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## Policewomen: College Students' Perceptions Of Women In Policing

Adrian Martinez

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POLICEWOMEN: COLLEGE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN IN POLICING

by

Adrian Raymond Martinez  
Bachelor of Arts, Regis University, 2009  
Master of Arts, University of Nevada Las Vegas, 2010

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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August  
2020

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This dissertation, submitted by Adrian Martinez in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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Dr. Adam Matz

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Dr. Martin Gottschalk

---

Dr. Roni Mayzer

---

Dr. Michael Meyer

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Dr. Heather Terrell

This dissertation is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

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Chris Nelson Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

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Adrian Martinez  
2020

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## ABSTRACT

Throughout history women have worked hard to enter the workplace without prejudice. More often than not, women were faced with negative public perceptions concluding they do not belong in male-dominated professions. However, over time, women have proven they can be just as good as, if not better than their male counterparts. This has been found to be true in war factories during World War II and on the streets with female police officers. Women, however, are still underrepresented when it comes to their roles in policing. This study is an exploratory examination of college students' perceptions of women in policing. This study is looking at potential trends in students' attitudes and how they may or may not have changed since Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000). Undergraduate criminal justice students who are potentially future law enforcement officers were surveyed in 2006 and 2015 at the University of North Dakota. Results show college students' perceptions overall have improved. Despite one's personal views towards women in policing, there is a pervasive skepticism towards citizen and male officer perceptions.

## INTRODUCTION

*You have the right to remain silent, anything you...*

The above words come from the Miranda warning given by law enforcement officers when they have an individual in custody and the officer has the intention of questioning the individual. The entire Miranda warning has not been provided in this paper. If it is not provided in its entirety when given to a subject, the officer may have legal complications with their case. This will become extremely critical if there are legal proceedings resulting from evidentiary items obtained from the detention of the individual that was in police custody. The part of the Miranda warning stated above is 12% of the actual warning given by officers when advising an individual of their rights, equivalent to the proportion of females in law enforcement today (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2018).

Looking at officer gender, the officers advising individuals of their rights via the Miranda warning are generally going to be male. Women are underrepresented in the policing profession (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). Just as inappropriate as providing 12% of the Miranda warning is, such disproportional representation within the policing ranks is unacceptable.

The demographic makeup of police forces should be proportional to the population they serve. It can be argued that in a perfect world, it would be beneficial for equal representation, a 50/50 split of men and women. Some may argue for equity standards, 51% of law enforcement agencies should be women to match the overall population (Cordner &

Cordner, 2011). Furthermore, the argument can be made that even 51% of the Miranda Warning is not sufficient enough when advising one of their rights. The point, however, is not consumed within how much of the Miranda warning is being advised to subjects. Rather, it is based around the notion that regardless of what the right percentage of women is in policing, 12% is not the right answer (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). For further discussion regarding equal representation, see Rabe-Hemp (2018) as she discusses why police agencies should be a representation of their communities.

Historically, women entering the workplace have faced major resistance from society. Society assigned gender roles as many believed women belonged working within the home and kitchen (Albee & Perry, 1998; Colman, 1995). There was a sense of domesticity placed on women as they were believed to have more favorable characteristics in raising a child (Barnett, 2004) than pure physical strength which was a characteristic attributed to men (Albee & Perry, 1998). However, even with negative perceptions, women still worked outside of the home.

Although women worked outside of the home, they generally worked within professions that were established within society's gender roles. Women normally worked as nurses, teachers, waitresses, etc. (Colman, 1995). However, when the United States entered World War II, women were asked to put gender roles aside and join the war on the home front. This meant women would enter male-dominated professions at a high level for the first time in history. Women workers knew they needed to prove themselves regardless of

negative perceptions from society. Women proved during the war they were capable of working in male-dominated professions. Women even proved they could do some factory work better than men (Albee & Perry, 1998; Mandel & Sinclair, 2002). However, once men returned from war, women were pushed out of work and told to return to the kitchen (Albee & Perry, 1998; Colman, 1995). For many years, the fight for equality within the workplace was a continual battle for women. The male-dominated profession of policing was no different.

Women first started entering the male-dominated profession in the late nineteenth century (Balkin, 1988; Schulz, 1995). During this time women were faced with gendered roles established within police departments. Initially, women were placed in more of a social worker orientation as opposed to a traditional police role. Therefore, women's tasks were more custodial than police oriented (Bell, 1982). It was not until the 1960s and 1970s when women began to enter uniformed patrol alongside male officers (Schulz, 1995). Women proved they could do the job just as well as male officers (Bell, 1982). Women proved themselves in policing just as women working in the factories did during World War II.

Faced with negative perceptions from male officers, women still continued to enter the male-dominated profession of policing. As women were trying to overcome gender bias within policing, more students began studying criminal justice at the collegiate level. Criminal justice became one of the fastest growing disciplines nationwide (Yim, 2009). Yim found that a majority of students in criminal justice desired to pursue a career in law

enforcement, as opposed to related fields such as corrections and parole and probation. Today, there are departments that now require police recruits to have either a two- or four-year college degree (Austin & Hummer, 2000). With these two factors, it is expected many of the students studying criminal justice will be future police officers. Therefore, their opinions toward women in policing matter as they would be the future officers of our tomorrow. However, there is limited research on college students' perceptions of women in policing.

Balkin (1998) notes male officers' perceptions of female officers is well documented and generally negative. As more departments are requiring college degrees, many of the students in criminal justice have the potential to enter policing. These students are going to bring their perceptions of women in policing with them into police departments. This is whether their perceptions are negative or not. Although minimal, studies conducted regarding college students' attitudes toward women in policing have generally been negative (Austin & Hummer, 1994; Golden, 1981; Johns, 1979; Steffensmeier, 1979).

This study is an exploratory examination of college students' attitudes toward women in policing. Have students' attitudes changed since the early 1980s? This study will compare modern student attitudes to results from Golden (1981) as well as Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000). This study is a replication of Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer's (1994; 2000) work, utilizing similar instruments, conducted in a North Dakotan setting.

This study will expand on whether over 30 years of societal change has altered college students' perceptions of women in policing as they may be future officers entering the policing profession. As Golden (1981) noted, male officer attitudes seem far more responsible for the lack of female retention in policing than actual female officer performance. If criminal justice college students are to be new police officers, their attitudes will matter to police departments trying to hire them. It is possible that the number of female officers has plateaued as women still fear not being accepted by their male counterparts. As Austin and Hummer (2000) indicated, to make more sense of the minimal positive change in college students' attitudes over the years, more detailed and clear replications of these same studies are crucial (Austin & Hummer, 1994; Golden, 1981; Steffensmeier, 1979).

In the following chapter under the literature review, the author will discuss a historical overview of women in the workplace along with a historical overview of women in policing. First, the historical overview of women in the workplace will encompass the struggle women have endured for many years trying to be accepted in the workplace. It will outline the negativity women faced when trying to enter male-dominated professions. There will be detail of women working during World War II which is believed to enhance the self-worth of women and to highlight their capabilities. More importantly, it allows the reader to understand the inequalities women were faced with not only from World War II, but for many years after. This section is comparable to the history of women in policing as it shows those entering policing were treated similarly.



The overview of the women in policing section will highlight the sexism and inequalities women faced trying to enter a male-dominated profession. The policing section will discuss how even when women proved themselves, they still were not fully accepted. Women during World War II and policewomen both proved themselves, but they both were told they still did not belong. Male officers' perceptions of their female counterparts will be discussed along with college students' perceptions towards women in policing. After the literature review, the author discusses the methods used in this exploratory examination. Finally, results and implications for practice are discussed.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Historical Overview of Women in the Workforce*

Prior to the colonization of America, men and women were both utilized in labor. Contrary to gender bias in the workforce, women have always played a critical part in labor (Kessler-Harris, 1991). According to Kessler-Harris (1991), Native Americans used women in their workforce prior to the colonization of America by the Europeans. During the preindustrial time, there were no shopping centers/malls like there are today. Therefore, the whole family worked to make sure they had the necessities to survive. Work during this time was defined as manual labor outside in the fields, but also domestic duties within the home. All family members including women completed different tasks without earning wages. If there was an item the family could not produce, the family would barter utilizing another item they could produce (Kessler-Harris, 1991). Regardless of gender, everyone needed to work together in order to survive. However, after the colonization of America by the Europeans, women's domestic duties started to change. These new changes in women's roles in the workplace started to evolve around one's wealth along with society's perception of gender roles in the workplace.

Wealth became an important factor in determining whether a woman would be supervising domestic duties or performing manual labor. The wealthiest women were supervisors of slaves and servants as they oversaw the domestic household responsibilities (Kessler-Harris, 1991). However, less prosperous women were not as fortunate. Unlike the

wealthy, poorer families needed the women to work to help the family earn wages and therefore they often became the slaves or servants for the wealthy. Servants or slaves did more of the manual labor in the household, but they also worked out of the home alongside the men plowing fields, harvesting, and working on the railroads (Albee & Perry, 1998; Kessler-Harris, 1991). Poor women did tough work and were perceived as being cheap labor, uneducated, and sex objects (Albee & Perry, 1998). Wealthy or poor, women always have had certain gender roles within society. The gender roles included manual labor outside of the home, but also domesticity. However, societal perceptions of women working beyond domesticity started to go well beyond one's wealth as society started to become more industrialized.

As America started to become more industrialized in the nineteenth century, society began to focus more on gender differences and gender roles within society. Patriarchal ideologies already existed within society, labeling men as the leader/provider of the family while emphasizing domesticity for women. However, these patriarchal ideologies were more solidified during the industrialization era. Gender differences were perceived as men having more physical talents than women and therefore making it more advantageous for them to work outside of the home instead of women (Barnett, 2004). Men have been considered to have more physical strength than women. Therefore, when more industrial jobs came along, it was seen that men were stronger and more skilled to work in these tough environments than women were (Albee & Perry, 1998). Hence, since the industrial jobs were perceived to demand high skill and strength, society reserved those jobs for men (Kessler-Harris, 1991;

Schultz, 2000). Especially when jobs were scarce, many jobs were only opened to men and the women were excluded (Albee & Perry, 1998). The traditional and derogative response outlawing women was the belief that women weren't considered suitable for work outside of the home. This is because societal perception was based around valuing women as homemakers.

Women and men historically have been encouraged and rewarded for staying engaged within their gender roles prescribed by society (Gilbert & Brownson, 1998). Even when women had the opportunity to work outside of the home, employers found reasons to terminate and exclude women. Often times the reasoning was because employers perceived women did not deserve to be working outside of the home. For example, women who were pregnant and/or married were often faced with prejudice. These prejudices either meant they were fired or not even hired (Colman, 1995; Barnett, 2004). In some instances when women were fired, they were told to go back to the kitchen (Albee & Perry, 1998). These societal perceptions are based around the patriarchal ideology that women were meant to nurture and care for one's family.

A version of a gender-difference myth included the notion that mothers are the only ones that have the innate abilities needed to promote children's healthy development (Barnett, 2004). Many perceptions were that women belonged in the home (Weatherford, 2008). Even unmarried women were treated unfairly due to the possibility of them becoming a mother in the future (Schultz, 2000). Belief that women did not want to be home to take

care of their families would be fallacious. Women understood the importance of their families and valued their housework (Schultz, 2000). Even though many women may have valued their housework, alternative opportunities were limited.

Societal norms on allowing one the right to follow their own employment choices was highly gendered (Kessler-Harris, 2003). Schultz (2000) indicated that her own mother told her she could not go to law school due to her getting married and having a baby. Societal perceptions dictated what many women could or could not do. However, those same perceptions favored allowing men to choose their own employment. This ideology goes back to the notion that women belonged in the home for working families and the man was to be the one who earned the family wage within the job market (Schultz, 2000; Kessler-Harris, 1991). In 1936, there was a poll that showed 82% of Americans believed women should not work outside of the home (Yellin, 2004). A majority of Americans may have perceived that the majority of women belonged in the kitchen, but there were still women fighting for equal employment opportunities and for women's rights.

In 1920, women made up 21% of all employed persons (U.S. Department of Labor [USDOL], 2018). Even when women were working, benefits and conditions were not ideal. A lot of women during this time were in low paying jobs. Many of these jobs consisted of work in schools, restaurants, and laundry facilities (Colman, 1995).

On June 5, 1920, the Department of Labor established the Women's Bureau (USDOL, 2018). By law, the Women's Bureau was created to help women improve their

working conditions, and wages, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment within society (USDOL, 2018).

Shortly thereafter, however, the Stock Market contributed to the Great Depression in October 1929 (Colman, 1995). During this time, families struggled and often did not know how they were going to survive. Unfortunately for women, positive perceptions of them working out of the home deteriorated. The positive perceptual gains made by the creation of the Women's Bureau stalled as unemployment escalated. The increased job force participation of women, especially married women, took a major step backwards during the Depression (Goldin, 1989). Disappointingly, the high rates of unemployment started to lead to demands for women to give up their jobs to men (Kessler-Harris, 1991). The same women who prepared themselves for employment in the twenties were now moving to the back of the unemployment line (Weatherford, 2008). Even though there were pressures for women to resign, the catastrophe of the Depression may have helped women after all. The Depression affected everyone and therefore many women could not resign as they still needed to work to help support the family too. Therefore, the pressures to reduce women working during the Depression did not work exactly as planned (Kessler-Harris, 1991). This does not negate the fact that state laws were passed to try and tell women to go back into their homes (Weatherford, 2008). Women did not listen as they continued to work as much as they could during the Depression. However, they did not make a historical presence within the employment line until a few years later.

On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, killing thousands of Americans and destroying numerous planes and ships (Colman, 1995). On December 8, 1941, the United States declared war on Japan and officially entered World War II (Colman, 1995; Yellin, 2004). Joining the war changed every aspect of life in the United States. One specific change came with the dire need for workers within the labor industry.

Not only was the American military relying on the extensive amounts of weaponry being made by the industry, but so were the American Allies (U.S. Office of Price Administration [OPA], 1946). In order to make sure these items were being produced in a timely manner, the industry needed to maintain an ample supply of workers within their factories. Unfortunately for the war industry, the majority of their workers were needed to actually fight the war. At this time the majority, if not all, of the industry workers were men. For these men, their “manpower” was now needed in the military causing a labor shortage within the industry (Colman, 1995; Albee & Perry, 1998). Therefore, to keep up with production of the war materials, the industry was unexpectedly forced to reconsider society’s perception of women in the workplace.

Women already had minimal roles within the workplace, but this became a pinnacle point in history where women finally were going to be well represented in male-dominated industrial jobs. As men were taking their manpower overseas, women were bringing their womanpower to the domestic industry (Colman, 1995; Kessler-Harris, 1991). Though there was a need for women in industrial work, there was still resistance. Many in the industry

considered women working to only be a temporary fix and not a permanent change in American employment history (Yellin, 2004). Even the War Manpower Commission (WMC) objected to the use of women in industrial type jobs (Albee & Perry, 1998).

The WMC was created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) as he knew there would be a shortage of workers by 1943 (Colman, 1995; Yellin, 2004). The WMC was established to help manage the nation's job force (Colman, 1995). The men were being drafted into the military and those left to work in war production were young men (pre-draft), those with disabilities, and women. First lady Elena Roosevelt suggested women could be a good alternative to the shortage of workers within the war factories, but the WMC objected to her suggestion (Albee & Perry, 1998). The WMC reasoned women should not work in the labor market, but over time the need for women continued to grow.

At this time, women were already in sales, clerical, and professional jobs (Goldin, 1989). However, these women wanted to obtain new jobs in the industrial labor market (Colman, 1995; Albee & Perry, 1998). They were willing to leave their current jobs because having the opportunity to work in the industrial labor market gave them a higher wage and a better way of life (Kossoudji & Dresser, 1992; Miller, 1980). However, even the inclusion of women was insufficient to meet demand.

In 1943, the shortage of women workers in industrial positions became an issue for war material production (Colman, 1995). Therefore, the WMC started to prepare propaganda to recruit more women. Even though the WMC rejected recruiting housewives, especially



those with children, housewives became the new highly targeted recruitment class (Albee & Perry, 1998; Colman, 1995; Kossoudji & Dresser, 1992). Due to labor needs, societal perceptions of women in the workplace were challenged.

Although the consensus was that America needed more women to leave their domestic responsibilities for more patriotic responsibilities, these changes were not as simple as perceived. Married women and those married with children were the last to be recruited because society had a strong perception of women needing to stay home with their children to take care of them (Colman, 1995). Furthermore, Colman (1995) explains there were numerous societal perceptions regarding married women in the workplace. She explains many individuals within society felt that married women should not work outside of the home because it was perceived that one family income was sufficient to support a family. Even husbands did not want their wives to work in the war industry as they felt they were not smart enough or simply because they did not want women to take a man's job if the man was still capable of working (Yellin, 2004; Colman, 1995).

The WMC knew it would be a difficult task to sell the idea of women working in the war industry to their husbands, bosses, and co-workers (Colman, 1995). This is why the WMC started to think of every way they could to try and recruit women in the workplace. One strategy which helped lure women out of their domestic home positions was to glorify how patriotic it would be for them to join the war fight. It was pronounced to women that, in order to defeat Hitler, women needed to become the "soldierettes" of the home front (Hepler,

1998). The glorification of patriotism has been considered by many to have been a strong reason why masses of women came into the war industry (Colman, 1995; Goldin, 1989; Miller, 1980; Yellin, 2004; Kossoudji & Dresser, 1992). Patriotism would not be the only answer. The WMC flooded society with numerous types of propaganda to encourage women to enter the workplace. Many forms of the propaganda included various posters, art, movies, and music. Generally, all of the propaganda depicted women as strong, beautiful, patriotic, and capable of being successful in the workplace. For example, in 1943, the Daily Hampshire Gazette published a cartoon of WMC's Paul McNutt measuring the strength of an American woman war worker (Colman, 1995). In the photo, McNutt has a tape measure around a woman war worker's bicep as she stands in a spotlight. The woman is posing as if she is a beautiful model on a runway. However, the most iconic form of propaganda derived from World War II came from one musical song.

Rosie the Riveter is not a specific person, but a representation of those women who served in the war factories to help fight the war. Further, Rosie was a representation of the women who exemplified opposition to patriarchal ideologies. Rosie the Riveter was first written in 1942 by Red Evans and John Loeb (Colman, 1995). The song encouraged women to enter the war industry as it promoted patriotism and confidence in women succeeding in the workplace. Rosie the Riveter is often associated with a particular poster but, in actuality, the poster was not intended to be a symbol for Rosie the Riveter. Colman (1995) explains that in 1943, J. Howard Miller produced a poster for Westinghouse Corporation. The poster showed a woman wearing a red bandana and a factory suit. Her right arm is up in the air with

her fist clenched as if she is showing off her muscles. The woman is also wearing makeup and fingernail polish to show her beauty. The top of the poster said “We Can Do It.” This poster symbolized that women have the strength and beauty to work for Westinghouse Corporation. Although Colman (1995) explains how the association of this poster with Rosie the Riveter is incorrect, it still symbolizes how the WMC encouraged propaganda referencing how women can be strong and beautiful while working in the workplace.

Prior to the war, women’s roles within the military were limited. Women were only allowed to be nurses within the military (Yellin, 2004). This captured society’s perception that women were caretakers, not fighters. This exemplified the notion that the military was a masculine entity. The definition of military and soldier referenced masculinity and men with guns in combat (Meyer, 1992). Meyer explains these definitions excluded women because their entrance within the military would only be considered an abdication of their duties within the home. Just as some women showed their patriotism by joining the war factory industry, some women wanted to show their patriotism by fighting the war in a military uniform. However, women were constantly met with resistance.

There were negative perceptions not only by society, but by Congress. Yellin (2004) indicated there was an immense disdain and protectiveness that went into trying to keep women from fighting in combat. Yellin explained there was always a proviso within society that women simply should not fight in combat even though women had proven themselves in previous wars. The different military branches started to allow women in, but restricted their

role. Many of the women in the military were given civilian positions such as translators and telephone operators (Yellin, 2004). There continued to be obstacles set within the military to avoid allowing women to fight in combat. Bills were introduced to try and help facilitate gender equality within the military during the war, but they were generally turned down. However, in 1942, a bill endorsed by U.S. Representative Edith Rogers of Massachusetts finally passed the Senate and was signed into law by FDR (Yellin, 2004). Roger's bill was aimed at giving women similar status as men within the military (i.e. pay, benefits, full military status, etc.). The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) was formed from Roger's bill (U.S. Department of Defense [DOD], 1995; Yellin, 2004). This bill did not include women directly into the Army, but instead gave women their own section within the Army. However, according to the Department of Defense, in 1943, Congress allowed the WAAC to be fully integrated into the Army thus removing "Auxiliary" from the name. As the Army had with the WAC, other branches of the military started to form their own women groups too. Military female members were associated with the following groups within the different military branches: Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES), Semper Paratus, Always Ready (SPAR), Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASPS) (DOD, 1995; Yellin, 2004). However, even though these groups were formed, perceptions were still negative and women never received treatment equal to the male soldiers.

Women within the military were limited by excessive rules and regulations. WAC soldiers in the Army were not allowed to carry or use weapons, WAVES were restricted to on-shore duties as they were not allowed to serve out in the open sea, and WASPS were only

allowed to fly over the United States (DOD, 1995; Yellin, 2004). Although many of the branches had restrictions for women in combat, the WAC were able to do something that no other military branch allowed. The Army restricted its women as did every other branch, but the Army did allow women to go overseas (DOD, 1995; Yellin, 2004). However, the positions overseas still did not allow women to enter combat. The WAC soldiers were given office type jobs once they were overseas (DOD, 1995). Even though women were restricted, progress was still slow. Women were finally getting the opportunity to prove themselves.

