongly	24.20%	
	Agree Mildly	6.81%	Agree Mildly	15.20%	
	Disagree Mildly	70.45%	Disagree Mildly	57.57%	
	Disagree Strongly	15.93%	Disagree Strongly	3.03%	
It is insulting to women to have the “obey” clause remain in the marriage service.	Agree Strongly	4.54%	Agree Strongly	15.20%	
	Agree Mildly	0.00%	Agree Mildly	45.37%	
	Disagree Mildly	61.36%	Disagree Mildly	36.40%	
	Disagree Strongly	34.09%	Disagree Strongly	3.03%	
		Total Contemporary	6.90%	Total Contemporary	42.40%
		Total Traditional	93.10%	Total Traditional	57.60%

Of all respondents 75.4 percent gave traditional responses to statements in the relationship equality dimension of the AWS. Interestingly, female officers also held more traditional beliefs about gender roles within marriage than male officers. Ninety-three percent of female respondents gave traditional responses to statements pertaining to men and women’s roles in dating and marriage. The remaining 6.9 percent of female officers gave responses reflecting contemporary gender role beliefs about relations. Fewer male officers, 53.6 percent, held similarly traditional beliefs about roles within relationships.

Specifically, only 2 percent of women felt strongly that they should pay for dates whereas 12 percent of males felt similarly. Few women, 6 percent, felt strongly that women should be able to propose marriage, however, 24 percent of men strongly agreed with that sentiment. For the last statement, only 4 percent of women agreed that the obey clause in marriage vows was insulting, whereas 60 percent of their male counterparts agreed that the clause is insulting.

Table 7: Equality in Behavioral Expectations

	Female		Male	
Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.	Agree Strongly	2.30%	Agree Strongly	6.10%
	Agree Mildly	15.90%	Agree Mildly	27.30%
	Disagree Mildly	70.50%	Disagree Mildly	60.60%
	Disagree Strongly	11.40%	Disagree Strongly	6.10%
Intoxication among women is more repulsive than intoxication among men.	Agree Strongly	9.10%	Agree Strongly	6.10%
	Agree Mildly	63.60%	Agree Mildly	24.20%
	Disagree Mildly	18.20%	Disagree Mildly	54.50%
	Disagree Strongly	9.10%	Disagree Strongly	15.20%
A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.	Agree Strongly	0.00%	Agree Strongly	0.00%
	Agree Mildly	34.10%	Agree Mildly	6.10%
	Disagree Mildly	36.40%	Disagree Mildly	48.50%
	Disagree Strongly	29.50%	Disagree Strongly	45.50%
	Total Contemporary	58.40%	Total Contemporary	76.80%
	Total Traditional	41.60%	Total Traditional	23.20%

The behavioral dimension focused on officers' attitudes towards public behavior and freedom of action for women (Table 7). In the behavioral dimensions 67.6 percent of all respondents gave contemporary responses about gender role beliefs when answers statements about women's behavior. Female officers gave slightly more contemporary responses to statements in the behavioral equality dimension, 58.4 percent, than

traditional responses, 41.6 percent. Male officers gave responses that reflected pervasive contemporary beliefs about behavioral equality, 76.8 percent of male officers gave contemporary responses to statements in this dimension, whereas only 23.2 percent gave traditional responses.

While overall beliefs in this dimension were contemporary, the female officers responded overwhelmingly, 63.6 percent agreed and 9.1 percent strongly agreed that female intoxication is much more repulsive than male intoxication. Male officers showed markedly different responses with only 24.2 percent agreeing that female intoxication is more repulsive than among males and only 6.1 percent strongly agreeing. Similarly, there was variation in officers' responses to the statement about swearing being more offensive in the speech of women than men. Eighteen percent of female officers either agreed or strongly agreed that swearing in women's speech is more repulsive than in men's speech, however 33.4 percent of male officers felt similarly. Freedom of action was also viewed differently between the sexes, 34 percent of female officers believed that women should not be afforded the same freedom of movement and protections as men, whereas only 6.1 percent of male officers agreed with this statement.

Results of particular interest from the public sphere dimension (Table 8) were that zero respondents strongly believe that intellectual leadership should only be men's responsibility. Similarly, none of the male respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that women should assume places in all professions along with men. However, 2.3 percent of female officers and 6.1 percent of male officers believe that for certain jobs men should be given hiring preferences over women. There are some internal inconsistencies in how a few participants' responded to various statements.

