UNDERSTANDING BARRIERS THAT AFFECT RECRUITING AND RETAINING

FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS: A MIXED METHOD APPROACH

by

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the police officers at TMPD, especially those in recruiting,

background investigations, and the academy. Thank you all for your hard work and

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ABSTRACT

Women are underrepresented in policing, and research has demonstrated that police departments must engage in active recruiting to attract female applicants. However, little research has been conducted on the barriers that keep women who are interested in a career in policing from becoming police officers. The present study addresses this limitation by adding to the current knowledge of women's experiences from initial contact with the police department through the police academy. Guided by the theory of tokenism and the gender model of work, the present study employed a mixed method design to provide insight into why the percentage of women in law enforcement has plateaued at about 12.6 % despite law enforcement agencies' desires to increase their percentage of female officers.

First, the study sought to ascertain barriers from the perspective of women who attended a department recruiting event targeted to increase female applicants. Second, the study compared the factors involved in disqualification and withdrawal for female and male applicants. Finally, the study sought to understand gender differences in the academy experience. Analysis of these diverse sources of information were integrated into a comprehensive conclusion aimed at providing insight to researchers and practitioners seeking to understand how to effectively recruit and retain female police officers.

Several key findings related to tokenism emerged. First, the results indicated that visibility, or being noticed, was an important issue in the process. Whereas scrutiny

(being noticed for poor performance) had negative effects on completing the applicant screening process and graduating the academy, praise (being noticed for performing well), was positively related to the decision to apply. Second, polarization, exaggeration of differences between men and women, was problematic. When polarization was sexually-explicit, it was negatively related to the decision to apply. Emphasis of women as being physically weaker than men reinforced feelings of discouragement and judgment that were important reasons why women withdrew rather than attempting to pass physical fitness tests. Third, while evidence of assimilation, role entrapment and group isolation, was found in the academy, women were not likely to recognize it as a problem. Further, expectations of assimilation were not important to the decision to apply.

Other key findings related to the gender model of work. The physical differences between men and women were important differences in their perceptions about their ability to do the job as well as their ability to complete the physical testing and the academy. Men and women were believed to differ in their response to issues including stress within the academy with women being more emotional. These differences were believed to explain the academy being more difficult for women.

Women were concerned about the impact of a career in policing on their families (especially their children). Often this was expressed through fears about the safety issues involved affecting others. Familial and spousal support were important issues. Women often received support, and lack of support was related to withdrawing from the process

or failing to succeed in the academy. Lack of support from significant others was an important issue and was related to failed relationships for successful recruits.

Administratively, the physical fitness and written examinations were important barriers for women. Although women failed to pass these stages more often than men, failure to schedule the tests and failure to show for tests that were schedule were more common among women than men. This was related to issues of judgment and discouragement. Discouragement was reinforced by the lack of support from family and significant others. Support from recruiters and/or trainers was found to be beneficial for women engaged in the process.

The department's haircut policy for women, which required their hair to be cut shorter than one inch prior to entering the training academy, was a substantial issue. It was related to the decision to not apply, the decision to withdraw, and negative feelings among women who decided to cut their hair to enter the academy. The haircut policy was cited by recruiters and current female officers as a reason that more women did not apply to the department.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Despite the advances made by women in the policing profession during the last 30 years, the policing profession remains male dominated. In 2012, females made up only 12.6% of all sworn police officers in the United States (BLS, 2012). Some research (Cordner & Cordner, 2011; National Center for Women and Policing, 1999) suggests that the percent of female officers may have plateaued at the current level. The stagnant level of representation may be due to the inability of agencies to retain women that are employed as officers and/or the inability of agencies to attract and hire a sufficient number of women to overcome normal attrition. Research by both academics and professional law enforcement research agencies on these issues has been limited.

Some studies have examined the retention of female officers. Between 1990 and 1999, the Los Angeles Police Department found that it was more difficult to retain female officers than male officers. During that time, women were more than twice as likely (9% to 19%) to leave the profession due to resignation or termination than men (NCWP, 2000). Other research indicates that this phenomenon is common across police agencies. In a study of police organizations, 28% of agencies reported more trouble retaining female officers than male officers (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1998). Female officers express a variety of reasons for leaving the profession. Many resign due to family or childrearing reasons. Others report that they leave for career changes involving better jobs, better pay, and a greater likelihood of advancement (IACP, 1998).

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Other research has attributed the inability to retain female officers to the domination of gender stereotypes in policing. For example, research shows that gender stereotypes in training serve to ostracize and marginalize women from the beginning of their career (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Thus, women experience an unsupportive environment as they become patrol officers, and research shows that few agencies have implemented mentoring programs designed to create supportive work environments for newly hired women (IACP, 1998). According to IACP (1998), retention remains one of the largest barriers to increasing the number of women in policing.

Beyond these factors that affect retention, the inability of police agencies to recruit and hire sufficient numbers of women may be an equally important problem. Unfortunately, less research has focused on the issues surrounding the hiring of female police officers. Because there is a widespread perception that policing involves physical aggression and is not a profession conducive to childcare responsibilities, women may be less likely to pursue a career in the field (Doener, 1995). Some research suggests that women must be actively recruited into the field of policing as a result (Belknap, 2007). Other research shows that affirmative action programs have helped increase the number of women hired as police officers (Zhao et al., 2006). However, little research has considered the effectiveness of other recruitment strategies for women (Archbold & Schulz, 2012).

Limited research has been conducted on factors that may attract women to the policing profession. Some findings indicate that there are no gender differences between the reasons of men and women for joining the policing profession (Meagher & Yentes, 1986; Powers, 1983). Other studies have found that women are less influenced than men

by friends and family who are in law enforcement (Lester, 1983) and more likely than men to choose policing to fulfill a desire to serve the community (Bridges, 1989).

Some research has attempted to identify potential barriers that limit women's entrance into policing. However, this literature has largely consisted of reviews of legal decisions. For example, one identified organizational barrier that has been litigated is the physical fitness test requirement to become a police officer. Physical fitness tests, especially pre-employment tests, have often been scrutinized as a barrier to a greater number of women joining policing (Harrington, 1997). Several cases have highlighted the disparate impact of some physical fitness tests on female applicants (*Brant v. Columbus*, 1978; *Blake v. City of Los Angeles*, 1979; *Berkman v. City of New York*, 1982). These cases have generally held that tests that have a disparate impact can only be used if the test is job related, the skills on the test predict future success on the job, and there is no less discriminatory alternative (Lonsway, 2003).

There is currently no research on the decision making processes of potential female applicants. Research on potential applicants and actual applicants has not examined whether there are differences between men and women in their perceptions of job characteristics or the factors that they use to decide to apply for or accept a position. Currently, no research empirically identifies barriers to women interested in entering the policing profession and the effect of these barriers on the police organization's ability to recruit potentially interested women. Finally, most of the limited research on recruiting, applicant processing, and the academy experience is outdated. This study provides a recent analysis of potential barriers for women entering policing.

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Rationale for the Study

This mixed methods study is an important contribution to the field for several reasons. First, it provides a thorough assessment of barriers to women interested in law enforcement by considering potential female applicants' perceptions of barriers to entering the policing profession. Second, the research seeks to analyze these barriers using multiple theoretical frameworks. Third, the research relies on a mixed-method approach that provides a more detailed understanding of the perceptual and organizational barriers to women in policing than either a qualitative or a quantitative approach alone. Finally, this research covers the entire entry process from the point-of-view of an interested prospective applicant to the perspective of an academy graduate. This is an important consideration as barriers may vary during the different stages of the process.

Research Questions

The central research question is: *What are the perceived and organizational barriers to women interested in entering the policing profession?* The study consists of three different investigations for analysis. The first investigation assesses the perceptions of potential female applicants who attend a targeted recruiting event through surveys and qualitative interviews. The second investigation analyzes a large data set of 13,527 applicants from one police department's archived recruiting files and interviews with the application processing staff to identify barriers and the reasons that female applicants are disqualified or withdraw from the process. The final investigation addresses attrition and perceptions of the academy experience among academy recruits utilizing multiple years

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of academy records and interviews with current female officers. These three
investigations will address the following specific research questions:

> *R_1: Do expectations of tokenism affect a potential female applicant's likelihood
> of applying?*

> *R_2: Does the applicant screening process include barriers that disproportionally
> affect female applicants, thus perpetuating token-level representation?*

> *R_3:   Does the academy include barriers that disproportionally affect female
> recruits?*

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters and an appendix. Chapter one
briefly introduces the topic and the theoretical frameworks that apply to the issue,
presents the rationale for the study, defines the statement of problem, and presents the
research questions. Chapter two presents a comprehensive review of relevant literature.
Chapter three describes and provides rationales for the research methods. Chapter four
presents the quantitative and qualitative findings of the first component on women
interested in careers in policing. Chapter five presents the quantitative and qualitative
results of the background screening analysis. Chapter six presents the quantitative and
qualitative findings from the academy analysis. The final chapter, Chapter seven,
discusses these findings within the larger context of the general research question and the
theoretical models. Finally, the appendix includes copies of all instruments used, the

informed consent forms, and a copy of the internal review board approval from Texas

State University.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section begins with the history of women in policing and concludes with current research findings. The second section introduces literature on police recruitment and selection. The third section introduces sociology of work including the job model and the gender model. The fourth section introduces the literature on tokenism and research on tokenism within police organizations is reviewed. The conclusion section places the proposed research in context of the previous research.

History of Women in Policing

The history of women in policing can be divided into four eras based on the type of occupational role that women embraced during each time period. The first era began in the 1820s and encompasses the initial involvement of women working in the criminal justice system. During this era, women worked as matrons in jails and prisons. The second era began in approximately 1900 and includes the initial entry of policewomen with the resulting separate spheres of policewomen and policemen. During this era, the role of policewomen involved service and education while men held more traditional policing roles. The third era began in the 1960s and represents the period where female police officers were integrated into patrol, formally eliminating the separate spheres. During this era, research on female officers compared their performance to the

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performance of men. The present era of police, beginning approximately in 1992, is characterized by community-oriented policing, where verbal skills are perceived as important tools for police officers, even though this approach has never been fully embraced by the policing culture or rank-and-file police officers. While female officers enjoy legal equality in the modern era, the gains of female officers in terms of numerical representation within police departments and proportions of female officers in managerial positions has demonstrated that women have yet to achieve actual equality (Schulz, 2004b).

The Entry of Women into Policing

The 1820s to the 1870s have been defined as the jail and prison matron era (Schulz, 2004). During this period, Quaker women volunteered religious training and classes on domestic skills to imprisoned women. These volunteers, appalled by poor prison conditions, where the female inmates were supervised by male officers and largely neglected, sought to protect the imprisoned and impoverished women who were unable to protect themselves (Freedman, 1974). As a result of wanting to do more for the female inmates, the female volunteers called for prison reform, bringing about dramatic changes to women's prisons (Pollock, 2014). Among these reforms was the idea that female inmates should be guarded by women rather than men (Morton, 1998).

Prisons for female inmates were reformed by employing female staff to keep the female inmates from being sexually abused by male officers (Appier, 1992). The reforms also moved correctional institutions for women away from cities and into the country. The women employed in prisons for women were the first "matrons" and carved out a

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new career for themselves and other women following them. Women were also hired to guard female inmates in city and county jails. These women had authority over the female inmates, but they lacked the arrest powers of sworn police officers (Appier, 1992).

After the Civil War, the concept of women having a special duty and ability to work with women was extended beyond the correctional system. Reformers and activists proposed the matron model for women and children under police custody. This new position, police matron, was the first official role women held in law enforcement. The first full-time police matron was hired in New York in 1845, although police matrons did not receive full support from the Men's Prison Association due to their fear for the women's safety and disbelief that a woman could adequately handle dangerous situations (Berg & Budnick, 1986).

While police matrons were initially hired to deal with female offenders in custody, police matrons were quickly utilized to take on other roles such as interviewing female witnesses and suspects and making sentencing recommendations. To gain public support for police matrons and policewomen, activists emphasized the need for these roles to control and maintain the social purity of women and children. This tactic worked and gained the support of like-minded men who shared the same concern. The role for policewomen then, was very different from policemen and the women interested in becoming policewomen embraced this difference (Feinman, 1994; Schulz, 1995).

The second era of policing, often described as the era of policewomen, lasted from approximately the early 1900s to the 1960s (Schulz, 2004). Two influential women during this era were Lola Baldwin and Alice Stebbin Wells. Although Alice Stebbin Wells was the first to be classified as a "policewoman" in 1910, Lola Baldwin held the

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first female position with arresting power as a "safety worker" in Portland, Oregon in 1905. Her responsibility was to protect women and young girls from being harassed by men during the Lewis and Clark Exposition (Heidensohn, 1992). After the exposition, Baldwin was asked to stay on as the director of the Department of Public Safety for the Protection of Young Girls and Children by the Portland city government. Alice Stebbin Wells worked in Los Angeles as the first titled policewoman. After proving to be a valuable asset as a detective, other police departments took notice and started to hire policewomen. In 1915, Wells established the International Association of Policewomen.

During this era, policewomen were well educated, belonged to the middle-class or upper-middle class, and believed strongly in philanthropy and public service (Appier, 1992; Appier, 1998; Schulz, 2004). Using a social work model, these policewomen strongly believed in their role to help other women in hopes of saving them and their children from lives of crime. Policewomen of this era did not want to fill the role of police men. Policewomen expressed a preference for separate workspaces, a preference not to carry firearms, and a preference not wear uniforms (Schulz, 1993, 1994).

By 1950, a total of 2,600 policewomen were employed in the United States, and the number of female police officers more than doubled to 5,617 by 1960 (Heidensohn, 1992). This influx of women into policing was bolstered by the ideals of the civil rights movement and the women's movement. These "second generation" policewomen wanted equal opportunities, including the access to promotional opportunities (Schulz, 1993). The policing culture at the time was rooted in O.W. Wilson's military management model, which did not support women holding high ranking positions. In fact, in his text, *Public Administration*, Wilson stressed that while women should have

limited roles in policing, such as dealing with juveniles, women were "too emotional" to hold any position of rank even within the juvenile divisions (Wilson, 1942).

In this era, policewomen started to wear uniforms and carry firearms. The first uniform for policewomen in Chicago was introduced in 1956 and included a "navy blue skirt, a light blue shirt, navy blue jacket, and overseas cap" (Schulz, 1993, p. 25). Policewomen in Detroit carried their .38 caliber revolvers in pocketbooks with a special holster. These uniforms were considered to be standard issue among police departments across the country (Schulz, 1993).

Opportunities for policewomen varied by department with some police departments offering more opportunities for promotion than others. For example, the Detroit Police Department has a strong history of equal opportunity for women and some female officers held rank positions, such as sergeant and lieutenants, as early as the 1950s. In San Diego, female officers were used in prostitution and narcotics sting operations during the 1950s and the 1960s (Schulz, 1993). While still having a different role from male police officers, female officers were no longer limited to women's and juvenile divisions.

Modern and Current Eras of Female Police Officers

The third era of female policing, the so-called modern era, had arrived by the mid-1960s and ended in the early 1990s. In this era, some policewomen were embracing the crime-fighter model of male officers rather than the social-work model of policewomen of earlier eras (Schulz, 2004b). Women's entry into actual patrol work was overtly resisted by male police officers. During this era, there was movement to professionalize

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police agencies and stop discriminatory hiring practices; legal decisions were handed down and legislation was enacted to provide equal opportunity to women and minorities. In 1962, the Supreme Court ruled in *Shpritzer v. Lang* (1962) that the NYPD could not discriminate against policewomen by not allowing them to take the promotional exam due to their sex. In 1963, the Equal Pay Act was passed by Congress, which prohibited unequal pay based on the sex of the worker.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed and Title VII made it illegal for employers to discriminate based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The original Act was only applicable to private employers engaged in interstate commerce that employed 25 or more people (Schulz, 2004b). Therefore, police agencies were not required to comply until Title VII was amended by Congress to include state and local governments in the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. Police departments were further encouraged to stop discriminatory practices by the Crime Control Act of 1973, which stated that departments applying for federal grant funding through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) were ineligible if they continued discriminatory practices. To ensure the enforcement of laws against workplace discrimination, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was created to investigate complaints of discriminatory practices.

In addition to ending discriminatory hiring practices, several steps were taken to further professionalize police agencies. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) recommended that the educational requirements for police officers should be higher and suggested that a Bachelor's degree should be adopted as the minimum educational standard. In addition, the Commission

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also recommended that police applicants should be tested to screen out unfit applicants due to psychological and emotional issues. In a similar recommendation, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) recommended that police agencies establish a formal applicant hiring process with various tests to measure an applicant's cognitive ability, aptitude, and personality. These recommendations led to the hiring protocols that are still used in police departments today.

While new standards during the application process were emerging, other standards were forced to change to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. At the time, police organizations used height and weight requirements to determine applicant eligibility. In 1977, the Supreme Court ruled in *Dothard v. Rawlinson* (1977) that height and weight requirements were not adequate tests of job-related physical ability. This judicial decision, although directed to correctional officer hiring, affected the recruitment strategies of police departments. To determine an applicant's physical ability to be a police officer, police department started to use physical fitness tests as part of their selection process.

In 1968, Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal were the first female officers to wear gun belts and answer calls for service in a marked patrol car in Indianapolis, Indiana (Schulz, 1993). By the 1970s, more female police officers were given the unisex title of "police officer" instead of the former "policewomen" title, and departments were placing female police officers in patrol positions. Importantly, women joining policing early in this era split into different types, based on their personal emphasis on different role responsibilities. While some female officers embraced the crime-fighter role within

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patrol, other female officers continued to focus on the service functions of the separate spheres era (Martin, 1979).

While the modern era demonstrated improvement in opportunities for women within police departments, female police officers still faced challenges. Research conducted during the modern era showed that female officers experienced difficulty being accepted into the policing profession (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Hunt, 1990; Jacobs, 1987). Some research showed that citizens accepted female police officers (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Kennedy & Homant, 1983). However other research, especially earlier research, showed that some female officers experienced citizens ignoring them, questioning their authority, and even making derogatory comments about them (Bell, 1982).

Research during this period showed that the majority of female officers experienced sexual harassment in the workplace (Janus, 1988). In addition, female police officers indicated more extreme forms of sexual harassment than women in other professions, yet they filed fewer formal complaints (Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department, 1991). Research demonstrated that there was a perception among male officers that women lacked the physical strength necessary to perform police duties (Hindman, 1975; Vega & Silverman, 1982). However, despite these views by male colleagues, studies demonstrated that female police officers were as capable as male police officers in measurable objective tasks on patrol such as dealing with citizens, handling violence, making arrests, and issuing citations (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Morash & Green, 1986).

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The last era of women in policing will be called the current era. Beginning about 1992 to the present, the current era is marked by changes in policing toward a more integrated community approach and increased diversity among the police force (Schulz, 2004). Two major events that drove these changes were the Rodney King incident and the Christopher Commission report in 1991. Public outcry over the police beating of Rodney King in 1991 increased public awareness about issues of racism and police brutality. The Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department report (1991) noted that women use a style of policing related to lower rates of excessive force. In response to the excessive media coverage, the findings of the Commission's report, and the increased pressure on police agencies to be more accountable, the environment of policing was substantially changed to focus on diversity, transparency, and community relations.

Community-oriented policing, which focuses on trust and cooperation between the community and police agencies, developed and spread during the 1990s (Schulz, 2004b). The environment of the current era bolstered the argument for the community-oriented policing approach. The themes of community oriented policing, with its emphasis on communication and relationships with the public, are considered, by some, to be a "feminine" style of policing as compared to traditional "masculine" policing (Martin & Jurik, 2007). Interestingly, some argued against female officers adopting community policing roles in that the association would reinforce different roles for police officers based on sex. Critics of female officers aligning with community oriented policing argued that rank-and-file officers were not enthusiastic toward community policing, and female officers who embraced community policing would be further

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isolated from the mainstream culture of policing (Schulz, 2004). In the end, the criticisms were well founded. After the terrorist attacks on 9/11, the culture of policing turned away from community policing, adopting a more traditional, crime-fighting emphasis (Kerlikowske, 2004).

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2012), women currently make up 12.6% of police officers in the United States. Following the trends, Cordner and Cordner (2011) found that the total percent of sworn female officers increased from 1.4% in 1971 to 5.0% in 1980. A similar gain was shown in the following decade with 8.6% representation in 1990. By 2000, the level had reached 11.0% and gains slowed substantially reaching a level of only 11.7% by 2009. The rate of increase of women in policing slowed substantially as policing has returned to a more traditional model.

Large departments employ higher percentages of women than smaller departments. From 1990 to 2000, the percentage of sworn female officers employed by large city police departments rose from 12.1% to 16.3% (Reaves & Hickman, 2002). Federal law enforcement agencies also employ more female officers. From 1996 to 2008, the number of sworn female federal officers increased slightly from 14.0% to 15.5% (Reaves, 2012). Despite these gains, the vast majority of agencies remain overwhelmingly male, consisting of less than 15% women (Archbold & Schulz, 2008).

Research on the Experiences of Female Officers

Research on women in policing has focused primarily on the experiences of female officers (Kringen, 2014). Issues such as support from other female officers, stress, sexual harassment, and promotion have all been explored. The research on female

officer peer support in the current era is mixed. Some studies have shown that female officers support each other (Belknap & Shelley, 1993), and that female officers are more likely to view other female officers more favorably than their male counterparts (Sims, Scarborough, & Ahmad, 2003). However, other research has shown that female officers do not support each other (Haarr, 1997). Additionally, there is some evidence that female officers may prefer to work with male officers instead of other females (Del Carmen, Greene, Nation, & Osho, 2007).

Studies have shown that women in policing experience similar stress factors as men, but that female officers are more likely to exhibit self-esteem issues resulting from issues distinct to women in policing (Tougas, Beaton, Rinfret, & Sablonniere, 2005). Rates of alcohol consumption have been found to be lower for female officers than for male officers, yet higher for women in policing than for women in general (Davey, Obst, & Sheenan, 2000).

Female officers continue to experience sexual harassment at rates higher than other female workers (Texeira, 2002). This situation exists despite the vast majority of police agencies having written gender discrimination and sexual harassment policies (IACP, 1998). However, some recent research on the current work environment that female police officers face indicates that conditions may be improving as women experience greater levels of acceptance (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

While there have been increases in the hiring of women as patrol officers, women's advancement to command positions has failed to keep up (Archbold & Schulz, 2012). There are two primary reasons that women have failed to advance to command positions. The first concerns organizational practices that make it challenging for women

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to promote. The likelihood of promotion is largely related to service in highly valued assignments such as SWAT (Corsianos, 2009). These assignments are heavily weighted in promotion decisions, and the decision to award an officer one of these assignments is often based on a particular definition of physical strength. Women are perceived to lack physical (and mental) characteristics for SWAT or special duty assignments (Dodge et al., 2011), thus making women less likely to be awarded these assignments. Instead, women are more likely to be awarded assignments that are less valued by the police community, such as working in domestic violence and sexual assault units or in community relations (Corsianos, 2009). Although some female officers have viewed assignments such as working undercover as prostitutes as demeaning (Maguire & Nolan, 2011; Nolan, 2001), others have viewed them as opportunities for advancement (Dodge et. al., 2005). However, the lower perceived organizational value of these assignments negatively affects women when they apply for promotions (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004).

Earlier research indicated that many female officers believed that there was a lack of promotional opportunities for women due to gender bias or a general lack of acceptance of women in the profession (IACP, 1998). Later research demonstrates a similar perspective with some female officers indicating that they believe they are subjected to unfair evaluations due to their sex. These evaluations then serve as barriers to later promotion (Schulz, 2004). Other research indicates that women believe that it is difficult to receive promotions because there are simply too few women in the higher ranks for others to follow. To achieve success and be promoted, many high ranking female police officers have transferred or moved to different agencies or districts (Rabe-

Hemp, 2011). This trend may be partially explained by the evidence that female officers who had male supervisors offer to sponsor them through the promotional process were less likely to actually pursue promotion because of feelings that their promotion would occur only because they were women. Further, some female officers indicated that their male supervisors' attention concerning promotion resulted in negative attention from male patrol officers (Archhold & Schulz, 2008).