There were over six million women who joined the workplace with approximately 275,000 of those women joining the military (DOD, 1995; Yellin, 2004). There was a total of approximately 18 million women working during World War II (Colman, 1995). More women were called to serve and they responded. At times, many even perceived women did better work in the factories than men as they appeared to be more accurate and productive (Albee & Perry, 1998; Mandel & Sinclair, 2002). Women themselves felt the war allowed them to prove themselves in male-dominated jobs (Mandel & Sinclair, 2002). It appeared perceptions of women working outside of the home might finally be growing with positivity. Unfortunately for women, even with them proving their worth within a male-dominated workplace, the war was coming to an end and perceptions would soon change.

There was the notion that America needed everyone to win the war. However, once there was indication the war would end, different propaganda started to surface. Recruitments started to tell women to come work temporarily, but once the men returned from combat,

women would return back to the home (Albee & Perry, 1998; Kossoudji & Dresser, 1992; Miller, 1980; Colman, 1995). For some women, September 2, 1945, became the day where all of their successes seemed to become meaningless.

September 2, 1945, World War II officially ended when the Japanese signed the surrender agreement (Colman, 1995). Women were told to return to their domestic roles within the home (Albee & Perry, 1998). A majority of women lost their jobs when the war ended and the men returned (Albee & Perry, 1998; Mandel & Sinclair, 2002). Some women did not mind leaving, but others wanted to stay. Luckily, some of the women who wanted to stay in their current position were able to retain their jobs. However, most women who remained within the factories lost their current positions to men as they were pushed to less desirable jobs (Miller, 1980). By 1946, more than 3 million women were out of the workplace, with the percentage of women in the labor force dropping from 36% to 29% (Colman, 1995; Miller, 1980). However, as noted by Colman (1995) and Miller (1980), these numbers were still higher than when the war began. Although the numbers were higher, the lack of respect shown towards women when the men returned from war magnified the perception that women still had a lot of work to do to fight for gender equality within the workplace.

It did not take long for women to start fighting back for their rights. In 1948, women in the workplace started to increase once again (Colman, 1995). However, women were still limited in regards to when and how much they could work. During this time, there were still

numerous sexist laws and policies that affected how many hours a woman could work and when a woman could work (Aiken et al., 2013). However, the fight for women's equality in the workplace continued to move forward. Legislation continued to be brought forward but, unfortunately for women, the legislation never became law. Much of the legislation was constitutional based proposals aimed at the protection of women, but they repeatedly failed (Hersch & Shinall, 2015). However, there were two pieces of legislation which would soon become vital in helping women obtain the rights they deserved within a society that still perceived them as being less than men in the workplace. The two pieces of legislation were the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA) and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (CRA). These Acts were preceded by the establishment of the U.S. Presidential Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW).

President John F. Kennedy (JFK) was president during the early 1960s. During his time as president, JFK worked to enhance the rights of women. In 1961, JFK, with the encouragement of Esther Peterson, created the PCSW (Aiken et al., 2013; McGuire, 2017). The PCSW was tasked to research the status of women. The PCSW affirmed from their research that the federal government needed to guarantee equality for all women (PCSW, 1963). One element the PCSW focused on during their research was the inequality in pay for women workers.

In the PCSW's (1963) report to JFK, they noted several issues regarding the inequality of pay between men and women. The Commission noted in their report that in

1961, women only made 60% of what men earned. They also found that when men and women were doing the same job, women were still being paid less. The PCSW informed JFK that a majority of the low paying jobs were filled solely by women. The PCSW outlined in their report that many employers weren't paying women the same, but these employers also did not want to hire women because they were perceived to have a higher non-wage cost. For example, employers felt younger women would only work temporarily as they would soon leave to adhere to family time within the home. They continued to note in their report that employers perceived women to be both sick and absent more than men. Employers also thought hiring married women would lead to higher turnover as they believed the family's residence location was solely based around the husband's place of employment. The only way the PCSW believed inequality in pay could be fixed was for the President to enact an executive order (PCSW, 1963). Based off the work completed by the PCSW and JFK, Congress passed the EPA (Aiken et al., 2013).

The EPA outlawed pay discrimination by gender which required equal pay for equal work (Aiken et al., 2013; Neumark & Stock, 2006). The EPA became a monumental step for women working towards equality in the workplace. However, the EPA still showed concerns for women. There were deep concerns that employer's preferences would be not to hire women rather than paying them higher and/or equal wages. Unfortunately for women, an EPA violation was and still is very difficult to prove and fight. Ultimately, the Federal government became too busy with other responsibilities, they did not have the resources to prosecute the law violations pertaining to the EPA. The Equal Employment Opportunity



Commission who oversees the EPA gained too many responsibilities and, with their failures to prosecute gender-based pay discrimination claims, they left the burden of pay equality on the shoulders of the women seeking their own rights (Houghton, 1999). According to Houghton, the Federal Government was forcing equal pay for equal work to only those who were brave enough to take their employers on within the courtroom. Over the years, women have had difficulties within the courtroom trying to prove their employers have not been paying them equally as the EPA states. For example, women have shown it has been difficult to establish evidence detailing how they have been paid less for performing similar job duties as their male counterparts (Greenlaw & Lee, 1993). However, this should not take away the historical significance of the EPA. Even though the EPA was not perfect, it created the first dynamic step in furthering the notion that women deserved equal treatment within the workplace (Houghton, 1999; McGuire, 2017).

JFK was a big proponent of working towards a civil rights bill. Although JFK laid the groundwork for the CRA, he was ultimately assassinated in 1963 before any bill could be signed into law (Aiken et al., 2013). However, many believe the assassination of JFK was monumental in directing changes in attitudes for the CRA (Bent-Goodley, 2014; Hersch & Shinall, 2015). After JFK's assassination, Lyndon B. Johnson became president. Johnson continued to work on the bill and, on July 2, 1964, Johnson signed the CRA into law (Aiken et al., 2013; Bent-Goodley, 2014). Although the bill passed, it did go through modifications prior to its enactment. One of the major modifications was the addition of "sex."

Many individuals associate the CRA with the struggle for African Americans to gain equality within employment (Hersch & Shinall, 2015). However, the CRA protects more than just race. The CRA sought to improve access to voting, public accommodations, and employment for those being discriminated against based on their race, sex, color, and religion (Hersch & Shinall, 2015). Sex was not initially incorporated within the bill. Sex was not added into the bill until House Representative Howard Smith proposed the addition within Title VII (Aiken et al., 2013; Hersch & Shinall, 2015). Title VII made it illegal for employers to discriminate based on one's color, religion, sex, or national origin (Hersch & Shinall, 2015). Hersch and Shinall explain that the addition became monumental in the protections of women in the labor market. The passing of the CRA gave women the courage and motivation to continue their fight for equality. In 1972, women gained another milestone to expand their equality within America.

In 1972, the Education Amendments of 1972 were enacted into law. Title IX has become the most famous part of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX says “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (USDOL, 2017). Title IX focused on educational equality and not workplace equality. However, it represents another positive step forward for women and their fight for equality. Women continued to push forward trying to make additional positive changes surrounding their workplace rights.

In 1978, women obtained more workplace rights as the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 (PDA) was enacted into law. The PDA expanded on Title VII from the CRA and included protections for pregnant women who were being discriminated against by their employers (Palley, 2017). On paper, this act allowed women to continue strengthening their equality within the workplace. However, as Palley (2017) states, pregnancy discrimination is still present in the workplace for women. Unfortunately for women, pregnancy discrimination was not the only issue women still faced.

Toward the end of the 1970s, women in community property states were faced with patriarchal prejudice when it came to property ownership. In these states, the husband was traditionally the “head and master,” giving him unilateral power to dispose of property (Cain & Love, 2014). This type of law followed the patriarchal notion that the man should be in control. Louisiana’s Article 2404 specified that a husband was able to dispose of jointly owned property without getting consent from their spouse. However, *Kirchberg v. Feenstra* (1981) ruled that Louisiana’s Article 2404 was unconstitutional as it violated the Equal Protection Clause within the Fourteenth Amendment. This ruling allowed women to obtain more equality within their relationships when it pertained to joint property but, more importantly, it diminished a law based around male dominance.

In 1981, Sandra Day O’Connor (Justice O’Connor) would make history for women within a male dominated profession. The Supreme Court of the United States (SCUS) was established in 1789. From 1789 to 2018, there have been 114 justices appointed to the SCUS.

However, until 1981, all Justices appointed were male. It was not until President Reagan appointed Justice O'Connor did women have representation within the country's highest of courts (Hemmens et al., 2020). It took 192 years for women to break the barriers of a male-dominated high court. Although the appointment of Justice O'Connor was progress for women, there was no other female representation on the SCUS until the appointment of Ruth Bader Ginsburg in 1993 by President Clinton. According to the SCUS, there were four male appointments between Justice O'Connor and Justice Ginsburg. However, since the appointments of Justices O'Connor and Ginsburg, there have been two more women appointed to the SCUS, Elena Kagan and Sonia Sotomayor (Hemmens et al., 2020).

Justice Ginsburg was not only appointed to the SCUS in 1993, but the SCUS also made an important ruling regarding women's rights in the same year. Ms. Teresa Harris was working for an equipment rental company when she was being sexually harassed by her employer within an abusive work environment (McGuire, 1995). Harris' case went before the SCUS. *Harris v. Forklift Sys.* (1993) established that a reasonable employee can determine a "hostile or abusive work environment" and therefore the sexual harassment endured by Harris was a violation of Title VII within the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This case gave women more rights as they continued to work towards equality in the workplace.

In 1996, the Department of Justice challenged the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) due to its admission policy. VMI was a higher education institution that only enrolled male students to prepare them as "citizen soldiers" (Rolando, 2006). Rolando explains that VMI's

culture was intense and, for them to achieve their objective, they need homogeneity of gender. However, this notion of sexism appeared to be unconstitutional. The United States sued VMI indicating their admission policy was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause (*United States v. Virginia et al.*, 1996). It was ruled VMI's admission policy of admitting only men was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. Women again made progress in their fight for equal rights, but it appeared there were still negative perceptions regarding gender equality within the workplace.

Equal pay for women was still a cause for concern as gender bias remained within the workplace. Lilly Ledbetter worked in a Goodyear Tire factory where she retired in 1998 (*Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.*, 2007). Around her last day working, Ledbetter found she had been discriminated against in her pay while working for Goodyear. Therefore, Ledbetter filed a suit against Goodyear with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC] (Sullivan, 2010).

Ledbetter argued that supervisors gave her poor evaluations throughout her career solely based on her sex and therefore, once she retired, she was not making as much as her male colleagues. Unfortunately for Ledbetter, it was found that her claim was untimely as she surpassed the 180 days for one to make a Title VII complaint when the person believes there is an unlawful employment practice occurring towards them. Subsequently, the SCUS ruled Ledbetter would have needed to report claims to the EEOC within 180 days after each

discriminatory employment decision (*Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.*, 2007).

Although Ledbetter was unsuccessful in her case with the SCUS, President Barack Obama would later act on her behalf.

Two years after *Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.* (2007), the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Restoration Act (FRA) would be signed into law by Obama (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC], n.d.). According to the EEOC, the FRA overturned the *Ledbetter v. Goodyear* ruling with its enactment. The FRA would not have a strict timeline as each paycheck would now constitute a separate violation. In *Ledbetter v. Goodyear*, all of Ledbetter's paychecks were considered just one act. With the FRA, however, each paycheck becomes its own violation. The FRA also helped recognize the wage discrimination that was occurring within the workplace (EEOC, n.d.). However, even though this act gave women progress towards gender equality in regards to pay, women still struggled to gain full equality.

Since before World War II, women have fought for equality and similar rights to men. Women proved during World War II that they could work alongside men in jobs that were labeled and perceived as male-dominated jobs. At times, it was believed women did better work than men in the perceived male-dominated jobs (Albee & Perry, 1998; Mandel & Sinclair, 2002). The implementation of the EPA, CRA, Title IX, PDA, and FRA all granted women monumental progress for equality.

Even with the numerous bills being enacted into law and the court cases, women are still being discriminated against within the workplace. Women still face pregnancy discriminations along with equal pay discriminations (Palley, 2017; Lane & Flowers, 2015). No matter how much women have proven themselves and fought for equality, it appears the perception that women are inferior to men within the workplace is still prevalent today. Bent-Goodley (2014) dictates there is still a lot of work for us to do in order to find out which civil rights acts need to be enforced in today's society. Unfortunately for women, these negative perceptions within the workplace have continued to follow them throughout history even when progress has been made. Sadly, the male-dominated job of policing is no exception.

### *Women in Policing*

#### *Historical Overview of Women in Policing*

Throughout history, women have fought against societal perceptions that they only belonged within the home. Women have fought tirelessly for equality within the workplace while simultaneously trying to prove their worth to men and fight the combative societal demand for them to be the caretaker of the family (Pogrebin, 1986). This negative perception of women by society remains relevant when discussing the profession of policing. It may even be worth arguing that early on in history, policing exacerbated the perception that women belonged within the home and not on the streets as police officers. This could be tied to the notion of policing being a male-dominated, para-military, profession. Furthermore, it

could be related to policing being perceived as work with highly gendered tasks (Pogrebin, 1986).

Historically, policing, like most gendered occupations, was closed off to women. The male occupation of policing eventually opened to women even though they were once excluded (Golden, 1982). However, the first roles of women in policing were not congruent to the roles of female officers today. As in most gendered occupations, women in policing were discriminated against as they endured a long battle to reach any form of substantial equality with their male counterparts.

During the nineteenth century, there were women's organizations fighting for the introduction of women in policing. One of the more prominent organizations fighting for women to join the police profession was the Women's Christian Temperance Union [WCTU] (Balkin, 1988; Higgins, 1951; Schulz, 1993). In 1845 with the help of the WCTU, the first six women were hired in policing in New York City (Balkin, 1988). However, these six women did not have roles congruent with women officers today. These women were not even called police officers. The six women appointed to the New York City Police Department in 1845 were called "matrons." Matrons were not police officers nor did they do investigations or patrol work (Janus et al., 1988). According to Janus and colleagues, matrons were considered more of social service workers for the police departments. By having matrons, police departments created gendered roles.



As male officers continued their daily routines, matrons were beginning to be introduced to police departments. Between 1880 and 1886, matrons were appointed in thirteen of the larger cities within the United States (Balkin, 1988). However, normal patrol work was still completed by male officers. Matrons were solely hired to supervise the women and children that were in custody within the prisons, detention houses, and mental hospitals (Balkin, 1988). However, matrons played a significant role in the official recognition regarding the idea that female prisoners needed to be handled by other women (Higgins, 1951; Owings, 1925). This ideology further developed the specialized and gendered roles women claimed within policing during this time (Schulz, 1993). Despite strong societal perceptions already that women belonged within the home, the tasks of matrons appeared to not help facilitate strong growth for equality for women within police departments. However, it was still an intricate part in starting a revolution.

During the time of matrons being introduced into their gendered roles within police departments, women shared the same belief as male counterparts. According to Schulz (1993), women and men shared the same belief that the woman's sphere revolved around maternal and moral concerns. Therefore, a woman was not only the housekeeper of the home but if the woman entered public service, she would then become society's housekeeper (Schulz, 1993). This ideology allowed matrons to continue those beliefs by solely providing "motherly" care to the women and children in police custody. The WCTU continued to fight for matrons to be hired as they reminded supporters that a female prisoner may be in such an intoxicated state that no man shall see her during that time of distress (Schulz, 1993). Hence,

it would be the time for a matron to not only handle another woman, but for her to care for another at the same time. Schulz also states that the WCTU was concerned that female offenders would be victimized by male officers in the jails. The matrons were utilized to try and prevent any crimes against the incarcerated women (Ramsland, 2011). These ideas fueled the gendered tasks of matrons within police departments. For some women, the gendered tasks were satisfactory.

During this time in policing history, it appeared women were content with the gendered roles within the policing profession. This should not, however, be misconstrued that women did not want other women to be hired. There was still eagerness amongst women and the WCTU to get more women hired by police departments. After the WCTU was successful in gaining more matrons, they worked towards the hiring of policewomen (Schulz, 1993). However, this notion of contentment with the gendered roles for women within policing seemed to remain prevalent for many years. This may have been because many policewomen had no interest in doing active patrol work like their male counterparts (Schulz, 1993).

In 1893, the first “policewoman” was appointed in the city of Chicago (Higgins, 1951; Bell, 1982; Janus et al., 1988). The policewoman appointed was Mrs. Marie Owens (Ramsland, 2011). However, the appointment of Owens was not the typical appointment one may envision. Owens became a patrolwoman when she was appointed by the Mayor of Chicago as Owens was a widow of an officer (Higgins, 1951; Schulz, 1995). The

appointment by the Mayor was to provide for Owens (Owings, 1925). This practice was implemented because of the nonexistence of pension plans for officers' widows (Ramsland, 2011). According to Ramsland, Owens had arrest powers, but she never wore a uniform or walked a beat. Owens continued the gendered roles assigned to matrons throughout her career as a patrolwoman. Through 30 years of work, Owens visited courts and assisted detectives with their cases involving women and children (Owings, 1925). The pattern of women solely working with women and children continued whether one was a matron or a policewoman.

After the appointment of Owens, there was another policewoman appointed in 1905. Mrs. Lola Baldwin was appointed as a policewoman in Portland, Oregon, during the Lewis and Clark Exposition (Owings, 1925; Higgins, 1951). Baldwin was appointed with police powers that revolved around the protection of women and young girls. These powers were to effectively deal with the social conditions threatening the moral safety of the juveniles and women during the exposition (Owings, 1925; Higgins, 1951; Bell, 1982). According to Owings (1925), Baldwin and the police department were both content with their roles as neither wanted women to be known as "police." During this time, women were known more as operatives or workers over the term police (Higgins, 1951). Baldwin did not carry a weapon nor wear a uniform (Ramsland, 2011). Baldwin's effort made her be considered more of a safety worker as she acted more as a surrogate for wayward girls (Ramsland, 2011). Even after Baldwin, the gendered roles with policewoman protecting juveniles and women continued with the appointment of a police matron in North Dakota.

In 1909, The Florence Crittendon Circle of Grand Forks, North Dakota, started advocating for women to have police powers to help with poor social conditions revolving around delinquency (Owings, 1925). Women did not accrue police powers to compete with male officers or to fight against their gendered roles. Instead they accrued police powers to focus on juveniles. In 1910, the City Council of Grand Forks agreed to the proposal and created a police matron position (Higgins, 1951; Owings, 1925). However, this notion of contentment by women in policing started to change with the appointment of Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells in Los Angeles.

Even with the implementation of matrons, and a few policewomen with police powers, there was no woman in policing deemed more historic than Wells. For some, the appointment of Wells in 1910 became the true beginning of women's entry into U.S. policing (Schulz, 1993). It is also believed by some that Wells was the first officially classified policewoman (Bell, 1982). Wells advocated for change, but she also continued the ideology of women in policing by having gendered roles of working with women and children. Wells petitioned to become a policewoman to assist with her protective and preventive work with women and children (Schulz, 1993). For Wells, the best way for women to effectively complete these tasks was to have full police powers (Balkin, 1988).

Wells continued to conduct her work by focusing on women and children. Her duties involved enforcing laws around dance halls, movie theaters, skating rinks, and other recreational areas utilized by women and children (Schulz, 1993). While encompassing her

new police powers, Wells also received the typical police equipment generally issued to male officers. Wells received a rule book, a telephone call box key, a first-aid manual, and a badge (Ramsland, 2011; Schulz, 1993). One item not mentioned was a gun but, according to Ramsland (2011), Wells indicated she did not need a gun or a club for the tasks she would be doing. Unfortunately for Wells, her appointment did not go unnoticed as it generated an ample amount of coverage from the media.

The media parodied Wells by creating caricatures within their newspapers. Newspapers created cartoonish caricatures of Wells, depicting her as a masculine individual bearing non-feminine/unattractive clothing (Bell, 1982; Owings, 1925; Schulz, 1993). However, even though the media tried to ridicule Wells, many still respected her. Many individuals took her seriously (Schulz, 1993) and many favored women police officers (Owings, 1925). Wells seemed to not be bothered by the media and their tactics. Wells was very blunt and open with the media when they asked her questions. Wells told the media she felt women could perform certain duties better than men (Ramsland, 2011). More importantly, Wells believed women were more skilled than men in questioning abused women and children (Ramsland, 2011). Even though she acknowledged she would not be fighting the typical street crimes as would her male counterparts, Wells embraced the challenge of advancing more positive perceptions of women in policing.

The WCTU believed in Wells and her message of recruiting more policewomen. Wells went on a speaking tour for the WCTU, visiting 31 cities in 30 days (Owings, 1925;

Schulz, 1993). Although Wells was advocating for more women in policing, society's perceptions of women in policing were still negative. However, even with resistance, Wells appeared to be making progress. There were many cities which began to act and hire policewomen within their departments (Schulz, 1993). There is no doubt that her efforts in fighting for women's equality in policing contributed to the rise of policewomen. By 1916, there were 30 cities which had appointed women to their police departments (Balkin, 1988). Although, many of the women would not have been hired without help. Within many of the cities, the governments were feeling outside pressures from demands to appoint women within their police departments (Schulz, 1993). Even with demands, there were still two cities that were resistant to adding women to their police departments. Cleveland and Boston were two cities where supporters of policewomen were met with resistance. Cleveland and Boston did not have their first female officers until the 1920s (Schulz, 1993). This did not deter Wells and other women from pushing forward.