Table 8: Public Sphere Equality

	Female		Male	
There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.	Agree Strongly	2.30%	Agree Strongly	6.10%
	Agree Mildly	38.60%	Agree Mildly	15.10%
	Disagree Mildly	22.70%	Disagree Mildly	45.50%
	Disagree Strongly	36.40%	Disagree Strongly	33.30%
The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.	Agree Strongly	0.00%	Agree Strongly	0.00%
	Agree Mildly	31.80%	Agree Mildly	9.10%
	Disagree Mildly	38.60%	Disagree Mildly	57.60%
	Disagree Strongly	29.50%	Disagree Strongly	33.30%
Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.	Agree Strongly	6.80%	Agree Strongly	15.10%
	Agree Mildly	52.30%	Agree Mildly	48.50%
	Disagree Mildly	36.40%	Disagree Mildly	30.30%
	Disagree Strongly	4.50%	Disagree Strongly	6.10%
Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.	Agree Strongly	31.80%	Agree Strongly	48.50%
	Agree Mildly	34.10%	Agree Mildly	45.50%
	Disagree Mildly	34.10%	Disagree Mildly	3.00%
	Disagree Strongly	0.00%	Disagree Strongly	3.00%
Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.	Agree Strongly	22.70%	Agree Strongly	45.50%
	Agree Mildly	40.90%	Agree Mildly	33.30%
	Disagree Mildly	34.10%	Disagree Mildly	21.20%
	Disagree Strongly	2.30%	Disagree Strongly	0.00%
	Total Contemporary	63.20%	Total Contemporary	81.20%
	Total Traditional	36.80%	Total Traditional	18.80%

The items in the domestic sphere equality dimension gauge a respondent's belief about how labor and responsibilities in the household should be divided between the sexes. For both male and female officers' responses to items in this dimension showed similar response patterns with those in the public sphere dimension.

Table 9: Domestic Sphere Equality

	Female		Male	
Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry.	Agree Strongly	25.00%	Agree Strongly	57.60%
	Agree Mildly	29.50%	Agree Mildly	42.40%
	Disagree Mildly	45.50%	Disagree Mildly	0.00%
	Disagree Strongly	0.00%	Disagree Strongly	0.00%
Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.	Agree Strongly	0.00%	Agree Strongly	0.00%
	Agree Mildly	38.60%	Agree Mildly	12.10%
	Disagree Mildly	40.90%	Disagree Mildly	42.40%
	Disagree Strongly	20.50%	Disagree Strongly	45.50%
In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of the children.	Agree Strongly	0.00%	Agree Strongly	0.00%
	Agree Mildly	29.50%	Agree Mildly	18.20%
	Disagree Mildly	43.20%	Disagree Mildly	45.50%
	Disagree Strongly	27.30%	Disagree Strongly	36.40%
Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.	Agree Strongly	0.00%	Agree Strongly	0.00%
	Agree Mildly	31.80%	Agree Mildly	18.10%
	Disagree Mildly	6.80%	Disagree Mildly	45.50%
	Disagree Strongly	61.40%	Disagree Strongly	36.40%
	Total Contemporary	63.65%	Total Contemporary	87.90%
	Total Traditional	36.35%	Total Traditional	12.10%

Approximately 75.7 percent of all respondents gave contemporary responses in this category. Sixty-four percent of female officers showed contemporary gender role beliefs pertaining to the domestic sphere. Male officers overwhelmingly responded in a contemporary manner to statements about domestic gender roles with 87.9 percent giving contemporary responses. Very few male officers, 12.1 percent, gave traditional responses to items in this dimension.

Of specific interest are that several female police officers placed a majority of responsibility of domestic tasks on women and general leadership on men. Surprisingly,

31.8 percent of female officers agreed that sons more so than daughters should be encouraged to attend college. Furthermore, 45.5 percent of females reported that women should still be responsible for household chores despite both partners working outside of the home and 38.6% believe that women should focus their attentions on motherhood rather than gaining equal rights with men. However, a majority of male officers in this sample placed the responsibilities of leadership and household work equally on men and women.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

The purpose of this thesis has been to increase the understanding of gender identity and gender role beliefs of police officers. It was hypothesized that male and female police officers would have gender identities that match their biological sex, male officers would identify as masculine and females as feminine. It was also predicted that police officers that had a gender identity matching their sex would hold more traditional beliefs about gender roles, whereas officers that identified as egalitarian would hold more contemporary gender role beliefs. As gender identity and gender role beliefs are interlinking social concepts it was hypothesized that there would be an association between an officers gender identity, regardless of their biological sex, and their gender role beliefs. Several other demographic and law enforcement related variables were also compared to better understand other social forces acting on an officer's formation of gender identity and role beliefs.