The second reason for the lack of high-ranking women concerns female officers' decisions not to pursue promotion. Their reasons for not pursuing promotion are often the same as male officers (Whetstone, 2001). These reasons include preference for their current assignment (Wertsch, 1998), desire to remain in their current unit and not lose seniority (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004), issues concerning families (Whetstone, 2001), perceived personal bias of the administration toward the individual (Archbold et al., 2010; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004), a general lack of interest in promotion (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999), and potential loss of income (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999).

Other reasons for not pursuing promotions are specific to women. Oftentimes, women choose not to pursue promotions because promotion will result in additional scrutiny that men who promote do not experience (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004). Additionally, promotion for women often moves female officers back into "women's jobs" (e.g., records division, planning division, youth division, domestic violence and sexual assault division, or community relations). In contrast, men who are promoted are perceived as typically being given prestigious assignments to head patrol divisions, detective divisions, vice and narcotics divisions, or other tactical units (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004).

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Research indicates that many female police executives express concern about the opportunities for future female police officers. Their concern stems from three primary issues. The first is their perception that female officers are retiring at a higher rate than women are entering the profession. Second, female executives fear that their replacements are not adequately prepared to follow in their footsteps. Finally, they note that female officers fail to be inclusive and support each other throughout their careers (Rabe-Hemp, 2011).

In summary, the experiences of female police officers indicate that policing remains a difficult profession for women to enter. While men and women entering the profession generally have similar motivations, women must confront unique problems such as sexual stereotyping. Once in the profession, women experience the same stresses experienced by men. However, in addition to these, women experience unique stresses such as a lack of support from other female officers and issues of sexual harassment. Some female officers may choose not to pursue promotion for the same reasons as men, but those that do promote face additional scrutiny and may have to move to different agencies to advance their careers.

Recruiting, Selecting, and Training Police Officers

Police organizations perform two distinct tasks to hire new officers. First, police agencies must recruit applicants who are interested in policing and willing to go through the application process and academy training. Police organizations prefer to have the largest numbers of applicants possible to fill their available positions, and recruiting efforts are designed to increase the number of applicants (Taylor et al., 2006). The

second task involves subjecting recruits to a selection process composed of various tests including components such as aptitude, physical fitness, and psychological suitability. These tests are designed to screen for unsuitable applicants so that they can be disqualified from the application process prior to becoming police officers. This section focuses on research pertaining to the recruitment and selection of police officers.

Recruiting

During recent decades, research has focused on recruitment, selection, and retention. Strawbridge and Strawbridge (1990) provided the first glimpse of agency hiring practices in a survey of 72 police agencies in large cities. The survey asked agencies to report the specific recruiting strategies that they employed. Newspaper ads were the most common method of recruiting (reported by 90.1% of agencies) followed by open stands or information tables (83.1%), radio (80.3%), television (69.0%), posters (59.2%), journals (39.4%), mass-mailings (33.8%), and open recruiting days (33.8%).

Langworthy, Hughes, and Sanders (1995) resurveyed the same 72 departments that responded to the original Strawbridge survey. Of the original 72 responding departments, 60 responded to the second survey. Langworthy et al. (1995) compared the responses between the two surveys to assess changes in recruiting techniques. The results showed that police departments' recruiting strategies remained largely unchanged. However, departments were significantly less likely to rely on television as a recruiting method in 1994 than in 1990. Departments were less likely to recruit using radio ads as well; however, the difference was not statistically significant.

Despite their recruiting efforts, police departments seemingly struggle with finding qualified applicants. The Urban Institute conducted a survey of a nationally-representative sample of more than 1,200 police agencies and asked questions related to hiring, retention, and other police staffing issues in 2000. Agencies were divided into categories of small agencies (serving communities with less than 50,000 people) and large agencies (serving communities of 50,000 people or more). Koper (2004) analyzed the data and found that "over half of small agencies and two-thirds of large agencies reported that a lack of qualified applicants caused them difficulties in filling vacancies during 1999" (p. 48). In addition, nearly half of both large and small agencies reported difficulties in filling sworn officer positions due to unanticipated vacancies. Smaller agencies estimated that two-thirds of those officers who left during 1999 had served for five years or less time while larger agencies estimated that approximately half of those officers who left during 1999 had served for five years or less time (Koper, 2004).

Other research echoes these findings. Themes discussed by participants at the National Summit on Police Recruitment and Retention in the Contemporary Urban Environment held by RAND in 2008 were consistent with the Urban Institute's findings from 2000 noted above. During the summit, the panelists discussed the increased demands facing police departments as these departments compete with federal agencies, the military, firefighters, and private contractors for suitable candidates. As a result, many agencies are facing a "cop crunch" (p. 2) as older police officers go into retirement (Wilson, Rostker, & Fan, 2010). While departments express a desire to diversify their police workforce, many are struggling to recruit minority and female applicants.

RAND (2008) surveyed 107 municipal police departments employing 300 or more sworn police officers. The survey included questions related to recruitment strategies, hiring practices, retention, and workforce strength. The results indicated that, on average, agencies spent over $100 per applicant and approximately $1,200 per hired applicant. Lack of qualified applicants was reported by 50% of the responding agencies, with 29% of the responding agencies reporting experiencing "much difficulty" finding qualified applicants (Wilson et al., 2010).

Wilson and Heinonen (2011) reviewed the survey conducted by RAND (2008) on personnel experiences to determine the problems associated with using police administrative data. While the RAND survey had a response rate of 73%, Wilson and Heinonen (2011) found that departments had problems completing the survey. In total, 35% of the 107 responding departments were unable to complete the survey section on attrition, 31% were unable to complete the survey section on recruitment costs, and 20% were unable to complete the section on workforce statistics. In addition to incomplete sections, researchers found that departments often reported inconsistent data where the reported total number of police officers did not equal the actual number of sworn officers by rank and years of service.

Wilson and Heinonen (2011) suggest that the problems experienced in collecting administrative data from police departments are representative of the limitations of personnel data. Through conversations with police department representatives who contacted RAND to inquire about aspects of the survey or for more time to completion, three categories of problems emerged. First, the data necessary to complete the survey were not always available in electronic format or housed in the same part of the police

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department for easy compilation. Second, police departments could have been busy with other tasks and may not have had the time or technological ability to gather the requested administrative data. Finally, police departments may not have collected personal information at all; therefore, they are unable to report the pertinent information even if they desired.

Recruiting Women

In studying NYPD academy recruits, Raganella and White (2004) found that male and female recruits had similar motivations for becoming police officers. These motivations include the opportunity to help people, job security, job benefits, early retirement, and excitement of work. These findings supported Meagher and Yentes' (1986) study on incumbent male and female police officers' initial motivations to join the policing profession.

Other studies have found small differences between the motivations of male and female police officers. Perlstein (1972) found that female officers were more likely than male officers to join policing to help other people, and Lester (1983) found that female officers were more motivated by the service function of policing while male officers were more influenced by friends or family who were in policing. Foley, Guarneri, and Kelly (2008) also found that female recruits were less likely to be influenced by police officers who were friends and family, and that female recruits were more motivated by opportunities for advancement.

Given that stark motivational differences have not been found between males and females, White, Cooper, Saunders, & Raganella (2010) suggest that "there is currently

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little evidence to suggest that departments should dramatically alter their strategies when targeting females and minorities" (p. 528). However, the "Hiring in the Spirit of Service" program funded by the COPS Office suggests that the service aspect of policing should be emphasized to successfully recruit female applicants and other minority candidates (Scrivner, 2006). Further, Taylor et al. (2006) report that best practices for recruiting women include recruiting at women's trade shows or fairs, fitness clubs, and athletic events.

Some research supports the idea that targeted recruiting strategies may be useful in increasing the number of women in policing. Jordon, Fridell, Faggiani, and Kubu (2009) surveyed 985 state, county, and municipal police agencies to determine the effect of two specific practices used to recruit women. The first practice involved offering special entry considerations to women including lower education standards, lower fitness standards, exam exemptions, faster promotion, higher pay, preference on waiting lists, or pre-entry training. The second practice involved using special recruiting strategies aimed at women. The study found that special entry considerations were not related to either increased number of female applicants or increased hiring of women; however, very few agencies gave such advantages to female applicants. Targeted recruiting strategies were not related to increased number of applications from women, but were related to increased female hires. Agencies utilizing targeted recruitment strategies hired an average of 2.2 times as many women as expected.

Job Expectations and Organizational Entry

  While limited research has studied the factors that impact decisions to become police officers, a larger body of literature exists addressing how people generally choose their professions or how individuals decide to take a job with particular organizations. The attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) model suggests that individuals base their employment decisions in part on an analysis of person/organization fit (Schneider, 1987). Values are beliefs about what modes of conduct are and are not acceptable, and organizational values guide employees' attitudes, judgments, and behaviors (Chatman, 1989). As a result, values are important attributes of both individuals and organizations in an individual's employment decision process.

  When considering a potential job, individuals prefer organizations that exhibit attributes that align with their personal characteristics (Cable & Judge, 1994). The comparison between an individual's values and an organization's values renders an idea of value congruence (Chatman, 1989). The ASA model suggests that potential candidates base their beliefs about fit on their perceptions of organizational values. Then, these individuals make their job choices based on the congruence.

  Although potential employees have little objective basis for their beliefs about an organization's values prior to working in them, they make inferences about organizational values from the little information that they have available (Rynes & Miller, 1983). Thus, while searching for organizations with cultures that match their values, individuals base decisions on subjective perceptions concerning their degree of fit. Based on these perceptions, applicants consistently self-select out of an organization's hiring process because they perceive a lack of fit (Cable & Judge, 1996).

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Police Officer Selection Process

      The recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) have shaped the current hiring process in police department across the nation. While police departments vary in the tests utilized to measure applicant suitability, all police departments strive to utilize a screening process that produces the most competent officers.

      This formal hiring process includes multiple tests where applicants are given a passing or failing grade, and applicants who fail to qualify in one stage of the process are screened out of the process. The purpose of this approach is to improve the efficiency of the selection processes while maintaining the integrity of each required test (McQuilkin, Russell, Frost, & Faust, 1990). Applicants usually have to pass the department's written exam, psychological exam, oral interview, physical agility test, polygraph test, medical examination, and background check to be considered eligible for hire by the department (Martin, 1991).

      Ho (1999) studied the likelihood of being selected to attend the police academy given the outcome of various suitability tests during the application process. The study used cross-sectional data on a sample of 420 applicants who applied to the Asheville Police Department in North Carolina from 1990 to 1996. The suitability tests included both the psychometric and the behavioral measures used by the agency to identify qualified applicants. Ho (1999) used multiple logistic regression to determine the effects of applicants' testing results and socio-demographic characteristics on final suitability decisions. The applicants in the sample included 231 men and 79 women.

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Ho found that being male was positively related to acceptance in the sample; however, the effect was not statistically significant. Based on this observation, Ho (1999) concluded that socio-demographic characteristics were not related to acceptance into the academy. However, analytic issues in the study call into question the validity of this conclusion. Ho's (1999) model predicted applicants' success using their socio-demographic characteristics in conjunction with the results of their tests. Because each of the tests are measured in scores that directly correspond to applicant disqualification (i.e., scores below a certain threshold result in disqualification), the analysis essentially indicates that not being disqualified is a better predictor of acceptance than socio-demographic characteristics. As the study failed to address whether socio-demographic characteristics, including gender, were related to a failing grade in the various tests in the application process, the study does not tell us anything about the effect of being a woman on acceptance into the academy.

Selecting Good Police Officers

The current selection process is often referred to as a "weed out" process, as opposed to a "select in" process where positive traits associated with good police work are identified during the application process (Sanders, 2008). Underlying this problem is the fact that there is little empirical basis that establishes which factors are related to individuals that make good police officers.

Several researchers have attempted to study the fundamental attributes of good police officers, but there is still no consensus among researchers as to what represents good police officer performance. Certain traits, including intelligence, dependability, and

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common sense, have been supported as being related to good policing fairly consistently in studies while other traits have found less consistent support (Sanders, 2003). However, even the traits that have been supported within empirical research have limitations. For example, while more intelligent officers tend to perform better in the academy, it is unknown if academy performance relates to policing in the real world. In addition, the selection process diminishes the variation among applicants of certain traits, such as intelligence, since applicants that make it to the academy must have first passed certain cognitive tests. Thus, it is unknown if certain tests related to intelligence can distinguish between individuals that will ultimately make good or bad police officers.

Another factor potentially related to good police officers is level of education. Telep (2011) compared level of education among police officers to abuse of authority. Utilizing a nationally representative sample of 925 officers, Telep (2011) used measures of higher education obtained before the hiring as well as measures of higher education obtained while employed as a police officer. Level of education was measured using categories of no college, some college, associate's degree, and bachelor's degree. Officer's attitude on police abuse of authority was measured using a scale of 9 survey questions concerning the categories of acceptable use of force, following department rules, police code of silence, and citizen's perception of police brutality. Telep (2011) found that police officers with some level of higher education had more negative attitudes toward police abuse of authority than police officers without higher education.

Personality traits have been shown to be less useful in predicting good police officers. Using the Big Five personality inventory, which is predictive of job performance in a variety of occupations, Sanders (2008) studied the relationship between the

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personality traits of extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, and openness on police performance. Police performance was conceptualized as eight content areas including job knowledge, quality of work, cooperation, responsibility, initiative, quantity of work, dependability, and interaction with public. The results demonstrated that none of the personality traits assessed by the Big Five inventory were related to job performance for police officers.

In summary, recruiting efforts are designed to increase the number of applicants, and agencies have used a variety of marketing efforts to recruit including radio and television advertisement, posters, mass-mailings, and open recruiting days. Little empirical evidence demonstrates whether these techniques are effective. Despite these efforts, agencies struggle with a lack of qualified applicants which results in difficulties filling vacancies. Some evidence suggests that there is at present a "cop crunch" where agencies cannot effectively replace losses incurred due to retirement. However, inconsistent agency data make it difficult to estimate the extent of the problem. Agencies want to diversify their personnel, but the lack of qualified applicants makes it difficult.

Some research has demonstrated that men and women are attracted to the policing profession for similar reasons. Therefore, some suggest that the efforts aimed at recruiting women should be similar to those aimed at recruiting men. However, other research has indicated that women express greater desire to help people and to serve the public as reasons for wanting to become police officers. Thus, effective recruiting strategies for women should emphasize these factors while targeting women's events. Research has demonstrated that targeted recruiting strategies for women does increase the number of women hired.

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The applicant screening process attempts to disqualify applicants that are not qualified prior to them entering the academy. Typically, this process involves a written exam, a psychological exam, an oral interview, a physical fitness test, a medical exam, and a background investigation. Of the various components of the screening process, the disparate impact of the physical fitness test on women has received the greatest attention. This disparate impact is particularly problematic as some physical fitness tests have been determined to not be job related to actual police work. Beyond the physical fitness test, little research has considered the impact of the other steps of applicant processing on female applicants.

Physical Fitness

The majority of research comparing male and female applicants during the screening process has focused on the physical fitness test. Given the history of physical fitness tests being the replacement for the previous height and weight requirements, some researchers have viewed physical fitness tests as an extension of discriminatory action towards minorities and females (Birzer & Craig, 1996; Gaines et al., 1993). Birzer and Craig (1996) studied the pass and fail rates on the physical fitness test taken by applicants over a period of nine years in a large Midwestern police department. The results demonstrated that the physical fitness test used by the agency had an adverse impact on female applicants. Of the 743 applicants, only 28% of female applicants passed the physical fitness test while 93% of male applicants passed.

The results indicate that female applicants passed the on the physical fitness test at a rate that is only 30% of the passing rate for male applicants. This differential in

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passing indicates that the physical fitness test studied falls well within the Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) definition of disparate impact. The

EEOC establishes the guidelines for disparate impact under the Uniform Guidelines on

Employee Selection Procedures Section 4(d). The rule states that:

> A selection rate for any race, sex, or ethnic group which is less than four-fifths
> (4/5) (or eighty percent) of the rate for the group with the highest rate will be
> regarded by the Federal enforcement agencies as evidence of adverse impact,
> while a greater than four-fifths rate will generally not be regarded by Federal
> enforcement agencies as evidence of adverse impact

In addition, the EEOC states that the 80% rule is not the only test used and other

statistical significance tests may be used to determine if the disparity is beyond chance.

However, once adverse impact is determined to exist, the department in question has the

opportunity to demonstrate that the testing procedure is job-related by demonstrating that

the test skills predict success on the job and the test is the least discriminatory option

(Lonsway, 2003).

Job analysis studies are often conducted to ensure that the requirements of the test

are actually necessary for the job. However, since information about police officers'

tasks is not systematically collected by agencies, strategies to assess the pertinent job

tasks vary. Observational data, interviews, and surveys of incumbent officers have been

used as strategies for content validation (Lonsway, 2003). However, little consensus

exists concerning physical fitness testing and content validity.

 In one job analysis study, Anderson, Plecas, and Segger (2001) found that the

majority of a police officer's time is spent exerting relatively little physical activity.

Approximately 80-90% of the activities of police officers included sitting, walking, and

standing. This finding is consistent with the findings of an earlier study conducted by Maher (1984) where only a few officers performed physical tasks while the rest of the officers performed no physical tasks. These results suggest that rigorous physical fitness tests are not reflective of the physical demands placed on most police officers. Furthermore, very few police departments require any physical fitness standard to be met after hire, calling into question the necessity for a pre-hire standard.

Individuals who favor physical agility tests for hiring practices argue that the percentage of time spent doing physical activity is less important than the ability to perform the physical activity when it is crucial and necessary (Collingwood, Hoffman, & Smith, 2003). During these critical times, police officers need to be physically prepared for these critical physical events, such as handling resistant individuals. However, physical fitness tests have not been validated to predict an officer's ability to handle resistant suspects (Avery, Landon, Nutting, & Maxwell, 1992; Hoover, 1992).

To keep physical ability tests from having a disparate impact on female applicants, some police departments have gender-normed their tests. This approach controls for the physiological difference between men and women. Instead of using the same cutoff score for men and women, the score of male applicants is compared against other males and the score of female applicants is compared against other female applicants. This procedure was deemed to be non-discriminatory in *Alspaugh v. Law Enforcement Standards Commission* (2001). Other police departments have moved away from physical fitness tests and have focused hiring practices on having healthy police applicants in lieu of applicants fitting the more traditional athlete model (Cordner & Cordner, 2011).

The Police Academy and Retention

Applicants who pass the required tests and complete the screening process are enrolled in a training academy to prepare them to perform their jobs as police officers. Training academies typically follow a traditional training model where they primarily focus on the technical and mechanical aspects of skills like marksmanship, driving, and tactics while spending less time on other aspects like communication (Chappell, 2008).

While the purpose of the academy is to train officers and educate them about important aspects of the job, several studies have suggested that the culture of training academies and the methods used to train recruits may negatively impact women. Some scholars have noted that training academies exhibit a paramilitary style where masculinity is portrayed as a fundamental part of policing (Chapell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). This tendency legitimizes hegemonic masculinity and can marginalize women (Acker, 1992). Two studies have demonstrated evidence of the impact of academy culture and practice on female recruits.

Haarr (2005) studied reasons why police recruits drop out either during the academy or the following probationary period. Using qualitative data collected from 34 interviews with individuals that dropped out, Haarr (2005) found that recruits who resigned (including both males and females) experienced cognitive dissonance between what they though policing would be like and what they experienced in the academy. Importantly, this disconnect was related to the recognition that an individual's attitudes about appropriate and inappropriate work behaviors differed considerably from their academy classmates. The author concluded that female recruits often experienced this disconnect because of gender discrimination.

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Prokos and Padavic (2002) studied the impact of a "hidden curriculum" of masculine dominance on female recruits in the training academy. Using participant observation over a five-month period, the authors found that the message that the academy teaches recruits that masculinity is an essential requirement for a career in policing and that women do not belong in the field. The study also demonstrated that this culture excluded women, exaggerated sex difference, and denigrated women in general. The authors concluded that the academy experience is partly responsible for low representation of women in the policing profession.

Sociology of Work

The sociological study of work has followed two primary approaches. One approach is known as the *job model*, and the other is known as the *gender model*. Both models attempt to explain workers' behaviors and attitudes. While the *job model* focuses on characteristics of the work environment (Fry & Greenfield, 1980; Feldberg & Glenn, 1979; Hall, 1977), the *gender model* focuses on the effects of personal characteristics (specifically, those connected to gender) on workers' behavior and attitudes (Lorence, 1987; Feldberg & Glenn, 1979). The *job model* ignores differences between men's and women's behaviors and attitudes. In contrast, the *gender model* asserts that differences in workplace behaviors and attitudes necessarily result from the different biological characteristics or different socialization of men and women (Lorence, 1987; Jurik & Halemba, 1984).

Both models assume that familial structure is male headed and nuclear; however, the *job model* assumes that a worker's basic social relationships are defined by work,

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their connection to family is defined by their capacity as an economic provider, their social position is determined by their work, and their central life interest is defined by their employment and ability to earn. The *gender model* assumes that these aspects define men, but that, for women, basic social relationships are defined by family, their connection to family is their relationship as a wife or mother, and that their social position and central life interests are familial (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979).

Neither the *job model* nor the *gender model* specifically applies to men or women. Conceptually, the two models simply vary in their approach to understanding workers' attitudes and behaviors. Whereas the *job model* focuses on structural issues related to the workplace (Statham, 1987), the *gender model* focuses on individual-level factors that affect workers' attitudes and behaviors (Castle, 2008). Despite the fact that the two models are not necessarily mutually exclusive, *job model* research has been typically used to explain attitudes and behaviors of male workers, particularly those in managerial, blue-collar, and professional occupations (Hesselbart, 1978). Conversely, *gender model* research has been used primarily to explain the attitudes and behaviors of female workers (Lacy, Bokemeier, & Shepard, 1983; Martin & Hanson, 1985).

Analytically, the *job model* treats the type of job and the characteristics of the work environment as the independent variables in analyses explaining workers' behaviors and attitudes. In contrast, the *gender model* virtually ignores the type of work and the characteristics of the work environment. Instead, the *gender model* utilizes personal characteristics as the independent variables explaining workers' behavior and attitudes (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979).

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In some cases, research has explicitly incorporated either the *job model* or the *gender model*. In other cases, the models are not explicitly included. However, tests of workplace behavior often incorporate the underlying assumptions of one of the perspectives (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979). Research on women in policing has followed both approaches. Although studies incorporating the assumptions of the *gender model* rarely acknowledged the incorporation of a specific theory, research directed at understanding how organizational parameters affect women (i.e., *job model* research) has often relied on tokenism as the theoretical perspective (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979; Lorence, 1987; Statham, 1987).

The Job Model

The *job model* has often been viewed as the model for men (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979) when explaining workplace attitudes and behavior due to the early studies conducted on a male workforce. Occupational socialization and occupational status were identified as predominant influences because basic social relationships for men revolve around work. Early research demonstrated that work values, job involvement, and job satisfaction were all predicted by job tasks and characteristics of the workplace. These relationships were found for a variety of job types including factory workers (Cotgrove, 1972), office workers (Shepard, 1973), and professional workers (Pearlin, 1962). Work that required greater involvement was found to lead to less alienation than routine and repetitive work, such as factory or assembly line job tasks, which were found to lead to negative feelings such as powerlessness and isolation (Blauner, 1964).

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The *job model* has been applied to criminal justice workers in a variety of studies. For instance, the job model predicts that as employees spend more time at a particular workplace, their attitudes and behaviors become more similar to those of long-standing employees. This job model prediction has been supported by research on corrections officers where length of employment was found to be negatively related to a rehabilitation focus. Conversely, sex/gender was not found to be related to a rehabilitation focus (Van Voorhis, Cullen, Link, & Wolfe 1991).