In 1915, Wells and other policewomen met at a national meeting. During this meeting, Wells helped create the International Association of Policewomen [IAP] (Ramsland, 2011). The fascinating part about the creation of the IAP is that it was created at a social worker's national meeting and not a police conference (Schulz, 1993). This reverts back to the notion that policewomen were working based on social worker principles and not male gendered policing tactics. Furthermore, the IAP worked to continue publicizing the current roles for devoted policewomen (Ramsland, 2011; Schulz, 1993). IAP also wanted to set high employment standards and to create women's bureaus (Schulz, 1993). Standards for

policewomen were reinforced through the help of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP). In 1922, the IACP released a set of standards for policewomen (Janus et al., 1988). This coincided with the IACP's passing of a resolution identifying women as an integral part of a modern police department (Higgins, 1951).

For policewomen, their standards were higher than their counterparts. Most male officers during this time did not have a high school degree (Schulz, 1993). However, most female officers had a high school degree and it eventually became a prerequisite for women. By 1933, policewomen needed to have a good education, formal training and experience in social work, a pleasant personality, and a good attitude when dealing with young women (Bell, 1982). As Bell noted, men did not need to have the same characteristics as female officers. He noted that in the 1940s, policewomen were advised to have a college degree and not be overly feminine. As with separate standards, policewoman and policemen were almost separate with everything they did.

Gendered roles seemed to continue as women maintained their segregated roles. Policewomen generally did not work within the police departments as they often worked within created women's bureaus (Schulz, 1993). Schulz continues to explain that the IAP and IACP both endorsed keeping policemen and policewomen separated. This ideology was fixated on some women's beliefs that they possessed a specialty and/or uniqueness that policemen did not. For policewomen there was a sense of contentment. For some women, their views of gendered roles within the police departments were an exact match for those

who opposed women being police officers (Schulz, 1993; 1995). The same women felt they could continue focusing on women and children while policemen had no desire completing those tasks. However, it should not be ignored that the contentment women had with their roles could have been a factor in the sluggish rise of equality for women within policing.

It could be argued that collective contentment delayed the fight for equality. There was a lot of emphasis placed on women having special skills when dealing with women and children, but these specialty talks undercut the progressive nature of talks towards police equality (Balkin, 1988). Balkin continued to explore the notion that arguing the idea of policewomen being specialists potentially may have hurt policewomen in the end. His reasoning was that the idea of women being labeled specialists may have excluded any positive perception that women could conduct general police work outside of their “specialties.” With some women being content with their specialties within policing, the women’s bureaus helped define women’s participation. The women’s bureaus defined policewomen’s participation up until the early 1970s (Schulz, 1993). It can also be argued that women were arguing the specialties solely to get their feet into the door of police departments. Furthermore, there would have been no chance Americans would have agreed to let women into police departments to do a “man’s job” if they argued they could perform policemen tasks just as well as them (Appier, 1998). As years would pass, however, women’s demands for specialty spots would later turn into equality demands (Schulz, 1995). Prior to the new demands, women being hired into police departments started to slow during the Great Depression.



Women entering police departments was growing, but it soon started to stall out. By the end of the 1920s, large police departments only had one or two policewomen. The small number of policewomen stayed within the women's sphere of dealing with women, children, and moral issues (Schulz, 1993). Between 1925 and 1965, there were advances for policewomen, but they were still small (Balkin, 1988). The Great Depression could be seen as a reason for the stagnate numbers of women joining police departments during the 1920s and 1930s but, realistically, the Depression hurt everyone in the workplace. However, it just hurt women more due to the negative perception of women participating in the workplace outside of the home. Schulz (1993) argued that the policewomen's movement stalled not necessarily because of the Depression, but because of the demise of the IAP in 1932 and a new shift in law enforcement philosophy.

During the 1920s, the women's movement was based around crime prevention. Women were being hired as policewomen through social activism. The social activism by women's groups revolved around the crime prevention model (Appier, 1998). The crime prevention model solidified gendered roles within policing as policewomen were solely focusing on women, children, and moral issues. According to Appier (1998), the crime prevention model consisted of three parts: The highest form of police work was social work, women were better than men when dealing with certain issues, and crime prevention is the most important function of the police. This ideology seemed to work during the women's movement, but social activists started to dwindle away. Not only did the IAP dismantle, but

many started to lose interest in the idea of policewomen focusing on morality enforcement and crime prevention (Schulz, 1995).

Beginning in the early 1930s, crime maintenance and/or crime prevention began to be pushed towards the back. This was a setback for policewomen as they had fought for many years to show they had certain specialties. However, the top priority of police went from crime prevention to crime fighting (Schulz, 1995). Due to the shift in philosophies, policewomen essentially became invisible (Schulz, 1993). Women were pushed aside as their specialties were viewed as irrelevant in the new philosophy of crime fighting (Appier, 1998). However, the presence of women in policing resurfaced in the 1940s.

World War II opened the door for many women to enter the workplace. During the war, the number of policewomen began to increase again. However, the increase in policewomen was only numerical in nature (Schulz, 1993). Policewomen during the war did not gain any new roles. Women continued their morality enforcement and working with women and children (Schulz, 1995). While completing their work, women continued mainly to work in their normal street clothes. The war did conceptualize the idea of women wearing police uniforms. However, most women only wore uniforms during parades or special events. According to Schulz (1995), this is because uniforms did not become an everyday occurrence for policewomen until the 1970s. Even though the war had great success in proving to society that women could perform male-dominated job duties, women were generally not given the same opportunity within policing. Schulz continued to establish that

very rarely were policewoman allowed to work beyond their traditional roles during wartime. However, policewomen benefitted more in policing at the end of the war than other women did elsewhere in the workplace. Unlike most women at the end of the war, policewomen mostly maintained their employment (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). The momentum gained during the war continued for policewomen during the 1950s.

By the time the 1950s arrived, the social worker policewoman started to disappear. Women were now more centered on the ideology of being equals with their male counterparts (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). These women wanted to be crime fighters (Rabe-Hemp, 2018; Schulz, 1995). These women officers were focused on eliminating the segregation between them and their male counterparts. This meant policewomen needed to move away from the security they had within the women's bureaus (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). These policewomen needed to eliminate the ideology of the women's sphere (Schulz, 1995). Policewomen started to progress more towards equality with their male counterparts. More equality meant distancing themselves from their "specialties" which in return allowed women to pave their way to working uniformed patrol. Fighting for equality still did not come overnight. However, policewomen started to gain more responsibilities. Some of these responsibilities came from the re-establishment of the IAP.

In 1956, the IAP was re-established under the new name of International Association of Women Police [IAWP] (Rabe-Hemp, 2018; Schulz, 1995). The IAWP decided they too needed to distance themselves from their past mission. IAWP's new mission was integrating

policewomen directly into the police departments without the segregation of the women's bureaus (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). The IAWP moved away from their social worker roots to help progress with the integration of policewomen into police departments (Schulz, 1995). New assignments were starting to be given out to policewomen. To the surprise of many, women started working undercover with their male counterparts (Schulz, 1993). Although women had some new assignments, many policewomen still did some of the traditional work relating to women and children (Schulz, 1993). Policewomen were progressing, but the change was slow.

As women slowly worked towards equality in their pursuit to work patrol alongside their male counterparts, promoting within the ranks of the police departments also advanced slowly. It was not until 1965 when the first female sergeant was appointed in New York City (Janus et al., 1988). However, this advancement was not obtained through normal means. Felicia Schpritzer had to resort to suing the New York City Police Department in order for women to be eligible to take the promotional exam for sergeant (Schulz, 1993; Bell, 1982). Schpritzer filed her lawsuit as she questioned whether the use of the word "patrolman" was an eligible title which would constitute her ineligibility to be a sergeant solely based on her gender (Schulz, 1995). Schulz (1995) indicated the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court ruled there were no tasks within the duties of sergeants that dictated policewomen could not perform sergeant duties due to their gender. This small victory continued to pave the way for policewomen's desire for equality.

Although changes were small and not equal across the board, women continued to make small advancements towards equality. In 1968, Indianapolis assigned two women to “Car 47,” a marked patrol car, where they answered general calls for service (Schulz, 1993). This was the time where women were finally starting to get the opportunity to work active uniformed patrol. At this time, policewomen started to leave the social work role and began inheriting the crimefighter role of their male counterparts (Schulz, 1995). Although Schulz (1995) explains the two policewomen were not given much respect at first, she explains they eventually earned the respect of their male counterparts when they arrested a man for beating his wife to death. Car 47 started to revolutionize the modern era of policewomen with their general patrol work, but they were also assisted by new laws.

As mentioned earlier, in 1972, Congress amended Title VII within the 1964 Civil Rights Act to declare that employers may not discriminate against anyone based on their gender. The amendment had positive influence with women trying to gain employment within policing as it made it illegal for police departments to discriminate against women. Women also received equality support with the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The LEAA was created through the 1968 Safe Streets and Omnibus Crime Control Act (Robin, 1974; Schulz, 1995). LEAA’s focus was to improve the criminal justice system. This included grants. Local governments received 40% of the law enforcement funds given out by the LEAA (Schulz, 1995). In 1973, the Crime Control Act was amended. This amendment banned gender discrimination by police agencies that received federal funds through the LEAA (Rabe-Hemp, 2018; Bell, 1982). If a department

discriminated against someone of a particular sex, they would risk losing their funds. For some departments, that could have meant monies for equipment and/or training. Police departments needed to change their policies, if not their attitudes (Balkin, 1988). The new legislation regarding equality along with the previous groundwork completed by policewomen helped develop momentum in the progression of women in policing.

In 1974, there were 2,859 women in law enforcement (Janus et al., 1988). According to Janus and colleagues, this only constituted 2% of the nation's police officers. However, by 1987, there was approximately 17,000 female police officers (Janus et al., 1988), which Schulz (1993) indicated was 7.6% of law enforcement officers. For women in sworn police positions, numbers increased dramatically in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). However, this would not be the case for women moving into the 1990s.

During the 1990s numbers for female officers began to slow (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). Part of this may have been due to retention of female officers. Generally, departments will have a probationary period for officers after an academy. This allows the officer to utilize the training he/she learned during the academy and apply it in real world scenarios during field training with an experienced officer (FTO). During the 1990s women struggled through the probationary period of FTO, placing them at a greater risk for dismissal than their male counterparts (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Rabe-Hemp attributes some of the struggles during probation as being too subjective and discriminatory. While on probationary status, an

officer can be let go from the department fairly easily if it is felt the officer is not meeting standards. This issue was addressed by revising outdated policies in both recruitment and retention. However, the numbers still continued to slow into and during the 2000s (Cordner & Cordner, 2011).

The number of women in police has increased, but it has not increased in the same magnitude as it once did during the 1970s and 1980s. Today, women only compromise 12% of police officers in the nation (FBI, 2018). According to Cordner and Cordner (2011), the number of women officers has plateaued around 12% for many years. They indicated hiring discrimination and police culture as two elements which may be causing the plateau. Research has shown physical agility tests tend to increase the likelihood women will fail during the hiring process. Physical agility tests have shown negative effects towards the representation of sworn female officers as they often fail them during the hiring process (Lonsway, 2003). Furthermore, when contemplating hiring or police culture as potential factors in stagnate numbers of women officers, it appears there is one element within both that could affect why numbers of women in policing are plateauing. This element is based around the attitudes (perceptions) others have about women in policing.

### *Perceptions of Women in Policing*

When women became matrons, the perception from the public was negative in nature. This was not specific to women joining police departments, but more specific to women working outside of the home (Balkin, 1988). However, as time moved forward and more

women began leaving their homes for work, public perceptions changed. Balkin (1988) indicated public perceptions remained mostly positive regarding women entering policing. It was viewed by the public that women had the ability to calm someone down to prevent violence. This ability came down to a women officer having the ability to show concern. However, women in policing were still questioned on their abilities when they started to conduct more general police work which was historically completed by their male counterparts.

Women's abilities to handle themselves in dangerous situations was a concern for some critics (Bell, 1982). This was based on the seriousness of police work. This is because police work was perceived as a predominantly crime fighting occupation and it was seen as dangerous, violent, aggressive, and isolated (Worden, 1993). However, evaluations of male and female officers have been positive for female officers. Male and female officers have been evaluated and female officers have generally been equal to their male counterparts (Bell, 1982). Bell (1982) notes there has been evidence showing female officers are just as competent as male officers. Women officers have demonstrated they can be successful in preventing violent situations within policing. Kakar (2002) reported that out of 40 job performance categories, the means were very similar on 75% of the categories when comparing male and female officers. In categories such as dealing with stress and problem solving, female officers had a higher mean score than male officers (Kakar, 2002). Even though research notes women can do well with police work, their male counterparts do not share this optimism.



One main obstacle women have to overcome when entering the profession of policing stems from the discrimination within the police department (Bell, 1982). Within these departments are male officers that will be working alongside female officers. Unlike public perceptions, male officers generally have negative perceptions of women in policing (Balkin, 1988; Bell, 1982). These negative perceptions almost always lead to the element of “masculinity” which historically defined policing as a male-dominated profession. Women were deemed too emotional, physically weak, undependable, and incapable of performing police related tasks (LaBeff & Williams, 1982). Even if women officers tried to show more masculinity, male officers perceived that to be negative as well. Male officers prefer feminine policewomen and prefer them not to show masculine adaptations (Carlan & McMullan, 2009). This appears to be a catch 22 for women officers, especially when the majority of the negative perceptions by male officers references the lack of physical strength by women. A majority of the feedback given by male officers relates to how women lack physical strength, which can be fatal in a dangerous and violent situation (Balkin, 1988; Vega & Silverman, 1982). However, as Bell (1982) noted, this could all stem from the ideology that many believe women are the weaker sex and therefore they need to be protected from the dangers of the world. Due to this ideology, female officers must constantly fight the battle of needing to prove themselves to their male counterparts.

Entering any male-dominated profession can be intimidating. Nonetheless, when one is not accepted, it can make the job that much more difficult. This is because most people want to fit in. Not surprisingly, many women officers will tell you they did not feel great

acceptance from co-workers until they displayed forms of physical strength or authority (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). This example links back to the previous example given of the two policewomen in Car 47. Their male counterparts did not perceive them as worthy until they found out the women officers arrested a husband for beating his wife. The constant battle of female officers trying to prove themselves to be one of the “guys” seems to take away from the individuality officers bring to the table, regardless of sex. Female officers have referred to the “John Wayne Syndrome” (JWS) when trying to gain acceptance. The JWS for women officers pertains to the notion that female officers believe they need to out cuss, out smoke, and out drink their male counterparts in order to be accepted (Watson, 1990). Watson (1990) also describes a female officer telling her that many male officers do not believe women belong in policing and the only way women can prove they belong is to have a fistfight with a man. With women officers still facing these pressures to fight for acceptance within policing, it shows the progression women have made in over 100 years may not be as progressive as one may think. It is clear women officers still face numerous barriers within policing despite the historical advancements made thus far (Wertsch, 1998).

#### *College Students’ Perceptions of Women in Policing*

Through the years, many researchers have looked at current law officers’ perceptions of women in policing. As established, many of these outcomes show male officers having negative perceptions of their female counterparts. Many have researched male officers’ perceptions of female officers, but there is not much research regarding the future law

enforcement officers. These perceptions belong to the potential police officers of the future, college students.

There is approximately 51.5% of sworn officers in the United States who work for local law enforcement agencies that have a two-year degree or higher (Gardiner, 2019). According to Gardiner (2019), local agencies were defined as municipal and county law enforcement departments. Gardiner explains that minimum education requirements are set by state standards. It was noted that educational requirements have not changed much since the 1980s. Gardiner indicated higher education is generally not required for most law enforcement agencies for initial hiring, but it generally is required to promote to higher ranks. However, Gardiner explains that, besides her current study, higher education within US policing has not been nationally researched in over 30 years (Gardiner, 2019).

There has been limited research done on college students' attitudes towards women in policing (Austin & Hummer, 1994; Austin & Hummer, 2000; Golden, 1981; Johns, 1979; Steffensmeier, 1979; Haba et al., 2009). Johns (1979) and Steffensmeier (1979) pioneered these studies shortly after women started to work uniformed patrol alongside male officers in the 1970s.

Johns (1979) surveyed 116 undergraduate criminal justice students regarding their perceptions of women in policing. Johns had a questionnaire that was taken from interviews with police officers regarding women in policing. Johns found male college students had negative perceptions of women in policing. It was found that male college students believed

women were best suited for non-patrol type duties. It was found that female college students felt women officers have equal or better skills than male officers in certain situations.

However, male students still felt policing was a masculine profession and they strongly rejected the policewoman's skill set regarding social work policing. As Johns (1979) noted, even with the integration of women officers during that time, attitudes were still negative with little change. Steffensmeier (1979) reported similar results to Johns (1979).

Steffensmeier (1979) administered a survey to 189 students at an eastern university. The students who received the survey were studying criminology and penology. The administered survey was on student perceptions of women in policing and how they would relate to women conducting police work. Like Johns (1979), Steffensmeier (1979) found male students had negative attitudes towards women in policing. Male students were less favorable than female students but, more importantly, male students had a considerable amount of doubt regarding the capabilities of women officers. For example, only 34% of male students believed women could do police work just as well as men. Additionally, nearly 79% of male students agreed that men were far better suited to deal with adult offenders than women. Due to the findings within this study, Steffensmeier (1979) believed male students were an obstacle for women seeking a career in law enforcement. Two years later, college student attitudes were still negative.

Golden (1981) looked at the attitudes of male students who were preparing to enter law enforcement as a career. There were 134 students randomly selected at a midwestern

university. The students were majoring in law enforcement administration. The students were administered a survey containing Likert-type questions regarding the abilities of female police officers. As with the other studies discussed, Golden (1981) found male students continued to have negative perceptions towards women in policing. A majority (69%) of the male students felt women were not capable of being physically strong enough to do the job as a police officer. More importantly, an overwhelming number (81%) of students also believed others would not accept female officers.

Although the majority of the perceptions found by Golden were negative, there were some positive. When looking at upperclassmen, Golden (1981) found senior students were more apt to be supportive of women in policing than underclassmen freshmen. This could be part due to what Golden calls the “liberalizing influence”. Golden (1981) describes the liberalizing influence as an ideology that more educational experience allows officers to be less authoritarian. Golden indicated that the more educated the officer is, the more adaptable and open to innovation and improvement the officer would be. By Golden’s definition, the more education an officer has, the more likely that officer will be accepting of women police officers. As these students may be future co-workers and/or supervisors of female officers, their attitudes matter. It is possible the results of this study show the educational system is providing a liberalization of students’ attitudes. Proof of this liberalization results from seniors who have studied law enforcement for four years within the university. Seniors attitudes showed greater willingness to accept female officers than their underclassmen counterparts (Golden, 1981).

A little more than a decade later, Austin and Hummer (1994) completed a similar study. This study was conducted at a rural northeastern state university. The survey administered was nearly identical to Golden (1981) in order to do a comparison of students' perceptions of women in policing and how they may or may not have changed in a decade's time. There were 835 surveys returned for analysis to be compared with Golden (1981). However, Austin and Hummer surveyed male and female students while Golden solely focused on male students. Although this study was essentially a decade later, perceptions still had not changed. Students' acceptance increased slightly towards women in policing in Austin and Hummer's study. However, they argued there was little change in overall acceptance since Golden (1981), therefore, they could only give a suggestion for a change in attitudes. An interesting find came from the type of major the student was pursuing. It was found non-criminal justice majors were more supportive of women officers than criminal justice majors.

One similarity between Austin and Hummer (1994) and Golden (1981) was the perceptions by upperclassmen. Austin and Hummer (1994) found upperclassmen were more supportive of women in policing than underclassmen. This could be another confirmation of the liberalizing influence of education on students that Golden (1981) discussed. Although this was a reference to positive perception, Austin and Hummer (1994) learned that, even with more women entering the police profession, attitudes were still not changing at the desired rate.

A few years later, Austin and Hummer (2000) further examined college students' perceptions of women in policing. Austin and Hummer (1994) surveyed both male and female students. However, when completing the analytics, they only compared their male students with male students from Golden (1981). Austin and Hummer (2000) utilized Austin and Hummer (1994) data and this time included female students' perceptions. Austin and Hummer (2000) found negative perceptions of women in policing still existed. That said, they did indicate approximately two thirds of male criminal justice students were supportive of female officers. However, students appeared more negative when it came to the belief that women officers had the physical strength and ability to handle dangerous police work situations. Contrary to males, female students felt strongly that women had the necessary tools to be good police officers (Austin & Hummer, 2000).

In comparison, Austin and Hummer (2000) reported over a 90% approval rating by female students when Steffensmeier (1979) reported only 67% approval rating by female students. Steffensmeier (1979) concluded negative perceptions of women in policing could be due to differing sex-role orientations. For example, students who maintained traditional gender roles (i.e. policing being a man's job) would be less likely to support women in policing (Austin & Hummer, 2000). Austin and Hummer (2000) acknowledged Steffensmeier's idea could be an explanation on how their study showed a large percentage of support among all students. They indicated it's possible all students in the 1990's could have more contemporary sex-role orientation that women should be able to have whatever job they want, including policing. Regardless, Austin and Hummer (2000) indicated overall

attitudes of women in policing only slightly increased from Golden (1981). The largest computed average difference between the two studies' scales was 8% (Austin & Hummer, 2000). However, this implied that what constitutes a "man's" work was slowly changing with new generations (Austin & Hummer, 2000).

Nearly two decades later, change in perceptions seemed to plateau similarly to the number of women in policing. Haba et al. (2009) conducted research looking at college students' perception of women in policing but, unlike Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994), they did not use the same questionnaire. This study took place at the University of Texas at Arlington. The target population was college students within the departments of Criminology, Criminal Justice, and Mexican American Studies. Haba et al. (2009) focused more on a feminist orientation along with support for police and women in policing. Feminist orientation was its own index. This index included questions regarding one's belief in sex equality. Findings in regards to males not being supportive of women in policing were similar to those found in other studies such as Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000). However, when feminist orientation was considered, male students were reported to be more supportive of women (Haba et al., 2009). Regardless of sex, it was determined that individuals with a higher feminist orientation were also more supportive of women in policing (Haba et al., 2009).