Police Officers' Gender Identity

The first hypothesis predicted a relationship between an officer's gender identity and their biological sex. Furthermore, it was predicted that male and female officers would possess gender identities that corresponded with their biological sex. Only part of the predictions were confirmed in this study. There was a significant relationship between an officer's gender identity and their biological sex. However, male officers were less likely to self-identify with a masculine gender identity, with a majority of males tending to utilize both masculine and feminine qualities. Female officers were more likely to

identify themselves with feminine characteristics rather than masculine or egalitarian characteristics.

Male officers frequently described themselves as gentle, aware of other's feelings, very warm with people, and other stereotypically feminine characteristics. They just as readily described themselves in stereotypical masculine terms as well. If anything, the males in this study demonstrate that police officers do not necessarily describe themselves or place value on only possessing stereotypically masculine traits. Previous literature has depicted police culture, particularly the subculture of male officers, as being one of the most virulently masculine and misogynistic cultures in modern American society (Connell, 1987).

With the previous literature highlighting incident after incident of sexual harassment, discrimination, and outright aggressiveness of male officers, it would be expected that the male officers in this study would exhibit high masculinity scores. However, the responses on gender identity and beliefs about gender roles did not depict male officers' absolute adherence to tenants of a masculine subculture. An explanation for the dramatic departure of this study's findings from what previous literature described could be that this study's findings illustrate the changing dynamics of policing in the United States. Vanstone (2001) first identified that the masculine ethos of Australian police officers is being altered by the shift in the way policing is done, specifically from the detecting of crime to crime prevention. The switch to community oriented policing, a style of policing that requires cooperation of police officers with members of the community, resulted in a dramatic reduction in beliefs that masculine characteristics were a necessity for good police work (Vanstone, 2001).

The change in styles of policing has the ability to alter what characteristics and skills are selected for when recruiting new officers (Thurman, Zhao, Giacomazzi, 2001). A recent study of characteristics valued as being critical for an officer's success in law enforcement careers show a departure from stereotypically masculine characteristics. Sanders (2010) asked chiefs of police to rank officers in their department from best to worst and describe what characteristics each officer had that resulted in their ranking. In independent interviews, chiefs identified skills that their best officers possessed which included having empathy and people skills. Furthermore, when asked about characteristics they look for when recruiting, they emphasized that emotional intelligence should be one of the characteristics a potential recruit possesses. All of the departments that participating officers came from have implemented some form of community policing which requires that police officers be more emotionally and verbally connected with members of the public.

The terror attacks of September 11th altered the goals and manner in which policing was being done in the United States. The Department of Homeland Security released new policies for restructuring police organizations as well as for redirecting their focus back to intelligence led policing in order to prevent recurring terror attacks (Hickman & Reaves, 2003). Police departments over the previous decade have been scaling back their use of community oriented policing and focusing on incorporating intelligence gathering and counterterrorism units with their police structure (Kim & de Guzman, 2012). However, Friedmann and Cannon (2007) argue that several components of Homeland Security's policies overlap with principles of community policing. The authors emphasize that both styles of policing are based on being proactive rather than

reactive and the success of these styles of policing relies on the officers' abilities to collaborate not only with other law enforcement agencies but also with individuals external to policing altogether.

Although most men and women in this study diverged from stereotypical gender identities, a large portion of women in this study adhered to feminine gender identities. Much like in Campbell's (1984) *The Girls in the Gang* in which the young women were expected to have more egalitarian gender identities and pro-feminist ideals in order to be active participants in male-dominated gang life, the hypothesis tested here was that female police officers would have more egalitarian identities to fit in with the masculine subculture. In Campbell's study, the opposite turned out to be true, with female gang members identifying almost uniformly as feminine with an orientation towards traditional, heterosexual gender roles. Due to female police officers' immersion in a male-dominated profession that centers around masculinity and aggressiveness, it would be easy to assume that they would modify their behavior in order to adapt to the work place environment. However, despite these assumptions the hypothesis was not supported.