The Gender Model

The *gender model* has often been used when studying women in the workplace. The main assumption of the gender model is that there are fundamental differences between men and women due to biological factors or the sex role socialization process (Lorence, 1987; Feldberg & Glenn, 1979). In essence, this assumption implies that gender matters in understanding workplace behaviors and attitudes. As a result, the *gender model* predicts that attitudes and behaviors of men and women in the workplace will differ.

Early research using the *gender model* attempted to explain the effects of family life on women's employment. Research focused on the presence of children, husband's income, husband's attitude toward wife's employment (Sweet 1973; Parnes et al., 1975), the impact of division of household labor (Berk, 1976), and the impact of power distribution within the family (Bahr, 1974). These early studies applied assumptions from the *gender model* (i.e., that a woman's sociopolitical behavior is primarily related to her family role) to questions about how women view work outside the home. Importantly,

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this research viewed women's decisions to seek employment as based on unique female motivations rather than related to general factors such as the local labor market or other economic concerns (Laws, 1975). Likewise, these studies attempted to demonstrate the effects of women's employment without any reference to the job tasks that women undertake or work environments that working women face (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979).

Later research using the *gender model* studied both male and female workers in an attempt to discern differences between the two groups. Some research focused on differences in work values (Lacy, Bokemeier, & Shepard, 1983; Simpson & Mutran, 1981) or differences in job satisfaction (Jurik & Halemba, 1984; Martin & Hanson, 1985) between men and women. Many of the studies focused on negative aspects of women in the workforce such as lower commitment, lower initiative, and higher job turnover (Statham, 1987). While these studies were suggestive that differences outside the workplace were important predictors of gender differences in work attitudes and behaviors, the fact that women are situated differently in the labor force remained an important possibility. However, gender research outside of the work environment has found that men and women vary in important beliefs that may affect their work attitudes and behaviors such as the way that they view intimate relationships (Rubin, 1983) or the way that they make morality judgments (Gilligan, 1982).

The majority of *gender model* research in policing relies on assumptions of the *gender model* without explicitly stating such. Rather than invoking the *gender model*, these studies often analyze differences or similarities in the attitudes and behaviors of male and female officers. Early studies on women and policing followed this approach when attempting to determine if male and female officers differed in their ability to

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perform police duties. These studies focused on whether women in policing were competent as officers (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1975; Bartell & Associates, 1978; Bartlett & Rosenbaum, 1977; Sichel et al., 1978; Grennan, 1987) using male officers' performance as the standard for comparison (Archbold & Schulz, 2012). Although these studies demonstrated that women were competent as police officers, the research applied *gender model* assumptions because the studies tested hypotheses that male and female officers varied in the way in which they conducted their work (i.e., it was hypothesized that women conducted police work differently than men).

Later research applied *gender model* assumptions in a similar fashion hypothesizing differences between male and female officers' performance on a variety of behaviors. Importantly, many of the behaviors analyzed reflect stereotypical differences between men and women (e.g., men are more aggressive and women are more nurturing,). Research based on these assumptions has included studies of decision making, use of force, citizen complaints, and victim sympathy.

Although gendered assumptions support the idea that women would be more likely than male officers to arrest in domestic violence situations, some research has failed to find a difference between male and female officers' behavior in response to domestic violence calls. For example, studying a metropolitan police department in Florida, Feder (1997) demonstrated evidence that male and female police officers make similar decisions concerning arrests in response to domestic violence calls. While the study provided some evidence that male and female officers behave similarly, the sample included only 19 female officers. In contrast, 278 male officers were represented in the sample.

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Despite the problem with the limited sample, the findings were supported by later studies. In one such study, Stalans and Finn (2000) used vignettes to assess officers' likely responses to different domestic violence situations. The research demonstrated that female officers were less likely than male officers to blame the wife, to consider the wife dangerous, and to believe that the wife will inflict severe injury if they remain in the home. Additionally, women officers were more likely to believe that the wife was more in control of her actions. However, the findings indicate that female officers would make arrest decisions similar to those of male officers. The sample consisted primarily of men (217), but the study had better representation of women (41) than the previous research.

Robinson (2000) studied a mid-sized Midwestern police department for a five-month period in 1997 through 1998. During the period, domestic violence case summaries (DVCS) were collected for 1,313 incidents. Of these cases, 229 included supplemental forms that included officer demographic information and attitudinal variables measuring perceptions about the incident. Robinson found that female police officers made similar decisions to arrest in general, but that men were more likely to arrest when controlling for situational characteristics such as cohabitation of victim and suspect, suspect having fled the scene, and last hour of the shift. The sample was 39 female officers and 190 male officers. Thus, the evidence on differences between male and female officers' arrest behavior in domestic violence situations is mixed.

Research supports the idea that male and female officers exhibit similar behaviors in issuing traffic citations. Lundman (2009) studied the decision to issue a citation for a traffic stop in Boston. The findings of the research indicate that there was no difference in reasons to issue a citation between male and female officers. The study included 16,576

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traffic stops made by 609 male officers and 889 traffic stops made by 79 female officers. While the study included much more information on the behavior of male officers than female officers, the overall sample of data on female officer behavior was significantly larger than those utilized in the previous research.

Although there is evidence that male and female officers make similar decisions when arresting or issuing citations, some research has demonstrated that female officers' decisions may be influenced by the presence of other officers more so than men's. Novak, Brown, and Frank (2011) used observational methods to collect data on police-public encounters for a one-year period in Cincinnati. The data included 442 observational shifts covering 2,671 police citizen encounters. Of these encounters, 671 included an identified suspect and were analyzed. Of these, 114 involved a female officer. The findings indicate that female officers made arrest decisions similar to those of male officers in most cases but were significantly more likely than male officers to arrest when being observed by supervisors. Thus, while arresting and citing behavior may be generally consistent between men and women, there may still be gender-specific issues that affect female officers' decisions.

The idea that men are generally more comfortable with utilizing physical force than women suggests that female officers may use less force when interacting with suspects; however the evidence is equivocal. Garner, Schade, Hepburn, and Buchanan (1995) studied police use of force using survey data collected from officers in Phoenix during 1994. The survey was completed by an officer each time that they took a suspect into custody and included characteristics of the situation as well as the level of force applied. The data included information on 1,585 incidents. Analysis indicated that the

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involvement of a male officer was significantly related to the use of force and higher levels of force.

Brandl, Stroshine, and James (2001) studied citizen complaints in a large midwestern police department. The data included citizen complaints on 111 females and 689 males. Analysis indicated that that male officers were more likely than female officers to receive use of force complaints. Further, individual men were more likely than individual women to receive a greater number of complaints related to use of force. Finally, complaints involving the use of force directed at women typically asserted lower levels of force than those directed at men. The results indicate that, even when exhibiting behavior that resulted in citizen complaints, women typically used less force than men.

Other research has demonstrated evidence that male and female officers exhibit similar behaviors in the use of force. In one such example, Lersch (1998) studied officer complaints in a southeastern city during 1993. The data consisted of 643 complaints on male officers and 39 complaints on female officers. Analysis indicated that, while male officers were more likely to have a complaint filed, there was no difference in the percentage of complaints filed involving the use of force between men and women. The results suggest that male and female officers engage in the use of force at similar rates under similar circumstances.

Research involving observational data has supported these findings. Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) used systematic social observations of 3116 officer/suspect interactions to determine whether male and female officers differed in the level of force that they used when physical force was required. In the sample, 16% of the observations were of female officers' interactions with suspects. Relying on a use of force continuum

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that measured the highest level of force used against a suspect, the study demonstrated evidence that there was no difference in the level of force exhibited between male and female officers. The results suggest that the levels of force utilized are more likely an expression of department mandates than gendered decision making.

Another study expanded the use of systematic social observation by also including interviews with police officers. Paoline and Terrell (2004) studied differences in the use of verbal and physical coercion (use of force) between male and female officers. The data consisted of 3,356 interactions between officers and suspects. Of the interactions, 2483 involved a male officer and 513 involved a female officer. Analysis of the data indicated that the situational characteristics associated with the decision to use physical force were similar for both male and female officers. Further, the analysis indicated that males and females both similarly chose to refrain from using force.

While citizen complaints have been used as a data source to understand the use of force among male and female offices, less research has considered differences in citizen complaints between male and female officers not involving the use of force (Griswold, 1994).

Some research has shown that male officers are more often named in citizen complaints than female officers. Lersch and Mieczkowski (1996) studied 527 complaints filed over a three-year period. The 527 complaints included 682 separate allegations. Of these allegations, 339 involved complaints about non-violent behavior such as threats, harassment, and discourtesy. Another 159 included allegations of dereliction of duty. Finally 35 were classified as miscellaneous and included things such as traffic violations, using their position for personal gain, or conducting personal business while on duty. Of

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the sample of officers identified in the complaints, 39 were female. The analysis showed that male officers received proportionally more complaints than female officers for non-violent behavior. The authors conclude that men are more likely than women to engage in non-violent behavior that results in a complaint.

However, later research has found little difference between the number of citizen complaints directed at male and female officers. Hassell and Archbold (2010) studied a Midwestern municipal police agency where 20% of the officers were female. Data for both formal and informal complaints from 2002 to 2005 were collected, and average number of complaints per year for each officer were generated. Analysis of the data indicated that sex of the officer had no effect on understanding the frequency of either formal or informal complaints. Thus, the analysis supports the contention that male and female officers exhibit behaviors that result in citizen complaints in similar ways.

The final area of research on gender differences in policing focuses on the idea that female police officers are better at providing victim support or exhibiting victim sympathy. These hypotheses follow from the assumption that women are more compassionate than men. As with the previous research areas, the evidence on the matter is equivocal.

Research has demonstrated evidence that female officers are more likely to provide greater victim support. Kennedy & Homant (1983) surveyed 103 women from three Detroit shelters. Of the sample, 90 women indicated that they had contact with a police officer during a domestic violence call. The survey included questions on the gender of the responding officer and general satisfaction with the encounter as well as a battery of questions about specific behaviors that the officer exhibited during the

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interaction. The data indicated that victims found no difference in the helpfulness of female versus male officers, and the majority of respondents indicated that in a subsequent domestic violence incident, they would prefer that two male officers responded instead of a male officer and a female officer or two female officers. However, respondents indicated that female officers were more adept at listening to and understanding the victim's problem. Likewise respondents indicated that female officers were more capable of giving helpful advice.

Other research supports these findings with some studies finding differences between male and female officers' comforting levels when also considering the sex of the citizen. DeJong (2004) studied observational data on 6,278 citizen-police interactions. Of the interactions, 1,106 involved a female officer. The analysis showed that sex of the officer had no impact on the exhibition of comforting behaviors when both male and female citizens were included in the same group. However, female officers were found to be more comforting examining their interactions with only female citizens. Thus, the research indicates that gender alone does not affect behavior. Instead, gender interacts with situational factors, and female police officers exhibit behaviors that differ from men's only in certain situations.

Although the previous conclusions were based on the behavior of female officers to female victims or female citizens, there is some evidence that female officers do not respond more sympathetically than male officers to rape victims. Jordan (2002) conducted in-depth interviews with 48 women who had filed complaints of rape in New Zealand between 1990 and 1994. Several of the victims interviewed indicated that they had requested a female officer, but were disappointed with their interaction with the

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officer. The analysis indicated that while some female officers were more sympathetic to victims, overall there was no difference between female and male officers' level of empathy when interacting with rape victims.

Rabe-Hemp (2008a) demonstrated evidence of no differences between male and female officers in exhibiting supportive behaviors to victims. The data in the study consisted of 7,601 police encounters with citizens that lasted more than a minute between 1996 and 1997. The sample included 1,363 encounters involving female officers. While the analysis showed that female officers were less likely than men to exhibit extreme controlling behaviors including threats, restraint, search, and arrest, it found that female officers were less likely than male officers to demonstrate supporting behaviors such as counseling, providing comfort, information, or assistance.

While the previous findings that female officers may exhibit less supportive behavior when interacting with victims is counterintuitive, recent evidence has supported this finding suggesting that female officers may actually exhibit less sympathy for rape victims than male officers (Wentz & Archibold, 2012). The study used survey data, vignettes, and qualitative responses to open ended questions from 100 patrol officers (23 women and 77 men). Analysis of the data indicated that female officers tend to view rape complainants more negatively than male officers, and they are no more likely to express compassionate responses to the victims than male officers.

Tokenism

Tokenism is a theoretical framework designed to explain the experiences of individuals with low proportional representation in organizations. Because women are

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represented in policing organizations at token levels, tokenism is often used as the theoretical framework when exploring the female experience in policing.

Research conducted by Georg Simmel (1950) compared groups of different sizes and determined that the type of social interaction varied based on the number of individuals within the group. However, Simmel's research focused on the absolute number of individuals in the group and not the proportional representation of categories of individuals within the group. Kanter (1977) extended this concept to include the effect of proportional representation of categories of individuals within a group and the effect that the proportional representation has on the group dynamic. More specifically, Kanter hypothesized that individuals who are part of a group with small numerical representation are treated differently than those who are part of the dominant group.

The use of the term "token" to describe an individual who is not a member of the dominant group has roots within work by Judith Long Laws (1975) on women within the male-dominated field of academia. Laws (1975) used the term to describe the individuals who were part of an underrepresented group and "destined for permanent marginality" (p.51). Simmel (1950) used the term "stranger" and Everett Hughes (1945) used the term "outsider" to describe individuals of similar status. The token terminology has also been used to describe individuals who were hired for their special underrepresented group status, rather than their qualifications (Riemer, 1979).

In her work, Kanter (1977) expands the understanding of the concept of tokenism. Kanter proposes that those individuals who make up the smaller proportional group in an organization have different social experiences than those individuals who belong to the larger proportional group. Dominant groups persist because individuals who have the

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power in organizations tend to hire and appoint people with similar characteristics to maintain "homosociability" (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000, p. 12).

To determine the effects on those in the marginalized group, Kanter (1977) used interviews and observational research on female sales employees working in a male dominated company, "Indsco". Kanter found that the women experienced negative social experiences as a result of being viewed as tokens by their male coworkers. Kanter hypothesized that those experiences can change as the proportion of individuals within the organization changes. From her research, Kanter (1977) describes four types of work groups: *uniform*, *skewed*, *tilted*, and *balanced* groups.

The first type of work group is the *uniform* work group. Uniform work groups occur when all individuals have a common race, sex, and ethnicity. While there may be some variation between individuals, all individuals have the same external commonalities. The second type of work group is the *skewed* work group. Skewed work groups occur when the minority group makes up less than 15% of the total work group while the majority, or "dominant" group, makes up 85% or more of the total work group. Individuals within the minority groups are valued as "tokens" and treated as symbols of their category rather than as individuals. In skewed work groups, the dominant group has control over the culture of the overall group and holds the power within the overall group.

The third type of work group is the *tilted* work group. Tilted work groups occur when the minority group makes up between 16% and 35% of the total work group. Instead of the terminology of dominants and tokens, the groups are more balanced and therefore referred to as majority and minority groups. Individuals within a minority group are able to have allies within their category as well as have the ability to effect

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change within the larger group. Finally, *balanced* work groups occur when the two groups have a ratio of 60:40 or 50:50 resulting in potential subgroups instead of majority and minority groups. Subgroups within a balanced work group may or may not be made up of individuals within the same category.

Kanter's (1977) research focuses on the skewed work group where the minority members make up less than 15% of the total work group. Therefore these individuals are defined as "tokens." The sample in the "Indsco" study consisted of individuals working within an organization where women were the tokens and men were the dominants due to their proportions within the company. Kanter described three "perceptual factors" relevant to tokenism: *visibility*, *polarization*, and *assimilation* (1977, p. 210).

Visibility refers to the fact that tokens are proportionally less represented than dominants, and they are more visible than those in the dominant group because of their different race, sex, or ethnicity. As such, individuals of token status get more attention and more scrutiny from their dominant counterparts. Tokens respond to the heightened visibility by experiencing more pressure to perform their job since their performance is more likely to be noticed and negatively judged if deemed inadequate by the dominants. For example, female officers may be excessively scrutinized when they fail and may receive excess negative attention from male officers when they are successful. In addition, while tokens have to work harder to receive recognition for their accomplishments, they also must be cognizant of keeping their actions from being perceived as threatening to dominants or "showing up" dominant employees (Kanter, 1977).

Polarization occurs when the differences between tokens and dominants are emphasized and exaggerated as a result of dominants feeling threatened or uncomfortable with the token presence. The overemphasis of similarities between individuals in the dominant group and differences from the token group allow dominants to exclude tokens from their informal interactions. For example, male officers may choose not to involve female officers in group activities such as working out because of differences in physical strength. These informal exchanges are events where informal socialization occurs and access to organizational power is granted. The lack of inclusion of tokens seems more natural when these individuals are seen as different. If dominants and tokens were perceived as having more shared aims, the exclusion would seem unnecessary; therefore, dominants must highlight the cultural boundaries between themselves and tokens to continue tokens' isolation.

Assimilation refers to tokens adopting the roles prescribed as acceptable by dominants. Dominants treat tokens as stereotypes of their gender, sex, or ethnicity which limits tokens' ability to be successful in ways that are deemed inappropriate based on their perceived proper roles. This forces tokens into role entrapment which limits their opportunities to advance. For example, female police officers may accept that their only opportunity to work undercover is to work in prostitution stings. However, the low value of this assignment can limit their potential career advancement later compared to higher value assignments given to men.

Tokens vary in the severity of their responses to being treated as a token within their environment; however, both psychological and physical stress may occur including self-hatred, refraining from expressing feelings, and feelings of inadequacy (Kanter,

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1977) To empirically test tokenism theory, researchers have used perceptual measures of visibility, polarization, and assimilation to determine the consequences of tokenism (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Gustafson, 2008; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Wertsch, 1998). Researchers have also utilized measures of the effects of being a token (Morash & Haarr, 1995).

Studies of Tokenism on Female Police Officers

Researchers have studied female officers to determine the extent to which tokenism is present in police organizations. Qualitative studies (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Wersch, 1998) and quantitative studies (Gustafson, 2008; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Taylor-Green & del Carmen, 2002) have been utilized to study the effect of tokenism among female officers. Tokenism studies have utilized samples of all female officers (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Taylor-Green & del Carmen, 2002) as well as samples of both male and female officers (Gustafson, 2008). A limited number of studies have included race in their analysis of tokenism (Martin, 1994; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

Martin (1979) used a qualitative approach to understand tokenism within the Metropolitan Police District of the District of Columbia. Martin served as a police reserve officer and used observational data over an eight-month period and interviews with female officers to understand the perceptual factors of tokenism. Martin found evidence of female officers feeling heightened visibility, polarization between female and male officers, and assimilation to gendered roles. Specifically, Martin addressed the issues of polarization and assimilation in identifying two responses adopted by women

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who had recently been integrated into patrol which she titled: *police*women and police*women*. *Police*women rejected the stereotypes of female behavior and strove to be viewed as professionals by their peers and to be accepted in the profession. In contrast, police*women* were more likely to adopt a service-oriented approach to policing, embraced stereotypical feminine roles, and avoided outside social contact with their male colleagues. While *police*women attempted to be integrated into the informal social network of policing, police*women* avoided the social contact with male officers out of the fear of being harassed or teased (Martin, 1979).

Belknap and Shelley (1993) surveyed 64 female officers at the first annual Ohio Policewomen's Conference. The conference attendees were sworn female police officers from various police departments in Ohio and the police departments varied by both the total number of sworn officers as well as percent of sworn female police officers. The perceptual factors of visibility and polarization were measured using multiple measures in the survey.

To measure visibility, six survey questions assessed the concepts of being more noticeable during training, being burdened with the judgment of others, and feeling invisible in the department. For one of the questions, "I am only noticed when I have done a good job", respondents from departments with a small percentage of female officers (10% or less) were significantly more likely to report only being noticed when they had done a good job, in comparison to respondents from departments with a greater percentage of female officers. To measure the perceptual factor of polarization, deemed "contrast" by the authors, 10 questions were utilized. For the question, "My fellow officers see me as a woman first, and a police officer second," respondents from

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departments with a small percentage of female officers (10% of less) were significantly more likely to report being viewed as a women first, and a police officer second, in comparison to respondents from departments with a greater percentage of female officers. These significant findings support Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism and, specifically, the perceptual concepts of visibility and polarization.

Using data collected from case studies of five large municipal police departments, Martin (1994) explored the effect of race and gender on police officers of token status. Using a qualitative approach, Martin conducted semi-structured interviews with male and female officers from each department. The locations of the participating police departments included: Washington, D.C., Birmingham, Detroit, Phoenix, and Chicago. A total of 72 female officers and 40 male officers were interviewed; interviewees included both black and white officers, and individuals in supervisory positions were oversampled.

Martin's (1994) findings indicate that tokenism is a function of both race and gender. Using the concept of discrimination, the research addresses the related perceptual factors of visibility, polarization, and assimilation. Both black and white female officers were significantly more likely than black and white male officers to believe that they were victims of discrimination based on either sex or race. The qualitative results of the study suggest that the relationship between sex and race is more complex than the usual dichotomous treatment of the two variables often utilized in research on race and sex. Black women expressed being treated in a discriminatory manner by both white and black officers, as white male officers were less protective of black females than white females and black male officers were more competitive with black female officers than white female officers.

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Gustafson (2008) studied the effect of tokenism on both male and female police officers from the Baltimore Police Department using survey research. As Martin (1980) suggested that individuals who are female and non-white experience more disadvantage than individuals who are tokens based on only gender classification, Gustafson's (2008) research included gender and race as well as an interaction term for both gender and race. The study included a sample size of 1,036 sworn police officers and used secondary data collected for a different study on police work stress.

Visibility, polarization, and assimilation were measured using a single measure for each perceptual factor of tokenism. Visibility was measured using the item, "Compared to my peers (same rank), I find that I am more likely to be criticized for my mistakes," and contrast (or polarization) was measured using the item, "Within the department, gender-related jokes are often made" (Gustafson, 2008, p. 5). Assimilation was measured using the item, "I feel that I am less likely to get chosen for certain assignments because of 'who I am' (e.g. race, gender, sexual orientation, physical characteristics)" (Gustafson, 2008, p. 5). However, this measure does not seemingly capture the concept of assimilation as explained by Kanter which would be better measured with a question that assesses whether the respondent adopts the role associated with their token status.

Gustafson (2008) found weak to moderate support for the tokenism effect of increased visibility and performance pressure on female officers; weak support for polarization and no significant effect was found for the measure of assimilation. Additionally, the study did not find support for the idea that a "double token," an individual who is the minority in both gender and race, experiences a distinctly different

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tokenism effect. While both the likelihood of experiencing tokenism as a result of gender and race was demonstrated, the effect of gender and race were independent. Race was determined to be a better predictor than gender of tokenism resulting in measurable consequences.

Stichman, Hassell, and Archbold (2010) tested tokenism within a police department with a tilted proportion of female to male officers. With 17% of sworn officers being female, Stichman et al. (2010) hypothesized that there would be no differences between the experiences of female and male officers given the theoretical framework of tokenism. Using a sample of 87 sworn police officers from a Midwestern police department, 17 of the respondents were sworn female officers. Stichman and her colleagues administered a survey instrument with multiple perceptual measures for visibility, polarization, and assimilation. The survey measures used were comparable to the measures used by Gustafson (2008).

Visibility was measured using the items, "coworkers often commend me when I do good work" and "supervisors often commend me when I do good work" with greater levels of agreement indicating lower levels of visibility (Stichman, et al., 2010, p. 636). Contrast was measured using the items, "People at work underestimate my ability based on my physical stature" and "Where I work, there is bias against people based on gender" (Stichman, et al., 2010, p. 636). Assimilation was measured using the items, "I have at least as much opportunity as my coworkers when it comes to receiving preferred assignments" and "I do not have as much opportunity as my coworkers (with rank and seniority similar to mine) when it comes to promotion" (Stichman, et al., 2010, p. 636). While there were no differences in regard to the experiences related to assimilation and

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contrast, female officers did express feelings of heightened visibility among their colleagues, feelings of being underestimated by their peers due to physical size, and general awareness of gender bias within the police department.