It has been over 100 years since women first entered policing. Since then, their roles have changed substantially. It has been over 30 years since women entered uniformed patrol



working alongside male officers. However, college students' perceptions appear to have maintained consistency in acceptance of women in policing. Women proved during World War II that they could perform the same duties as a man in a male-dominated profession. Although, they were told to leave once the men returned from war as perceptions remained negative with them being in the workplace. Women in policing have been treated no differently. Women officers have shown they can do police work within the male-dominated profession. Yet, negative perceptions still loom regarding their existence in a "man's" profession.

## METHODS

This study examines college students' attitudes towards women in policing, and by comparing to prior studies whether such attitudes have improved since the early 1980s. The number of women in law enforcement has been stagnate since the 1990s and there have been limited explanations on why the numbers have plateaued. This research aims to understand college students' perceptions of women in policing as they are more than likely going to be some of the future law enforcement officers of tomorrow. Have college students' perceptions changed for the better since the early 1980s? Do male students have less support for female officers than female students? How are one's perceptions different from the way they view others' (e.g., public) perceptions?

### *Setting for the Study*

The study was conducted at the University of North Dakota (UND). The most current data (2019-2020) shows UND's student body consists of 13,581 enrolled students. There are 10,163 (76%) undergraduates, with slightly more male undergraduate students (57%) than females (43%). During the 2014-2015 school year, there were 14,906 students at UND. There were 11,537 (77%) undergraduates, with more male undergraduate students (57%) than females (43%). UND consisted of 12,954 students during the 2005-2006 school year. There were 10,440 (81%) undergraduates, with male students comprising 54% of the undergraduate students compared to 46% of female undergraduate students.

### *Sample*

The data used in this study comes from two secondary sources. The first sample is from a 2015 dataset in which the author was involved in data collection. The second sample is a 2006 dataset in which the author was not involved. The 2015 sample consists of participants who were readily available to the researcher. This sample came from six criminal justice undergraduate courses at UND where the author was enrolled as a doctoral student. All seven criminal justice instructors teaching in the Spring 2015 semester were approached to allow surveys to be given to their students. Six instructors agreed, but one instructor declined due to his/her belief that students get taken advantage of too often for research purposes. There were 147 participants in the classes surveyed and 145 students completed the self-administered questionnaire. This resulted in an approximate response rate of 98.6%. Each class was told if a student had taken the survey in a previous class, the student was not to take the survey again. Despite being told not to do so, the response rate may be inflated if any of the students completed the survey multiple times. No identifiers were used to distinguish whether one completed it or not. Therefore, the response rate cannot be verified. Each participant was told this survey was for research and his/her individual answers would be confidential. Participants were told it was voluntary to participate. Students were given a consent form with the survey. The consent form was informational and for the student to retain with their records.

A second dataset was provided from professors at UND concerning a similar survey administered in 2006 at the same university. The self-administered questionnaire was given to criminal justice classes. There were both criminal justice majors and non-criminal justice majors. The response rate is unknown, but there were 167 surveys received. However, one case was excluded due to the student being a graduate student. The case was removed due to the study focusing on undergraduate students. Therefore, in 2006, 166 cases were analyzed.

Prior to both surveys being administered, approval was obtained from the University of North Dakota Institutional Review Board (IRB-201504-311). IRB approval was also granted to use the two datasets as secondary data for this dissertation (IRB-201909-049).

### *Instrument*

The questionnaire was adapted from Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000). A set of demographic questions utilized in Austin and Hummer (2000) were also used in this study to capture information about: gender, major, age, and class standing. Table 1 contains the four demographic questions utilized in the surveys from 2006 and 2015. Frequencies are provided for each variable by its respective year of collection (2006 and 2015). For comparison, data are also provided on the overall student body of UND and criminal justice majors from the Spring 2015 semester. Criminal justice major data was unavailable for the 2006 academic school year. 166 cases were analyzed from 2006, but one case contains missing demographic data. 145 cases were analyzed from 2015.

Note, age for the sample data is broken down into three categories (18-21, 22-25 and 26+). However, for ages ranging from 22 and older, UND reports age from 22-24, 25-29 etc. Due to the way UND reports the age profile of its students, it is unclear how many students fall into the categories labeled by this survey (22-25 and 26+).

Table 1

*Survey Demographics*

Variable	<u>2006</u>		<u>2015</u>		<u>2006 (UND)</u>		<u>2015 (UND)</u>	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Gender								
Male	50	82	52	76	54	5,688	57	6,519
Female	50	83	48	69	46	4,676	43	5,018
Major								
Criminal justice	72	119	65	94			01	99
Non-criminal justice	28	46	35	51			99	10,265
Class standing								
Freshman	08	14	33	48	27	2,863	24	2,774
Sophomore	25	41	22	32	23	2,445	22	2,594
Junior	38	63	23	34	18	1,880	19	2,183
Senior	28	47	21	31	31	3,252	35	3,986
Age								
18-21	60	100	78	113	50	6,477	48	7,167
22-25	31	51	20	29				
26+	09	14	02	03				

Note: 2006 N = 166; 2015 N = 145.

A majority of the students who completed the questionnaires in 2006 (72%) and 2015 (65%) were criminal justice majors. In 2015, criminal justice majors consisted of 1% of the undergraduate population at UND. A majority of the students in 2006 (67%) were upperclassmen (juniors and seniors). Alternatively, in 2015, more than half (55%) of the students were underclassmen (freshman and sophomores). In 2015, UND's undergraduate

student body profile consisted of more upperclassmen (54%) than underclassmen (46%). In 2006, UND's undergraduate student population consisted of roughly equal underclassmen students (50%) and upperclassmen students (49%). Due to rounding by UND, the 2006 UND numbers do not add to 100% when referencing one's class level. In 2006, there were approximately the same number of female students (50%) as male students (50%). However, the proportion of males/females for the 2015 sample was similar to that of the larger UND student population. These samples showed there were slightly more male undergraduate students than females. A majority of the students in 2006 (91%) and 2015 (98%) were 25 years of age or younger.

Eight attitudinal questions adopted from Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994) were used to help assess the student's perceptions of women in policing. Note, Austin and Hummer (2000) utilized these questions, but also reported a few new items. Those questions were not included in this study. Three of the eight Likert-type questions were oriented as "positive/favorable" with five questions being "negative/unfavorable" towards women in policing. The eight attitudinal items were measured using a Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Table 2 lists the three positive/favorable attitudinal questions and the six negative/unfavorable questions used within the questionnaire in 2006 and 2015. Table 2 also includes the questions from Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (2000) which equate to the same questions being asked in this study. Some questions are identical in wording, but some have slightly different terminology. For example, the first positive/favorable question references a female being just as good as a male officer. This

Table 2

*Attitudinal Items*

<u>2006 &amp; 2015</u>	<u>Golden (1981)</u>	<u>Austin &amp; Hummer (1994)</u>
<b>Questions</b>		
Positive/Favorable		
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	"I think a female officer can do as effective a job as a male in the same position" (Item 3, page 33).	"I think a female can be just as good as a police officer as a male" (Item 1, page 235).
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	"Women possess the physical skills and strength needed to do police patrol work" (Item 4, page 33).	"Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work" (Item 2, page 235).
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	"Most Citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect received by a male officer" (Item 9, page 33).	"Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer" (Item 3, page 235).
Negative/Unfavorable		
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	"Police patrol work is too dangerous for a woman" (Item 2, page 33).	"Police work is too dangerous for a female" (Item 4, page 235).
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	"If I were a patrol officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner on patrol" (Item 5, page 33).	"If I were a police officer I would not want a female officer to be my partner" (Item 5, page 235).
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	"Female police officers would have a difficult time being accepted by their male co-workers" (Item 7, page 33).	"Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers" (Item 6, page 235).
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	"A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in crisis situations which may develop on patrol" (Item 8, page 33).	"A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation" (Item 7, page 235).
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	"Women in law enforcement and criminal justice should be limited to working in positions involving juvenile delinquents, female offenders and rape case" (Item 13, page 33).	"Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders" (Item 8, page 235).
9.) Male officers should be limited to working with male offenders.	None	None

Note: Response set (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree).

question was “I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.” However, Golden (1981) used terminology referencing a female officer can do as effective a job as a male in the same position. This study utilized terminology similar to Austin and Hummer (1994). Austin and Hummer (2000) used the same questions, but they did alter a few of the questions within their tables. For example, item 5 in Austin and Hummer (1994) says “...female officer to be my partner” and Austin and Hummer (2000) says “...female as my partner.” Item 7 in Austin and Hummer (1994) says “...to be effective in a crisis situation” and Austin and Hummer (2000) says “...in a crisis situation”. All surveys included a question regarding whether or not female officers should only work with female offenders. However, as shown in Table 2, this study’s questionnaire included a ninth attitudinal item asking if male officers should only work with male offenders. The other two studies did not have a question similar to this as they only asked opinions based on female officers. This item was newly developed by professors at UND. However, due to the other studies not including item nine, that item was excluded from any analysis.

### *Analysis Plan*

To compare attitudinal changes since Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000), frequencies will be reported for each attitudinal item. Golden (1981) only surveyed males, but in this study female responses will be examined as well for comparison to male responses. Note, Austin and Hummer (2000) also looked at female students’ perceptions.



In this study, all demographic items used in the questionnaire will be used as predictor variables in relation to each of the eight attitudinal items. It is hypothesized the results will yield similar outcomes to those found in Austin and Hummer (2000). It is hypothesized that gender will be closely correlated with a majority of the attitudinal items. However, it is believed that the two items pertaining to others' perceptions will not be correlated with gender or other variables.

Looking further into the eight attitudinal items, exploratory factor analysis will be performed. Factor analysis is a multivariate technique used by researchers to identify whether correlations between a set of observed variables stem from one or more variables within the data (Field, 2013). An explanatory construct or factor represents clusters of variables that correlate highly with each other. By trying to achieve parsimony, factor analysis aims to reduce the number of variables to the least number of factors to help maximize the common variance amongst the variables (Field, 2013).

In this study, we are trying to measure attitudes of college students towards women in policing. There are eight questions being analyzed within the questionnaire which are aimed at measuring one's attitude. Each of the eight questions are considered observed variables. These variables are facets of a single construct. Fields (2013) describes a latent variable as being a variable that cannot be directly measured, but it is considered to be related to other similar variables. When looking at this data, factor analysis will help determine whether the eight attitudinal items correlate with each other enough to load into one or more factors.

For example, Austin and Hummer (2000) performed factor analysis for their 11 attitudinal items. They found nine out of 11 attitudinal items loaded on one factor. The nine items which loaded within one factor were based on one's own attitude of women in policing (Items 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, and 11). As shown in Table 2, Austin and Hummer's items equate to the following items in this study: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8. Some of Austin and Hummer's nine items were not utilized for this study. Therefore, only the items listed are those associated with this study. Austin and Hummer (2000) referred to this factor, or scale, as the "Attitudinal Index." The Cronbach's alpha from Austin and Hummer (2000) was high at .87. Field (2013) describes the Cronbach's Alpha as a measure of a scale's reliability. The closer the Cronbach's Alpha is to 1.0, the better internal reliability of the index. Therefore, with Austin and Hummer (2000) obtaining a .87 as their Cronbach's Alpha, it shows their attitudinal index has strong internal reliability. Cronbach's Alpha ratings of .70 to .80 are considered acceptable values (Field, 2013). However, some believe reliabilities should not be below a .80 for widely used scales (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). The two items which did not load high were both based on how students perceived others to feel about women in policing. Items six and eight in Austin and Hummer (2000) are the attitudinal items which did not load into the same construct as the other variables. As shown in Table 2, items six and eight equate to item numbers three and six in this study. It shall be noted that, Austin and Hummer (2000) mixed items eight and nine in their Table 2 and Table 3.

There are two forms of factor analysis: Exploratory and confirmatory. Exploratory factor analysis is explained by one simply exploring with their data while confirmatory factor

analysis is based more around testing specific hypotheses (Field, 2013). For example, exploratory factor analysis is utilized if the researcher is unsure of any correlation amongst the variables. If a researcher does not place any constraints on the number of factors or the pattern of correlations between the factors and the measured variables, the researcher would use exploratory factor analysis (Warner, 2013). If a researcher is looking to test hypotheses regarding the structure and relations of latent variables within the data, they would use confirmatory factor analysis (Field, 2013). Based on the uncertainty of any correlations, exploratory factor analysis will be conducted.

Due to Austin and Hummer (2000) using factor analysis in their study, it is expected there will be similar findings within this study. Specifically, six out of the eight attitudinal items are expected to load high onto one construct. As found in Table 2, these six items will be: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8. The two questions that will not load on the same construct will be the questions regarding how students perceived others would feel about women in policing.

Due to gender and major each possessing two groups, it is more appropriate to run independent t-tests with these two variables. An independent t-test establishes whether two means collected from independent samples differ significantly (Field, 2013). A researcher could use independent t-tests with variables with more than three groups, but the chance of committing a Type I error increases after each test. A Type I error occurs when the researcher believes there is an effect in the population, when there is not one (Field, 2013).

In terms of bivariate analysis, several analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests will be conducted to compare each set of attitudinal item responses by class level. ANOVA will also be performed with the new dependent variable derived from the additive index from the factor analysis. As with the combined attitudinal items, the attitudinal index dependent variable will also be compared by class level. ANOVA is defined as a test of the differences between or among means (Howell, 2013). Howell (2013) notes that, when using ANOVA, the researcher can ask if more than two means differ. Therefore, ANOVA allows the researcher to compare three or more groups. ANOVA has three main assumptions of the population. ANOVA assumes homogeneity of variance. Homogeneity of variance means all of the populations have the same variance (Howell, 2013). ANOVA also assumes normality and independence. Howell (2013) explains normality as the means being normally distributed. Independence refers to the observations being independent of one another. ANOVA is robust to violations as it can tolerate violations to its normal distribution assumption (Pagano, 2013). ANOVA is insensitive to violations of homogeneity of variance as long as the samples are equal sizes (Field, 2013; Pagano, 2013).

ANOVA will tell the researcher if there is a significant difference between means, but it does not indicate which groups are significantly different. Therefore, one can utilize post hoc tests to determine which means are significantly different. Post hoc tests allow the researcher to limit the risk of Type I error by using “protected” tests (Warner, 2013). Some of the more popular post hoc tests include the Bonferroni, Tukey, and Newman-Keuls tests. The Bonferroni test is extremely conservative (Warner, 2013). However, according to Field

(2013), too conservative of a test can result in the researcher likely rejecting the differences between the means when the differences are actually meaningful. The Newman-Keuls test is the opposite of Bonferroni as it is more of a liberal test, but it also lacks control over the familywise error rate (Field, 2013). The Tukey test is more moderately conservative and has become the more popular test to use (Warner, 2013). Tukey has good control over the Type I error and has good statistical power (Field, 2013). Due to these positive attributes, Field (2013) recommends the Tukey test if sample sizes are equal and population variances are similar. Fields (2013) does indicate that post hoc tests can be robust to the assumptions of normality if there are only small deviations. These attributes are important as one wants good control over Type I error without compromising too much statistical power. Power is the probability of obtaining a test statistic that is large enough to reject the null hypothesis when the null hypothesis is false (Warner, 2013). The smaller amount of statistical power, the more likely a Type II error will be high (Field, 2013). Type II error is when a researcher fails to reject the null hypothesis when the null hypothesis is false (Warner, 2013). The larger the sample size, the more power increases. The more power increases, the more chance of rejecting the null hypothesis. For example, if power equals .08, the researcher will then have an 80% chance of rejecting the null hypothesis (Warner, 2013).

Austin and Hummer (2000) compared the means by gender, age, major, hometown, and family in law enforcement. This study will do a comparison of the results obtained from the following variables: Gender, age, and major. These three variables are the only similar variables used in Austin and Hummer (2000). Austin and Hummer (2000) found male

students were more likely to not support female officers than female students. They also found non-criminal justice majors were more likely to be supportive of female officers than criminal justice majors. Age and class level were highly correlated. Austin and Hummer (2000) eliminated class level and utilized age as symbolizing both (i.e. Freshman are 18 years of age, Sophomores are 19 years of age, etc.). They concluded underclassmen were more supportive than upperclassmen. Thus, younger students were more supportive than older students. Based off their results, it is expected this study will see similar results regarding male students not being as supportive as female students and non-criminal justice majors being more supportive than criminal justice majors. It is also expected that younger students will be more supportive than older students.

Austin and Hummer (2000) performed 11 multiple regression analyses based on their 11 attitudinal items. Multiple regression is when an outcome is predicted by a linear combination of two or more predictor variables (Field, 2013). This allows the researcher to use multiple independent variables to determine if there is a relationship between the variables. Field (2013) explains regression analysis allows researchers to predict values of an outcome variable (dependent variable). If one is solely using one predictor variable to predict an outcome variable, one would use simple regression. However, if more than one predictor variable is measured, multiple regression would be the analysis one could use.

Austin and Hummer (2000) used five demographics (gender, age, major, hometown, and family in law enforcement) as their predictor variables in relation to each of their 11

attitudinal items. However, they do not mention using the attitudinal index dependent variable in their analysis. The attitudinal index variable will be used as a dependent variable in the same model as the other eight attitudinal items in this study. Austin and Hummer (2000) found a statistically significant association between gender and nine of the 11 attitudinal items. The two items gender was not associated with were the questions regarding how students perceived others would feel about women in policing. Austin and Hummer (2000) reported one's major was statistically significant. However, after conducting a multiple regression test, Austin and Hummer concluded that the relationship with major was spurious in the bivariate analysis. A variable being spurious means that there could be a correlation between variables, but something else is causing the correlation besides what was measured (Warner, 2013). Due to the relationship of one's major being spurious, Austin and Hummer claimed female support is not impacted by one's field of study. Therefore, they found major to not be statistically significant. Austin and Hummer (2000) found those who have family in law enforcement are less supportive than those who do not have family in law enforcement. Age and hometown (e.g. rural, suburban, and urban) were found to not be statistically significant (Austin & Hummer, 2000).

Multiple regression requires a continuous variable as the dependent variable. Ratio and Interval measurements are two types of continuous variables. Ratio variables represent fixed measuring units with an absolute zero point (Bachman, Schutt, & Plass, 2017). Interval variables are variables with equal intervals that represent equal differences in the property being measured. This study will be treating ordinal measurements as an interval/ratio

variable. Ordinal scales are those which rank items on a continuum, but nothing is implied about the differences between the points on the scale (Howell, 2013). Ordinal scales are considered categorical variables. It may not be appropriate to change a categorical variable to a continuous variable, but it has become common practice (Liddell & Kruschke, 2018). Austin and Hummer (2000) used this concept when they compared their 11 attitudinal items with their multiple regression tests. Field (2013) acknowledged categorical data may be expressed in the form of linear models. If examining linear components associated with ordinal variables, it is worthwhile for one to treat categorical variables as continuous (Pasta, 2009).

Pasta (2009) indicated we do not know if ordinal categories are equally spaced. He also mentions it is true that we do not know if continuous variables are linear. Therefore, it is unknown if a one-unit change in the continuous variable has the same effect in change between two low values or two high values. Pasta (2009) concludes that, when using categorical variables as continuous variables, the results are insensitive to the spacing except in extreme cases. However, Pasta (2009) does not expand on what an extreme case would be when utilizing ordinal measurements. With general results being insensitive to spacing within ordinal measurements, it may not be important to know if the ordinal measurements are equally spaced as it will not have an effect on the outcome being measured.

Multiple regression assumes linearity. Field (2013) indicates it is assumed the outcome variable will be linearly related to any predictor variables. It is assumed



homoscedasticity is prevalent within the residuals. Homoscedasticity means the residuals have the same variance at each level of the predictor variables (Field, 2013). Residuals are the difference between the score the researcher would predict for the analysis versus the score received from the analysis (Warner, 2013). Warner (2013) explains the residuals should be small as they account for people's behaviors that are not accounted for by the analysis or predictor variable. Multiple regression assumes normally distributed errors. It is assumed the residuals are random and normally distributed variables with a mean of zero (Field, 2013). Assessing assumptions is important to the validity of the analyses. If assumptions are not met, one may inaccurately interpret the results. For example, if there is a violation, the test statistic and p-value will be wrong and could lead to a wrong conclusion of the results (Field, 2013). As mentioned above, this can then lead to biased estimates. If biased estimates are present, conclusions will be biased and therefore it will be difficult to make generalizations regarding the population of the sample. Fields (2013) notes that, violating assumptions of regression will invalidate significance tests, confidence intervals and have effects on the generalization of the models.

## RESULTS

### *Overview*

The results as a whole show an increase of support for female police officers since the 1980s. As college students' attitudes towards women in policing in the 1980s were negative, this study showed attitudes today are far more favorable for women in policing. The overall support continued to increase in nearly all categories from 2006 to 2015.

When comparing gender, female students in 2006 were far more supportive of women in policing than male students. However, male students were more supportive of others' views than female students were. This meant male students felt other citizens and male officers would be more accepting of female officers than female students. Nevertheless, both male and female students both still had negative perceptions regarding others' acceptance of women in policing.

In 2015, female students continued to be more supportive than male students. Although, male students' acceptance of women in policing increased from 2006 to 2015. Both male and female students still had negative perceptions of others' acceptance even with their own high level of support. Overall, even though college students' own personal acceptance has increased for women in policing, there is a persistent and robust cynicism with college students' perceptions of others accepting women in policing. This cynicism is evident by how supportive the students are with their own acceptance, but they have negative perceptions pertaining to someone else's acceptance of women in policing.