Several other studies have explored police women's gender identities with similar results. Rabe-Hemp (2009) examined female police officer's professional identity construction, placing particular emphasis on gender identities, gendered police roles, and how both concepts inform a respondent's professed that men and women do possess different and complementary characteristics, however each gender was viewed as contributing something unique to the profession. A surprisingly large proportion of female officers identified as feminine and rated themselves as performing best at tasks that would be considered feminine in nature, such as dealing with victimized women and

children. Morash and Haarr (2012) found similar results while examining how mid-ranking to high ranking female police officers are “doing gender” in the workplace. A majority of the officers in her study noted inherent differences between males and females and the way that they accomplish policing. They attributed women as having more compassion and empathy than male officers due to their natural mothering abilities.

Another explanation for a large portion of female officers self-identifying with only feminine characteristics could be a result of their status as “tokens” in the workplace. Law enforcement is a male-dominated environment in which men make up a majority of the personnel and have a greater influence over the subculture. Women in such an environment may feel that their identity is at risk of being altered or lost to the predominant culture. In order to preserve their identity as women, they may over present feminine characteristics as police officers to compensate for their need to fit in to an overly masculine work environment. However, to establish this as the reason that female officers are describing themselves in increasingly feminine terms further, more in-depth research is required.

Police Officers’ Beliefs About Gender Roles

Police officers’ beliefs about gender roles were expected to be related with the biological sex of the officer. Due to the male-dominated working environment, male officers were expected to have more traditional beliefs about gender roles while female officers were predicted to have more contemporary beliefs about gender roles. However, findings indicated that male officers, more so than female officers, exhibited more contemporary beliefs about gender roles. Due to the unexpected nature of these findings the Attitudes Towards Women Scale was broken down into four different dimensions in

order to better understand the complexities of gender role beliefs. A majority of male and female officers gave *traditional* responses to statements about gender roles in marriage and dating situations; however, a majority of male and female officers gave *contemporary* responses to statements regarding equal workplace and educational opportunities, and to equal behavioral expression.

Contemporary views about gender roles in the public sphere can be attributed to egalitarian gender identities in a majority of the respondents. However, those explanations do not extend to their beliefs about gender roles in the domestic/personal sphere. These police officers' traditional views on gender roles in relationships may be explained by Glick and Fiske's (1996; 1997) distinct categories of hostile and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism, which can be characterized as having overtly negative attitudes towards women in all aspects of public and private life, has been diminishing in the United States (Christopher & Mull, 2006). This is due, in large part, to legal protections and a decrease in cultural tolerance for overly sexist behavior. Alternatively, benevolent sexism is a more subtle means through which male dominance and traditional gender roles are justified. Benevolent sexism has been characterized by three primary belief systems: women are pure and moral, women are physically and emotionally fragile beings in need of men's protection, and women need men to be happy and fulfilled (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 2001). Acts of benevolent sexism include males avoiding making lewd gestures or comments when women are present or a man's willingness to hold open doors for women, but not other men (Forbes, Jung & Haas, 2006).

The locus for benevolent sexism is exercised within interpersonal relationships between men and women, primarily in intimate, heterosexual relationships (Rudman &

Fairchild, 2007). Previous studies have indicated that men can have two distinct gender ideologies, particularly that men often have contemporary gender ideology about workplace interactions with women, but generally have a second, more traditional gender ideology when interacting with women they are in an intimate relationships with (Sarlet, Dumont, Delacollette, & Dardenne, 2012). Furthermore, men and women that adopt traditional gender roles in dating or marriage relationships are also more likely to find nothing inappropriate about behaviors and attitudes toward women that depict benevolent sexism.

Male and female officers in this study reflexively expressed a division in their gender ideology that can be expressed as the division between hostile and benevolent sexism. A majority of male officers have supportive attitudes towards women being able to negotiate the public sphere of work and education with the same opportunity and protection as their male counterparts. They overwhelmingly rejected statements depicting sexism or double-standards in economic and social institutions, all of which could be considered indicators of hostile sexism. However, when presented with statements pertaining to men and women's roles within intimate relationships, their responses were more indicative of benevolent sexism. Male officers were reluctant to allow female intimate partners to pay for a date, propose marriage, or eliminate the traditional "wife obey your husband" clause from marriage vows. While these actions may only appear to be personal preferences, they depict a large acceptance of patriarchal norms within relationships.