Stroshine and Brandl (2011) examined the effect of both race and gender on experiences associated with tokenism. The majority of the respondents in the sample identified themselves as white, while approximately 25% of the respondents identified themselves as black. Additionally, 12% of the sample identified themselves as Latino. Approximately 20% of the respondents were female; although only 16% of sworn officers at the participating police department were female.

The findings of the study found support for the effects of tokenism among both female officers and officers who were racial minorities. Support was also found for the concept of "double tokenism" where minority female officers experienced the highest levels of the effects of tokenism. When comparing the effects of tokenism due to race with the effects of tokenism due to gender, race was a greater predictor of tokenism effects. However, racial subgroups experienced different levels of tokenism effects with black officers experiencing a greater level of tokenism than Latino officers.

Tokenism and Workplace Environment

While some studies used the perceptual measures of tokenism (e.g. whether employees perceived the descriptive elements of visibility, polarization and assimilation), other studies used measures of stress, depression, and workplace environment as effects of the experience of being a token. These concepts are related to the Kanter's hypothesis that tokens are more likely to experience more physical and psychological stress as a

result of their token status. Depression and reduced job satisfaction can be viewed as related to psychological stress.

Krimmel and Gormley (2003) studied female police officers from police departments with both skewed and tilted proportions to determine if measures of tokenism were more prominent in the skewed police departments. A total of 175 female officers from police departments in Pennsylvania and New Jersey were surveyed. Instead of perceptual measures, job-related depression, general job satisfaction, and job-related self-esteem were measured as effects of tokenism. Multiple measures were utilized for each of the three concepts. Six variables used to measure the effects of tokenism (willingness to take a new job, job satisfaction, unwillingness to recommend the job to a friend, unwillingness to take the job again if given the choice, feeling tired, and feeling that their job was not important) were statistically significant for female officers who were employed in police departments with skewed distributions of female to male officers. In addition, women who were employed in departments with percentages of female officers higher than 15% exhibited a higher job satisfaction than women employed in departments with less than 15% of female officers.

Taylor-Greene and del Carmen (2002) studied stress of male and female police officers within departments of varying percentages of female police officers. Female police officers from a total of 26 law enforcement agencies within the state of Texas completed a survey regarding their experiences and level of workplace stress. The respondents were divided into two groups based on their department's percentage of female officers. The first group, Group A, included respondents working in a department with a female officer percentage greater than 13% and the second group, Group B,

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included respondents working in a department with a female officer percentage less than 13%.

The findings provided minimal support for tokenism as most of the measures of stress and work experience did not produce statistically significant differences between the two groups. The only statistically significant difference between Group A and Group B was that officers in Group B were more likely to express a preference for working with a male partner. Respondents in both groups reported stress; however, the difference in stress levels between the groups was not statistically significant. Given the lack of significant findings, the authors suggest that female officers may be in denial of the effect their gender has on stress or that progress has been made for women in policing and there is less tokenism than in previous time periods.

Research on female police officers and tokenism has also addressed the effect of tokenism on promotion. Using interviews with incumbent female officers employed in a department with less than 15% female officers, Wertsch (1998) found that female officers believed their token status created barriers to their ability to be promoted. Instead of measuring the perceptual factors associated with tokenism, the perceptions of barriers to promotion or the decisions of female officers to opt out of the promotion process were measured as outcomes of having a token status. Using semi-structured interviews, Wertsch found that both organizational and familial barriers were factors in female officers' decisions to apply for a promotion and their perception of the fairness of the process. Some of the organizational barriers mentioned by the female officers include the way in which performance was measured during evaluations and the recommendations from supervisors. Female officers did not feel that their evaluations were accurate

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reflections of their capabilities as police officers because of supervisors' discriminatory attitudes. Additionally, familial barriers were mentioned, including the compatibility of their current position with family obligations and the reluctance to return to an undesirable assignment.

Archbold and Shulz (2008) found that female officers are less likely to pursue promotional opportunities in a police department as a result of tokenism. A total of 14 female officers were interviewed by the researchers to determine if they experienced the perceptual factors of visibility, contrast (polarization), and assimilation. The study results found support for all three. Specifically, visibility and performance pressure was supported by the fact that more than 75% of the female officers reported having to prove themselves to others and 64% of the female officers expressed the feeling that they were forced into the public eye as a representative of female officers. Contrast and isolation was supported by over 75% of female officers who expressed the belief that they felt isolated solely based on their sex and 50% who stated that disrespect and lack of acceptance from male police officers was a source of on-the-job-frustration. Assimilation was supported by 64% of the female officers who reported that they have been treated as "token" females in their role as a police officer. Specifically, the female officers stated that they were pushed towards promotion due to the need for more female officers and they are aware of male police officers using derogatory nicknames based on the female anatomy to talk about female officers. Interestingly, despite these experiences, 64% of the female officers reported that they would recommend law enforcement to other women while the remaining female officers stated that recommending policing as a career would depend on the potentially interested female. This finding suggests that being a token has

made some female officers hesitant to recommend policing to women; however, this study also found that female officers do find women's role in law enforcement to be worthy.

To assess the impact of tokenism on promotion, respondents were asked about their perceptions of the promotion process for female officers and the role of male supervisors during the process. Despite encouragement by their male supervisors, the female officers were reluctant to pursue promotions. In fact, the encouragement from male supervisors to go through the promotion process reinforced the effects of tokenism resulting in female officers perceiving a potential promotion as only a result of the need to promote women. Female officers expressed the desire to be perceived as being promoted due to merit not due to consideration of their gender (Archbold & Shulz, 2008).

Archbold, Hassell, and Stichman (2010) compared the promotional aspirations of male and female officers in a tilted police department, where the percentage of female officers was more than 15% but less than 35% of all sworn police officers. Using a police department with female officers comprising 17% of all sworn officers, the researchers administered a survey to all sworn police officers asking about promotional opportunities and perceptions of discrimination based on sex. Instead of empirically testing tokenism, the researchers used open and closed questions to determine differences between men and women.

The researchers found that female officers expressed feelings of isolation and differential treatment based on sex, supporting the perceptual factor of assimilation. In terms of visibility, some female officers expressed how feeling like a "token" instead of an officer made them believe that they would be promoted based on sex; as a result,

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female officers stated that they did not want to engage in the promotional process. Male officers also expressed low confidence in the promotional process and some male officers perceived the promotional process as preferential towards female officers.

Critiques of Tokenism

While Kanter's theory of tokenism has been widely cited and tested in social science research, tokenism has been criticized for lacking the complexity to adequately explain dynamic workplace experiences and interactions. First, critics point out that tokenism relies on an arbitrary proportional cut off of 15%. Further, critics assert that tokenism uses proportional representation to explain interactions that may result from other explanations, such as sexism. As pointed out by Yoder (1991), women who rebel against traditional gender norms and choose to work in male-dominated occupations may be isolated and pushed into stereotypical roles because the men feel threatened by their presence, not because of the small number of women within the department. The emphasis on numerical proportions ignores the gendered reality of workplace environments.

Tokenism research typically focuses on environments where women hold the fewest number of positions and the environment has been traditionally male-dominated. This produces a confounding effect because the effects of sexism cannot be distinguished from the effects of tokenism. Some researchers argue that the purported effects of tokenism are actually the effects of gendered organizations. This argument is supported by studies in traditionally female-dominated professions where research has not found

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that male tokens experience similar detrimental effects as female tokens, such as the increased performance pressure (Seifert, 1973; Ott, 1989).

To compare tokenism in different environments, Ott (1989) studied the experiences of male nurses and female police officers. Although each group was represented within their organization at token levels, the research showed that male nurses do not experience the same disadvantages as female police officers. For example, female nurses do not resist working with male nurses. In addition, when comparing token male nurses to male nurses in workplaces with slightly greater than token percentage of males, token male nurses experienced advantages. This finding is consistent with research on social work (Rosenblatt et al, 1971; Gripton, 1974), librarians (Blackenship, 1971), and principals (Gross & Trusk, 1976) where being male in a traditional female profession was advantageous to the male's career.

Another criticism concerns tokenism's suggestion that the solution to improving work conditions involves simply increasing the numbers of token individuals. In an evaluation of tokenism, Zimmer (1988) points out the lack of evidence supporting a causal effect between increasing the numerical representation of a group and better working conditions. The conclusion that workplace relations will be improved by increasing the number of "token" individuals to an equal percentage is unsupported by the majority of research on minority relations. For example, Blalock (1967) purports that as the percentage of minority individuals increases to equal representation of the dominant group, the dominant group becomes more threatened and relations become more strained.

Particularly important to police organizations, other researchers (Daly, 1989; Halford, Savage, & Witz, 1997) are equally skeptical that simply adding more women to an organization will change the issue of gender inequality in the workplace. In fact, some women in policing may assimilate into the informal dominant culture that currently promotes inequality for female officers by undervaluing their abilities and contributions. This suggests that the issues of sexism and the organizational subculture determined by males must be addressed to transform the views and values of the dominant group to create a police culture supportive to men and women. Martin (2004) states the need in policing for traits that are stereotyped as masculine and traits that are stereotyped as feminine "because the work involves both social control and social service functions" (p. 539).

Conclusion

The previous sections have presented research on a variety of topics including the history of women in policing, the experiences of female officers, recruitment and screening, job models, and tokenism. Important findings include:

- Women have made substantial inroads into the profession and now perform the same roles as men.

- While early research showed that women had problems being accepted into the policing profession, later research indicates that the situation may be improving.

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- Although motivations to become police officers are seemingly the same for men and women, research suggests that women must be actively recruited into the profession.

- There is little research on how to recruit women into policing.

- The physical fitness test used in applicant screening has been and remains an obstacle for women interested in entering the profession.

- Little research has considered the potentially disparate impact of other aspects of the screening process.

- Studies of tokenism in police agencies have generally found evidence of visibility, assimilation, and polarization among women.

- Support for a separate effect for double tokens is mixed.

- Tokenism has been related to lower levels of job satisfaction among female officers and a lower likelihood of pursuing promotion.

While the previous research on women in policing provides some insight into the experiences of female officers, this understanding has provided limited guidance on increasing the number of women in policing. Research has demonstrated that women must be actively recruited into the field, yet little is known about whether the challenges faced by female officers impact women's decisions to enter the profession. For example, it is unknown if fears about acceptance or sexual harassment deter women from applying. Similarly, anticipation of tokenism, lack of opportunity, or perceived organizational barriers may also have an effect. In contrast, women may simply not apply due to perceptions of the impact of a career in policing on their personal lives and/or personal

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safety. The proposed study attempt to fill these voids in the literature by assessing the perceptions of potential applicants. Further, the proposed study analyzes the impact of gender differences in applicant screening tests and academy performance.

The theoretical models (gender model and tokenism) presented provide an important basis for this project. Kanter's theory of tokenism will be the basis for the collection and interpretation of data on perceived and real organizational barriers current female police officers face. As less than 15% of the sworn police officers in the agency being studied are women, the agency represents Kanter's "skewed" organization. Both tokenism and the gender model will form the basis for the collection and interpretation of data on perceived and organizational barriers that potential female applicants face. In this way, the data collection and analysis will proceed without the limitations imposed by using only a single theoretical framework.

Guided by the theory of tokenism and the gender model of work, the proposed study attempts to understand the barriers encountered by women interested in the policing profession. Additionally, the study seeks to determine whether these barriers differ from those encountered by men. Three component studies are utilized, and the research questions, methods, and findings are presented in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The research project presented in this dissertation consists of three individual

studies. While each component is distinct, all three serve to answer the overarching

research question: *What are the perceived and organizational barriers to women*

interested in entering the policing profession? This chapter introduces the overall

project, describes the study site used to collect the data for all three studies, and

introduces the mixed method design utilized for each.

Overall Research Project

This dissertation is composed of three mixed methods studies designed to inform

three specific research questions, each pertaining to a unique process that may limit the

number of women becoming officers. The first study addressed the research question: *Do*

expectations of tokenism affect a potential female applicant's likelihood of applying?

Potential female applicants' perceptions regarding concepts related to tokenism and other

potential barriers to becoming police officers were gathered through a survey

administered during a multi-agency recruiting event targeted specifically at women.

Potential applicants were asked about factors related to their decision to apply or not.

Telephone interviews were later utilized to capture additional details about the factors

explored in the survey.

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The second study addressed the research question: *Does the applicant screening process include barriers that disproportionately affect female applicants, thus perpetuating token-level representation?* A large data set of female and male applicants was made available for study purposes and the data were analyzed to determine reasons for disqualification and withdrawal from the recruiting process. Follow-up interviews with applicant processing staff were conducted to inform this study as well.

The third study addressed the research question: *Does the academy include barriers that disproportionally affect female recruits?* Data on police academy attrition was analyzed along with follow-up interviews to explore the academy environment of academy classes.

Each of the three studies utilized a mixed method approach known as the sequential explanatory design. Mixed method approaches utilize both quantitative and qualitative methods to answer the research question. A mixed method approach is an ideal approach for studying phenomena that are largely unstudied, as in the case of women entering policing. Specifically, the sequential explanatory design involves a two-step process where the data collection and analysis of quantitative data is followed by the data collection and analysis of qualitative data. Often this approach is utilized to explain and interpret the quantitative results using qualitative data collected after quantitative analysis has rendered general conclusions. Figure 1 provides a visual model of the sequential explanatory design (Adapted from Creswell, 2009).

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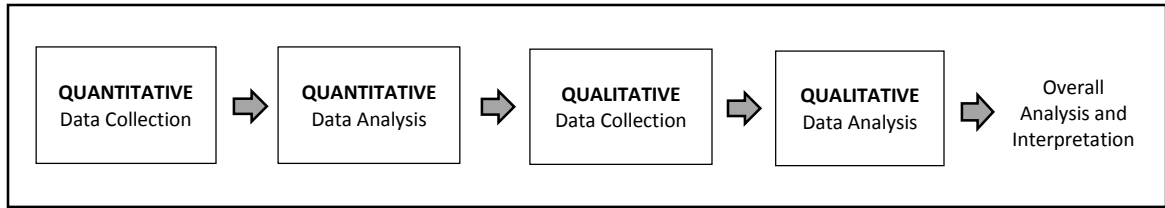
Figure 3.1: Sequential Explanatory Design

The purpose of mixed methods strategies in research is to use both qualitative and quantitative methods to address the research questions. However, the approach is more complex than merely using both methods in the same study. Specifically, Creswell (2009) describes the process as, "more than simply collecting and analyzing both kinds of data; it also involves the use of both approaches in tandem so that the overall strength of the study is greater than either qualitative or quantitative research" (p. 4).

While a mixed methods approach requires the researcher to be knowledgeable in qualitative and quantitative analysis and is often time consuming, this approach allows researchers to answer research questions that cannot be thoroughly addressed using only one method. For example, trying to understand why female applicants are disqualified can be addressed to some degree by numerical data; however, qualitative research can provide detailed information about the specific characteristics of disqualification decisions as well as insight into the actual processes involved. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods can be used to understand the larger phenomenon that impacts women and potentially reduces the number of successful female applicants.

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Study Site

One major metropolitan police department agreed to participate and this department was the site for all three component studies. As the police department requested to remain anonymous, the department is referred to as Texas Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD). All data utilized in this project were collected from TMPD.

TMPD employs over 3,000 civilian and sworn employees and serves a community of over 1 million people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). TMPD has been using a "continuously hiring" policy since January 2011 in which the police department processes applicants as they apply to become police officers instead of the more traditional approach of processing applicants for specific academy classes. As a result, the police department is always recruiting future officers. In past years, TMPD has actively recruited female officers through an annual event for women. The event is advertised to the public through a variety of media outlets. This event demonstrates TMPD's interest in recruiting female applicants.

In 2010, the city's population was approximately 70% white, less than 10% black, and less than 5% Asian, Native American, and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. Residents of two or more races made up less than 5% of the population, and approximately 15% of the population was categorized as other races. In terms of ethnic composition, over 50% of the city's residents were of Hispanic or Latino origin. (US Census Bureau, 2010).

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Police Officer Demographics

  As of April 2013, the department employed over 2,000 sworn officers[1]. Approximately nine percent of sworn officers were female. Less than one percent of the officers were Asian or Native American, approximately five percent of officers were Black, over half of the officers were Hispanic, and approximately forty percent of officers were white (TMPD, 2013). While the racial/ethnic makeup of the department resembles the racial/ethnic composition of the city, the sex composition of the department varied substantially (approximately nine percent of officers were women versus slightly over half of residents).

  Two officers held the position of Assistant Police Chief (0.1%), six officers held the position of Deputy Chief (0.3%), 20 held the position of Captain (0.9%), 49 held the position of Lieutenant (2.2%), 237 held the position of Sergeant (10.5%), 482 held the position of Detective-investigator (21.3%), 1,450 held the position of police officer (64.1%), and 16 police officers were in the probationary stage (0.7%). Tables 3.1 and 3.2 display job categories by gender and race.

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[1] The Chief of Police was not included in percentages and analysis.

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Table 3.1: Officers Employed in Each Position by Gender

	Female % of Total	Male % of Total
Assistant Police Chief	50.0 %	50.0 %
Deputy Chief	16.7 %	83.3 %
Captain	10.0 %	90.0 %
Lieutenant	8.2 %	91.8 %
Sergeant	5.1 %	94.9 %
Detective-Investigator	7.9 %	92.1 %
Police Officer	10.6 %	89.4 %
Police Officer (Probationary)	25.0 %	75.0 %

Table 3.2: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Officers by Position

	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Native American	White
Assistant Police Chief	0	0	100.0%	0	0
Deputy Chief	0	16.6%	33.3%	0	50.0%
Captain	0	5.0%	35.0%	0	60.0%
Lieutenant	0	6.1%	48.9%	0	44.9%
Sergeant	0	5.0%	34.6%	0	60.3%
Detective-Investigator	0.6%	5.0%	46.9%	0	47.5%
Police Officer	0.8%	5.4%	56.5%	0.1%	37.5%
Police Officer (Probationary)	0	12.5%	43.8%	0	43.8%
Total	**0.6%**	**5.4%**	**51.3%**	**0.1%**	**42.2%**

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 indicate that women, while on par with men at the highest levels in the department, are underrepresented in mid-level positions. However, representation along racial/ethnic lines was relatively proportional to the overall representation of each group in the department. The salaries of TMPD police officers ranged from $40,000 for probationary police officers to $145,000 for Assistant Chiefs.

The average salary for all sworn officers was $60,000. The average salary was $63,000 for female officers and $65,000 for male officers.

Data Collection and Analysis

The Lieutenant of the recruiting department also directs applicant processing at TMPD. He was the "gatekeeper" for this research study. He was the key individual who facilitated interviews, access to events, and assisted in obtaining appropriate departmental data.

Each of the three sequential explanatory designs involved two unique data collection efforts (a quantitative data collection followed by qualitative data collection). Table 3.3 describes the quantitative and qualitative data collected for each component.

Table 3.3: Quantitative and Qualitative Data Collections

Study	Quantitative Data Collection	Qualitative Data Collection
Perceptions of Female Applicants	Survey data (n = 182)	Telephone interviews with potential female applicants who attended a recruiting event (n = 18)
Disqualification and Withdrawal	Secondary data from TMPD on all applicant disqualifications and withdrawals (2007-2012) (n = 13,527)	Interviews with applicant processing and recruiting staff on perceptions of applicants and the application process (n = 18)
Academy Attrition	Secondary data from TMPD for 19 academy classes (2008-2013) (n = 710)	Interviews with current TMPD police officers who graduated from the academy during this period on perceptions of female recruits who left and perceptual factors of tokenism (n = 17)

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Additionally, each of the three quantitative components involved different types of data. The first used survey data from 182 women who attended a targeted recruiting event. The survey collected data on expectations of tokenism, safety, organizational issues, and familial concerns as well as information on respondents' likelihood of applying. The second component utilized secondary data on 13,527 applicants processed by TMPD over a five-year period. The secondary data included information on withdrawals and disqualification of applicants throughout the screening process. The final component utilized secondary data on 710 recruits who began the training academy over a five-year period. The data included information on terminations, resignations, and academy completions. Because each data set posed unique analytical issues, the specific techniques used to analyze each set as well as detailed descriptions of the data are presented in the appropriate chapters.

Each of the qualitative components utilized data collected from semi-structured interviews. These interviews were guided by the findings of the quantitative analyses for each topic, and the questions used for each set of interviews are presented in the appropriate chapters. Whereas the interviews of the potential female applicants were conducted via telephone, the interviews of applicant processing staff and current female officers were conducted in person.

All three qualitative components used an analysis approach known as a phenomenology. Phenomenology is an attempt to describe the common experiences of a group of individuals (Creswell, 2013). Starting with the specific meaning of individual responses (first-order constructs), the goal is to render general issues underlying a variety

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of experiences (second-order constructs). This process is undertaken by coding individual statements and generalizing to themes through analytic reflection.

After the interviews were completed, the digital recordings were transcribed for coding purposes. To complete the coding, the data were loaded into ATLAS 1.7, and a two-step coding process was used. First, each interview was initially coded using a descriptive coding technique. The goal of the initial coding process was to remain open to all possibilities while reflecting on the content of the data, and descriptive coding was used to summarize the basic topic of each passage of data using a short phrase (Saldaña, 2013).

The second step involved subcoding the data. Subcoding is the process of assigning a second-order tag to an entry after the primary code has been established, Subcodes refined the codes used providing more detail. After the coding was complete, each set of coded data was reviewed for thematic reflection, and themes that emerged represent ideas that were important across a variety of codes, processes, or issues.

Qualitative Validity and Reliability

While the quantitative data collection and analysis varied for each study, the qualitative approach for each study included semi-structured interviews and the same validity and reliability strategies for all three. Validity, when used in a qualitative research setting, has a multitude of definitions and the researcher uses the synonym of "accuracy" (Creswell, 2013) to describe qualitative validity for these studies. Under this interpretation of qualitative validity, certain strategies were employed to help ensure

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better accuracy. In the three studies, the following validation strategies were used (Creswell & Miller 2000).

- prolonged engagement and persistent observation
- triangulation (used only in the study on disqualification and withdrawal of applicants)
- clarification of research bias
- member checking

The first validation strategy of prolonged engagement and persistent observation was achieved by both the amount of time spent at the study site and the type of observations performed by the researcher. The researcher spent over 10 months at the study site. Most of the time was spent at the recruiting headquarters; however, some of the time was spent at the substations for interviews, and the academy for data collection. TMPD assigned a desk to the researcher, and a substantial amount of time was spent in the recruiting office during this 10-month period. The extensive amount of time spent with the sworn officers allowed many of them to overcome their skepticism to having an outsider in their workplace. The researcher's background as a former police officer also put many of the officers at ease.

During this time, the researcher engaged in three types of observation roles: complete participant, participant as observer, and non-participant observer. As suggested by Creswell (2013), good observational research may involve changing roles. In the participant role, the researcher fully engaged to better understand the applicant process or

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perspective. For example, the researcher participated in the process by taking the police applicant written exam and completing the physical fitness test. In the participant as observer role, the researcher engaged in recruiting activities, such as being the moderator for the Women and Law Enforcement Event held for potential female applicants and observing potential applicants take the written exam and physical fitness test with TMPD recruiters. In the non-participant observer role, the researcher listened to conversations that took place near her workspace in the recruiting office or observed applicants at the recruiting building. During these observations, the researcher did not interact with the participants.

The second validation strategy, triangulation, involved using multiple sources of information to capture themes and perspectives associated with the research questions. This strategy can minimize systematic bias that may occur due to the research method or deal with extremely rare examples that may skew the results. In the disqualification and withdrawal study, various sources of data were collected including interviews, documents, and field notes from observations. The information collected from each source helped guide the qualitative analysis.

The third validation strategy involved clarifying researcher bias. Creswell (2009) recommends clarifying researcher bias by writing a personal statement about experiences and other issues that may result in bias and attempts to overcome that bias. The researcher's personal statement follows:

> My interest in the experiences of female police officers was partially fostered through personal experience. As a former police officer and a female, I experienced differences in the way that I was treated by coworkers, citizens in the community, offenders, and victims. At times, differential treatment offered more job experiences, more trust from

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victims, and sometimes less resistance from offenders. Conversely, I also faced heightened scrutiny at work, inappropriate jokes from citizens, and sexist comments from offenders. These personal experiences may create a potential bias, as I may be more sensitive to gender differences in how applicants and recruits are treated. By using rich qualitative data and awareness of this potential bias, I believe that this study produced valid results.