The 2006 and 2015 analyses confirmed there would be similar findings as observed in Austin and Hummer (2000). In 2006 and 2015, the attitudinal items loaded into two different scales. As with Austin and Hummer (2000), the items referencing one's own attitudes, all loaded into one scale. Further, in 2006 and 2015, the attitudinal scale was associated with high internal reliability. This result further validates the robustness of the scale used by Austin and Hummer (2000).

### *Frequencies*

Table 3 shows descriptive statistics for each attitudinal item from the 2006 data collection. There were missing data ( $N = 163$ ). The mean ( $M$ ) and standard deviation ( $SD$ ) of the attitudinal items are also provided. Percentage of agreement was established by using "agree" and "strongly agree" for the favorable items, and "disagree" and "strongly disagree" for the unfavorable items. Neutral responses were not used to calculate the forms of agreement/disagreement. The data reported are raw data utilizing a Likert scale of 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree.

Most students appeared to show support for women in policing, with nearly 86% of students choosing to agree or strongly agree women could be just as good a police officer as their male counterparts. 77% of the overall students believed women have the physical skills and strength to do police work. Even though a majority of students supported female officers, there were two attitudinal items where students did not show support. The two items showing negative support for women in policing were: Citizens giving female officers the same

respect as male officers and male officers accepting female officers. For example, while a majority (86%) of students personally believed women could be just as good police

Table 3

*2006 Descriptive Statistics for each Attitudinal Item*

Questions	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	%
<b>Positive/Favorable<sup>a</sup></b>				
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	163	4.29	1.01	85.9
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	163	3.93	.982	77.3
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	163	3.10	1.06	39.9
<b>Negative/Unfavorable<sup>b</sup></b>				
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	163	4.21	.791	87.2
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	163	3.96	1.09	66.4
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	163	2.79	.797	20.8
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	163	3.81	.821	72.4
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	163	4.32	.766	88.9

Note: *N*= Sample Size; *M*= Mean; *SD*= Standard Deviation;  
 %= Percentage of agree/strongly agree<sup>a</sup> or disagree/ strongly disagree.<sup>b</sup>  
 Response set for items 1-8: 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

officers as men, only about 40% of students felt citizens would give female officers the same degree of respect as they would male officers. The negative support continued with external

perceptions as nearly 79% of students felt female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.

Table 4 shows descriptive statistics for each attitudinal item from the 2015 study. In 2015, the sample size varied depending on missing data. Table 4 also shows the mean (*M*) and standard deviation (*SD*) of the attitudinal items. Percentage of agreement was established by using “agree” and “strongly agree” for the favorable items, and “disagree” and “strongly disagree” for the unfavorable items. Neutral responses were not used to calculate the forms of agreement/disagreement. The data reported are raw data utilizing a Likert scale of 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree.

In 2015, the numbers are fairly comparable to those of the 2006 survey. In 2015, the support for women being as good as male officers increased from nearly 86% to 90%. The percentage of students believing police work is not too dangerous for women also slightly rose in 2015 (91%) compared to 2006 (87%). Students in 2015 (89%) shared the same sentiment as those in 2006 (89%) in the belief that female officers should not have to work solely with female offenders. In 2015, not wanting a female as a partner and females would react too emotionally in a crisis situation showed larger increases of support for female officers than other items. For example, almost 85% of students showed support for having a female partner compared to only 66% of students in 2006. In 2006, 72% of students indicated they did not believe women would react too emotionally, but acceptance increased in 2015 to approximately 88%.

Table 4

*2015 Descriptive Statistics for each Attitudinal Item*

Questions	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	%
Positive/Favorable <sup>a</sup>				
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	145	4.35	.924	90.4
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	145	3.94	.868	76.5
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	143	2.80	.981	23.8
Negative/Unfavorable <sup>b</sup>				
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	145	4.28	.642	91.0
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	145	4.20	.985	84.8
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	144	2.85	.919	23.6
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	144	4.13	.702	87.5
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	145	4.37	.695	89.0

Note: *N*= Sample Size; *M*= Mean; *SD*= Standard Deviation;  
 %= Percentage of agree/strongly agree<sup>a</sup> or disagree/ strongly disagree<sup>b</sup>  
 Response set for items 1-8: 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

In 2015, all items except 3 and 6 remained positive. Items 3 and 6 reference the perceptions of others while the other items relate to one's own perceptions. The percentage of students believing citizens would give female officers the same respect as male officers dropped from about 40% in 2006 to about 24% in 2015. The number of students believing

female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers remained negative in 2015. However, it slightly rose from nearly 21% in 2006 to about 24% in 2015.

Table 5 shows the percentage of agreement/disagreement for the variables major, gender, age, and class level in the 2006 survey. Attitudinal items 1, 2, and 3 show percentages of agreement for each item. However, attitudinal items 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are reverse coded due to the items being unfavorable. Therefore, the percentages shown are the students' disagreements with the items. Agree and strongly agree responses were combined to form the percentage of agreement. Disagree and strongly disagree responses were combined to form the percentage of disagreement. Neutral responses were not used to calculate the forms of agreement/disagreement. There were missing data within the independent variables ( $N = 162$ ).

The non-criminal justice majors ( $n = 45$ ) were more supportive than criminal justice majors ( $n = 117$ ) when looking at all attitudinal items. For attitudinal items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8, both criminal justice majors and non-majors had moderate to strong support for women in policing. For example, approximately 96% of non-criminal justice majors disagreed that policing was too dangerous for female police officers. Even with criminal justice majors having a lower acceptance percentage than non-criminal justice majors, they still had strong support (85%) that policing was not too dangerous for women in policing. However, attitudinal items 3 and 6 were still negative in support regardless of one's major.

Table 5

*2006 Descriptive Statistics by Major, Gender, Age, and Class Level*

Questions	Major				Gender				Age				Class Level			
	CJ		Non-CJ		M		F		<21		22+		Under		Upper	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
	(117)		(45)	(79)	(83)	(98)	(64)	(55)	(107)							
Positive/Favorable <sup>a</sup>																
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	98	83.7	41	91.1	60	75.9	79	95.1	83	84.6	56	87.5	46	83.6	93	86.9
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	86	73.5	39	86.6	52	65.8	73	87.9	76	77.5	49	76.5	42	76.3	83	77.5
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	44	37.6	21	46.6	36	45.5	29	34.9	37	37.7	28	43.7	21	38.1	44	41.1
Negative/Unfavorable <sup>b</sup>																
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	99	84.6	43	95.5	68	86.0	74	89.1	87	88.7	55	85.9	49	89.0	93	86.9
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	84	71.7	39	86.6	55	69.6	68	81.9	78	79.5	45	70.3	39	70.9	84	78.5
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	24	20.5	10	22.2	19	24.0	15	18.0	20	20.4	14	21.8	10	18.1	24	22.4
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	83	70.9	34	75.5	48	60.7	69	83.1	70	71.4	47	73.4	39	70.9	78	72.8
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	100	85.4	44	97.7	66	83.5	78	93.9	87	88.7	57	89.0	48	87.2	96	89.7

Note: N = 166.

% for Items 1-3: 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree)<sup>a</sup>, Items 4-8: Reverse Coded 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree.<sup>b</sup>

Female students ( $n = 83$ ) were more supportive than their male counterparts ( $n = 79$ ). In all attitudinal items that related to one's own personal view, female students were more supportive than male students. When looking at if a female police officer can be just as good



as a male officer, female students (95%) had far more support for fellow women than male students (76%). For items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8, female students had nearly 82% of support or higher for their acceptance of women in policing. However, when it came to attitudinal items 3 and 6, male students were more supportive than the female students. Although female students felt strongly about women being in policing, they were cynical in the idea that others would not be supportive of female officers. Only 18% of female students believed male officers would accept female officers. Only approximately 35% of female students felt citizens would give female officers the same amount of respect they give male officers. Even with male students giving more support than female students in regards to attitudinal items 3 and 6, male students do not give high support to external perceptions. It should be noted that even though female students showed higher support for female officers, a majority of male students also showed support for women in policing.

Age was dichotomized into two groups of those 21 years of age and less ( $n = 98$ ) and those who are 22 years of age and older ( $n = 64$ ). Older students appeared to be slightly more supportive of female officers than younger students. Older students were more supportive of female officers pertaining to attitudinal items 1, 3, 6, 7, and 8. Younger students were more supportive of female officers with attitudinal items 2, 4, and 5. Regardless of age, the differences were minimal as both groups were highly accepting of women in policing.

Class level was dichotomized into underclassmen ( $n = 55$ ) and upperclassmen ( $n = 107$ ). Besides attitudinal item 4, police work is too dangerous for women, upperclassmen

students had more acceptance of female officers than underclassmen. While upperclassmen were more supportive, the difference in most questions was only by a few percentage points as both groups were highly supportive of female officers. For example, approximately 87% of upperclassmen believed female officers could be just as good as male officers compared to almost 84% of underclassmen.

Table 6 shows the descriptive statistics of the variables major, gender, age and class level in the 2015 survey. Attitudinal items 1, 2, and 3 show percentages of agreement for each item. However, attitudinal items 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are reverse coded due to the items being unfavorable. Therefore, the percentages shown are the students' disagreements with the items. Agree and strongly agree responses were combined to form the percentage of agreement. Disagree and strongly disagree responses were combined to form the percentage of disagreement. Neutral responses were not used to calculate the forms of agreement/disagreement. Items 3, 6, and 7 had missing data.

Non-criminal justice majors ( $n = 51$ ) appeared to be a little more supportive than criminal justice majors ( $n = 94$ ). Non-majors were more supportive than criminal justice majors with attitudinal items 1, 3, 7, and 8. Criminal justice majors were more supportive with attitudinal items 4, 5, and 6. Both major groups showed around 76% of support when it came to whether or not females had the strength and skills to do police work. Besides the external perception items, both major groups showed strong support towards females in policing.

Table 6

*2015 Descriptive Statistics by Major, Gender, Age, and Class Level*

Questions	Major		Gender				Age		Class Level							
	<i>CJ</i>		<i>Non-CJ</i>		<i>M</i>		<i>F</i>		<i>&lt;21</i>		<i>22+</i>		<i>Under</i>		<i>Upper</i>	
	<i>n</i> (94)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (51)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (76)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (69)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (113)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (32)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (80)	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i> (65)	<i>%</i>
Positive/Favorable <sup>a</sup>																
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	84	89.3	47	92.1	64	84.2	67	97.1	105	92.9	26	81.2	74	92.5	57	87.6
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	72	76.5	39	76.4	50	65.7	61	88.4	88	77.8	23	71.8	65	81.2	46	70.7
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	22	23.4	12	24.4	16	21.3	18	26.4	25	22.5	09	28.1	18	22.7	16	25.0
Negative/Unfavorable <sup>b</sup>																
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	88	93.6	44	86.2	66	86.8	66	95.6	104	92.0	28	87.5	77	96.2	55	84.6
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	80	85.1	43	84.3	62	81.5	61	88.4	98	86.7	25	78.1	69	86.2	54	83.0
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	23	24.7	11	21.5	19	25.3	15	21.7	28	24.7	06	19.3	21	26.2	13	20.3
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	81	86.1	45	90.0	62	81.5	64	94.1	104	92.8	22	68.7	72	91.1	54	83.0
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	83	88.2	46	90.1	67	88.1	62	89.8	102	90.2	27	84.3	71	88.7	58	89.2

Note:  $N = 145$ .

% for Items 1-3: 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree)<sup>a</sup>, Items 4-8: Reverse Coded 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree.<sup>b</sup>

Female students ( $n = 69$ ) were more supportive of female officers than male students ( $n = 76$ ). Both males and females supported the idea that females could be just as good a police officer as males. However, female students were especially strong as 97% of female students supported women in policing compared to 84% for males.

Female students showed high support for other women as all attitudinal items relating to one's own personal views had an acceptance percentage of 88% or more. However, as with the 2006 data, females still showed skepticism for the willingness of others to accept female officers. For example, only 26% of female students believed citizens would give female officers the same degree of respect as given to male officers. This skepticism was lower in 2015 than the approximate 35% of disagreement female students reported in the 2006 survey.

Male students showed a higher level of support in 2015 than in 2006 regarding having a female officer as a partner. In 2006, nearly 70% of male students said they would not mind having a female as a partner. In 2015, the support by male students grew to approximately 82%. However, males' support for whether females have the proper skills and strength to do police work remained the same as in 2006 with nearly 66%.

Age was dichotomized the same way as it was in 2006. Older students were more supportive than younger students in 2006, but in 2015, younger students ( $n = 113$ ) became more supportive than the older students ( $n = 32$ ). Younger students were more supportive than older students with attitudinal items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. Item 3 was the only question older students were more supportive on. A large difference of support did appear with item 7. When looking at female officers would become too emotional in a crisis situation, younger students (93%) had an overwhelming higher level of disagreement than older students (69%).

As the younger students were more supportive, underclassmen ( $n = 80$ ) were also more supportive than upperclassmen ( $n = 65$ ). This makes sense as the younger students are more likely to be the underclassmen and the older students are more likely to be the upperclassmen. Underclassmen were more supportive of female officers than upperclassmen with attitudinal items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7. As with Age, item 3 was the only question where upperclassmen (25%) were more supportive than underclassmen (23%). Item 8 had nearly the same level of support for both class levels as the disagreement was about 89%.

Table 7 shows the descriptive statistics of criminal justice majors by gender for the 2006 ( $N = 119$ ) and 2015 ( $N = 94$ ) surveys. Attitudinal items 1, 2, and 3 show percentages of agreement for each item. However, attitudinal items 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are reverse coded due to the items being unfavorable. Therefore, the percentages shown are the students' disagreements with the items. Agree and strongly agree responses were combined to form the percentage of agreement. Disagree and strongly disagree responses were combined to form the percentage of disagreement. Neutral responses were not used to calculate the forms of agreement/disagreement. The 2006 survey has missing data in all items, but the sample sizes remain the same throughout for all males ( $n = 62$ ) and females ( $n = 55$ ). In the 2015 survey, however, the sample sizes for both males ( $n = 55$ ) and females ( $n = 39$ ) were the same except for the number of males in item 6 ( $n = 54$ ).

Table 7

*2006 and 2015 Descriptive Statistics for Criminal Justice Majors by Gender*

Questions	2006 (N = 119)				2015 (N = 94)			
	M		F		M		F	
	n (62)	%	n (55)	%	n (55)	%	n (39)	%
Positive/Favorable <sup>a</sup>								
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	47	75.8	51	92.7	46	83.6	38	97.4
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	39	62.9	47	85.4	37	67.2	35	89.7
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	28	45.1	16	29.0	12	21.8	10	25.6
Negative/Unfavorable <sup>b</sup>								
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	51	82.2	48	87.2	49	89.0	39	100
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	40	64.5	44	80.0	45	81.8	35	89.7
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	14	22.5	10	18.1	14	25.9	9	23.0
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	39	62.9	44	80.0	45	81.8	36	92.3
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	49	79.0	51	92.7	47	85.4	36	92.3

Note: % for Items 1-3: 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree)<sup>a</sup>

Items 4-8: Reverse Coded 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree<sup>b</sup>

In 2006, female criminal justice students were more supportive than their male counterparts. In 2006, nearly 93% of female criminal justice students believed a female could be just as good as a male officer. There were only approximately 76% of male criminal

justice students that believed females could be just as good. This was nearly a 17% difference.

In 2006, female criminal justice students had more positive perceptions of women in policing relating to attitudinal items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8. Male criminal justice students had more positive perceptions when it came to external perceptions such as items 3 and 6. The average percentage of support for women in policing in 2006 with items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8 was nearly 86% for female criminal justice students.

In 2015, female criminal justice students had more positive perceptions of women in policing relating to attitudinal items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8. Attitudinal item 6 was the only item where male criminal justice students were more positive than female criminal justice students. However, besides attitudinal item 3, it appeared that male criminal justice students' perceptions increased from 2006 to 2015. The average percentage of support for women in policing in 2015 with items 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8 was nearly 94% for female criminal justice students.

### *Factor Analysis*

Table 8 shows the results of the factor analysis performed on the attitudinal items. As mentioned, the negative items (4-8) were reverse coded so the high level of support would be comparable to the favorable items (1-3).

Table 8

*Factor Loadings for Exploratory Analysis with Varimax Rotation*

	<u>2006</u>	<u>2015</u>
Questions	<i>FL</i>	<i>FL</i>
Positive/Favorable		
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	<b>.613</b>	<b>.673</b>
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	<b>.652</b>	<b>.781</b>
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	.145	.438
Negative/Unfavorable		
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	<b>.651</b>	<b>.743</b>
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	<b>.604</b>	<b>.680</b>
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	.068	-.018
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	<b>.698</b>	<b>.699</b>
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	<b>.761</b>	<b>.562</b>

*Note:* Factor Loadings > than .5 are in boldface. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. <sup>a,b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Rotation converged in 3 iterations. <sup>b</sup>FL= Factor Loading.

In 2006, all the attitudinal items except two loaded onto one factor. Females can be just as good as male officers, females have the skills and strengths to do police work, police work is too dangerous, wanting a female as a partner, females would be too emotional in a



crisis situation, and females being limited to working with female offenders were all the attitudinal items which loaded into the same scale with factor loadings of .60 or higher. These items all referenced the perceptions of one's own personal beliefs on women in policing. Coinciding with Austin and Hummer (2000), this scale was labeled the "Attitudinal Index." The Attitudinal Index's reliability as measured by the Cronbach's Alpha was .75. The Attitudinal Index possessed a high level of reliability.

In 2015, the factor analysis provided similar results to 2006. Items loaded onto the same Attitudinal Index with a Cronbach's Alpha of .78. Attitudinal items relating to citizens giving female officers the same respect as male officers and male officers accepting female officers loaded into what could be considered an External Perception Index. However, such a scale proved unreliable as indicated by Cronbach's Alphas of .353 (2006) and .245 (2015).

#### *T-tests*

T-tests were performed with variables major and gender. Table 9 shows the results from the 2006 analysis between major and the nine attitudinal items. The table shows the mean, standard deviation, t-score and significance level of each test conducted. Major was not statistically significant with a majority of the attitudinal items. However, female officers being limited to working with female offenders,  $t(160) = 1.76, p < .05$  and the Attitudinal Index,  $t(160) = -2.37, p < .05$  were statistically significant. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested using the Levene's test. Females working with female offenders showed no violations of the assumption as  $F = 1.76, p = .186$ . The Attitudinal Index also

showed no violations of homogeneity of variance as  $F = .868, p = .353$ . The mean for criminal justice majors was  $M = 4.23$ . The mean for non-criminal justice majors was

Table 9

*2006 T-Test Analysis with Major*

Questions	<u>Major</u>				<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<u>CJ Major</u>		<u>Non-CJ</u>			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Positive/Favorable						
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	4.21	1.07	4.49	.815	-1.55	.122
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	3.85	.985	4.11	.959	-1.49	.137
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	3.04	1.02	3.24	1.13	-1.08	.279
Negative/Unfavorable						
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	4.17	.805	4.33	.738	-1.11	.267
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	3.87	1.11	4.24	.980	-1.96	.051
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	2.78	.785	2.80	.842	-.097	.923
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	3.76	.837	3.93	.780	-1.19	.233
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	4.23	.802	4.51	.626	-2.10	.037
9.) Attitudinal Index	24.1	3.85	25.6	2.97	-2.37	.019

$M = 4.51$ . The mean difference was  $4.23 - 4.51 = -.28$ . The non-criminal justice majors had a slightly higher disagreement rate than criminal justice majors when it came to whether or not females should be limited to working solely with female offenders.

Table 10 shows the 2006 t-test analysis between gender and the attitudinal items. Gender proved to be statistically significant with most of the attitudinal items. Gender was statistically significant with the following items: Females can be just as good as males,  $t(160) = 4.04, p < .01$ ; females have the physical skills and strength to do police work,  $t(160) = 3.32, p < .01$ ; police work is too dangerous for females,  $t(160) = 2.12, p < .05$ ; a female would react too emotionally,  $t(160) = 4.87, p < .01$ ; female officers should be limited to working with female offenders,  $t(160) = 3.47, p < .05$ ; and the Attitudinal Index,  $t(160) = 4.97, p < .01$ . Items such as citizens giving female officers the same respect as male officers, male officers not accepting female officers, and wanting a female partner were not statistically significant.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested using the Levene's test. Females being just as a good as male officers showed no signs of violating the variance assumption as  $F = 3.13, p = .078$ . The mean for males was  $M = 3.97 (SD = 1.08)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.59 (SD = .842)$ . The mean difference was  $3.97 - 4.59 = -.62$ . Females had a .62 higher average of agreement than males when looking at females being just as a good a police officer as males.

Table 10

*2006 T-Test Analysis with Gender*

Questions	Gender					
	Male		Female		<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Positive/Favorable						
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	3.97	1.08	4.59	.842	4.04	.000
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	3.67	.983	4.17	.922	3.32	.001
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	3.18	1.02	3.02	1.09	-.920	.359
Negative/Unfavorable						
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	4.08	.803	4.34	.756	2.12	.035
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	3.81	1.13	4.13	1.03	1.89	.060
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	2.86	.780	2.72	.816	-.097	.923
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	3.50	.798	4.09	.742	4.87	.000
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	4.10	.794	4.50	.687	3.47	.001
9.) Attitudinal Index	23.1	3.95	25.8	2.86	4.97	.000

The Levene's test satisfied homogeneity of variance with females having the physical skills and strength to do police work as  $F = 2.24, p = .136$ . The mean for males was  $M = 3.67$  ( $SD = .983$ ). The mean for females was  $M = 4.17$  ( $SD = .922$ ). The mean difference was 3.67

- 4.17 = -.50. Female students had a .50 higher average of agreement than male students regarding females having the physical skills and strengths to complete police work.