It is also true that in this study, almost half of female officers gave traditional responses to statements in all dimensions of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale. This

subset of female police officers perceived that drunkenness and profanity is more offensive when it is being done by a female than by a male. Furthermore, they agreed that women should not expect to go to the same places as men and experience the same protections if they do. These responses could be a result of women attempting to maintain the image of femininity in an overly masculine workplace. However, further research is needed to better understand the reasons for these findings.

Gender Identity and Gender Role Beliefs

The gender identity an officer possesses was moderately related with their beliefs about gender roles. The prediction that officers with masculine or feminine gender identities, on opposite poles of the gender identity spectrum, would have more traditional beliefs was correct. Officers with feminine gender identities, more so than officers with masculine identities, held traditional beliefs about gender identity. Egalitarian officers, those that identified themselves as possessing a variety of masculine and feminine characteristics, held predominately contemporary gender role beliefs.

The relationship between gender identity and gender role beliefs was an expected association. Gender identity is not constructed in isolation; rather a person forms their gender identity within a societal framework that outlines gender role norms. Formation of gender identities that fit into these prescribed roles will automatically fall at either end of the gender identity spectrum: masculinity and femininity. Overtly masculine and overtly feminine gender identities, which are founded on stereotypical definitions of what it means to be a man or woman, will result in greater acceptance of traditional beliefs about gender roles. The officers in this study that adhered to either side of the gender identity spectrum held more traditional beliefs than those officers that did not identify as either

masculine or feminine, consistent with previous research (Kreiger & Dumka, 2006).

Further research is required to understand the role that policing may play in the relationship between gender identity and gender role beliefs.

Gender Identity, Gender Role Beliefs, and Demographic Variables

Gender identity has been frequently described as a fluid personal characteristic that is the product of internalized social influences (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987). A variety of control variables were tested in conjunction with gender identity in order to understand what other social or workplace dynamics could confound the relationship between an officers sex and gender identity. Age of the officer, their level of education, racial/ethnic identity, religious preference, marital status, and rank would all be mediating factors for an officer's gender identity. There were no meaningful relationships between any of these variables and gender identity suggesting that, at least in this sample of officers, gender identity is a relatively stable characteristic.

Racial/ethnic identity and marital status were unable to be tested due to the sample being predominately homogenous in each of these categories. Limitations in the measurements, which will be discussed at length in the limitations section, as well as the lack of variation in the variables maybe the reason that an association could not be established.

Similarly, age of the officer, level of education, racial/ethnic identity, religious preference, marital status, and rank were examined in relation to gender identity in order to understand what other social factors play a role in the formation of gender ideology. It was predicted that higher age, a lower level of education, officers that identified with a religion and those with lower rank would be associated with traditional gender role ideology. An officer's level of education, religious preference, and rank were correlated

with an officer's beliefs about gender roles. The marital status and racial/ethnic identity of an officer were unable to be tested with gender role beliefs due to lack of variation in these two categories.

Expectations were partially met as an officer's religious preferences, level of education, and rank were related with their gender ideology. One of the larger social forces in any culture that has the ability to influence the formation of gender ideology are religious institutions, their prescripts for how one should model their behavior and divisions of labor are generally based on the biological division between males and females. However, since the level of devotion to particular religious tenants was left unexplored there is much left to be studied. Level of education and the rank of an officer were both highly correlated with gender role beliefs; specifically as rank increased so, too, did egalitarian beliefs. In a variety of studies, post-secondary and graduate level education have been associated with an individual's increased awareness of social inequality and greater willingness to challenge stereotypical norms (Kane & Whipkey, 2009; Kane & Kyyrö, 2001).

The rank of an officer was also associated with their gender role beliefs. There was a split between the officers with both the highest ranking officers and the lowest ranking officers holding the most contemporary views. Middle ranking line officers made up a majority of those that held more traditional beliefs. This division between the officers is complex and can partially be explained by age and education. The lower ranking officers in this study reported being in their mid to late twenties with a college education whereas the higher ranking officers were in their mid to late fifties with at least a bachelor's degree. These findings are consistent with findings in sociological studies of

factors that influence gender ideology; younger adults as well as adults with higher levels of education are more likely to hold more contemporary beliefs about gender roles (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). However, since age and education are prerequisites for higher rank, the relationship between an officer's rank and their gender ideology may be a spurious one.