In addition to my experience as a former female police officer influencing my research interests, the policing culture itself had a strong influence. More succinctly, my experience as a police officer has the potential to bias my thinking (e.g., either giving the benefit of the doubt to or being critical of police officers due to the immense power that they hold in their positions). One strategy used to overcome personal bias was to relay findings and thoughts periodically to my dissertation chair and other committee members. By creating and utilizing a feedback loop, I was never collecting and analyzing qualitative findings in isolation, and, therefore, there was less likelihood that any personal biases intruded into the analysis.

The fourth validation strategy, member checking, involves having the interviewees involved in the data analysis processes by taking information back to them to establish the data's accuracy. This strategy can be used with raw data or transcripts, analysis, or findings. For the study on prospective applicants, the researcher e-mailed the preliminary thematic findings to the interviewees for feedback on information that may have been missed. For the study on disqualification and withdrawal, the researcher provided the interviewee with a transcript of the interview so he or she could clarify information, if necessary. For the study on academy attrition, the researcher e-mailed the preliminary thematic findings to the interviewees for feedback on information that may have been missed.

Reliability of the qualitative data was addressed by tape recording all interviews, if agreed upon by the participant. Inter-coder agreement was used. This researcher conducted all coding, but another uninvolved coder conducted inter-coder agreement

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checks. An 80% agreement of coding threshold was used, and this threshold was

exceeded for all three qualitative components (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

CHAPTER IV

PERCEIVED BARRIERS OF POTENTIAL FEMALE APPLICANTS

This chapter presents the research methodology and findings from the first of the three component studies. This first component study addressed the following general research question:

> *Do expectations of tokenism affect a potential female applicant's likelihood of applying?*

This general research question was broken down into four specific questions, with three questions relating to specific tokenism constructs and the fourth question relating to other potential barriers:

> R_{1a}: *Does an expectation of polarization impact a potential female applicant's likelihood of applying?*
>
> R_{1b}: *Does an expectation of visibility impact a potential female applicant's likelihood of applying?*
>
> R_{1c}: *Does an expectation of assimilation impact a potential female applicant's likelihood of applying?*
>
> R_{1d}: *Which other issues (organization factors, familial factors, safety concerns, and spousal factors) impact a potential female applicant's likelihood of applying?*

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A sequential explanatory design was used to assess barriers to potential applicants who were considering employment at the police department. An overview of the design applied to component study one is presented in Figure 4.1.
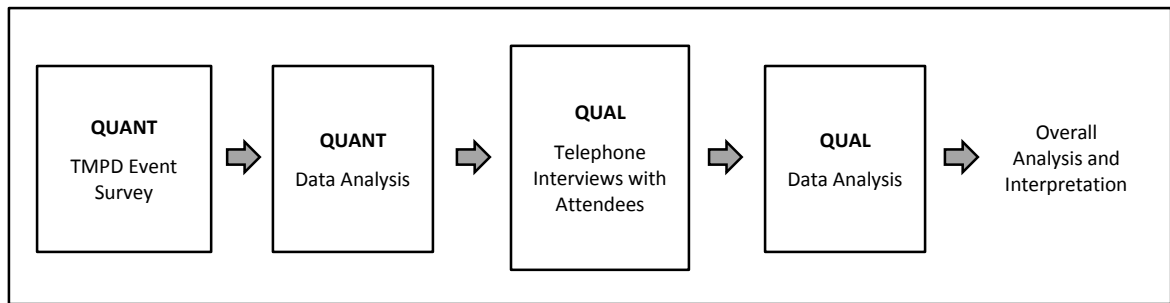
Figure 4.1: Potential Applicants Mixed Methods Design

The Survey

In an attempt to understand interested women's concerns about joining the police department, TMPD created a survey questionnaire with the assistance of the researcher. The target population for the survey included individuals who attended a recruiting event for women interested in a career in law enforcement. The event was hosted by TMPD and included a roundtable discussion with female officers from three different law enforcement jurisdictions. The participating agencies were Texas Metropolitan Police Department, Texas Department of Public Safety (Texas State Troopers), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. While TMPD hosted the event, the content and audience of the event included women interested in all three jurisdictions.

Some of the survey questions were created during a brainstorming meeting for the event. One representative from each participating agency was present at the meeting and

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each officer had over 10 years of experience. The three panel participants independently wrote down their ideas to the question, "Given your experience in recruiting, why might women be hesitant to have a career in law enforcement career?" All three of the panel participants were recruiters for their respective agencies and have had years of experience interacting with potential applicants. Some similar themes arose from the brainstorming exercise and subsequent discussion. The issues included:

- Problems of child care,

- The career being unattractive to a potential spouse and not receiving emotional support from a spouse or partner,

- Sexual harassment and acceptance of male peers,

- Having to relocate,

- Concerns about ability to do the job,

- Concerns about physical disadvantages due to size or strength, and

- Safety concerns.

These themes were used as the basis for some of the survey questions for the instrument administered at the recruiting event. In addition to addressing the themes discussed at the brainstorming event, questions measuring tokenism were also included in the survey. Tokenism has been a conceptual approach to understanding the experiences of women currently employed in law enforcement agencies. This study utilized concepts from tokenism to analyze how women imagine what working in the organization might be like and how that perception affects their decision to apply. A conceptual model of tokenism is presented in Figure 4.2.

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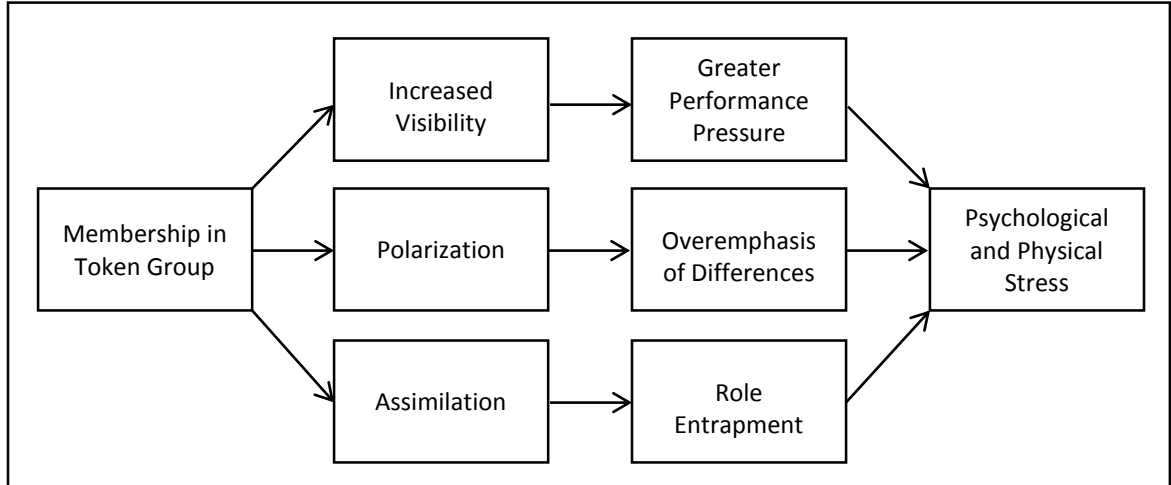
Figure 4.2: Conceptual Model of Tokenism

As indicated in the figure, the factors of visibility (being noticed), polarization (the exaggeration of difference), and assimilation (isolation and acceptance of roles) lead to greater performance pressures, overemphasis of differences, and role entrapment. In turn, these factors lead to stress.

The survey questions used were modified versions of questions from a tokenism survey used by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) in their study of tokenism within the Milwaukee Police Department. Stroshine and Brandl's (2011) instrument consisted of questions that were taken from a longer survey instrument originally used by Morash and Haarr (1995) to study tokenism in 25 police departments in all regions of the United States. The instrument developed by Morash and Haarr (1995) has been subsequently used to study tokenism in other agencies, and the instrument is in the public domain.

The instrument used by Stroshine and Brandl (2011) measured all three aspects of tokenism (visibility, polarization, and assimilation). While visibility and polarization

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were measured using multiple questions, Stroshine and Brandl's (2011) instrument included only one question to measure assimilation. To overcome this limitation, an additional measure of assimilation from Morash and Haarr's (1995) original instrument was included in the survey. Additionally, two modified measures of visibility from Belknap and Shelley (1993) were incorporated. For use in the survey, selected questions were rephrased to reflect that respondents were not currently employed as officers. In this way, the questions assessed respondents' expectations of tokenism upon entering career in law enforcement.

The survey questionnaire included multiple questions pertaining to the concepts of:

- Visibility (four questions)

- Polarization (six questions)

- Assimilation (four questions)

- Organizational Issues (two questions)

- Child care and Family (four questions)

- Finding a spouse and spousal support (three questions)

- Safety concerns (seven questions)

In addition to the thematic questions from the focus group and the theoretical questions related to tokenism, the survey also included items that measured the participant's interest and likelihood of applying to each agency. Participants were asked if they were interested in applying to each of the three agencies, their likelihood of

applying to each agency, if they believed that they would be applying to any of the agencies in the next 90 days, and if they had already applied to any of the three agencies. Demographic characteristics including date of birth, race/ethnicity, level of education, marital status, and number of children were also collected.

The survey was pretested at two undergraduate classes at Texas State University. During the pretest, students were able to complete the survey in approximately 10 minutes. As a result of the pretest and discussion with students, two questions were modified for the final survey instrument. The questionnaire (Appendix 4.1) was administered by TMPD at the beginning of the recruiting event. The survey questionnaire was given to female attendees prior to their entry into the auditorium. Participants were given the first 15 minutes of the event to fill out the survey. The participants were advised of the nature of the survey and reminded that survey participation was not mandatory. Approximately 300 individuals attended the event and roughly 30 individuals arrived late and were not offered the survey. Of the 270 individuals who were arrived on-time, the survey was offered to all individuals who indicated that they were considering law enforcement careers. A total of 182 individuals responded to the survey.[2]

Quantitative Results

Quantitative analysis of the survey data involved three distinct parts. The first part involved preliminary analysis to describe the responses to the survey questions. This process involved assessing central tendency and variability to determine if sufficient variation was present for subsequent analysis. This verification was followed by

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[2] Considering the survey results indicated that 48.9% attended with another person, this indicates that 182 responses represents a high response rate.

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assessing relationships between each of the questions designed to tap specific constructs. Three analytical techniques were utilized for this process. First, correlations between the measures were calculated. Second, a reliability analysis of each set of responses was conducted. Finally, a principal components factor analysis was conducted to assess dimensionality in the responses for each construct.

Next, initial validation of the dependent variable (likelihood of applying) to be used in the final analysis was undertaken. Initial validation was undertaken by relating likelihood of applying to safety concerns, a highly reliable measure that was conceptually related to likelihood of application. Two sets of analyses were undertaken for validation. First, correlations between each of the seven safety variables and the likelihood of applying measure were calculated. Second, the bivariate relationship between the likelihood of applying and the safety factor that emerged in the preliminary analysis was calculated.

The next part of the analysis involved generating regression models to estimate the relationship between the thematic concerns, tokenism concerns, and the likelihood of applying. Multiple models were generated, each using a different approach to measuring the constructs in the analysis. Each model is explained in detail in the appropriate sections.

Description of Survey Respondents

Women who attended the recruiting event were asked to participate in the survey. Female attendees were offered the survey prior to their entry into the auditorium. A total of 182 respondents participated in the survey. Of the 182 respondents, 13 indicated that

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they had already applied to TMPD. Of the respondents, 177 reported their age. The mean age of the sample was 28.3 years with a standard deviation of 7.7 years. The youngest respondent was 16 and the oldest was 62. Six total respondents (3.4%) were under 18 years of age, 105 (59.3%) were between 18 and 29, 51 (28.8%) were between 30 and 39, and 15 (8.5%) were over 40.

Race/ethnicity was reported by 179 respondents. In total, 56 respondents (30.8%) were White/Caucasian, 104 (57.1%) were Latino, 16 (8.8%) were African American, one respondent (0.5%) was Asian-Pacific Islander, one other reported other. Thus, the racial/ethnic composition of the respondents is similar both to the composition of TMPD and the composition of the city overall. Level of education was reported by 181 respondents. The result indicated that 34 (18.7%) had a high school diploma or equivalent, 91 (50.0%) had some college education, 44 (24.1%) had a bachelor's degree, 10 (5.5%) had a master's degree, and two reported a JD or professional degree.

A total of 181 respondents reported their marital status. Of the respondents, 73 (40.1%) reported being single and never married, 34 (18.7%) reported being in a relationship but never married, 34 (18.7%) others reported being currently married, 10 respondents (5.5%) reported being separated, 29 (15.9%) reported being divorced, and one respondent (0.5%) reported being widowed. Eighty-one (44.6%) of respondents reported having children, while 99 (54.4%) reported having no children. Respondents reporting having children reported an average of 2.2 with a standard deviation of 1.4. Number of children for parents in the sample ranged from one to six, with 85.2% of respondents reporting children having three or less.

Ninety-three respondents (51.1%) reported attending the event alone, while the remaining 89 (48.9%) reported attending with someone else. Of those reporting that they attended the event with another person, 32 (17.6%) reported attending with a friend, 22 (12.1%) reported attending with a parent, 16 (8.8%) reported attending with a significant other, 13 (7.1%) reported attending with a sibling, and 6 (3.3%) reported attending with someone other than those categories.

Preliminary Analysis

In the preliminary analysis, responses to concerns about each of the tokenism constructs were analyzed. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with statements about what it would be like to work at a law enforcement agency. Responses were collected on a seven-point Likert scale with one indicating "strongly disagree" and seven indicating "strongly agree". Analyses of the responses for questions related to each tokenism construct are presented in the following sections.

Visibility

Visibility is one of the three tokenism constructs. Visibility is the idea that a member of a token group is more likely to have their performance noticed than a non-token. Visibility refers to being noticed in general, and includes instances of being noticed for good and poor performance. Four survey questions assessed expectations of visibility, and analysis of these measures began by calculating descriptive statistics for each set of responses.

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The first visibility statement was, "Coworkers will often commend me when I do good work." The mean response for this question was 5.6 (SD = 1.4). This indicates that on average, respondents agreed that they would be visible to coworkers when doing good work, but that respondents did vary in their expectations with 73 respondents reporting less than average agreement with the statement.

The second visibility statement was, "Supervisors will often commend me when I do good work." The mean response for this question was 5.7 (SD = 1.4). Similar to the previous measure, this indicated that respondents also agreed that they would be visible to supervisors when doing good work. Again, respondents varied in their expectations with 67 respondents reporting less than average agreement with the statement.

The third visibility statement was, "It will be difficult for me to do my job without being noticed by my male coworkers and supervisors." The mean response for this question was 1.9 (SD = 1.4). This indicated that, on average, respondents disagreed with the statement that work would be difficult because they would be noticed by male colleagues. Respondents varied in these responses with 90 respondents indicating greater than average agreement with the statement.

The fourth visibility statement was, "If I don't do well at the academy, everyone will notice." The mean response for this question was 3.2 (SD = 1.6). This indicated that respondents disagreed slightly with the statement. Seventy-five respondents reported greater than average agreement with the prompt.

Because all four measures attempt to measure visibility, an analysis of the relationships between the four measures was undertaken to determine the relationship between responses patterns for all four prompts. The first step in this process involved

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calculating first-order correlations for each of the measures. The correlation matrix for

the visibility measures is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Correlations for Visibility Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) *Coworkers will often commend me when I do good work.*	1.00			
(2) *Supervisors will often commend me when I do good work.*	0.80***	1.00		
(3) *It will be difficult for me to do my job without being noticed by my male coworkers and supervisors.*	-0.11	-0.13†	1.00	
(4) *If I don't do well at the academy, everyone will notice.*	-0.32***	-0.22**	0.31***	1.00

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

While the correlations between questions one, two, and four were statistically

significant, question three was not significantly related to questions one and two.

Therefore, Cronbach's alpha was calculated to assess the reliability of the four measures.

Cronbach's alpha is a measure of internal consistency between measures believed

to measure the same thing. Thus, it is used as a measure of reliability. Typically, a

Cronbach's alpha of 0.7 or higher is considered reliable, and measures exhibiting this

level of reliability are considered suitable for use in scales to measure the underlying

construct (Peterson, 1994). For the four visibility measures, Cronbach's alpha was 0.65

suggesting that the four questions were not reliably measuring the same construct.

Because the correlations and the reliability analysis indicated that the visibility

measures may measure different dimensions of visibility, a factor analysis was

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undertaken to isolate the dimensions. A principal components factor analysis was used. While there are several different methods for isolating the factorial structure from a set of measurements, principal components factor analysis has desirable properties when: (1) the process does not specify in advance the structure of the underlying factors (e.g., the number and arrangement) or (2) the goal is to utilize the analysis to render an estimated score for the underlying construct (Thompson, 2004). Because there was no theoretical reason to assume a particular number or arrangement of dimensions of visibility, and the goal of the analysis is to generate an overall score for respondents' concerns about visibility, principal components factors was chosen.

In total, two factors emerged (Eigenvalues of 2.04 and 1.09) from the analysis. When a factor analysis results in multiple factors, a better understanding of the relationship between the factors and the measurements can be achieved through rotation. Rotation typically clarifies which measures are more closely related to each factor. When performing a factor rotation, the researcher must make a decision between two general methods of rotation, orthogonal and oblique. The fundamental difference between the two concerns whether the researcher believes that the two underlying factors should be correlated or whether they are assumed to be distinct (Thompson, 2004). Orthogonal rotation reflects a belief that the underlying factors are not correlated, and oblique rotation reflects a belief that they are. Because both factors were believed to measure dimensions of the validity construct, the factors were rotated using an oblique rotation which allowed the two factors to be correlated. The rotated factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.2.

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Table 4.2: Principal Component Factors for Visibility Measures

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Uniqueness
(1) *Coworkers will often commend me when I do good work.*	0.95	-0.01	0.10
(2) *Supervisors will often commend me when I do good work.*	0.95	0.04	0.11
(3) *It will be difficult for me to do my job without being noticed by my male coworkers and supervisors.*	0.11	0.88	0.27
(4) *If I don't do well at the academy, everyone will notice.*	-0.16	0.73	0.39

The rotated factor matrix indicated that *factor 1* loaded primarily on the first two questions, and *factor 2* loaded primarily on the last two questions. The questions related to *factor 1* both inquired about being noticed for doing good work. In contrast, the questions related to *factor 2* inquired about being noticed by male coworkers and about being noticed for doing a poor job. This indicated that being noticed for positive performance was distinct from being noticed for negative performance. Importantly, being noticed by males was related to being noticed for negative performance.

Polarization

Polarization is the second tokenism construct. Polarization is the idea that differences between tokens and non-tokens will be exaggerated. Six survey questions assessed expectations of polarization, and analysis of these measures began by calculating descriptive statistics for each set of responses.

The first polarization statement was, "Coworkers will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job." The mean response for this question was 2.1 (SD =

1.2). This indicates that on average, respondents disagreed that they would be ridiculed by coworkers when asking for help, but that respondents did vary in their expectations with 51 respondents reporting greater than average agreement with the statement.

The second polarization statement was, "Supervisors will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job." The mean response for this question was 2.0 (SD = 1.2). This indicates that on average, respondents disagreed that they would be ridiculed by supervisors when asking for help, but that respondents did vary in their expectations with 47 respondents reporting greater than average agreement with the statement.

The third polarization statement was, "Supervisors will joke about sex, and these comments will bother me." The mean response for this question was 2.2 (SD = 1.7). This indicates that on average, respondents disagreed that their supervisors would joke about sex and they would be bothered by it. Respondents did vary in their expectations with 52 respondents reporting greater than average agreement with the statement.

The fourth polarization statement was, "Coworkers will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman." The mean response for this question was 2.2 (SD = 1.4). This indicates that on average, respondents disagreed that their coworkers would joke about being a woman. Respondents did vary in their expectations with 60 respondents reporting greater than average agreement with the statement.

The fifth polarization statement was, "Supervisors will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman." The mean response for this question was 2.2 (SD = 1.4). This indicates that on average, respondents disagreed that their supervisors would joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman. Respondents varied in their expectations with 40 respondents reporting greater than average agreement with the statement.

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The sixth polarization statement was, "Co-workers and supervisors will exclude me from things because I am a woman." The mean response for this question was 1.9 (SD = 1.1). This indicates that on average, respondents disagreed that they would be excluded due to being a woman, but that respondents did vary in their expectations with 81 respondents reporting greater than average agreement with the statement.

Because all six measures attempt to measure polarization, an analysis of the relationships between the six measures was undertaken to determine the relationship between response patterns. The first step involved calculating first-order correlations presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Correlations between Polarization Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1) *Coworkers will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job.*	1.00					
(2) *Supervisors will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job.*	0.79***	1.00				
(3) *Supervisors will joke about sex, and these comments will bother me.*	-0.25	0.08	1.00			
(4) *Coworkers will joke or make offensive remarks about being a women.*	0.34***	0.27***	0.28***	1.00		
(5) *Supervisors will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman.*	0.38***	0.39***	0.29***	0.75***	1.00	
(6) *Co-workers and supervisors will exclude me from things because I am a woman.*	0.46***	0.46***	0.29***	0.66***	0.66***	1.00

*** $p < 0.001$

While the correlations between questions one, two, four, five, and six were statistically significant, question three was not significantly related to either questions one and two. Therefore, Cronbach's alpha was calculated to examine the reliability of the four measures. Cronbach's alpha was 0.78 for the six polarization measures exceeding the minimum threshold of 0.70. Although the reliability coefficient indicated acceptable reliability, the correlations indicated that the question concerning joking about sex was not significantly related to all of the other measures, a factor analysis was undertaken to determine if the polarization measures were multi-dimensional. Two factors did emerge (Eigenvalues of 3.15 and 1.29). Because both factors were believed to measure the construct of polarization, the factors were rotated using an oblique rotation allowing the two factors to be correlated. The rotated factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Principal Component Factors for Polarization Measures

Variable	*Factor 1*	*Factor 2*	Uniqueness
(1) *Coworkers will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job.*	0.07	0.91	0.13
(2) *Supervisors will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job.*	0.09	0.87	0.18
(3) *Supervisors will joke about sex, and these comments will bother me.*	0.72	-0.40	0.49
(4) *Coworkers will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman.*	0.84	0.07	0.25
(5) *Supervisors will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman.*	0.81	0.17	0.23
(6) *Co-workers and supervisors will exclude me from things because I am a woman.*	0.73	0.29	0.27

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The rotated factor matrix indicated that *factor1* loaded primarily on questions three, four, five, and six, and *factor 2* loaded primarily on questions one and two. Questions three, four, five, and six all inquire about polarization without making reference to anything the respondent may do (e.g., others joking about sex, treating women differently). In contrast, questions one and two incorporated the idea of performance by asking women about being ridiculed for poor performance. This indicated that respondents may perceive behavior overtly gender-biased as distinct from negative treatment in general that is not specifically tied to sex or gender.

Assimilation

Assimilation is the final tokenism construct. Assimilation refers to acceptance of the assigned roles based on token status. Four questions assessed expectations of assimilation, and analysis of the assimilation data began by calculating descriptive statistics for each of the four assimilation measures.

The first assimilation statement was, "I will need to do the job differently because I am a woman." The mean response for this question was 2.5 (SD = 1.9). This indicated that on average, respondents disagreed that they would have to do the job differently due to being a woman. Respondents did vary in their expectations with 62 respondents reporting more than average agreement with the statement.

The second assimilation statement was, "I will have as much opportunity as my coworkers for receiving preferred assignments or promotion." The mean response for this question was 5.9 (SD = 1.5). This indicates that on average, respondents agreed that they

would have equal opportunity. Respondents varied in their expectations with 55 respondents reporting less than average agreement with the statement.