Police work being too dangerous for females also met the assumption of homogeneity of variance as  $F = 1.42, p = .235$ . The mean for males was  $M = 4.08 (SD = .803)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.34 (SD = .756)$ . The mean difference was  $4.08 - 4.34 = -.26$ . Females had a .26 higher average of disagreement than males when it came to the perception that policing is too dangerous for women.

A female police officer would react too emotionally in a crisis situation did not satisfy the assumption of homogeneity of variance as the Levene's test was  $F = 4.20, p = .042$ . Due to this, the more conservative equal variances not assumed version of  $t$  was utilized. The mean of males was  $M = 3.50 (SD = .798)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.09 (SD = .742)$ . The mean difference was  $3.50 - 4.09 = -.59$ . Females had a .59 higher average of disagreement that female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance was satisfied with the Levene's test when looking at whether or not female officers should be limited to working with female offenders as  $F = .039, p = .843$ . The mean for males was  $M = 4.10 (SD = .794)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.50 (SD = .687)$ . The mean difference was  $4.10 - 4.50 = -.40$ . Female students had a .40 higher average of disagreement than males when it came to female officers being limited to working with female offenders.

Table 11

## 2015 T-Test Analysis with Major

Questions	<u>Major</u>				<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<u>CJ Major</u>		<u>Non-CJ</u>			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Positive/Favorable						
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	4.34	.945	4.37	.894	-.199	.842
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	3.91	.851	3.98	.905	-.203	.666
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	2.72	.988	2.96	.957	-1.36	.173
Negative/Unfavorable						
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	4.26	.607	4.31	.706	-.408	.684
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	4.20	1.03	4.21	.901	-.079	.937
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	2.86	.891	2.82	.973	.228	.820
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	4.10	.754	4.18	.595	-.598	.551
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	4.35	.714	4.39	.665	-.339	.735
9.) Attitudinal Index	25.1	3.51	25.4	3.16	-.940	.663

The Attitudinal Index showed satisfaction with the assumption of homogeneity of variance as the Levene's test was  $F = 3.26, p = .073$ . The mean for males was  $M = 23.1$  ( $SD = 3.95$ ). The mean for females was  $M = 25.8$  ( $SD = 2.86$ ). The mean difference was  $23.1 -$

25.8 = -2.7. Females had a 2.7 higher average of agreement than males when looking at the combined attitudinal items within the Attitudinal Index.

Table 11 shows the results from the 2015 t-test analyses performed with major. The table shows the mean, standard deviation, t-score and significance level of each test conducted. Unlike 2006, major was not statistically significant with any dependent variable.

Table 12 shows the results from the 2015 t-test analyses performed with gender. Gender was found to be statistically significant with the same attitudinal items as in 2006. However, in 2015, gender and wanting a female officer as a partner were also significant. In 2015, gender was statistically significant with the following items: females can be just as good as males,  $t(143) = 3.49, p < .01$ ; females have the physical skills and strength,  $t(143) = 5.52, p < .01$ ; police work is too dangerous for females,  $t(143) = 2.77, p < .01$ ; wanting a female officer as a partner,  $t(143) = 2.53, p < .05$ ; female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation,  $t(142) = 4.28, p < .01$ ; female officers should be limited to working with female offenders,  $t(143) = 2.37, p < .05$ ; and the Attitudinal index,  $t(142) = 5.17, p < .01$ . Citizens giving female officers the same degree of respect as given to male officers and male officers accepting female officers were not statistically significant.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested using the Levene's test. Females being just as a good as male officers showed no signs of violating the variance assumption as  $F = 1.93, p = .166$ . The mean for males was  $M = 4.11 (SD = .988)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.62 (SD = .769)$ . The mean difference was  $4.11 - 4.62 = -.51$ . Female

students had a .51 higher average of agreement than male students when looking at females being just as a good a police officer as males. Male students' agreement average relating to female officers being just as good as male officers increased by .14 from 2006 to 2015.

Table 12

*2015 T-Test Analysis with Gender*

Questions	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Positive/Favorable						
1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.	4.11	.988	4.62	.769	3.49	.001
2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.	3.59	.882	4.32	.675	5.52	.000
3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.	2.72	.994	2.90	.964	1.07	.282
Negative/Unfavorable						
4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.	4.14	.667	4.43	.581	2.77	.006
5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.	4.01	.999	4.42	.929	2.53	.012
6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.	2.92	.881	2.76	.957	-.991	.323
7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.	3.90	.676	4.38	.647	4.28	.000
8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.	4.23	.650	4.50	.719	2.37	.019
9.) Attitudinal Index	24.0	3.44	26.6	2.70	5.17	.000



The Levene's test satisfied homogeneity of variance with females having the physical skills and strength to do police work with  $F = 3.33, p = .070$ . The mean for males was  $M = 3.59 (SD = .882)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.32 (SD = .675)$ . The mean difference was  $3.59 - 4.32 = -.73$ . Female students had a .73 higher average of agreement than male students regarding females having the physical skills and strengths to do police work. Female students' average of agreement relating to females having the physical skills and strength to do police work increased by .15 from 2006 to 2015. In 2015, male students' average of agreement dropped by .08. Therefore, from 2006 to 2015, the average of agreement between males and females grew larger apart by .23.

Police work being too dangerous for women met the assumption of homogeneity of variance as  $F = .609, p = .436$ . The mean for males was  $M = 4.14 (SD = .667)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.43 (SD = .581)$ . The mean difference was  $4.14 - 4.43 = -.29$ . Female students had a .29 higher average of disagreement than male students when it came to the perception that policing is too dangerous for women. Disagreement averages for males and females both increased in 2015, showing an increase in acceptance for female officers. Male students' average increased by .06. Female students' average increased by .09. The overall gender mean difference increased by .03 in 2015.

The Levene's test satisfied homogeneity of variance with wanting a female officer as a police partner as  $F = .423, p = .517$ . The mean for males was  $M = 4.01 (SD = .999)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.42 (SD = .929)$ . The mean difference was  $4.01 - 4.42 = -.41$ .

Female students had a .41 higher average of disagreement than male students when looking at whether one would want a female as a partner.

In 2015, a female police officer would react too emotionally in a crisis situation did not satisfy the assumption of homogeneity of variance as the Levene's test was  $F = 4.10, p = .045$ . Due to this, the more conservative equal variances not assumed version of  $t$  was utilized. The mean of males was  $M = 3.90 (SD = .676)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.38 (SD = .647)$ . The mean difference was  $3.90 - 4.38 = -.48$ . Female students had a .48 higher average of disagreement than male students regarding whether they believed female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation. However, male students' average of disagreement increased by .40 between 2006 and 2015. Due to the .40 increase in male students' support, the average of disagreement between male and female students was reduced by .11.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance was satisfied with the Levene's test when looking at whether or not female officers should be limited to working with female offenders as  $F = 1.43, p = .233$ . The mean for males was  $M = 4.23 (SD = .650)$ . The mean for females was  $M = 4.50 (SD = .719)$ . The mean difference was  $4.23 - 4.50 = -.27$ . Female students had a .27 higher average of disagreement than males when it came to female officers being limited to working with female offenders. The average of disagreement remained the same for female students in 2015 as it was in 2006. However, male students had an increase in their average of disagreement by .13.

The Attitudinal Index showed satisfaction with the assumption of homogeneity of variance as the Levene's test was  $F = .729, p = .395$ . The mean for males was  $M = 24.0$  ( $SD = 3.44$ ). The mean for females was  $M = 26.6$  ( $SD = 2.70$ ). The mean difference was  $24.0 - 26.6 = -2.6$ . Female students had a 2.6 higher average of agreement than male students when looking at the combined attitudinal items within the Attitudinal Index. Overall, females showed higher averages of support for female officers than their male counterparts.

#### ANOVA

There were nine separate ANOVA analyses ran with all attitudinal items using age and class level as the independent variables. Age and class level were not statistically significant in 2006. In 2015, class level was also not statistically significant. Age, however, was statistically significant. Age was statistically significant with female officers would act too emotional in a crisis situation,  $F(2, 141) = 2.14, p < .05$ , and with the Attitudinal Index,  $F(2, 141) = 4.27, p < .05$ .

The Levene's test satisfied the assumption of homogeneity of variance regarding whether or not a female would react too emotionally in a crisis situation as  $F = 1.40, p = .248$ . The mean for the 18-21 age group was  $M = 4.21$  ( $SD = .635$ ). The mean for the 22-25 age group was  $M = 3.89$  ( $SD = .859$ ). The mean for the 26+ age group was  $M = 3.33$  ( $SD = .577$ ). Numerically, the younger students had a higher average of support than the older students.

Tukey post hoc tests were performed on the following items: Females would react too emotional in a crisis situation and the Attitudinal Index. Although females reacting too emotionally was statistically significant with the initial ANOVA analysis, the Tukey test did not show any significance between the means. However, conducting an LSD analysis, age proved to show a statistically significant mean difference between those who are 26 years of age and older compared to the age group of 18-21. There was also a difference in means with the 18-21 group and the 22-25 group. These results indicated that one's age can be a determining factor on whether one thinks female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation. In both instances, the younger students had higher agreement than older students that female officers would not react too emotionally in a crisis situation.

The Levene's test satisfied the assumption of homogeneity of variance regarding the Attitudinal index as  $F = 1.33, p = .266$ . The mean for the 18-21 age group was  $M = 25.6$  ( $SD = 3.28$ ). The mean for the 22-25 age group was  $M = 24.3$  ( $SD = 3.52$ ). The mean for the 26+ age group was  $M = 21.0$  ( $SD = 1.00$ ). Numerically, the 18-21 age group had a higher average of support for female officers than the 22-25 or 26+ age groups. However, the 22-25 age group had a higher numerical average of support than the 26+ group.

This finding is further supported by a Tukey post hoc test conducted with age and the Attitudinal Index. There was a significant mean difference between those who are 26 years of age and older compared to those that are between the ages of 18-21. This result supported one's overall support for female officers can be determined by one's age. The younger

students showed a statistically significant higher acceptance of women officers than the older students.

### *Multiple Regression*

There were nine different multiple regressions performed with the 8 attitudinal items and the Attitudinal Index. Major, gender, age, and class level were the independent variables. All models were checked for multicollinearity with no signs of variances being significant. The distributions in the histograms appeared close to normal. The normal probability plot did not indicate any nonlinear relations or bivariate outliers.

Table 13 shows three of the model results from the 2006 data. The model results in Table 13 consist of the following three models: females being just as good as a male officer, females have the physical skills and strength to do police work, and most citizens would give female officers the same degree of respect as given to male officers. The data within the table consists of the unstandardized coefficients, standardized coefficients, t-score, sample size,  $R^2$ , adjusted  $R^2$ , and significance. Female officers being just as good as male officers and females have the strength and skills to do police work both had one variable statistically significant. However, the model for most citizens would give females the same respect as a male officer was invalid and not significant as  $F(4, 157) = .847, p > .05$ .

In 2006, the overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting perceptions of whether females could be just as good a police officer as a male;  $F(4, 157) = 4.33, p < .01$ . About eight percent of the variance in perceptions of female officers being just

as good as male officers is explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .100$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .077$ ). The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for female officers being just as good as male officers. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $4.916 + (-.592 \times 0) = 4.916$  for females, and  $4.916 + (-.592 \times 1) = 4.324$  for males. The mean difference was .592. Female students had a .592 higher average of agreement over male students relating to if female officers can be just as good as male officers. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(157) = -3.82, p < .001$ .

Table 13

*2006 Multiple Regression Analysis with Attitudinal Items 1, 2, and 3*

	1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.				2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.				3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.			
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Major	.185	.082	1.07	.285	.191	.087	1.12	.261	.235	.100	1.25	.212
Gender	-.592	-.293	-3.82	.000	-.472	-.241	-3.11	.002	.180	.085	1.06	.288
Age	-.015	-.010	-.112	.911	.096	.064	.723	.471	.147	.090	.992	.323
Class Level	.014	.013	.151	.880	.031	.029	.327	.744	-.028	-.024	-.267	.790
	<i>N</i> = 161 $R^2 = .100$ Adjusted $R^2 = .077$ Constant = 4.916 Model = $F(4, 157) = 4.33, p < .01$				<i>N</i> = 161 $R^2 = .078$ Adjusted $R^2 = .055$ Constant = 4.154 Model = $F(4, 157) = 3.33, p < .05$				<i>N</i> = 161 $R^2 = .021$ Adjusted $R^2 = -.004$ Constant = 2.392 Model = $F(4, 157) = .847, p > .05$			

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting perceptions of whether females have the physical skills and strength to do police work;  $F(4, 157) = 3.33$ ,  $p < .05$ . Almost six percent of the variance in perceptions of female officers having the physical skills and strength to do police work was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .078$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .055$ ). The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for females having the physical skills and strength. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $4.154 + (-.472 \times 0) = 4.154$  for females and  $4.154 + (-.472 \times 1) = 3.682$  for males. The mean difference was .472. Female students had a .472 higher average of agreement over male students that females have the physical skills and strength to do police work. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(157) = -3.11$ ,  $p < .01$ .

Table 14 shows three more of the model results from the 2006 data. The model results in Table 14 consist of the following three models: Police work is too dangerous for females, If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer as my partner, and female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers. The data within the table consists of the unstandardized coefficients, standardized coefficients, t-score, sample size, r-squared, adjusted r-squared, and significant levels. Age and class level were statistically significant with the model of not wanting a female partner. Gender was statistically significant in the police work is too dangerous for a female model, but the overall model was invalid and not significant as  $F(4, 157) = 1.48$ ,  $p > .05$ . Female officers being accepted by male officers was also invalid and not significant as  $F(4, 157) = .605$ ,  $p > .05$ .

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting disagreement that students would not want a female officer as a partner;  $F(4, 157) = -3.12, p < .05$ . Five percent of the variance for one's own perception of not wanting a female officer as a partner was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .074$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .050$ ). The regression model showed age and class level can be used in determining the level of support with wanting a female officer as a partner. The unstandardized coefficient for age was  $-.307$ . This indicated that when one's age increases, their level of support decreases for wanting a female officer. The unstandardized coefficient for class level was  $.216$ . This indicated that as one's class level increases, their support for wanting a female officer as

Table 14

2006 Multiple Regression Analysis with Attitudinal Items 4, 5, and 6

	4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.				5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.				6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.			
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Major	.118	.068	.853	.395	.325	.134	1.72	.086	.041	.023	.287	.774
Gender	-.250	-.159	-2.01	.046	-.265	-.122	-1.57	.119	.146	.092	1.14	.254
Age	.091	.075	.831	.407	-.307	-.183	-2.06	.040	.067	.055	.601	.549
Class Level	-.049	-.057	-.634	.527	.216	.183	2.06	.041	.038	.044	.479	.633
	<i>N</i> = 161 $R^2 = .036$ Adjusted $R^2 = .012$ Constant = 4.447 Model = $F(4, 157) = 1.48, p > .05$				<i>N</i> = 161 $R^2 = .074$ Adjusted $R^2 = .050$ Constant = 3.794 Model = $F(4, 157) = -3.12, p < .05$				<i>N</i> = 161 $R^2 = .015$ Adjusted $R^2 = -.010$ Constant = 1.563 Model = $F(4, 157) = .605, p > .05$			



a partner will increase.

Table 15 consists of the results from the last three regression models from the 2006 data. The model results in Table 15 consist of the following three models: Female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation, female officers should be limited to working with female offenders, and the Attitudinal Index. The data within the table consists of the unstandardized coefficients, standardized coefficients, t-score, sample size, r-squared, adjusted r-squared, and significant levels. Gender was the only variable that was statistically significant in each model.

Table 15

*2006 Multiple Regression Analysis with Attitudinal Items 7, 8 and 9*

	7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.				8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.				9.) Attitudinal index			
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Major	.092	.050	.672	.502	.229	.134	1.75	.081	1.14	.139	1.88	.062
Gender	-.576	-.351	-4.70	.000	-.373	-.244	-3.18	.002	-2.52	-.344	-4.64	.000
Age	.110	.088	1.02	.306	.077	.066	.750	.454	.052	.009	.110	.913
Class Level	.031	.035	.407	.685	.072	.050	.572	.568	.284	.072	.846	.399
	<i>N</i> = 161 <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .143 Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .121 Constant = 4.297 Model = <i>F</i> (4, 157) = 6.55, <i>p</i> < .01				<i>N</i> = 161 <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .097 Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .074 Constant = 4.339 Model = <i>F</i> (4, 157) = 4.21, <i>p</i> < .01				<i>N</i> = 161 <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .158 Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .137 Constant = 25.947 Model = <i>F</i> (4, 157) = 7.38, <i>p</i> < .01			

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting disagreement that female officers would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation;  $F(4, 157) = 6.55, p < .01$ . Twelve percent of the variance in perceptions that female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .143$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .121$ ). The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for females not reacting too emotionally. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $4.297 + (-.576 \times 0) = 4.297$  for females and  $4.297 + (-.576 \times 1) = 3.721$  for males. The mean difference was  $.576$ . Female students had a  $.576$  higher average of disagreement over male students regarding females reacting too emotionally in a crisis situation to be effective. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(157) = -4.70, p < .001$ .

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting disagreement that female officers should be limited to working with female offenders;  $F(4, 157) = 4.21, p < .01$ . Seven percent of the variance in perceptions of whether female officers should be limited to working with female offenders was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .097$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .074$ ). The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for females not being limited to working solely with female offenders. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $4.339 + (-.373 \times 0) = 4.339$  for females and  $4.339 + (-.373 \times 1) = 3.966$  for males. The mean difference was  $.373$ . Female students had a  $.373$  higher average of

agreement over male students that females should not be limited to only working with female offenders. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(157) = -3.18, p < .01$ .

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting support for women in policing with the Attitudinal Index;  $F(4, 157) = 7.38, p < .01$ . Nearly 14% of the variance of the Attitudinal Index can be explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .158, \text{adjusted } R^2 = .137$ ). The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for females within the Attitudinal Index. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $25.947 + (-2.529 \times 0) = 25.947$  for females and  $25.947 + (-2.529 \times 1) = 23.418$  for males. The mean difference was 2.529. Female students had a 2.52 higher average of support for women in policing over male students when looking at their own perceptions within the Attitudinal Index. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(157) = -4.64, p < .001$ .

Table 16 shows the first three models with results from the 2015 data. The model results in Table 16 consist of the following three models: females being just as good as a male officer, females have the physical skills and strength to do police work, and most citizens would give female officers the same degree of respect as given to male officers. The data within the table consists of the unstandardized coefficients, standardized coefficients, t-score, sample size, r-squared, adjusted r-squared, and significant levels. Gender was found to be statistically significant in the female officers being just as good as a male officer model and the females have the strength and skills to do police work model. However, similar to

2006, the citizens giving female officers the same respect as given to a male officer model was invalid and not significant as  $F(4, 138) = .705, p > .05$ .

In 2015, the overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting perceptions of whether females could be just as good a police officer as a male;  $F(4, 140) = 3.97, p < .01$ . Approximately eight percent of the variance of female officers being just as good as male officers is explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .102$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .076$ ). This percentage was the same as it was in 2006. The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for female officers being just as good as male officers. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $5.574 + (-.477 \times 0) = 5.574$  for females, and  $5.574 + (-.477 \times 1) = 5.097$  for males. The mean difference was .477. Female students had a .477 higher average of agreement over male students that female officers can be just as good as male officers. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(140) = -3.12, p < .01$ . The .477 average was slightly lower than the .592 average in 2006.

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting perceptions of whether females have the physical skills and strength to do police work;  $F(4, 140) = 7.78, p < .01$ . Nearly 16% of the variance in perceptions of female officers having the physical skills and strength to do police work was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .182$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .159$ ). The nearly 16% of variance explained is an increase from the almost 6% in 2006. The regression model showed the mean scores between males and

Table 16

*2015 Multiple Regression Analysis with Attitudinal Items 1, 2 and 3*

	1.) I think a female can be just as good a police officer as a male.				2.) Females have the physical skills and strength to do police work.				3.) Most citizens would probably give a female officer the same degree of respect given to a male officer.			
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Major	-.087	-.045	-.550	.583	-.074	-.041	-.526	.600	.215	.105	1.21	.225
Gender	-.477	-.258	-3.12	.002	-.716	-.413	-5.24	.000	-.144	-.074	-.847	.399
Age	-.175	-.090	-.964	.337	-.057	-.031	-.353	.725	-.065	-.032	-.322	.748
Class Level	-.069	-.086	-.922	.358	-.036	-.048	-.545	.587	.040	.047	.477	.634
	<i>N</i> = 144 $R^2 = .102$ Adjusted $R^2 = .076$ Constant = 5.574 Model = $F(4, 140) = 3.97, p < .01$				<i>N</i> = 144 $R^2 = .182$ Adjusted $R^2 = .159$ Constant = 5.286 Model = $F(4, 140) = 7.78, p < .01$				<i>N</i> = 142 $R^2 = .020$ Adjusted $R^2 = -.008$ Constant = 2.724 Model = $F(4, 138) = .705, p > .05$			

females were significant in determining the level of support for females having the physical skills and strength. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $5.286 + (-.716 \times 0) = 5.286$  for females and  $5.286 + (-.716 \times 1) = 4.570$  for males. The mean difference was .716. Female students had a .716 higher average of agreement over male students in relation to females having the physical skills and strength to do police work. The females average of .716 was greater in 2015 than in 2006. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(140) = -5.24, p < .001$ .

Table 17 shows three more of the model results from the 2015 data. The model results in Table 17 consist of the following three models: Police work is too dangerous for females,

If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer as my partner, and female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers. The data within the table consists of the unstandardized coefficients, standardized coefficients, t-score, sample size, r-squared, adjusted r-squared, and significant levels. Gender was the only variable statistically significant with the police work is too dangerous model and the not wanting a female partner model. Likewise in 2006, female officers being accepted by male officers did not have any variables that were significant as the overall regression model was invalid and not significant;  $F(4, 139) = .566, p >.05$ . Further, the not wanting a female police officer as a partner model was also not statistically significant in 2015 as the overall regression equation was invalid and not significant;  $F(4, 140) = 2.36, p >.05$ .