Limitations

This study has a number of limitations that should be addressed, or avoided, in future studies of a similar nature. First and foremost it should be noted that the scores derived from the PAQ and AWS are proxies for gender identity and gender role beliefs. As with all psychometric tests there are limits how much of a social phenomenon can be approximated in a quantitative manner. The sample in this study was small in size, not randomly generated due to the voluntary nature of the survey administered, and is not representative of the general population. Caucasian and Latino officers made up the entire sample of respondents, African American and Asian-Pacific Islander officers' contributions were lacking. Similarly, only Catholics, non-Catholic Protestants, and non-religious affiliates gave responses to the survey leaving officer of other religious backgrounds out of the sample. Furthermore, the religion demographic question was framed to simply gather the officer religious preference, leaving the strength of their affiliation unexplored. While marital status was gathered, demographic data was not collected about the officer's spouse nor were the divisions of labor explored. This information in similar studies conducted in psychology and anthropology have further expanded the scope of gender identity and gender ideology studies.

Sample size and the nature of the variables limited the use of statistical tests that were applicable. Statistical tests were unable to be done for the interactions of marital status and racial/ethnic identity with gender identity and gender ideology. A variable requires that there be variation before any comparison can be done. The lack of variation in officers' racial/ethnic identity and marital status made these two categories not testable. The statistical tests were also limited to the level of measurement of the variable being compared with the most appropriate tests being used. The methods used to gather information about gender identity and gender ideology were taken at the ordinal and nominal level where categories could not be ranked in any mathematical manner which limits the ability to use more complex, quantitative oriented statistics.

Respondents were sampled from larger police departments serving large diverse communities in the state of Texas. This means that this sample may not be representative of all police officers, nor even all the police officers in the state of Texas. Each police department represented in this sample has different policies, styles of policing, and crime issues that could affect the way police officers respond to these surveys. An officer from a department that places a priority on service and has implemented a community policing effort may rate themselves as having more emotional intelligence and verbal skills than an officer from a department that is focused on detecting crime by traditional methods. Without this information it is difficult to differentiate if an officer's responses are based on "doing gender" or "doing policing".

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine and document police officers' gender identity and perceptions of gender roles as measured by psychometric tests. While there have been previous studies that have examined how female police officers construct gender within the policing context, they have primarily been conducted using interviews and have left the gender identity and beliefs of male officers unexplored. The study sought to answer two primary questions through the use of psychometric tests: (1) Do police officers have gender identities that match their biological sex?; and (2) Do police officers show a preference for more traditional or contemporary gender roles?

The researcher hypothesized that male and female officers would have gender identities that matched their biological sex and that female officers would have more contemporary gender role beliefs than their male counterparts. Factors such as age, education level, religious affiliation, and rank were expected to be related with an officer's gender identity and gender ideology. Findings showed that the majority of male officers identified as egalitarian, reporting that they possessed both masculine and feminine characteristics. Female officers showed less uniformity in gender identity. A majority of women identified as feminine. The age, level of education, religious affiliation, and the rank of a respondent was not in any way related with their gender identity.

Interestingly, in addition to male officers more likely than female officers to display egalitarian gender identities, male officers also identified themselves as having more contemporary beliefs about gender role than female officers. The majority of male

officers held contemporary beliefs whereas nearly half of female respondents held traditional gender role ideology. Gender role ideology was also a complex variable in that it differed depending on the situational context in which the statements that officer responded to were framed. Male and female officers, regardless of their gender identity, held more traditional beliefs about gender roles when responding to statements about intimate partner relationships and domestic situations.

Male officers' evolving beliefs about gender roles tend to be a result of the changing landscape of policing which is requiring officers to focus less on physical attributes and more on communication and emotional intelligence skills. Contrary to expectations, female officers were more likely to subscribe to feminine, rather than egalitarian, gender identities. Their adherence to feminine ideals may be in part due to the hyper masculine environment of policing consistently challenging their identity as women.