The third assimilation statement was, "I will be expected to work well with women and children because I am a female." The mean response for this question was 5.0 (SD = 1.8). This indicated that on average, respondents agreed that they would be expected to work well with women and children due to being a woman. Respondents varied in their expectations with 70 respondents reporting less than average agreement with the statement.

The fourth assimilation statement was, "If a male police officer tries to protect me, I won't be offended." The mean response for this question was 6.0 (SD = 1.9). This indicates that on average, respondents agreed that they would not be offended if being protected by a male officer. Respondents varied in their expectations with 35 respondents reporting more than average agreement with the statement.

Because all four measures attempt to measure assimilation, an analysis of the relationships between the four measures was undertaken to determine the relationship between responses patterns for all four prompts. The first step in this process involved calculating first-order correlations for each of the measures. The correlation matrix for the assimilation measures is presented in Table 4.5.

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Table 4.5: Correlations between Assimilation Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) *I will need to do the job differently because I am a woman.*	1.00			
(2) *I will have as much opportunity as my coworkers for receiving preferred assignments or promotion.*	-0.19**	1.00		
(3) *I will be expected to work well with women and children because I am a female.*	0.15*	-0.04	1.00	
(4) *If a male police officer tries to protect me, I won't be offended.*	-0.05	0.00	0.13†	1.00

† $p < 0.10$*, $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

The correlations suggested that question four may not be well related to the other questions. To probe this further, Cronbach's alpha was calculated to assess overall reliability. As suggested by the correlations, Cronbach's alpha (0.25) did not indicate reliability for the four assimilation measures. Because the correlations and the reliability analysis indicated that the assimilation measures may measure different dimensions, a principal components factor analysis was undertaken to isolate the dimensions. In total, two factors emerged (Eigenvalues of 1.27 and 1.07). Because both factors were believed to measure the construct of assimilation, the factors were rotated using an oblique rotation which allowed the two factors to be correlated. The rotated factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.6.

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Table 4.6: Principal Component Factors for Assimilation Measures

Variable	*Factor 1*	*Factor 2*	Uniqueness
(1) *I will need to do the job differently because I am a woman.*	0.79	-0.02	0.37
(2) *I will have as much opportunity as my coworkers for receiving preferred assignments or promotion.*	-0.68	0.10	0.53
(3) *I will be expected to work well with women and children because I am a female.*	0.35	0.64	0.44
(4) *If a male police officer tries to protect me, I won't be offended.*	-0.20	0.82	0.31

The rotated factor matrix indicated that *factor 1* loaded primarily on questions one and two, and *factor 2* loaded primarily on questions three and four. Questions one and two inquired about doing the job differently due to being a woman and differential opportunity for female officers. Question three inquired about expectations about working with women and children, and the question four asked about being protected by a male officer. While the two factors that emerged are distinct, there is a less clear reason than for the visibility and polarization factors. It may have happened as a result of the fact that the first two questions were likely interpreted as comparative statements, while the last two may not have been interpreted as clear comparisons between men and women.

Organizational Issues

Two questions in the survey addressed the compromises that respondents may have to make if they accepted a job in policing. The first statement was, "I am worried having to relocate may make it difficult for me to pursue a career in law enforcement." The mean response to this question was 2.5 (SD = 1.67) indicating that on average

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women were not worried about relocation. The second statement was, "I would be less likely to apply for a job in policing if I were required to cut my hair short for the academy." The mean response to this question was 2.3 (SD = 1.8) indicating that having to cut their hair was generally unimportant to women. Both questions exhibited substantial variation with 68 women reporting above average concern about relocating, and 70 women reporting above average concern about potentially cutting their hair.

Next, the correlation between the two measures was calculated. The correlation was 0.29 (p < 0.001), and a principal component factor analysis indicated that the two measures were, related to a single factor (Eigenvalue 1.29) with a factor loading of 0.80 for each question.

Family Issues

Four questions assessed respondents concerns related to family. The first statement was, "I am worried about missing time with family (mother, father, sister, brother, children, and extended family) due to the work schedule of being a police officer. The mean response for this question was 3.5 (SD = 1.8) indicating that respondents were only very slightly worried on average. The second statement was, "I will have difficulty getting adequate childcare because of the work schedule of being a police officer." The mean response for this question was 2.0 (SD = 1.7) indicating that respondents largely were not worried about finding childcare. The third statement was, "My family (mother, father, sister, brother, children, and extended family) will not support my decision to become a police officer. The mean response for this question was 1.7 (SD = 1.3) indicating that respondents generally thought that they would have

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familial support. The fourth question stated, "If I decided to have another child, my career would make it more difficult." The mean response to question four was 2.9 (1.7) indicating that respondents slightly disagreed that a career in policing would make having children more difficult. Correlations were calculated for each of the measures, and the correlation matrix is presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Correlations between Family Issues Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) *I am worried about missing time with family. . .*	1.00			
(2) *I will have difficulty getting adequate childcare. . .*	0.51***	1.00		
(3) *My family will not support my decision to become a police officer.*	0.17*	0.18*	1.00	
(4) *If I decided to have another child, my career would make it more difficult.*	0.48***	0.39***	0.02	1.00

* p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

The correlations demonstrated that question three and four were not significantly related. This indicated that the four questions may not be appropriate for use in a single scale. This finding was supported by Cronbach's alpha (0.64) for the four family measures. Because the correlations and the reliability analysis indicated that the family measures may measure different familial issues, a principal components factor analysis was undertaken to isolate the separate dimensions. However, only a single factor emerged (Eigenvalue of 1.97). The factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.8.

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Table 4.8: Principal Component Factors for Family Issues Measures

Variable	Factor 1	Uniqueness
(1) *I am worried about missing time with family. . .*	0.84	0.30
(2) *I will have difficulty getting adequate childcare. . .*	0.79	0.37
(3) *My family will not support my decision to become a police officer.*	0.31	0.90
(4) *If I decided to have another child, my career would make it more difficult.*	0.73	0.46

The factor pattern matrix indicated that question three was the most unique measure among the four. Whereas the other three questions concerned the impact of being an officer on the respondent's life, question four related to familial support for the decision to become a police officer. This indicated that familial support may be an important topic for potential female applicants beyond the impact of the career on their family.

Safety Concerns

Seven questions assessed safety concerns among respondents Analysis of the safety concern measures began by calculating descriptive statistics for each of the seven safety measures Table 4.9 presents the descriptive statistics for the seven measures.

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Table 4.9: Descriptive Statistics for Safety Concern Measures

Variable	Mean	SD
(1) *I am worried about having to handle dangerous situations by myself.*	2.94	1.83
(2) *I believe that I can be authoritative in situations that I may encounter.*	6.17	1.21
(3) *Policing will be more dangerous for me because I am a female.*	2.62	1.72
(4) *The danger of policing scares me.*	2.46	1.64
(5) *I believe that I can make good decisions about the dangerous situations that I face.*	6.37	0.90
(6) *I am afraid I will have trouble protecting other officers in dangerous situations.*	2.16	1.55
(7) *If I encounter someone physically bigger than I am, I don't know if I can subdue them.*	2.88	1.77

The results in Table 4.9 indicate that respondents generally were not worried about handling dangerous situations, did not believe that policing would be more dangerous for them due to being women, were not scared by the danger of policing, were not afraid about their ability to protect other officers, and were not concerned that they might not be able to subdue a physically-bigger assailant. They were also highly likely to believe that they could be authoritative and would make good decisions in dangerous situations. Next, correlations were calculated for each of the safety measures, and the correlation matrix is presented in Table 4.10.

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Table 4.10: Correlations between Safety Concern Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(1) . . . *dangerous situations by myself. . .*	1.00						
(2) . . . *authoritative in situations. . .*	-0.36***	1.00					
(3) . . . *more dangerous for me. . .*	0.41***	-0.27***	1.00				
(4) *The danger of policing scares me.*	0.66***	-0.33***	0.51***	1.00			
(5) . . .*make good decisions. . . dangerous situations. . .*	-0.24**	0.44***	-0.24**	-0.28***	1.00		
(6) . . . *trouble protecting other officers. . .*	0.50***	-0.40***	0.34***	0.46***	-0.33***	1.00	
(7) . . . *I don't know if I can subdue them.*	0.50***	-0.31***	0.35***	0.38***	-0.23**	0.53***	1.00

*** p < 0.001

All seven safety measures were significantly intercorrelated. Additionally, Cronbach's alpha (0.81) indicated that the seven measures were reliable. Although the correlations and the reliability analysis indicated that the safety measures were likely measuring a single construct, a principal components factor analysis was undertaken to confirm and to estimate the factor. As expected, only a single factor emerged (Eigenvalue of 3.32). The factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.11, indicating that all measures were similarly related to the safety factor.

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Table 4.11: Principal Component Factors for Safety Concern Measures

Variable	*Factor 1*	Uniqueness
(1) *. . . dangerous situations by myself.*	0.78	0.39
(2) *. . . authoritative in situations. . .*	-0.63	0.61
(3) *. . .more dangerous for me. . .*	0.64	0.59
(4) *The danger of policing scares me.*	0.77	0.41
(5) *. . .make good decisions. . . dangerous situations. . .*	-0.54	0.71
(6) *. . . trouble protecting other officers. . .*	0.74	0.45
(7) *. . . I don't know if I can subdue them.*	0.69	0.53

Spousal Concerns

Three questions addressed spousal and significant other concerns. The first statement was, "Divorce or relationship problems will be more likely because of my career." The mean response for this question was 2.06 (SD = 1.5) indicating that respondents generally were not concerned about the impact of a policing career on their relationship. The second statement was, "As a police officer, I will have difficulty dating, finding a significant other, or spending time with my current partner." The mean response for this question was 2.1 (SD = 1.5) indicating that respondents did not generally believe that a career in policing would be a problem. The third statement was, "My spouse/partner/significant other will not support my decision to be a police officer." The mean response for this question was 1.5 (SD = 1.3) indicating that respondents generally were not worried about spousal support for their decision. All three measures were significantly correlated. The correlation matrix is presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Correlations between Spousal Concern Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Divorce or relationship problems will be more likely because of my career.	1.00		
(2) As a police officer, I will have difficulty dating, finding a significant other, or spending time with my current partner.	0.65***	1.00	
(3) My spouse/partner/significant other will not support my decision to be a police officer	0.24**	0.24***	1.00

** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

All three measures were significantly correlated; however, Cronbach's alpha (0.66) failed to demonstrated adequate reliability for the three spousal concern measures. Because the reliability analysis failed to cross the 0.70 threshold, a principal components factor analysis was undertaken to confirm whether the spousal concern data corresponded to separate dimensions. However, only a single factor emerged (Eigenvalue of 1.79). The factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Principal Component Factors for Spousal Concern Measures

Variable	*Factor 1*	Uniqueness
(1) Divorce or relationship problems will be more likely because of my career.	0.87	0.24
(2) As a police officer, I will have difficulty dating, finding a significant other, or spending time with my current partner.	0.87	0.24
(3) My spouse/partner/significant other will not support my decision to be a police officer	0.52	0.73

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The factor pattern matrix indicated that question three was the most unique. As with the family measures, the other two spousal concern questions concerned the impact of being an officer on the respondent's relationship, but the third question related to spousal support for the decision to become a police officer. As before, this indicated that spousal support may be an important topic for potential female applicants beyond the impact of the career on their spouse.

Interest in Various Departments

Three questions assessed interest in applying to each of the three agencies present at the event (TMPS, DPS, and FBI). Respondents were asked, "Are you interested in applying to *agency*?" Of the respondents, 89% indicated an interest in TMPD, 61% indicated an interest in DPS, and 17% indicated an interest in FBI. Correlation between the three measures indicated that interest in DPS and FBI were significantly related, but interest in either of these agencies was not significantly related to interest in TMPD. This finding was supported by Cronbach's alpha (0.25) and a principal components factor analysis that resulted in two factors emerging (Eigenvalues of 1.30 and 1.02). The factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Principal Component Factors for Organizational Interest

Organization	*Factor 1*	*Factor2*	Uniqueness
TMPD	0.01	0.97	0.05
DPS	0.82	0.19	0.31
FBI	0.79	-0.20	0.32

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Thus, it was concluded that attendees who were present at the event that were interested in a position with the local hosting agency were a different group than those in attendance who were interested in either a state or federal career.

Likelihood of Applying

Another three questions assessed respondents' likelihood of applying to each agency. The statement was, "Indicate your likelihood of applying to *agency*", and responses were collected on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from "Not likely at all" to "Very likely". The mean likelihood for applying to TMPD was 5.6 (SD = 1.8) indicating a high overall likelihood of applying. The mean likelihoods for the other agencies were 4.2 (DPS, SD = 2.2) and 4.8 (FBI, SD = 2.2) indicating that, on average, respondents were less likely to apply to the non-hosting agency. As with the interest data, the likelihood of applying to DPS was significantly correlated with likelihood of applying to FBI ($r = 0.18$, $p < 0.05$), but neither of these measures was significantly correlated with likelihood of applying to TMPD.

The correlations between the likelihood of applying measures indicated that, as with the interest measures, attendees who were likely to apply to one of the non-hosting agencies were a different group than those who were likely to apply to TMPD. This conclusion was further supported by Cronbach's alpha (0.19) for the three likelihood measures and a principal components factor analysis that indicated two factors (Eigenvalues of 1.19 and 1.07). The factor pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.15.

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Table 4.15: Principal Component Factors for Likelihood of Applying

Organization	Factor 1	Factor2	Uniqueness
TMPD	-0.02	0.92	0.16
DPS	0.75	0.36	0.30
FBI	0.79	-0.33	0.28

Conclusions from the Previous Analyses

The proceeding analyses indicated several important issues.

- Visibility may be multidimensional with issues related to positive visibility being distinct to those related to negative visibility.

- Visibility from a male counterpart may be interpreted as negative.

- Polarization may be multidimensional with issues specifically address sex (including sexual humor as well as expectations that vary by sex) forming one category and issues relating to poor work performance by members of the token group being distinct.

- Assimilation appears to be multi-dimensional, but it is unclear why.

- Organizational issues seem to be viewed as a single construct.

- Family concerns seem to be a single construct; however, familial support may be an important issue on its own.

- Safety issues all relate strongly to a single construct.

- Relationship concerns are a single construct, but spousal support may be particularly important on its own.

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- Respondents who were interested in DPS or FBI were a distinct group from those interested in TMPD. Thus, analysis on likelihood of applying to TMPD should not include individuals that were only interested in DPS or FBI.

Validation of the Likelihood of Applying Measure

To initially validate the likelihood of applying measure, applicants that had not yet applied but expressed interest in applying to TMPD were used to estimate the relationship between their likelihood to apply to TMPD and their reported safety concerns. This was done for two reasons. First, the correlation, reliability, and factor analyses indicated that safety was a highly reliable measure. Second, safety concerns about a career in policing are logically related to the likelihood of applying for a job as an officer, but safety is conceptually different from tokenism. Individuals exhibiting a greater concern about their safety should indicate a lower likelihood of applying if the likelihood of applying measure is valid.

To test this, the following analyses were conducted. The first analysis consisted of establishing the independent correlations between each of the safety items and the likelihood of applying to TMPD. Respondents that indicated that they were in attendance only because of an interest in applying to an agency other than TMPD and those that had already applied were removed from the analysis. The correlations between the likelihood of applying and the safety variables are presented in Table 4.16.

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Table 4.16: Correlations between Individual Safety Measures and Likelihood of Applying

Variable	Likelihood of applying
(1) *I am worried about having to handle dangerous situations by myself.*	-0.17*
(2) *I believe that I can be authoritative in situations that I may encounter.*	0.15*
(3) *Policing will be more dangerous for me because I am a female.*	-0.19*
(4) *The danger of policing scares me.*	-0.17*
(5) *I believe that I can make good decisions about the dangerous situations that I face.*	0.18*
(6) *I am afraid I will have trouble protecting other officers in dangerous situations.*	-0.14†
(7) *If I encounter someone physically bigger than I am, I don't know if I can subdue them.*	-0.19*

† $p < 0.10$*, $p < 0.05$

All measures of safety were independently correlated with the likelihood of applying, and all relationships were in the anticipated directions (questions one, three, four, six, and seven were negatively related as they were all reverse coded). Thus the initial analysis indicated that likelihood of applying was a valid measure.

To further demonstrate the validity of the likelihood of applying measure, a second analysis was performed. For this analysis, an estimate of individuals' overall safety concern was generated using the factor score derived from the rotated factor matrix that resulted from the principal components factor analysis of the safety variables. This measure represents the best estimate of an individual's overall concern about safety. The measure of likelihood of applying was then regressed on the safety concern measure in a bivariate regression to test for a relationship. The resulting model was significant ($F = 8.76$, $p < 0.01$), and the relationship between the safety factor and the likelihood of

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applying was in the direction anticipated (-0.30) indicating that as individuals perceived greater safety concerns, they indicated a lower likelihood of applying to TMPD.

Effects of Expectations of Tokenism on the Likelihood of Applying

To understand the relationship between perceptions about tokenism, other factors, and the likelihood of applying, two separate models were estimated. Both models included only respondents that indicated an interest in applying to TMPD who had not previously applied (n = 139).

Model One

The first model tested the relationship between tokenism constructs as well as other issues and the likelihood of applying. The dependent variable in the analysis was the respondent's reported likelihood of applying to TMPD. The independent variables for model 1 were generated as follows. A single principal components factor analysis was conducted on all of the variables containing data from questions about tokenism to isolate measures of each theoretical construct.

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Table 4.17: Principal Component Factors for All Tokenism Questions

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Uniqueness
(Vis. 1) *Coworkers will often commend me when I do good work.*	-0.07	-0.15	0.90	0.00	0.16
(Vis. 2) *Supervisors will often commend me when I do good work.*	-0.06	-0.19	0.86	0.05	0.21
(Vis. 3) *It will be difficult for me to do my job without being noticed by my male coworkers and supervisors.*	0.53	0.40	0.03	-0.23	0.51
(Vis. 4) *If I don't do well at the academy, everyone will notice.*	0.52	0.37	-0.27	0.18	0.49
(Pol. 1) *Coworkers will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job.*	0.26	0.76	-0.31	0.04	0.25
(Pol. 2) *Supervisors will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job.*	0.25	0.79	-0.26	-0.03	0.24
(Pol. 3) *Supervisors will joke about sex, and these comments will bother me.*	0.49	-0.07	0.28	-0.03	0.68
(Pol. 4) *Coworkers will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman.*	0.84	0.13	-0.09	0.02	0.26
(Pol. 5) *Supervisors will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman.*	0.81	0.23	-0.03	-0.02	0.30
(Pol. 6) *Co-workers and supervisors will exclude me from things because I am a woman.*	0.80	0.30	-0.13	0.05	0.26
(Assimil. 1) *I will need to do the job differently because I am a woman.*	0.64	-0.09	-0.11	0.33	0.46
(Assimil. 2) *I will have as much opportunity as my coworkers for receiving preferred assignments or promotion.*	-0.46	-0.39	0.04	0.05	0.63
(Assimil.3) *I will be expected to work well with women and children because I am a female.*	0.08	0.00	0.03	0.89	0.19
(Assimil. 4) *If a male police officer tries to protect me, I won't be offended.*	-0.25	0.43	0.30	0.35	0.54

Four factors emerged from the analysis (Eigenvalues 1.72, 1.19 1.15, and 104).

The pattern matrix was rotated using orthogonal rotation. Whereas the oblique rotation

that was used earlier for sets of questions believed to be related to the same construct

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(e.g., visibility) allowed the multiple factors that emerged to be correlated, the orthogonal rotation used for the entire set of questions does not allow the factors to be correlated. This is appropriate when factors are believed to measure the different, unrelated constructs (Thompson, 2004).

The pattern matrix corresponded to the theoretical model well with each factor exhibiting low cross loadings on the set of variables related to other aspects of tokenism (visibility, polarization, and assimilation). Based on the primary components of each factor, the factors were defined in terms of the tokenism constructs they represented. The first factor was labeled *Polarization female*, the second factor was labeled *Polarization help*, the third factor was labeled *Visibility*, and the fourth factor was labeled *Assimilation*. The other independent variables (*Organizational issues*, *Family issues*, *Safety concerns*, and *Spousal issues*) for the analysis were generated from the individual factor analyses undertaken for each of these measures in the preliminary analysis section.

To assess the effects of expectations of tokenism within policing on the likelihood of applying, a linear regression model was estimated using these variables. The model was significant ($F = 4.36$, $p < 0.001$) and explained 26.8 percent of the variance in likelihood of applying. The full regression model is presented in Table 4.18.

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Table 4.18: Regression Model One: Likelihood of Applying

Independent variable	Coefficient	Standard error
Polarization female	-0.28*	0.13
Polarization help	-0.07	0.11
Visibility	0.06	0.10
Assimilation	-0.30	0.10
Organizational issues	-0.44***	0.12
Familial issues	0.24	0.15
Safety concerns	-0.11	0.13
Spousal issues	0.02	0.14
Constant	5.68***	0.37

* $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

In the model, only the effects of *Polarization female* and *Organizational issues* were significant. Both relationships were in the expected directions. *Polarization female* corresponded to issues of sexual humor and specific behavior that recognized the sex of the respondent. The coefficient for *Polarization female* (-0.28) indicated that as concern about these polarization issues increased, the likelihood of applying decreased. Likewise, the coefficient for *organizational issues* (-0.44) indicated that as concerns about having to relocate or organizational policies requiring haircuts before the academy increased, the likelihood of applying decreased.

Model Two

Whereas the independent variables in the first model were derived by conducting a single factor analysis on all of the questions believed to be related to tokenism and

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conducting separate factor analyses on each of the sets of questions about other specific areas (e.g., safety, family), the second model began by conducting a factor analysis on all questions related to independent variables in the survey data. This process was undertaken for two reasons. First, the choice in model 1 to restrict the calculation of individuals' scores on underlying constructs based on the designed intent of the survey questions may have missed aspects of respondents' interpretation of the questions. Second, a full factor analysis model that isolated constructs similar to those used in model 1, would provide additional confirmation that the survey data are measuring the constructs that the questions were designed to measure.

The exploratory principal components factor analysis was undertaken, and eight factors emerged (Eigenvalues of 9.13, 2.14, 2.00, 1.63, 1.35, 1.22, 1.08, and 1.02). The pattern matrix was rotated using an orthogonal rotation, as these factors were assumed to be unrelated. The rotated pattern matrix is presented in Table 4.19.

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Table 4.19: Principal Component Factors for All Questions[3]

Variable	Factor1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8	Uniqueness
Vis. 1	0.08	0.04	0.08	0.89	0.15	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.17
Vis. 2	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.88	0.17	0.01	0.06	0.08	0.18
Vis. 3	0.36	0.30	0.17	0.01	0.23	0.05	0.15	0.46	0.46
Vis. 4	0.44	0.39	0.17	0.27	0.10	0.29	0.20	0.08	0.41
Pol. 1	0.22	0.34	0.11	0.28	0.71	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.23
Pol. 2	0.20	0.23	0.09	0.26	0.78	0.09	0.01	0.06	0.21
Pol. 3	0.41	0.18	0.07	0.26	0.12	0.03	0.01	0.48	0.48
Pol. 4	0.79	0.17	0.01	0.08	0.13	0.17	0.05	0.17	0.27
Pol. 5	0.76	0.14	0.01	0.03	0.26	0.17	0.06	0.16	0.28
Pol. 6	0.70	0.25	0.10	0.13	0.27	0.21	0.04	0.19	0.26
Assim.1	0.74	0.17	0.20	0.04	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.20	0.32
Assim.2	0.36	0.14	0.20	0.16	0.10	0.44	0.03	0.16	0.55
Assim. 3	0.15	0.05	0.07	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.78	0.12	0.34
Assim. 4	0.16	0.20	0.27	0.11	0.20	0.07	0.47	0.32	0.48
Org. 1	0.12	0.49	0.34	0.19	0.20	0.04	0.07	0.30	0.46
Org. 2	0.16	0.23	0.16	0.26	0.13	0.18	0.04	0.55	0.48
Fam. 1	0.05	0.70	0.29	0.04	0.24	0.14	0.06	0.09	0.34
Fam. 2	0.13	0.57	0.14	0.21	0.35	0.09	0.05	0.07	0.45
Fam. 3	0.24	0.09	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.66	0.00	0.25	0.44
Fam. 4	0.23	0.67	0.19	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.18	0.41
Saf. 1	0.07	0.46	0.64	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.28	0.29
Saf. 2	0.15	0.08	0.53	0.33	0.39	0.12	0.32	0.03	0.31
Saf. 3	0.63	0.19	0.42	0.17	0.10	0.17	0.06	0.09	0.32
Saf. 4	0.24	0.53	0.45	0.19	0.18	0.03	0.06	0.24	0.33
Saf. 5	0.26	0.05	0.36	0.17	0.10	0.27	0.60	0.10	0.32
Saf. 6	0.11	0.21	0.72	0.01	0.19	0.10	0.08	0.09	0.37
Saf. 7	0.14	0.26	0.72	0.01	0.04	0.21	0.17	0.07	0.31
Spou. 1	0.36	0.69	0.05	0.01	0.24	0.10	0.03	0.15	0.31
Spou. 2	0.39	0.64	0.17	0.03	0.25	0.16	0.03	0.14	0.30
Spou. 3	0.04	0.08	0.17	0.08	0.12	0.75	0.14	0.09	0.35

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[3] The variable names in Table 3.20 are ordered following the order they were presented in the previous sections.