In 2006, the model for police work is too dangerous for women was not statistically significant. In 2015, the overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting disagreement that police work is too dangerous for women;  $F(4, 140) = 2.65, p <.05$ . Four percent of the variance in perceptions that policing is too dangerous for women was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .070$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .040$ ). The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for policing not being too dangerous for women. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $4.935 + (-.257 \times 0) = 4.935$  for females and  $4.935 + (-.257 \times 1) = 4.678$  for males. The mean difference was .257. Female students had a .257 higher average of disagreement over male students that police work is too

Table 17

*2015 Multiple Regression Analysis with Attitudinal Items 4, 5, and 6*

	4.) Police work is too dangerous for a female.				5.) If I were a police officer, I would not want a female officer to be my partner.				6.) Female officers would have a difficult time being accepted by male officers.			
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Major	-.016	-.012	-.145	.885	-.072	-.035	-.419	.676	-.022	-.012	-.136	.892
Gender	-.257	-.201	-2.38	.018	-.373	-.190	-2.24	.026	.180	.098	1.13	.258
Age	-.191	-.141	-1.48	.140	-.334	-.161	-1.68	.094	-.198	-.102	-1.04	.300
Class Level	-.001	-.001	-.016	.988	.047	.055	.582	.562	.009	.011	.110	.912
	<i>N</i> = 144 <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .070 Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .040 Constant = 4.935 Model = <i>F</i> (4, 140) = 2.65, <i>p</i> < .05				<i>N</i> = 144 <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .063 Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .036 Constant = 5.176 Model = <i>F</i> (4, 140) = 2.36, <i>p</i> > .05				<i>N</i> = 143 <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = .016 Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = -.012 Constant = 2.828 Model = <i>F</i> (4, 139) = .566, <i>p</i> > .05			

dangerous for females. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(140) = -2.38, p < .05$ .

Table 18 consists of the results from the last three regression models from the 2015 data. The model results in Table 18 consist of the following three models: Female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation to be effective, female officers should be limited to working with female offenders, and the Attitudinal Index. The data within the table consists of the unstandardized coefficients, standardized coefficients, t-score, sample size, r-squared, adjusted r-squared, and significant levels. Gender was statistically significant in the female officers would react too emotionally model, the female officers should be limited to working with female offenders model, and the attitudinal index model. However, the female

officers working with female offenders model was invalid as it was not statistically significant ( $p > .05$ ). Age was also statistically significant in the female officer would react too emotionally model. In 2015, the female officers should be limited to working with female offenders was invalid and not statistically significant as  $F(4, 140) = 1.70, p > .05$ .

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting disagreement that female officers would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation;  $F(4, 139) = 6.40, p < .01$ . Thirteen percent of the variance of female officers would react too emotionally in a crisis situation was explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .156, \text{adjusted } R^2 = .131$ ). This was an increase in one percent from the 2006 data. The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for females not reacting too emotionally. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $5.101 + (-.433 \times 0) = 5.101$  for females and  $5.101 + (-.433 \times 1) = 4.668$  for males. The mean difference was .433. Female students had a .433 higher average of disagreement over male students if females would react too emotionally in a crisis situation to be effective. The .433 average difference was lower in 2015 than the .576 average in 2006. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(139) = -3.85, p < .001$ . Age was also statistically significant as  $t(139) = -2.59, p < .05$ . The unstandardized coefficient for age was .348. The model indicated that as age increases, one's perception that female officers would react too emotionally decreases.



Table 18

*2015 Multiple Regression Analysis with Attitudinal Items 7, 8, and 9*

	7.) A female officer would react too emotionally to be effective in a crisis situation.				8.) Female officers should be limited to working with female offenders.				9.) Attitudinal index			
	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Major	-.016	-.011	-.138	.890	.000	.000	.002	.999	-.260	-.037	-.470	.639
Gender	-.433	-.309	-3.85	.000	-.271	-.196	-2.29	.023	-2.53	-.374	-4.74	.000
Age	.348	-.236	-2.59	.011	-.106	-.072	-.750	.455	-1.20	-.170	-1.90	.059
Class Level	.063	.103	1.13	.258	.062	.103	1.07	.284	.064	.022	.246	.806
	<i>N</i> = 143 $R^2 = .156$ Adjusted $R^2 = .131$ Constant = 5.101 Model = $F(4, 139) = 6.40, p < .01$				<i>N</i> = 144 $R^2 = .046$ Adjusted $R^2 = .019$ Constant = 4.765 Model = $F(4, 140) = 1.70, p > .05$				<i>N</i> = 143 $R^2 = .184$ Adjusted $R^2 = .161$ Constant = 30.839 Model = $F(4, 139) = 7.84, p < .01$			

When standardized, gender (-.309) had more of an impact on the support for female officers not reacting too emotionally than age (-.236).

The overall regression equation was statistically significant in predicting support for women in policing with the Attitudinal Index;  $F(4, 139) = 7.84, p < .01$ . Sixteen percent of the variance of the Attitudinal Index can be explained by major, gender, age, and class level ( $R^2 = .184$ , adjusted  $R^2 = .161$ ). The 16% of variance explained is a 2% increase from the almost 14% in 2006. The regression model showed the mean scores between males and females were significant in determining the level of support for females within the Attitudinal Index. The raw score coefficients for the predictive equations were:  $30.839 + (-$

$2.530 \times 0 = 30.839$  for females and  $30.839 + (-2.530 \times 1) = 28.309$  for males. The mean difference was 2.53. Female students had a 2.53 higher average of support for women in policing over male students when looking at the overall perceptions within the Attitudinal Index. The difference was statistically significant as  $t(139) = -4.74, p < .001$ .

## DISCUSSION

### *Study Comparisons*

The main purpose of this study was to conduct an exploratory examination to see if college students' attitudes have changed regarding women in policing. Since the 1980s, it is clear college students' acceptance of women in policing has increased over time. Overall, female students have shown they have great support for accepting women in policing. It should not be too surprising that female students are more supportive than their male counterparts. With that being said, it is clear that male students have increased their support of women being a part of a male dominated profession such as policing. From 2006 to 2015, male students' acceptance grew in most of the attitudinal items present in this study. More specifically, there were a few items with substantial increases in acceptance by male students. For example, in 2006, nearly 76% of all male students felt female officers could be just as good as male officers. In 2015, this particular acceptance grew by approximately 8% to 84% of all male students believing female officers could be just as good as male officers. In 2006, almost 61% of male students did not think females would react too emotionally in a crisis situation to be effective. In 2015, approximately 82% of all male students believed females would not react too emotionally in a crisis situation to be effective. This was nearly a 21% acceptance increase in just nine years. When looking back at Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000), similar increases can be seen when looking specifically at male and female criminal justice students.

Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994) reported specific data relating to male students majoring in criminal justice. When solely looking at male criminal justice students, Golden found only 51% of male criminal justice students believed female officers could be just as good as male officers. Nearly a decade later, Austin and Hummer (1994) showed an increase in acceptance by male criminal justice students with 72% agreeing that female officers could be just as good as a male officer. This item was one of the more positive items Austin and Hummer had during their study regarding acceptance. When looking at the next two decades, male criminal justice students' acceptance continued to grow. In 2006, nearly 76% of male criminal justice students believed female officers could be just as good as male officers. The number of male criminal justice students believing female officers could be just as good continued to grow to almost 84% in 2015. The difference in male criminal justice students' increased acceptance from Golden (1981) to the 2015 study was approximately 33%.

Both Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994) showed low acceptance of women in policing when it related to male criminal justice students' perception of women having the physical skills and strength to do police work. Golden (1981) reported only 31% of male criminal justice students believing women had the physical skills and strength to do police work. Austin and Hummer (1994) showed an increase at 43%, but that can be argued as still being low. In 2006, male criminal justice students' belief of women having the physical skills and strength to do police work increased to nearly 63%. The percentage of male criminal justice students' belief that women possess the physical skills and strength to

do police work continued to increase from nearly 63% to 67% in 2015. The difference from the 2015 study to Golden (1981) was approximately 36%. In 34 years, there was approximately a 36% increase in male students' beliefs that women possess the physical skills and strength to conduct police work.

Only 30% of male criminal justice students in Golden (1981) believed citizens would give the same degree of respect to female officers as they would male officers. This belief decreased to 22% with Austin and Hummer (1994). In 2006, male criminal justice students' belief regarding citizens treating female officers with the same degree of respect increased to 45%. However, in 2015, male criminal justice students went back to a more negative stance as only about 22% believed female officers would be given the same respect as male officers. From Golden (1981) to 2015, there was an approximate 8% decrease in support. Based on these numbers, it can be argued that male students maintained a consistent negative attitude towards others accepting women in police.

Golden (1981) reported 64% of male criminal justice students disagreed that police work was too dangerous for women. There was a slight decrease in support in Austin and Hummer (1994) with 61% of male students disagreeing with the statement. In 2006, there was a substantial increase in support for policing not being too dangerous for women as 82% of male criminal justice students disagreed with the item. That particular support increased to 89% in 2015. From Golden (1981) to 2015, perceptions by male criminal justice students regarding policing not being too dangerous for women grew by 25%.

There were 59% of male criminal justice students who indicated they would not mind having a female officer as a partner in Golden (1981). Austin and Hummer (1994) reported a slight increase with 65%. The acceptance of having a woman as a partner remained around 65% in 2006. In 2015, male criminal justice students showed more support for female officers being their partner as about 82% of those students disagreed with the item. The increase in acceptance from Golden (1981) to 2015 was approximately 23%.

When looking at whether or not male criminal justice students believe male officers would accept female officers, Golden (1981) indicated only 19% of male students believed female officers would be accepted by their male counterparts. The support increased to 27% with Austin and Hummer (1994). The support decreased to nearly 23% of male criminal justice students in 2006 believing female officers would be accepted by male officers. The 2015 data reported a slight increase in support from male criminal justice majors with almost 26%. Based on these results, male criminal justice students' perception of male officers accepting female officers has not changed much since the 1980s and 1990s.

Golden (1981) reported 60% of male criminal justice students believed women would not react too emotionally in a crisis situation when in a police role. The support for women increased to 67% in Austin and Hummer (1994). The support for women in policing decreased in 2006. In 2006, approximately 63% of male criminal justice students believed female officers would not react too emotionally in a crisis situation. The support increased to

nearly 82% in 2015. There was nearly a 22% increase of support for female officers not reacting too emotional from Golden (1981) to 2015.

One of the two strongest items pertaining to male criminal justice students' support of women in policing comes with the attitudinal item referencing whether or not female officers should be limited to working with female offenders. Golden (1981) reported 77% of male criminal justice students believing female officers should not be limited to working with female offenders. Austin and Hummer (1994) reported a continued increase in support with 79%. The support for women maintained as 79% of male criminal justice students in 2006 believed they should not be limited. In 2015, 85% of male criminal justice students indicated they did not believe female officers should be limited in working with female offenders.

It is evident that since Golden (1981), the support for women in policing by male criminal justice students has increased. One of the more interesting elements derived from these results relates to the type of perceptions the male criminal justice students had. For example, six out of the eight items can be related to one's own perception of women in policing. These items are those of which make up the Attitudinal Index. The items within the Attitudinal Index show increased support for women in policing since Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994). However, the two items pertaining to external perceptions remained negative in 2015 with not much change in support by male criminal justice students since Golden (1981) or Austin and Hummer (1994).

Golden (1981) solely focused on male criminal justice students. Austin and Hummer (1994) focused on reporting their results from male criminal justice students to compare with Golden. As mentioned, Austin and Hummer (1994) did collect female student responses when they completed their study. However, the female student responses were not reported until Austin and Hummer (2000).

Austin and Hummer (2000) reported 95% of female criminal justice students believed female officers can be just as good as male officers. The support for female officers decreased in 2006 with nearly 93% of female criminal justice students in agreement. The support for female officers increased again in 2015 as 97% of female criminal justice students believed women could be just as good of police officers as men.

Looking at if women have the physical skills and strength to conduct police work, 86% of female criminal justice students in Austin and Hummer (2000) agreed they do. The amount of support for women decreased in 2006 to 85%. In 2015, about 90% of female criminal justice students believed women possess the physical skills and strength to conduct police work. From Austin and Hummer (2000) to 2015, there was a 4% increase in female criminal justice student support.

The perception for others continued to be negative with female criminal justice students. Austin and Hummer (2000) noted only 51% of female criminal justice students believed most citizens would treat female officers with the same degree of respect as given to male officers. The support only continued to decrease as 29% of female students agreed in



2006. In 2015, the support dropped to nearly 26%. From Austin and Hummer (2000) to 2015, the perception that most citizens would give the same amount of respect to female officers as male officers dropped by about 25%.

Police work being too dangerous for women was disagreed on by 92% of female criminal justice students in Austin and Hummer (2000). The support decreased to 87% in 2006. In 2015, the support grew to 100%. There was an 8% increase from Austin and Hummer (2000) to 2015. It should be noted, that the 92% reported in Austin and Hummer is still very supportive and consistent with the current results.

In Austin and Hummer (2000), 91% of female criminal justice students agreed they would not mind having a female partner. The acceptance of female partners decreased to 80% in 2006. However, in 2015, the acceptance of female officers as partners increased to nearly 90%. Although lower than Austin and Hummer (2000), support for having a female partner was still high by female criminal justice students.

When determining if male officers would accept female officers, Austin and Hummer (2000) reported only 13% of female criminal justice students believed male officers would accept female officers. The support for female officers in 2006 increased, but the support still remained very negative as only 18% agreed women would be accepted. In 2015, female criminal justice students increased their support to 23%. Nonetheless, the perception of male officers accepting female officers still remained largely negative from Austin and Hummer (2000) to 2015.

Support for female officers not reacting too emotionally in a crisis situation was high as 97% of female criminal justice students in Austin and Hummer (2000) believed they would not. In 2006, the support decreased to 80%. There was an increase to 92% in 2015. Overall, female criminal justice students were consistent in their support that female officers would not react too emotionally in a crisis situation to be effective.

Austin and Hummer (2000) noted 94% of female criminal justice students supported the notion that female officers should not be limited to working with female offenders. The support decreased to about 93% in 2006. The support for female officers being limited to working with female offenders took a slight decrease to 92% in 2015. Regardless of the decrease, female criminal justice students supported the notion that female officers did not need to be limited to working with female offenders.

When looking at all the items as a whole, it is clear female criminal justice students have more support for women as police officers than male students. It should be noted that male students have generally become overwhelmingly supportive of women in policing. One thing that becomes evident is that female criminal justice students have always believed in women when it comes to the profession of policing. From Austin and Hummer (2000) to 2015, the acceptance of women in policing was always high for female criminal justice students. This is not surprising as it is expected that females would be supportive of themselves. What is fascinating, is the mere fact that Austin and Hummer's female criminal justice data is reported to have been collected in 1992 (Austin & Hummer, 1994). For

approximately 23 years, female criminal justice students had accepted females going into the male dominated profession of policing. Contrary to male students, whose support has seen improved acceptance over time, female criminal justice students have maintained consistency in their acceptance. Although, the high acceptance rates by female criminal justice students solely focuses on the items pertaining to one's own perception.

Like male criminal justice students, female criminal justice students share negative perceptions when it comes to the perceptions of others. Even with approximately 23 years of strong acceptance for fellow women, female criminal justice students now have a more cynical view when it comes to others' perceptions of women in policing. The divide between one's own perceptions and the perceptions of others is quite clear.

Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994) focused their efforts on reporting percentage frequencies to show acceptance of women in policing. It was not until Austin and Hummer (2000) that more statistical analyses were completed to further analyze the data and the instrument itself. One of the main analyses completed by Austin and Hummer (2000) was factor analysis. After completing the factor analysis, Austin and Hummer (2000) noted the attitudinal items loaded into two separate scales. Females can be just as good as male officers, females have the skills and strength to do police work, police work is too dangerous, wanting a female as a partner, females would be too emotional, and females being limited to working with female offenders were all attitudinal items which loaded into the same scale. Austin and Hummer (2000) labeled this scale as the Attitudinal Index. All items within the

Attitudinal Index focused on one's own perception. All attitudinal items had a factor loading of .58 or higher (Austin & Hummer, 2000). The Cronbach's Alpha reported by Austin and Hummer (2000) was .87. Most citizens giving female officers the same respect as male officers and male officers accepting female officers were reported to be the only two attitudinal items not to load into the same scale as the others. These items distinctly measure the perceptions of citizen and male officer acceptance.

The 2006 and 2015 data had similar results to Austin and Hummer (2000). The same attitudinal items loaded into the same Attitudinal Index. The Attitudinal Index in the 2006 data had factor loadings of .60 or higher. The Cronbach's Alpha was not as high as it was reported in Austin and Hummer (2000), but the internal reliability was still strong.

Austin and Hummer (2000) conducted similar multiple regressions. They found gender and family in law enforcement to be consistently associated with the attitudinal items. However, gender was the variable they found to be most strongly associated with each attitudinal item. Family in law enforcement was not a variable utilized in this study as that was an extra variable reported by Austin and Hummer (2000). The 2006 and 2015 data clearly indicated gender as being the variable most strongly associated with all attitudinal items. When looking at the Attitudinal Index, gender was the only variable significant in 2006 and 2015. These findings support the consistency between 2006, 2015, and Austin and Hummer (2000).

It was found that up to 16% of any single model explained the variance in the dependent variable of interest. Clearly, there are other variables that impact perceptions that have not yet been identified. Therefore, more research is needed that considers other independent variables. Due to the multivariate results from Austin and Hummer (2000), 2006, and 2015, it can be fair to say that one's age, major, and class level have a negligible influence on one's perceptions of women in policing.

### *External Perceptions*

Regardless of looking specifically at criminal justice students or all students as a whole, there was a consistent theme that derived from the results of the 2006 and 2015 data. As mentioned previously, it was evident that acceptance of women in policing has increased since Golden (1981). However, the attitudinal items that had a continuous increase in positive acceptance were the items measuring one's own perception. When analyzing the items within the Attitudinal Index, the support for women in policing was extremely high. A majority of the items had an acceptance rate of 80% or higher. To see these attitudinal items having much higher support since Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994), it is interesting to see there are two items that remained consistently negative for nearly 34 years since Golden (1981). These two negative items were: Most citizens would give female officers the same degree of respect as male officers and male officers would accept female officers. Both of these items measure one's perception of how they believe others will feel about women in policing. It is believed these external perceptions can be of importance when

looking at why the number of women in policing has remained stagnate around 12% throughout the years.

These studies have proven the female criminal justice student's perception of women in policing has maintained a strong and consistent approval rating since Austin and Hummer (2000). Although female students had strong acceptance of women in policing then and now, the number of women in policing has generally stayed around 12% nationally. Female criminal justice students had extremely high percentages when it came to the Attitudinal Index items: Austin and Hummer (2000), 93%; 2006, 86%; 2015, 94%. These high percentages show female criminal justice students essentially have no reservations on women's abilities to be police officers. Therefore, if they have had a high percentage of support for women since Austin and Hummer (2000), but national averages have remained relatively the same, it makes sense there would be other factors of why women are not joining the police force.

For external perceptions to still be negative in today's society as it was in the 1980s and 1990s, it is believed these perceptions should be analyzed further to see if there are factors that can lead to an increase of women in policing. Note, there are going to be an ample number of factors on why women are choosing not to enter the policing profession. However, this persistent and robust cynicism that others will not accept women in policing even when "I" do, poses great challenges for law enforcement officials to try and understand how to recruit and retain female officers within their organizations.

These results show law enforcement officials that a large proportion of their potential future recruit candidates, college students, are accepting of women in policing. More importantly, these results show law enforcement that females believe they can do the job. Unfortunately for law enforcement officials, these results should be evident to them that their future recruits do not believe women will be accepted by the public, but more specifically, by their own male officers. This is critical for law enforcement officials as it puts the burden on law enforcement agencies to prove to women that they truly want them to be a part of their organization, and that they will be accepted by not only their organization, but the male officers who work for them.

Often times when recruiting female officers, law enforcement agencies want to “show off” their female officers as a way to show other women they have women officers within their department. Although it is important to show potential women recruits that one’s own agency has female officers, it is more important to show them that the agency has a good working relationship between its various officers. Rabe-Hemp (2018) discusses how law enforcement should make their departments resemble their communities. She discusses how the United States is becoming more diverse and policing agencies are not keeping up. This is an important aspect when recruiting because if one only sends female officers, potential women recruits are unable to understand the diverse nature of the department in regards to their acceptance. For example, law enforcement agencies are not going to be made up of only female officers. Having an all-female recruitment team and/or all-female recruitment video, poster, etc., does not do the department justice in selling their diversity or cohesiveness. It

has been learned that potential recruits are worried they are not going to be accepted by male officers. Having male officers and female officers recruiting together can show cohesiveness of the department between genders. Furthermore, it can show potential women recruits they will be accepted by their male counterparts if they join that particular agency. Incorporating male and female officers in recruiting propaganda will further promote the diverse nature of one's agency to show the collective acceptance of all persons.