Future Studies

As with other literature in feminist criminology, this study has provided many more questions than answers. This study was limited to describing police officers gender identities and their gender role beliefs. How officers are reconciling their gender identities with their identity as police officers has been left largely unexplored. The literature would benefit from examining how being a police officer and immersion in an overly masculine environment affects male and female officers' gender identities and role beliefs. Replication of this study as well as the use of other survey or psychometric instruments to gauge police officers gender identity and gender role beliefs would add further validity to the current study. The literature would also be enhanced by specifically

gathering further information about gender identity and gender role construction among officers of different racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Specifically, the relationship between should measure the strength of an officer's affiliation with a religion and their subsequent gender identity and gender role ideology.

The interesting differences in male and female officers' perceptions of gender roles require further inquiry and explanation. The officers in this study tended to hold more traditional beliefs about men and women's roles within intimate relationships. However, the way these beliefs were measured did not allow personal relationship preferences to be distinguished from a deeper, gendered ideology. A study that applies the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), or examines domestic behavior and divisions of labor, could help to characterize if male and female officers have more acceptance of benevolent sexism rather than hostile sexism as well as the strength of these beliefs.

Another area that could benefit from further study would be the different experiences of officers, both in doing gender and doing policing, in police departments with various styles of policing. Community oriented policing requires officers to have more egalitarian skills and abilities and may affect the social atmosphere of the working environment for both male and female officers. Other types of policing, such as intelligence led policing, may require officers to have more aggressive, masculine approach to policing. Research in the future may want to investigate if different types of departments are attracting candidates with patently different gender identities and gender role ideology.

APPENDIX SECTION

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APPENDIX A: PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions:

The items below inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a PAIR of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example,

Not at all artistic A.....B.....C.....D.....E Very artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics - that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where YOU fall on the scale. For example, if you think that you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think that you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

Not at all aggressive	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very aggressive
Not at all independent	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very independent
Not at all emotional	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very emotional
Very submissive	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very dominant
Not at all excitable in a major crisis	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very excitable in a major crisis
Very passive	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very active
Not at all able to devote self completely to others	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Able to devote self completely to others
Very rough	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very gentle
Not at all helpful to others	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very helpful to others
Not at all competitive	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very competitive
Very home oriented	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very worldly
Not at all kind	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very kind
Indifferent to others approval	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Highly needful of others approval
Feelings not easily hurt	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Feelings easily hurt
Not at all aware of others feelings	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very aware of others feelings
Can make decisions easily	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Has difficulty making decisions
Gives up easily	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Never gives up easily

Never cries	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Cries easily
Not at all self-confident	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Self-confident
Feels very inferior	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Feels very superior
Not at all understanding of others	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very understanding of others
Very cold in relation with others	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very warm in relations with others
Very little need for security	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Very strong need for security
Goes to pieces under pressure	A.....B.....C.....D.....E	Stands up well under pressure

Androgyny Subscale (PAQ-MF): 1, 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 18, 23

Feminine Subscale (PAQ-F): 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 21, 22

Masculine Subscale (PAQ-M): 2, 6, 10, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24

Coding:

A= 4 B= 1 C= 2 D= 3 E= 0

Scale Meaning:

PAQ-F > PAQ-M results in a traditionally feminine gender identity

PAQ-F < PAQ-M results in a traditionally masculine gender identity

PAQ-F = PAQ-M results in an egalitarian gender identity

APPENDIX B: ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN SCALE

Instructions:

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

2.* Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

3.* It is insulting to women to have the “obey” clause remain in the marriage service.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

4.* A woman should be free as a man to propose marriage.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

6.* Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

8. Drunkenness among women is worse than drunkenness among men.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

10.* Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

11.* Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of the children.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

14.* Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

Agree strongly Agree Disagree Disagree strongly

In scoring items, A=0, B=1, C=2, D=3 except for the items with an asterisk where the scale is reversed. A high score indicates a pro-feminist, egalitarian attitude, while a low score indicates a traditional, conservative attitude towards gender roles.

APPENDIX C: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

What is your sex? (circle) Female Male

What is your age? _____

What is your race or ethnicity? (circle)

White/Caucasian Latino/a African American
Asian-Pacific Islander Other _____

What is your highest level of Education? (circle)

Some High School High School Diploma Some College
Bachelor's Degree Graduate Degree

What is your religious affiliation? (circle)

Protestant Catholic Judaism No Religious Affiliation
Other _____

What is your current marital status? (circle)

Single/Never Married Married Separated
Divorced Widowed

Do you have children? _____

If so, how many children do you have? _____

How long have you been a police officer? _____

What is your current rank? _____

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