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The first factor loaded heavily on polarization questions four (coworkers joking/offensive remarks), five (supervisors joking/offensive remarks), and six (excluded because I am a woman), and the first assimilation question (having to do the job differently). This pattern of loadings was largely consistent with the loadings for *polarization female* from the previous analysis. Thus, this factor was labeled *EFA:female polarization*.

The second factor loaded heavily on family questions one (missing time), two (childcare), and four (having another child) as well as on spouse questions one (divorce) and two (difficulty dating). This confirmed the earlier indication that respondents viewed the impact of policing on their ability to have relationships (both familial and with significant others) distinctly from support from others (family question three and spouse question three). Thus, the second factor was labeled *EFA:family impact* and represents a different measure than *Family issues* as measured in model 1.

The third factor loaded heavily on all safety measures. Although there was some cross loading (Factor 7 1oaded strongly on safety question five (good decisions in dangerous situations), the strength and consistency of the loadings for Factor 3 on all of the safety measures indicated that this factor measured safety concerns. Thus, this factor was labeled *EFA*:s*afety* and represents only a slightly different measure to the *Safety concerns* measure used in model 1.

The fourth factor loaded heavily on visibility questions one (coworkers commending) and two (supervisors commending) consistent with the visibility loadings from the factor analysis for model 1. This indicated that Factor 4 measured visibility as

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designed in the survey. Thus, this factor was labeled *EFA:visibility* and was similar to the *Visibility* measure used in model 1.

Factor 5 loaded heavily on polarization questions one (coworker ridicule for help) and two (supervisor ridicule for help). This pattern of loadings was consistent with the loadings in the model 1 factor analysis. Thus, this measure was labeled *EFA:help polarization* and was viewed as consistent with the *Polarization help* measure used in the previous analysis.

Factor 6 loaded primarily on family question three (family will not support decision) and spouse question three (spouse will not support decision). Because both of these questions related to support from others for the respondent's choice to pursue a career in policing, this measure was labeled *EFA:support*. *EFA*:s*upport* represents a measure that was not modeled in the previous analysis. Thus, *EFA*:s*upport,* in conjunction with *Family impact,* measure fundamentally altered the way in which model 2 analyzes the familial and spousal constructs.

Factor 7 loaded heavily on assimilation questions three (working with children) and four (offended by male protection). This pattern of loadings was consistent with the loadings for assimilation in the model 1 factor analysis. Thus, this factor was labeled *EFA:assimilation*. This measure is similar to the *Assimilation* measure from model 1.

Factor 8 loaded primarily on the organizational question two (haircut). Likewise Factor 8 exhibited a strong loading on visibility three (doing job without being noticed by male coworkers and supervisors). Finally, Factor 8 loaded on polarization 3 (being bothered by supervisors joking about sex). As such, Factor 8 was somewhat of a confused measure. However, considering that Factors 1 and 2 also exhibited strong loadings on

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visibility three and Factor 1 also loaded heavily on polarization 3, the cross loading of Factor 8 on these two questions may have resulted from these questions both being double-barrelled. In contrast, Factor 8 was the only factor that loaded on organizational two, and organizational two had the largest loading from Factor 8. Thus, this pattern of loadings for Factor 8 resulted in Factor 8 being labeled *EFA:organizational*, and this measure is similar to the *Organizational issues* measure used in model 1.

In conclusion, the exploratory principal components factor analysis exhibited a pattern of loadings for eight factors. This was the same number of factors generated for model 1. The loading patterns for the theoretical measures of tokenism were very consistent between the model 1 and model 2 with each process yielding two measures of polarization, one measure of visibility, and one measure of assimilation. The safety and organizational challenges measures were similar to those generated for model 1. However, the family and spouse constructs for model 1 did not emerge in the full factor analysis. Instead a single factor loaded on questions concerning the impact of the career on relationships, and a separate factor loaded on support. This indicated that support and impact were separate concerns for the respondents.

Using the new measures, a second linear regression model was estimated. The model was significant (F = 4.44, p < 0.001) and explained 22.4 percent of the variance in likelihood of applying. The full regression model is presented in Table 4.20.

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Table 4.20: Regression Model Two: Likelihood of Applying

Independent variable	Coefficient	Standard error
EFA:female polarization	-0.36***	0.10
EFA:help polarization	0.18†	0.10
EFA visibility	0.21*	0.10
EFA:assimilation	0.04	0.09
EFA:organizational	-0.29**	0.09
EFA:familial impact	-0.05	0.09
EFA:safety concerns	-0.20*	0.10
EFA:support	-0.12	0.10
Constant	6.08***	0.10

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Similar to model 1, the effects of *EFA:female polarization* and *EFA:organizational issues* were significant. In addition, model 2 exhibited significant effects for *EFA: help polarization*, *EFA:visibility*, and *EFA:safety concerns*. All relationships were in the expected directions. *EFA:female polarization* corresponded to issues of sexual humor and specific behavior that recognized the sex of the respondent. The coefficient for *EFA:female polarization* (-0.36) indicated that as concern about these polarization issues increased, the likelihood of applying decreased. *EFA:help polarization* concerned performance and asking for help. The coefficient for *EFA:help polarization* (0.18) indicated that as concern about these things increased, the likelihood of applying increased. The positive coefficient for *EFA:visibility* (0.21) indicating that as being noticed increases the likelihood of applying increases is important when

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considering that the visibility construct was composed primarily from questions about being noticed for doing good work rather than being visible for negative performance.

The coefficient for *EFA:safety concerns* (-0.20) indicates that as concerns about safety increase, the likelihood of applying decreases. This finding is consistent with the initial validation of the likelihood of applying measure. This relationship not being found in model 1 may be due to other factors that loaded on the safety questions that were only accounted for in the model 2 factor analysis. It is possible that these underlying unaccounted relationships in model 1 may have had a suppression effect on the impact of safety concerns.

As in model one, the coefficient for *EFA:organizational* (-0.29) indicates that as concern about organizational requirements increased, the likelihood of applying went down. Although Factor 8 from which *EFA:organizational* was derived did not load on the question for organization one (relocation), *EFA:organizational* behaved similarly to *Organizational issues* in model 1 because applicants interested in SAPD were not faced with the need to relocate. Thus this effect represent the effect of TMPD's haircut policy. Unlike model 1 where *Organizational issues* exhibited the strongest effect, *EFA:female polarization* had a stronger effect than *EFA:organizational* in model 2.

Overview of Quantitative Findings

The following findings informed the subsequent qualitative analyses on potential female applicants:

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- Two aspects of tokenism (polarization and visibility) were related to the likelihood of applying, but the third (assimilation) did not.

- Polarization questions that specifically included concerns about sex were the strongest predictor. This may indicate that respondents did not specifically associate expectations about how they would perform their work with being female unless it was specifically mentioned.

- The expectation of positive aspects of visibility, being noticed for good work performance, was related to higher likelihood of applying. This suggests that positive reinforcement may be an important part of recruiting female applicants.

- Expectations of assimilation were not related to the likelihood of applying. This may be related to role assimilation being a process that occurs over time.

- Safety concerns were an important predictor of likelihood of applying

- Organizational issues were primarily related to the department's haircut policy, and concerns over this policy were a significant predictor of likelihood of applying.

- The impact of a career in policing on spouses and other family members emerged as a separate issue than receiving support from spouses or family members. However, neither was related to the likelihood of applying.

Qualitative Analysis

To add greater detail to the findings of the previous analyses, follow-up interviews were conducted with women who attended the event. The survey instrument administered by TMPD included a question asking whether the respondent would be

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willing to discuss their views on entering policing with an independent researcher and, if so, to provide their contact information on a separate form (to maintain confidentiality in the survey administration). The contact information from individuals interested in a follow-up interview was provided to the researcher by the department. Of the 182 individuals who responded to the survey, 137 agreed to a follow-up interview and provided contact information. Women were contacted and interviewed until theoretical saturation occurred. Theoretical saturation occurred when interviews uncover no new information. A total of 25 women were contacted and offered the chance to be interviewed. Eighteen agreed to be interviewed for this study (response rate = 72%).

Data collection began in April, 2014 and continued through May, 2014. As many of the individuals may have left a cell phone as their contact information, they were first contacted to ensure that they were not driving or otherwise distracted during the interview. For the actual interview, the individuals were contacted via telephone, and an informed consent was verbally obtained from the interviewee. A copy of the informed consent script is included in Appendix 4.2.

Following consent, a semi-structured interview was completed using an interview script. The protocol for the semi-structured interview was constructed to gather more information on the barrier areas that were determined to be important from the survey instrument. In addition, other general questions to provide context and to highlight other concerns were asked. All 18 respondents consented to their interviews being recorded, and all were digitally recorded. Interviews ranged from 6 minutes to 24 minutes, with the average interview being 11.1 minutes.

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Interview Questions

The semi-structured interviews were guided by 13 total questions. While all participants were given the same questions, additional follow-up questions were asked depending on the respondent's answers. While the quantitative analysis indicated that polarization, visibility, organizational issues, and safety concerns were all significant predictors of likelihood of applying, the qualitative analysis attempted to explain these findings by determining if these issues were substantial considerations that potential applicants confronted, and whether the other issues that did not reach statistical significance (assimilation, familial impact, and support for a career in policing) were not considered. Further, the qualitative component sought to provide descriptive detail to the ways in which respondents consider these issues. The following questions were used to guide the interviews:

1. Why are you interested in a career in policing?

2. How did you become interested in policing?

3. Out of the three agencies (local, state, federal), which are you most interested in? Why? Which are you least interested in? Why?

4. Have you applied to any law enforcement agencies? Are you planning on applying soon? How likely are you apply to a police agency in the future? (Very likely, somewhat likely, not likely)

5. Have you worked in any male dominated fields, such as the military? What was your experience like?

6. Can you tell me about any fears that you have about a career in policing?

7. Currently, 12.5% of sworn police officers across the nation are female. Why do you think that most women do not consider a career in law enforcement?

8. Do you think policing is more difficult for females? Why?

9. What could police departments do to make law enforcement more attractive to you as a female applicant?

10. On a scale of 1-10 (with 10 being extremely dangerous), how dangerous do you believe policing is? Does this danger concern you?

11. What types of roles do you think female officers should take on in law enforcement career?

12. Are you worried about being accepted by male colleagues in policing? Can you give me an example of what might happen? Have you had any experiences of not being accepted by male colleagues in the past? (*polarization and visibility*)

13. How do you feel about cutting your hair to attend a police academy?

After the interviews were completed, the digital recordings were transcribed for coding purposes. To compete the coding, the data were loaded into ATLAS 1.7, and a two-step coding process was used. First, each interview was initially coded using a descriptive coding technique where the basic topic of each passage of data was summarized using a short phrase (Saldaña, 2013). Additionally, significant statements were coded to allow for the emergence of unforeseen themes. The data were then subcoded to provide additional detail. Subcoding is the process of assigning a second-order tag to an entry after the primary code has been established, Subcodes refined the codes used providing more detail. After the coding was complete, each set of coded data

was reviewed for thematic reflection, and themes that emerged represent ideas that were important across a variety of codes, questions, or responses.

Over half of the respondents expressed that TMPD was the department that they were most interested in. Their reasons included wanting to stay local, not having a degree yet, TMPD being like a family, and having family members who worked in local law enforcement. A few respondents stated that they were not interested in TMPD because of the danger associated with the job, concern about family life, being disqualified due to previous drug use, and the haircut policy. Most of the respondents stated that they were very likely to apply to a law enforcement agency. Fewer respondents stated that they were only somewhat likely to apply. Only one respondent indicated that she was not likely to apply to a law enforcement agency.

Most respondents viewed policing as dangerous (average perceived danger level of policing rating 8 out of 10); however, only one respondent stated that this danger would keep her from applying. Over half of the respondents stated that they had never worked in a male-dominated field. Of those who had worked in a male-dominated field, their previous experience included working: as an armored truck driver, in a delivery company, as an auto hop, in the military, for the airlines, and in juvenile justice.

Identified Domains

Following recommendations for phenomenology (Aspers, 2009), preliminary domains were pre-identified based the previous quantitative analysis to guide the phenomenological analysis. Evidence related to four of the domains was found:

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1. Considerations related to tokenism

2. Safety

3. Familial impact

4. Haircut

Considerations Related to Tokenism

Respondents discussed beliefs that indicated aspects of tokenism were part of their perceptions about a career in policing. Visibility was the most common tokenism concept that was present within respondents' views, although traces of assimilation and polarization were present as well. Often these concepts were intertwined in a single response. Respondents regularly expressed little concern about the impact of assimilation or polarization because they felt that they would be able to prove themselves to others.

> I think once you get their respect, it's fine, you know, they treat you as a person, not a woman by their standards. You just do your job like everybody else; you're an employee. I don't really have a fear for that because I know I can prove myself.

> No, because I feel like once I demonstrate that I am capable, then I feel like their respect should be earned.

> I know as long as I stand my ground I'm all right and I can do it. I already proved to myself that I can.

Although there were clearly statements made that suggested tokenism when discussing policing careers, tokenism concepts were more directly discussed when respondents talked about their experiences in previous careers that were male dominated.

> There are obstacles that we as women have to overcome, but I didn't experience any blatant discrimination. It was, kind of, more along the

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lines of most of the men didn't feel like I could do what they could do because I was a woman, but I was able to show them that I could do what they could do.

Male-dominated fields suck, and actually when it's high stress it really sucks. There's all kinds of tension. And then being a veteran, you feel like you have to prove yourself even more because they're like, well, you're a veteran.

Safety

Concern about safety varied between individuals. Some individuals expressed fears about the dangers of the job, whereas others acknowledged the dangers while presenting themselves as not afraid.

I think the number-one fear is what everybody has, about getting shot. Pretty much that's it.

To be honest, I don't believe I have many fears. I mean, of course, sometimes there is some tragedy that does happen with [TMPD], but I always have known it comes with the job. . . if I were to make it into the police department, I really can't say that I can actually give a fear that I have right now.

Often, women expressed the idea that the safety issues of the job were more of an issue for members of their family rather than for themselves.

I don't really have a fear. My family does. They think it's dangerous, especially that they can't afford to lose me because I have children, but I don't fear it. I feel like I'm helping people and I know there are dangers everywhere, but you can't help that and there is no point of living in fear.

Well, actually, my family had fears obviously being with my safety, but that's with anything we do. And like I said, I flew for six years so I'm personally not fearful of that. Being injured myself, it goes with the job. You take on that responsibility.

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Familial Impact

The impact of a career in policing on family members (especially children) was noted as a prominent issue by the respondents. Whereas several of the women viewed themselves as passionate and capable regarding policing, these characteristics were viewed in opposition to their roles within their families.

> Just being away from my family. Your passion versus what you should do being a mother. The only reason I quit my juvenile job is because of the schedule. And I feel like. . .if I would apply to the police station, I know I would probably get a shift that would take me away from my kids.

> I guess my only fear is, being that I'm a single mom, not being there for my child as much as I want to be. I see it as also a good thing that I want that career because he would see that I am trying to better myself even though I am a single mom.

> I think my fear was not actually being out there and doing [the job], I've always been a risk-taker like that. But towards future plans like having a child and getting married, how is that going to affect my life then? As of right now, I don't have any kids so I'm okay. [Policing] still fits my life. I'm not opposed to having children, but that's about the only thing that scared me because I would want to spend time with my child.

The impact of the job on women's families was often cited as a reason that more women who are interested do not pursue a career in policing.

> I think [not applying] has to do with their families. I really do, with their kids and to have a normal schedule for their kids. That's what I think because I know a lot of the female officers. . sometimes they have to pull 16-hour shifts. They can't go home to their child; they have to call a babysitter, they have to call someone to get their children. . . I personally see that it has a lot to do with it, but as far as being out in the field I know that they love what they do, it's just when it comes to the family they're mothers, and their kids need them.

> I think it's because of the long hours. Being that we're women, we're going to have children. Women typically are the ones who want to be

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there to raise their children. It's a little bit harder being that it is long hours.

Haircut

Respondents were largely split in how they viewed the haircut policy. Approximately half of the respondents did not have a problem with the haircut policy.

> My hair, I'm okay with it. I know that you have to cut it quite short. I believe they said to where you're not even able to pull it. I'm okay with it. I believe I think they said [at another agency] you don't have to cut your hair. It was a joke that they had at the symposium, but for me personally I wouldn't mind. It grows back. It's hair. . . No, it's not much of a concern to me, to be honest.

> I always [kept] my hair kind of short. . . It doesn't matter to me.

Two of respondents that did not have a problem with the haircut policy even suggested that women who did were being petty.

> It's hair. I mean, it's just hair. To me, if this is what you truly want to do and you're gonna be worried about your hair, then you have no business being out there.

> Oh yeah, hair grows. Give me a break.

Other women expressed dislike for the haircut policy, but indicated that it would not deter them from applying. These women often indicated that, although they were not deterred, they did not understand the reason for the policy.

> It'd just be something I wouldn't be happy about. I don't see why it would be a requirement.

> I'm not favoring it, but it wouldn't deter me either. It'll grow back.

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I actually just spoke with a police officer the other day, a woman. I asked her that question because I was so unsure if that was the [policy]. I don't feel happy about it, but I guess it's something you have to do in order to be able to be in it. So I accept it.

Other women who did not understand the rationale for the policy indicated that they had a problem with the policy and would not be applying as a result.

Yeah, I don't see a reason for it. I mean, if they maintain that I had to keep short hair because, you know, of being on patrol then I could see that. But you have people with long hair that just wear it up and it's not a problem.

Tomorrow, will I cut my hair to be a police officer? No. I would choose the department that would say, "No, you don't have to cut your hair." Sweet, I'm in.

If there was a flyer out next month that said, the city has decided we're no longer going to ask females to cut their hair to join [TMPD] I'd probably apply.

Having to cut the women's hair so drastically short and for no real reason. . . just really bothers me.

Emergent Themes

Reflection on the data including analysis of the significant statements resulted in the emergence of four important themes. Unlike the pre-existing domains, which were identified through the quantitative analysis and previous literature, these emergent themes were new ideas that reoccurred throughout many of the interviews. Often these ideas were expressed in response to a variety of unrelated questions. These emergent themes included:

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1. Roles should be the same

2. Having to prove themselves

3. Interaction between family and safety

4. Policing more difficult for women

Roles Should Be the Same

The respondents generally indicated that they believed that the roles of male and female officers should be the same.

> I think [female officers should perform] every role. I mean, females in all areas and any role. I think they should be in all areas, patrol, detective, every area. I'd say everyone, you know, my nieces, you do everything no matter what, no matter what it is, you do every role.

> I don't see any jobs being limited to being just male gender needed. I see [women] being able to do anything in police work that men do. I don't see [female officers] being limited in any way.

> I honestly feel like any role that they are qualified for as long as they feel like they can physically and mentally handle the job then they should be able to do the job.

However, some respondents emphasized the added importance of female officers as role models in the community.

> I think they should really be involved in community, and show that women can do law enforcement and be as strong as the men. There are upcoming little girls.

> To protect and serve the community [emphasis added], so that goes in all aspects.

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This was commonly related to anecdotes about previous experiences where women were expected to assume only limited roles within organizations.

> There's people thinking they belong behind – I worked in the aerospace industry for a while and they thought I belonged behind a damn desk because I was a girl. I was like, no, I can go down on the factory floor and do the same things those guys are doing, so there you go, and in a skirt, no less, so you know.

Having to Prove Themselves

The idea that women have to prove themselves in their professions was an emergent theme. This theme was expressed when discussing both perceptions of a potential career in policing as well as when discussing previous experiences in other male-dominated fields. Theoretically, this need for women to prove themselves relates to the concepts of visibility and polarization.

> I think definitely life would be challenged trying to, in a way, prove myself to them. Being as I am a woman; I still could do the job.

> Yes, because constantly you being a female you're either being tested, you're thought to be weaker, and you just have to prove yourself. And – yeah, that's what I have to do there.

Interaction Between Family and Safety

An important theme that emerged concerned the idea that, for women, there was an important interaction between the safety issues of a career in policing and the potential impact that these could have on their families.

> I think it's about their family and their kids, since it is a little on the dangerous side, that if something were to happen.

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They're afraid of the high tension and the propensity for violence in the job, both on the job and it can spill over into the home life.

On the male side it's not viewed as that same way, but I think that's something that females in general fight whenever it comes to any type of, military or any type of criminal – anything where they're putting their selves in harms way [and] leaving their children.

I'm gonna do what I have to do because, at the end of the night, I'm coming home. So, I've never been fearful of that. It's part of the job, the risk that you're taking. For me it's being selfish when having children - to be in that line of duty and get shot and get killed and leave my child behind without a mother. I'm still all right with [a career in policing], but in the future if I do decide to have children that's the fear that I have, to not be there for them, for a child or my family.

Policing More Difficult for Women

Finally, the idea did emerge that policing was more difficult for women. There were several interrelated reasons for this. The physical challenges of policing was a prominent reason why a policing career was viewed as more difficult for women.

I think a little bit due to the training and how women's bodies – just the way the training is, the boot camp. It's a little more difficult for women than guys.

I think it's more difficult because of the physical requirements, I think it's more difficult to get citizens that are male to treat you with authority, and I think it's more difficult probably gaining rank.

Despite the physical issues being seen as making it more difficult for women, respondents largely agreed that this was an obstacle that they could overcome.

I feel the physical part of it because we're a lot shorter and smaller. Most men are a lot bigger and stronger, but you can get past those obstacles if we really put our heart into it. Females can do anything men can do.

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I think if you build yourself up and you work hard and you work out, I believe you can – I know that they do say males have more strength, but I believe that there are some females out there who actually probably can take on a male.

Another reason why respondents thought that policing was more difficult for women involved the idea that female officers may not receive the same respect from civilians that male officers receive.

There are a lot of people out there that still don't respect women the way that they should. I wouldn't say particularly within the field but just in general the public. Maybe if you were going up and talking to somebody, they might opt for a male officer.

I think sometimes people don't take female cops as serious when it comes to the individuals they're dealing with. So I think that might be an issue as well.

Yes, because a lot of people don't take [female officers] seriously.

I think it can be hassling at times dealing with men that – men in the criminal sense, not as in co-workers, just dealing with them, getting them to respect you and to listen to you because of your authority.

Feminine qualities were sometimes related to the idea that policing would be harder for women than for men. These qualities were viewed as resulting from both socialization and emotional differences.

It's more difficult for females. . . because it's hard to give that – not every female has that authoritarian tone. They don't know how to come across that way. We're not typically built like that. We're always raised as sweet little girls who love pink and dresses.