Although visual affirmation of seeing women in police uniforms can be believed to be a key component of women feeling accepted, there are still underlying elements pertaining to that acceptance that are going to need to be addressed by law enforcement agencies. One of the elements pertains to the sexist and discriminatory culture male officers have created within police culture. Research consistently finds discrimination and sexual harassment by male officers within police departments (Kakar, 2002). For women to know they will be truly accepted, they need to know they will not be discriminated against and will not be sexually harassed while working with the police agency. Unfortunately, even in today's police profession, there are still numerous officers engaging in sexist humor. For example, Prokos and Padavic (2002) discuss a story where new police recruits were shown episodes of the television show *COPS* while in the police academy. They discuss how in one of the episodes, an individual being detained said "there should be a law against bitches." During the remaining months of the police academy, when the recruits wanted to joke about female officers, the male recruits would repeat this phrase (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). This part of police culture has to change to ensure women will be accepted by all, to include being treated



with dignity and respect in the process. However, for this type of change, the change must start from the top down. Sadly, supervisors and commanders continue to tolerate the hostile work environments, and often are some of the perpetrators themselves (Kakar, 2002). Far too often female officers are told to toughen up instead of reprimanding the male officers' behaviors (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Regardless of one's gender, no one should have to work in a hostile work environment where they will be subjected to sexist humor, discrimination, or harassment.

Another underlying acceptance element which could be deterring women from joining the police ranks could be their physical stature. The present study has shown that college students have no doubt women have the physical skills and strengths to do police work. There can still be a difference in believing in your own physical skills and strengths versus having your physical skills and strength accepted by others.

Due to the negative perceptions that male officers will not accept female officers, it is possible women do not think their physical skills and strengths will be accepted by law enforcement agencies. Part of this issue arises from the continued stereotypes of policing being a masculine profession, but also the physical fitness demands of the recruiting process. There are elements of the recruiting process that have negative impacts towards women with the clearest being the physical fitness tests (Cordner & Cordner, 2011; Lonsway, 2003). Rabe-Hemp (2018) discussed how police agencies overemphasize upper-body strength in the fitness testing process, and how this becomes a disadvantage to women trying to enter the

policing profession. Further, some argue the fitness tests are not even relevant to what the officers encounter on a daily basis. Part of this issue comes with the lack of knowledge of what physical strengths are needed for successful policing (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Birzer and Craig (1996) noted in their study that women failed the physical fitness tests far more often than men. Birzer and Craig (1996) indicated 93% of males who took the physical agility test passed compared to only 23% of females. Some agencies have since went to modernized fitness tests which incorporate one's age and gender (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Nonetheless, there are agencies who still use outdated physical fitness testing that focuses on upper-body strength. Some contend they have purposefully kept the outdated testing process to exclude women (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). One way for agencies to eliminate these potential fears for women can be the implementation of recruitment academies. This idea will be discussed further in the practical implications.

It is logical to think when individuals look for a career, they look for one that will be advantageous to their personal and professional growth. If women believe they will not be fully accepted by police agencies or the public, they may have a preconceived notion there will be no opportunities for them to move higher up within the ranks. Therefore, the likelihood of them joining a police agency for their career has already been diminished due to the perceived lack of potential personal and professional growth.

The “glass ceiling” has been an issue when discussing promotional opportunities for women within the policing profession (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Women have struggled with

promotions in policing. During the 1990s, the average police department did not have any women in top command positions (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Since the 1990s, women have progressed to higher ranks. Johnson (2015) reported that in 2015, there were numerous women heading top police agencies (i.e., DEA, Secret Service, FBI [Washington field office], etc.) in the country. Although cracks have started to form in the glass ceiling, it is far from shattering.

The women who have made it to the top still have to defend their position on a daily basis (Schulz, 2004). Schulz also indicated that the constant defending of one's own worth can be a deterrent for some women to even attempt to make a crack in the glass ceiling. Police agencies have to find ways to prove to women they will be given the same opportunities for growth as the men. In doing so, police agencies have to be cognizant of not providing falsehoods which could lead to the ideologies of the glass cliff and/or tokenism.

The glass cliff is referenced when agencies have a tendency to appoint a woman to a leadership role over a man when things are risky and precarious (Ryan et al., 2016). Oftentimes, when agencies are seen to be going through a crisis, women have been promoted to a leadership role to take over the lead. However, this is generally not due to the woman's expertise or qualifications. Predominately in crisis situations, the selection of a woman is contributed to her being a signal of change, and not her suitability to handle the crisis (Kulich et al., 2015). If the agency was failing, it was more often that the company would turn to a woman instead of a man. Agencies with performance that was generally stable appointed

men to higher positions, but agencies experiencing poor performance would appoint a woman (Haslam & Ryan, 2008). Ultimately, by giving women leadership roles in the times of crisis, they become the scapegoats if things continue to fail. Giving a female officer a promotion to only set her up for potential failure is a likely way for women to distrust policing agencies regarding their true acceptance of personal and professional growth. Additionally, the idea of promoting a woman solely for being a “token” can also have consequences regarding trust between women and police agencies.

A “token” or one within a “token” group can be defined as a person or persons which represent less than 15% of the overall work group (Kanter, 1977). Kanter identifies the token group also as the minorities. In policing, women are often times considered a token group. Being a token in any agency can lead to complications and additional stress one does not desire. These complications and/or stresses derive from three principles of tokenism: Visibility, contrast, and assimilation (Kanter, 1977). Tokens will feel more visible as they are different than the dominant group, also known as the majority. Being highly visible, tokens find themselves under more pressure as they feel they must prove their worth to the majority (Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 1977). Female officers tend to believe they have to work harder to not only prove themselves, but to gain acceptance from male officers (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Wertsch, 1998;). Rabe-Hemp (2018) also notes that women officers feel they have to impress new recruits when the new recruits are also trying to impress other officers.

Contrast refers to when the majority feels challenged or uncomfortable around the tokens. When this occurs, the majority will heighten their boundaries by exaggerating the culture elements the majority group shares in contrast to the tokens (Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 1977). In creating boundaries, instead of working together with female officers, male officers potentially will feel threatened and therefore will create a divide between them and the female officers. Male officers then create an atmosphere where female officers feel they are not being accepted.

Last, assimilation refers to when the token group assimilates into the stereotypical categories defined for them by the majority (Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 1977). In policing, this could mean female officers resort to staying in policing roles where the agency feels they best belong (i.e. administrative, school resource officer, etc.). In doing so, this can cause the female officer to be unhappy with her current work duty.

When looking at women being “tokens,” it should be noted Kanter’s theory of tokenism can be a factor for why women are not entering the policing field and/or why there are problems in relation to promotional opportunities for female officers. If female officers are constantly trying to prove their worth to feel accepted by male officers, the stresses may only increase with a given promotional opportunity. Once women are given a promotion, female officers may feel they were only given the promotion due to their token status. Archbold and Schulz (2008) found in their study that many female officers neglected to test for promotion because they felt they would be promoted solely due to their gender. Likewise,

it can be argued that male officers may also think a female may be receiving a promotion solely due to the female officer's token status. As noted in Archbold and Schulz (2008), some female officers do not approve of an administration's push for promotion; often they feel like a number or quota.

When pushing for women to join an agency or to compete in promotional opportunities solely due to a token status, policing agencies run the risk of creating a larger divide between female and male officers. Rightfully, female officers want to be known as good officers, and not defined by their gender. Female officers want to have the feeling of acceptance by their department and male officers. Female officers do not want positions, to include promotions, merely handed to them because they are a female officer. This is evident in Archbold and Schulz (2008, p. 58) as multiple female officers indicated in interviews that they felt they were either currently in positions, or told to try for certain positions, because they were a female. For example, a female officer wanted to stop being a field training officer, but was told she couldn't stop because the department wanted females in those types of leadership positions. Another female officer alluded to the fact the department will almost hire any woman, regardless of standards, due to the fact they want more female officers. More importantly, the female officer described how the department focuses solely on how many women they have, instead of how the current female officers are as persons. The officer continued by saying she is constantly told to seek promotion, but she has no interest in doing so because she does not want to draw any more attention to herself (Archbold &

Schulz, 2008). These stories prove female officers want to be treated equally to their male counterparts.

Family lifestyle is another potential underlying element that can be related to why women are not joining the police profession. Women tend to look for more family friendly police agencies (Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Police work comes with a lot of disadvantages when it relates to spending time with one's family. These disadvantages start with police officers having shift work, working holidays, call-outs, etc. The scheduling aspect of policing can also have negative effects on childcare and maternity leave. For some women, not knowing how accepting a policing agency is going to be regarding their family values can have a detrimental effect on whether they decide to work in policing or not. Police agencies need to implement more family friendly policies (Cordner & Cordner, 2011; Rabe-Hemp, 2018). Rabe-Hemp indicated more light duty options, better maternity policies, childcare options, and flexible part-time police work could be potential solutions. Some women will forego promotion because of conflicts with their family and/or child care obligations (Schulz, 2004). Therefore, if police agencies can show women they are a family friendly agency, women may be more convinced they will be accepted and therefore apply. Being a family friendly agency is believed to not only help with recruitment, but also, the retention of female officers (Rabe-Hemp, 2018).

Looking beyond police agency acceptance, there still remains negative perceptions on whether the public will accept women as officers. Balkin (1988) indicated citizens generally

accept female officers. Bell (1982), however, indicated citizens accept female officers, but depending on the situation (i.e. violent calls), they prefer male officers. The present study is clear that college students do not believe citizens will accept women in policing. However, it is unclear as to the impact police and public acceptance have on prospective recruits. Therefore, it is believed further research should include surveying citizens about their beliefs of women in policing. Further, future research should include how external perceptions from the public and police may impact women interested in policing. It is believed the current instrument does not measure this underlying issue.

### *Limitations*

One limitation for this study is the use of secondary data. The data may be dated, its temporal relevance suspect (Majchrzak & Markus, 2014). Another disadvantage is the unknown regarding the methods of data collection employed by the previous researchers (Bachman & Schutt, 2011). While the author was involved in the 2015 data collection, he was not involved in the 2006 effort. Some details of that data collection remain unclear and irretrievable.

One goal of research is to generalize one's findings from a sample to the population (i.e. external validity). For this study, the sample being studied consists of college students within criminal justice courses at a midwestern university. Likewise, Golden (1981) conducted her study in criminal justice courses at a midwestern university similar to UND. However, Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000) conducted their study at a northeastern



university. The new data obtained is specific to UND. This is important because Golden (1981) and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000) conducted their studies at different universities. With the studies being conducted at different universities, the results and trends may be misleading as the author is drawing conclusions from different samples. Further, there are no guarantees these samples will be representative of the larger student bodies or criminal justice student population. Although the sample is based around criminal justice college students, there are limitations in being able to generalize the findings to a population of all college students in the United States. Further, it would also be difficult to generalize the findings to the population of all UND college students. As shown in Table 1, this sample only represents approximately 1% (2015) to 2% (2006) of the undergraduate students at UND. However, the findings can be generalized to the UND criminal justice program as 94% of criminal justice majors in 2015 participated in the study.

Convenience samples have limitations in trying to generalize the findings to a specific population. When using nonprobability sampling, it is difficult to generalize results from a sample to a population. This is a problem with convenience samples because there are no defined populations from which the sample was drawn (Bachman et al., 2017). More importantly, there was not an equal chance for all the students to be selected (a.k.a., nonprobability sample). Bachman and colleagues indicate convenience samples do not allow for systematic techniques when selecting the sample. Without a systematic technique/random sampling, there is no way to presume if the sample is representative of any target population. This study utilized a convenience sample with no random sampling. Therefore, caution is

warranted in attempting to generalize the findings to the larger population of students. Note, Golden (1981) as well as Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000) also utilized convenience samples. This is a serious limitation as it is unclear to what extent these samples reflect the larger population of students at each individual institution, as well as nationally. Due to this limitation, it is proposed that future research expand beyond criminal justice courses. Further, it is proposed that future research expand to multiple universities around the nation to be able to generalize the findings across the United States.

It is important when conducting multiple regression that the assumptions are met. If assumptions are not met, the conclusions drawn may be misleading. Further, utilizing a convenience, non-probability sample violates an assumption of using inferential statistics. When using non-probability sampling techniques to collect a sample, the elements within the population do not have a known probability of being selected into the sample (Bachman et al., 2017). Therefore, without having a random chance of being selected for the sample, one may lose the likelihood that the sample surveyed can be generalized to a population. Systematic bias may be present. Systematic bias refers to the population characteristics in a sample being overrepresented or underrepresented resulting from the method used in selecting the sample (Bachman et al., 2017). When the sample becomes biased, it is only representative of the sample studied and can no longer be generalized to a larger population.

In addition, treating ordinal measurements as interval/ratio variables, though common practice (Liddell and Kruschke, 2018), can be problematic (Field, 2013; Pasta, 2009;

Thomson et al., 1998). Liddell and Kruschke (2018) indicated they looked through numerous highly ranked Psychology journals and found 68 articles utilizing ordinal measures as continuous. Using this technique, however, can be problematic for researchers. Using ordinal measures as interval/ratio variables may lead to error (Liddell & Kruschke, 2018). This could be due to assumptions of general linear models being violated. One assumption of linear models is the data being normally distributed. Using ordinal data can be problematic as there is no clear standard in terms of unit distance in ordinal variables. Ordinal data is generally not normally distributed and utilizing it as linear data can lead to one misinterpreting the findings (Liddell & Kruschke, 2018). Hence, one may be more susceptible of committing a Type I or Type II error. Liddell and Kruschke (2018) indicate this technique may create false alarms for Type I errors and failures to detect Type II errors. This is important because one may be making inferences about a sample or population that is incorrect due to potential errors about which one is not aware.

Social desirability bias may be a limitation due to the disparity between one's own perception versus the perceptions they have for others. Social desirability bias is when individuals respond in a way to try and gain the approval of others (King & Bruner, 2000). Due to high levels of one's own support for women, it is possible individuals felt the need to respond in a way they felt was socially acceptable. Contrarily, when responding to how they perceived others would feel, they may have been more honest with their responses (i.e., low external perceptions). If social desirability bias is present, it can threaten the validity of the study (King & Bruner, 2000).

## CONCLUSION

### *Practical Implications*

There can be countless factors related to why women are not entering the policing profession. However, these studies have shown it is not due to the fact that college students do not believe they can do police work. What is evident from these studies is how female students believe women can do the job, but feel others will not accept them. If police agencies want to hire more women, it is critical for them to prove that their department, including their male officers, will accept women as officers. Key ways to potentially help recruit more women starts by proving acceptance through diversity recruitment, modernized physical fitness testing, eliminating sexual harassment, providing adequate opportunities for promotion, and becoming a family friendly agency. Researching the job and taking part in police programs can be beneficial for women interested in policing (Wells & Alt, 2005). It is believed one way an agency can start demonstrating their acceptance is through a recruitment academy.

Some policing agencies hold citizen academies and/or youth academies. These academies generally will give insight on what that agency does on a daily basis and would be similar in nature. However, these aren't necessary aimed at recruiting as they are informational. Utilizing a more recruitment-based academy, agencies can have a mixture of officers come in and discuss their daily duties, stories, etc. This will give the agency an opportunity to recruit all types of persons, but more importantly, it will give them a chance to prove to women that they will be treated fairly and equally. This opportunity will not only

give women an opportunity to have an understanding of the ins and outs of the job, but they can speak with male and female officers regarding their experiences. This will give the agency an opportunity to discuss their family friendly policies with the potential recruits. If an agency has a physical fitness requirement, this would be a good time to allow the potential recruits to complete the physical fitness test. If the potential recruit has difficulties, this can be a perfect time for male and female officers to discuss potential solutions with that individual. If possible, the agency could start a mentor program to help recruits prepare for the physical fitness test and/or the academy. In Cordner and Cordner (2011), female officers indicated they supported the use of mentors. The mentor program can help not only to get someone prepared for the academy, but it can help the person once they are employed with the agency. A mentor program could be a time where female officers have alone time with potential female recruits to discuss their experience working in policing and more specifically, with that agency. A mentor program can help not only with retention of officers, but it could help officers prepare towards potential promotional opportunities.

It is believed recruitment academies would help women have a better understanding of whether police agencies will accept them for who they are, or if the agency just wants women based on their gender. This type of academy will allow both male and female officers to work together to show encouragement to all potential recruits on why they should apply with their agency. This is important because it is more likely that women will apply for policing agencies once they are given encouragement (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). The

number of women in policing may fluctuate and take time to increase, but if agencies start giving encouragement and show they are accepting of women, the numbers may improve.

This dissertation focused on women in policing within the United States. However, when discussing practical implications for women in policing, it shall be noted these same issues are consistent around the world. International research shows women in policing have faced the same hurdles in other countries as they have in the United States. In Britain, female officers have constantly battled for their acceptance amongst male officers (Pope & Pope, 1986). As American female officers feel they have to go above and beyond to prove themselves, Pope and Pope (1986) indicated Britain female officers had to do the exact same. Female officers in Ireland are no different than the female officers in the United States or Britain. Female officers within the Irish police departments are still treated differently in policing because of their gender (Marsh, 2019). Marsh indicated this is true even when women have proven they can be equally as good as their male counterparts. Policing in South Africa has faced these issues as well. However, in South Africa, a national policy was implemented to fight against gender inequality in policing. The South African Police Service (SAPS) initiated a national policy to ensure gender employment amongst the SAPS was representative of the larger society (Meyer & Steyn, 2009). By implementing a national policy, SAPS did what Rabe-Hemp (2018) indicated, policing agencies should make their agencies more diverse to match their communities. In doing so, the SAPS has made commendable progress in increasing the number of female officers (Ulicki, 2011). However, Ulicki still noted women are still facing numerous issues within policing in South Africa. For

example, she noted that although gender representation has increased, gender discrimination still persists. Due to the similarities around the world, and some of the advancements being made by the SAPS, it is encouraged for agencies to look beyond the United States when considering how to improve one's recruitment efforts. It is important to remember that there is no evidence indicating there is a perfect policing agency in the world. However, there is evidence that most agencies are dealing with similar issues and therefore, it is possible for agencies to learn from others' successes and failures.

### *Policy Implications*

The United States has enacted quite a few policies over the years to provide more protection to women's rights (i.e. Title IV, Civil Rights Act, Equal Pay Act, etc.). However, as Houghton (1999) noted with the Equal Pay Act, the Federal Government was forcing individuals facing problems to take their employers on by themselves within the courtroom. In order for these types of policies to work, women need the government to spend more time helping enforce potential violations that may occur in the workplace. It is one thing to have policies in place, but another not to act on them.

Sexual harassment is a key problem that needs to continue to be addressed within policing agencies. Cordner and Cordner (2011) indicated police chiefs acknowledged tackling sexual harassment was the second-best option next to recruiting to help promote and attract more women into the policing profession. It is great to see police chiefs acknowledging the problem with sexual harassment, but that means supervisors and

commanders need to start implementing harsher penalties for those who break harassment policies within their agencies. This also means having accountability for supervisors too. In the end, change generally starts from the top down and those who are in command should lead by example.

### *Future Research*

Based off these studies, it is recommended future research be more focused on the attitudes of male officers and their police agencies. Due to the negative external perceptions, it can be advantageous to simply ask male officers if they would accept female officers. If acceptance by male officers is a large factor for why some women are not entering policing, that fear can potentially be eliminated by simply asking male officers what their opinions are of working with women. This can be helpful for potential female police recruits who may fear they will not be accepted by male officers. Due to the strong internal validity of the instrument used in these studies, Golden (1981), and Austin and Hummer (1994; 2000), it is believed one could tailor this instrument to fit current police officers.

Not only is it critical to ask male officers their opinions, it is recommended female officers be given the same questionnaire. Further, it is believed more qualitative research with female officers would be beneficial. In completing more qualitative research with female officers, one can hopefully gain more detailed information regarding the thinking of women in policing. These details may help the researcher pinpoint certain dimensions they feel would be more beneficial to measure and analyze.



It is not uncommon for policing agencies to operate differently than one another. The type of agency (i.e. police department, sheriff's office, highway patrol, etc.) being studied by researchers will also have a variety of different elements which differ from the next. It is believed all these types of departments should be given the same type of questionnaire. By giving this questionnaire to all types of agencies, one can look for potential differences in acceptance of women in policing based on the type of work each agency conducts on a daily basis.

These studies have focused solely on college students. As stated previously, approximately 51% of police officers have a college degree. Therefore, there is another population of individuals interested in law enforcement that do not have a college degree. It would be beneficial to reach out to this population to get a more comprehensive look into potential recruits and their perceptions of women in policing.

### *Final Thoughts*

There is no question women have suffered throughout the years when it comes to fighting for gender equality in the workplace. Women have shown they belong working alongside men in World War II and within policing. They have shown they can do a "man's" job. Women have proved they can do the male-dominated jobs at the same level of effectiveness and/or better than men. Yet, our culture has continued to find ways to degrade and disempower women by telling them they do not belong and/or they are not good enough to take part in a man's world.

There are no doubts that women have made successful strides in obtaining equality despite being pushed down continuously by society. Since women entered the policing profession, they have continued to make progress. Will the number of women in policing ever be equitable to the representation of women in our society? The answer is quite simple, probably not. Even though we can probably never expect 50% of the police force to be women, it is acceptable to say approximately 12% of representation in policing is not the correct answer either.

These studies have shown that, over the years, the acceptance of women in policing has had a positive growth. When looking at male criminal justice students, the acceptance of women has increased over time. Female criminal justice students' acceptance has maintained high positive consistency since the early 1990s. Looking at overall college students' perceptions, the acceptance rate of women in policing is high and has increased substantially since the 1980s.

It is evident the increased number of women in policing will continue to take time. By looking at the negative outlook of external perceptions, these studies have made it clear that as a society, to include police agencies, we must encourage and empower women to not be afraid of external challenges. This means as a society, we must show our acceptance of women entering male-dominated professions. As a culture we must remove gender stereotypes and labels, including professions like policing. In order to do so, we must begin with changing our attitudes and our beliefs. Meanwhile, we must also hold each other

accountable for our actions. If attitudes can be changed within society and police cultures, and everyone is held accountable for their actions, there may be positive progression in regards to gender equality within the policing profession. In the end, we all have the right to remain silent, but when it comes to gender equality and any other inequality, these may not be the times to exercise that right.

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