I do think so just because women are generally more emotional and when it comes to intense situations I think it's more difficult for us to disconnect from the situation and to just simply do the job that needs to be done.

Interview Summary

The 18 interviews conducted with women interested in a career in policing uncovered several interrelated themes regarding how interested women view the opportunity and potential barriers that may keep them from applying. Analysis of the interview data indicated that:

- Indications of tokenism constructs were more likely found in statements related to previous experience in male-dominated fields rather than in statements about perceptions about a career in policing. However, respondents thought that they would have to prove themselves in policing indicating some expectations of visibility, polarization, and assimilation in policing.

- Respondents acknowledged that safety was an issue with the job, but most respondents indicated that safety concerns would not deter them from applying.

- The impact of a career in policing on families was a substantial issue, but it was intertwined with the issue of safety,

- Sentiment about the haircut policy was split, but respondents who did not agree with the policy were highly unlikely to apply as a result.

- Respondents believed that roles for men and women in policing should be the same, but policing was believed to be more difficult for women than for men due to physiological, emotional, and socialization differences.

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Chapter Summary

A sequential explanatory design was utilized to understand the perceptions of a career in policing and perceived potential barriers among a group of women interested in a career in policing. The method involved quantitative analysis of 182 responses to a survey administered at a recruiting event held for women in a major metropolitan area. This analysis served to determine the impact of expectations of tokenism on women's likelihood of applying to the hosting agency. The results of this analysis guided a series of 18 semi-structured follow-up interviews of attendees. The interview data were qualitatively analyzed using a phenomenological approach to provide a better understanding of women's perceptions about a career in policing.

Quantitative analysis of the survey responses uncovered several factors related to women's likelihood of pursuing a career in the field. Expectations of positive visibility (being commended for doing good work) increased the likelihood of applying. Expectations of polarization (especially sexualized polarization) reduced the likelihood of applying. Greater safety concerns and greater disagreement with departmental issues (primarily the haircut policy) reduced the likelihood of applying. The impact of a career in policing on spouses and other family members emerged as a separate issue than support from either group. However, neither family impact nor support was related to the likelihood of applying.

Qualitative follow-up with 18 of the respondents provided additional insight into the quantitative findings. Analysis of the qualitative data suggested that respondents implicitly expected to encounter tokenism issues in a career in policing; in contrast, they were explicitly aware of tokenism issues in previous work experiences in male-

dominated environments. Importantly, the qualitative analysis shed light on the lack of relationship between family impact and likelihood of applying that was observed in the quantitative analyses. Because the qualitative data suggest that safety is viewed largely through the lens of familial impact, measures of safety alone may not adequately capture the complexity of the issue. This indicates that family impact, safety, and support may all have a greater impact than indicated by the quantitative analysis.

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CHAPTER V

DISQUALIFICATION AND WITHDRAWAL OF APPLICANTS
DURING THE APPLICATION SCREENING PROCESS

Like many departments, TMPD utilizes an applicant screening process that includes multiple hurdles to select which applicants advance to the training academy. The purpose of the process is to remove unqualified applicants from the candidate pool. While some studies have analyzed disparity in the passing rates for specific tests such as the physical fitness test (Birzer & Craig, 1996), less research has been directed at the impact of other components in the screening process. Finally, research directed at specific components within the applicant screening process has rarely related disparity at individual stages to the overall effect of the process on women.

This chapter presents findings for the second component study that illustrate how the applicant screening process differentially affects women.

The application and hiring process at TMPD involves several stages that an applicant must pass through prior to appointment to the training academy. First, an applicant begins the process by submitting a completed application which is subjected to an initial screening. Next, the applicant takes a written examination followed by an initial physical fitness test. Upon successful completion of these tests, the applicant writes a personal history sheet detailing aspects of their past. This stage is followed by a background check completed by investigators in the applicant processing division. Applicants that pass the background check are then evaluated by a formal assessment

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board. Next, applicants must pass a polygraph examination. Then they are subjected to a psychological review followed by a medical evaluation. Finally, applicants that have successfully passed all of the previous stages are evaluated by the chief prior to admission to the training academy.

Stages in Applicant Processing

Throughout the six-year period prior to this analysis, TMPD continuously hired. This resulted in a unique situation where a waitlist was not used for academy classes. This unique situation provides a compelling reason to use data collected from this particular department since extraneous factors from the process that can result in delays do not directly impact an applicant's admission to the academy. However, some parts of the process have changed during the six-year time period. Those changes are highlighted in the description of each individual process that follows. Most notably, the initial application process and written examination from 2007-2010 differ substantially from the 2011-2012 time period. This major difference is explained in the appropriate sections. Available documentation from the application process (e.g., the minimum standards, disqualification process, initial application) is included in Appendix 5.1.

Initial Application

From 2007-2010, applications for police officer positions were filled out by hand and returned to the applicant processing unit at TMPD. After the initial application was complete, individuals were contacted to take the written exam, which was administered in a large arena with between 1200 and 1700 applicants. The police department did not

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collect data on individuals who failed to complete their application, who failed to show up for the examination, or who took and failed the examination. Therefore, all file information for 2007-2010 applicants starts at the physical fitness examination stage.

During 2011-2012, applications for police officer positions were filled out by picking up the application at the recruiting headquarters or downloading the application from the police department website. The website for applicant processing was implemented on 2012. After the website was implemented, applications were only available via on-line download. On the website, both the minimum standards for applying to become a police officer and the reasons for disqualification were listed. The applicant was required to fill out information pertaining to: identification, citizenship, driving record, educational history, military service, financial history, employment history, arrest record, drug use, and criminal activity. After completing the application, individuals were required to print out the application and return the application to TMPD. The application specified that appropriate business attire had to be worn when returning the application.

Pretest Screening

Pretest screening refers to disqualifying applicants who either fail to meet the minimum standards or disqualify under the conditions outlined by the city's Civil Service Commission. As opposed to the later background stage, disqualifications that occurred during pretest screening happened prior to the written and physical fitness examinations.

Between 2007 and 2010, a short questionnaire with questions related to minimum qualifications and disqualifiers was administered when individuals arrived at the

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auditorium for processing. Individuals who disqualified based on their responses to these questions were asked to leave and did not participate in the written examination. No data were collected on these individuals. Therefore, pretesting data is not available for the period from 2007 to 2010.

During 2011 and 2012, pretest screening occurred after applicants had submitted their applications but prior to being scheduled for the written examination. The initial application was reviewed and individuals that disclosed disqualifying information were not scheduled to return to take the written examination.

Written Examination (KSA)

From 2007-2010, the written examination, also known as the KSA, was administered in an auditorium setting during select times during the year. The examination was a multiple choice test that assessed various skills including memory, spatial reasoning, and reading comprehension. Applicants were given approximately two hours to complete the examination. To test for memory, applicants were given a drawing of a crime scene, given time to study the drawing, and asked questions about the drawing. To test for spatial reasoning, applicants were given maps and asked various questions related to locations, directions, and ability to get from one point to another point. Reading comprehension was tested using questions related to information in a written passage or paragraph.

The information from applicants who passed the written examination was collected by the recruiting department and these applicants were tracked throughout the

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rest of the application process. Unfortunately, no information on applicants who failed the examination was collected during this time period.

From 2011-2012, the written examination was administered continuously throughout the year. After an applicant completed his or her application and the application was successfully prescreened, the applicant was scheduled to take the written examination on a computer. The written exam administered during this time period differed from the examination previously used. It was constructed by an external company. To construct the exam and determine the types of abilities to be tested, the company sent job analysts to observe job tasks and construct a related task inventory. This task inventory was modified using subject matter experts, and a job analysis questionnaire was constructed to determine the importance and frequency of each job related task. The questionnaire was administered to incumbent sworn officers from TMPD, and the results were used to construct the testing categories for the written examination

The current KSA examination is comprised of two parts. The first part includes a cognitive portion and is comparable to the previously used exam with the addition of visual components. This section tests an applicant's competency in various skills including verbal comprehension, verbal expression, spatial orientation, flexibility of closure (the ability to find an object hidden within an object), selective attention, visualization/memorization, inductive reasoning, deductive reasoning, information gathering, and problem sensitivity.

The second part of the KSA is called the behavioral-orientation section. In comparison to the cognitive portion of the exam, where answers are either correct or

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incorrect, the study guide for the behavioral-orientation section describes this section's scoring as "the closer your responses are 'in-match' to those of successful officers, the higher you will score on this section and the higher the likelihood that you will be successful on the job" (study guide, p. 23).

Applicants were given three hours to complete the examination. The cognitive section included 100 questions and the behavioral-orientation section included 150 questions. Both portions of the test were equally weighted and an applicant must have received an average passing score of 70%. If they successfully passed the written examination, they took the physical examination on the same day.

The KSA records for 2011-2012 do not include the raw scores or breakdown scores of the cognitive and behavioral-orientation sections. When the new written examination was first administered in 2011, the exam did not include the behavioral-orientation section. The behavioral-orientation section was added to the written test around January 2012. Unfortunately, the records do not distinguish scores with or without the behavioral-orientation section. However, since the focus of this analysis is on individuals completing or failing to complete this testing stage, the specific impact of changes in the testing instrument is beyond the scope of the analysis.

Physical Fitness Examination

The physical fitness examination for entry remained constant throughout the six-year period. The test used during 2007-2012 required applicants to exceed the 50th percentile of the Coopers Institute for Aerobics Research standards. This test used both

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gender and age normed standards. Table 5.1 shows the minimum requirements for male applicants, and Table 5.2 shows the minimum requirements for female applicants.

Table 5.1: Minimum Fitness Standards for Male Applicants

Exercise	Age: 20-29	Age: 30-39	Age: 40+[4]
Sit-ups	35	32	27
Push-ups	26	20	15
1.5 mile run	13:22	14:08	14:56

Table 5.2: Minimum Fitness Standards for Female Applicants

Exercise	Age: 20-29	Age: 30-39	Age: 40+
Sit-ups	29	22	17
Push-ups	13	9	7
1.5 mile run	15:57	16:35	17:24

In addition to the sit-ups, push-ups, and 1.5 mile run, applicants also were required to jump over a five foot wall and drag a 180 pound dummy. The wall obstacle and the dummy drag were pass/fail exercises, and applicants were not timed during the exercise. Applicants were given three chances to pass the physical fitness exam over a 28-day period. If an applicant was unable to pass after three attempts, he or she was required to wait until the next large scale written test (if they applied between 2007 and

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[4] TMPD accepts applicants up to 44 years of age.

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2010) or a period of 6 months (if they applied between 2011 and 2012) to begin the process again.

The tests were administered slightly differently beginning in 2011. As the department moved to continuous testing of applicants, applicants were no longer given the physical fitness examination in large groups during a select few times each year. As a result, the former approach, where almost all officers in the recruiting and applicant processing unit were necessary to administer the physical fitness test, was replaced with a system where a few specific officers administered the physical fitness test on a more regular basis.

Personal History Sheet

After passing the physical fitness exam, applicants were given their Personal History Sheet. This stage required the applicant to fill out detailed information on driving history, marital and family history, educational history, military history, financial history, personal references, employment history, arrests and litigations, and personal declarations on drug use and crimes. Applicants were given two weeks to fill out the personal history sheet and to return the document to the police department. In addition to filling out the personal history sheet, the applicant had to also provide documentation including identification, divorce decrees, a copy of a credit report, college transcripts, and recent bank statements.

Background

Once an applicant filled out the Personal History Sheet, the applicant was assigned to a background investigator. Using the information provided in the Personal History Sheet, the background investigator determined if the applicant was hiding any information or falsifying information that would make the applicant ineligible. Background investigators also verified that applicants met the suitability factors. The processing time of a background investigation varied based on the applicant's personal history, but typically the process was completed in one to two weeks. Applicants could have been disqualified at the background stage for a variety of reasons including criminal history, driving records, or intemperate habits such as excessive alcohol use. Upon successfully passing the background screening, applicants were scheduled for the assessment board.

Assessment

During the six-year period, two different assessment board formats were utilized. For the majority of the time period (2007-2011), TMPD used a format that was constructed by the police department. An applicant assessed using this format was given time to introduce and talk about himself or herself at the beginning of the assessment. Any information that was disclosed during the introduction was appropriate for a grader to later question the applicant on. Next, an applicant had to respond to three specific scenarios from a set of 18 possible scenarios. After being given the scenario, applicants were immediately asked to orally describe what they would do and why. The scenarios included both practical decision making and ethical considerations covering topics such as violence calls, disturbance calls, and judgment calls (e.g., an applicant pulling over his

or her mother for drunk driving). The objective of the assessment was to see how an applicant handled stress. If a grader did not feel that an applicant gave an appropriate answer, the grader would press the applicant about his or her answer. Most of the assessment board exams in this format were audiotaped.

In 2012, a new assessment format was implemented. The new assessment format was constructed by an outside company and implemented to include a more evidence-based approach to offset concerns about the subjectivity of the former assessment. The new format required the applicant to answer three scenario-based questions that were constructed by the outside company. The applicant was allowed to read the scenario and prepare his or her answers. Each grader for the assessment board was given a checklist of things that the applicant has to mention during his or her answer. In this format, the graders were unable to guide or prompt applicants towards answers that may be important for passing the assessment. All assessment boards administered in this format were videotaped and kept by the police department.

Polygraph

After an applicant successfully passed the assessment board, he or she was scheduled for the polygraph examination. The purpose of the polygraph was to determine if the applicant was honest about his or her suitability to become a police officer. Issues such as crimes against people, drug use, family violence, property theft, and property damage, were covered in the polygraph examination. The examinations took approximately four to six hours each. The majority of the time was spent interviewing the applicant about his or her background. During the interview, applicants

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may have disclosed facts that they had previously withheld from the background investigation.

There were four possible outcomes of a polygraph test including: "deception indicated," "inconclusive," "no opinion," and "no deception indicated." A "deception indicated" result was equal to a failed result. An "inconclusive" result meant that the examiner was unable to determine if the applicant was being deceptive. Applicants whose polygraph examination resulted in a finding of "inconclusive" were allowed to take the polygraph again. A "no opinion" result meant that the applicant was either not following directions or manipulating the test. If an applicant admitted to manipulating the test, the applicant was permanently disqualified; however, a result of "no opinion" without an admission of manipulation resulted in a retest. The "no deception" result was the only passing response. Applicants were given a maximum of two opportunities to take the test. If the applicant failed to receive a "no deception indicated" result, they were not allowed to continue. However, they were eligible to reapply to the department and start the entire process again.

Psychological and Medical Evaluations

After successfully completing the polygraph examination, applicants were required to complete a psychological and medical examination. Both examinations were conducted at separate facilities and the details of the failed examinations were not included in the departmental records. The police department did not provide information to applicants on potential medical or psychological reasons that would have disqualified

them from this part of the process, nor did they provide any information about the process of either evaluation beyond the pass/fail records for applicants for the research.

Chief's Review

Prior to being appointed to the academy, the Chief of Police reviewed each applicant's entire file. If the Chief believed a candidate was not suitable to become a TMPD officer, he disqualified the applicant at this stage. The disqualification reasons at this stage were similar to the intemperate habits reasoning from the background stage. Excessive alcohol use, previous driving record, and academic issues that may have been insufficient to warrant disqualification by the background investigator were reasons for disqualification at the Chief's review. In the majority of the disqualifications at this stage, the Chief listed a variety of reasons for each disqualified candidate indicating that the applicant's overall behavior was problematic even if any individual behavior may not have been sufficient grounds for disqualification on its own.

Analysis of Disqualifications and Withdrawals 2007-2012

This section presents the analysis of TMPD's applicant processing data for all applicants that were processed from 2007 to 2012. This second component study addressed the following general research question:

> *Does the applicant screening process include barriers that*
> *disproportionately affect female applicants, thus perpetuating token-level*
> *representation?*

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This general research question was broken down into three specific questions:

R_{2a}: Are there gender differences in the rates and reasons for applicant disqualification?

R_{2b}: Are there gender differences in the rates and reasons for applicant withdrawals?

R_{2c}: Is there an interaction between gender and race that affects either the rates or reasons for applicant disqualification or withdrawal?

Applicant disqualifications and withdrawals are discussed as separate research questions because whereas disqualifications result from a departmental decision, withdrawals result from the applicant's decision. Formal applicant withdrawals required written notification to the recruiter or background investigator responsible for the application. However, some applicants did not give written notification and were classified as "fail to show" for the next required step or written off for lack of compliance. As failing to show was also within the applicant's control, applicants who fail to show were included in the withdrawal discussion; however, the categories of formal withdrawal and failure to show were not aggregated.

A sequential explanatory design was used to analyze reasons that individual applicants withdraw or were determined ineligible for employment. An overview of the design is presented in Figure 5.1.

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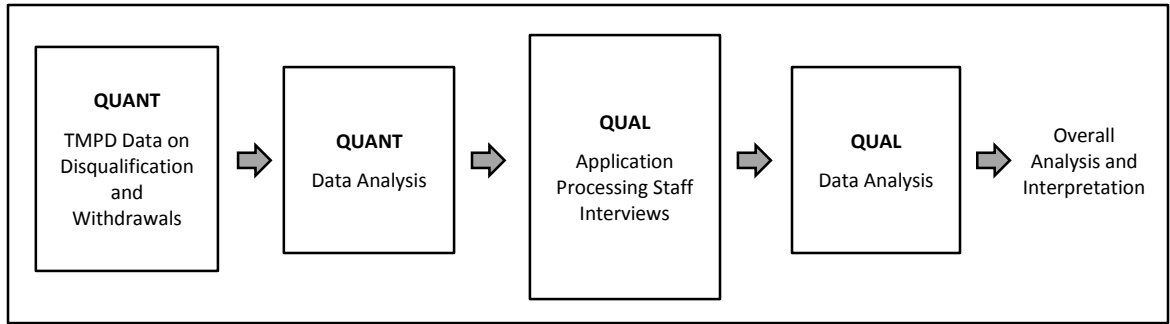
Figure 5.1: Disqualification and Withdrawal of Applicants Mixed Methods Design

Because the sequential explanatory design includes both quantitative and qualitative components, the following sections present (in order) the quantitative methods, the quantitative findings, the qualitative methods, the qualitative findings, and an overall summary of the findings from both methods.

Quantitative Analysis

This section presents the quantitative analysis used to define the qualitative analysis that follows. The quantitative analysis section is broken up into three parts. The first presents the data that were used. The second presents the methods that were used to analyze the data, and the third presents the findings of the quantitative analysis.

Data

For this study, secondary data on applicants who applied to TMPD from 2007-2012 were analyzed. The departmental data included the applicant's application year, gender, race/ethnicity, date of birth, age, state of residence, the status of the application, the resulting disqualification, and details/comments on the applicant's disqualification reason.

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TMPD often has applicants who apply multiple times if they do not receive a permanent disqualification during a previous application attempt. The identifying information, such as first name and last name, on the file was used by the department to isolate and eliminate duplications. Once duplications were identified, all earlier applications were removed and the final entry was maintained in the data set. Because the final entry indicated the final disposition of the applicant, it provided the best data for analysis. After each entry was verified as unique, all identifying information was removed and the secondary data were provided for analysis.

The disqualification data included information on all individuals processed through the recruiting division from 2007 to 2012. In total, 13,527 applicants were processed over the six-year period. Of these, 2,211 (16.4%) were women and 11,316 (83.7%) were men. The number of applicants per year is presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Applicants Processed by Year

Year	Female applicants	Male applicants	Total
2007	373 (19.6%)	1,527 (80.4%)	1,900
2008	421 (16.6%)	2,114 (83.4%)	2,535
2009	432 (15.1%)	2,430 (84.9%)	2,862
2010	322 (14.5%)	1,893 (85.5%)	2,215
2011	137 (14.8%)	789 (85.21%)	926
2012	526 (17.0%)	2,563 (83.0%)	3,089
TOTAL	**2,211 (16.4%)**	**11,316 (83.6%)**	**13,527**

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Quantitative Methods

To determine gender differences in the reasons for withdrawal or disqualification, the possible outcomes of the process were coded into two distinct outcome variables. The first outcome variable is the "Where" variable. The "Where" variable identifies which stage in the process applicants were lost. The second outcome variable is the "Why" variable and identifies why an individual was removed at a particular stage. For example, an individual that was lost at the KSA stage (i.e., "Where" = KSA) could have been lost due to failure to schedule the test, failure to show for the scheduled test, or failing the actual test.

The independent variables for the analysis consisted of a dichotomously coded variable for female, a dichotomously coded variable for Black, and an interaction term for the combined effects of female and Black. The first set of dependent variables was generated from the "Where" variable and consisted of variables for each stage of the process dichotomously coded to indicate the point at which an applicant fell out of the process (i.e., withdrawal of application, failed written test, failed physical test, failed background check, failed assessment board, failed polygraph, failed medical, and not recommended by the chief).

The analysis began by calculating the number of individuals entering and passing each stage. Next, the percent of male and female applicants that failed to pass each stage of application processing was calculated. The frequency of loss for each group at each stage was analyzed using Chi-square to determine whether the differences observed between the two groups were sufficiently large to render statistical significance. This

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analysis answers the question whether female and male applicants vary in passing rates for each stage of the process.

Because applicant processing follows the distinct pattern where individuals that disqualified at one stage are not evaluated at a subsequent stage, a sequential sampling strategy was used. This strategy involved removing applicants that were previously disqualified from analysis on later stages in the application process. For example, applicants who disqualified from the physical fitness test were excluded in the analysis on polygraph disqualification since individuals who failed to pass the physical fitness test were not polygraphed. The sampling strategy was modeled using the process flow provided by the department previously described.

Next, multinomial logit regression models were estimated to determine the relative risk of women to men for failure to pass a given stage for particular reasons (i.e., the "Why" variable). Multinomial logit regression models are appropriate when the dependent variable is a nominal measure with multiple categories, and this approach is the most common technique for this type of data. The multinomial model estimates the effects of the independent variables on the likelihood of one particular outcome compared to another possible outcome (Long, 1997). Because there are multiple reasons for disqualification and these reasons do not follow any particular order, the dependent variable ("Why") is a nominal measure. The multinomial regression estimates the effects of gender on the reasons for disqualification compared to passing the stage providing insight into whether gender is related to disqualification for certain reasons.

Consistent with previous analyses (Gustafson, 2008; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011) the analyses were repeated for Black female applicants to determine if *double jeopardy*,

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or a different effect for double tokens, existed. The previous analyses were replicated

incorporating female, Black, and the interaction of the two into the models[5]. Unlike the

previous stage analyses that used Chi-square, the stage analysis for the interaction

necessitated the use of logistic regression modeling. Logistic regression models are

appropriate when estimating the effects of independent variables on a dichotomous

outcome and are equivalent to Chi-square analysis when a single dichotomous predictor

variable is used (Long, 1997). However, unlike Chi-square, the logistic regression model

allows the inclusion of the interaction term. The multinomial logit models used for the

"Why" variables were the same as those used in the previous analyses. The analyses for

the interaction between female and Black are included in this chapter.

Quantitative Findings

As noted previously, the data for the 2007 – 2010 applicants began at the physical

fitness test. Thus, analyses conducted on the previous stages were based on the smaller

sample consisting only of the applicants for 2011 and 2012. Analyses conducted on the

physical fitness test and all subsequent stages included the applicants from the entire

period (2007 to 2012). The number of applicants included and disqualified or withdrawn

at each stage in the process is presented in Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

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[5] To provide foundation for the double jeopardy analyses, the impact of the process on Black applicants is explored using the same process used for female applicants. The results from these analyses are presented in Appendix 5.2.

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Table 5.4: Number of Individuals Processed at Each Stage (2011 to 2012 Only Sample)

Stage	Individuals entering stage	Disqualified or withdrawn
Application	4,015	565 (14.1%)
Pretesting	3,450	854 (24.8%)
KSA	2,596	926 (35.7%)

Table 5.5: Number of Individuals Processed at Each Stage (2007 to 2012 Sample)

Physical fitness testing	11,182	4,851 (43.4%)
Personal history sheet	6,331	680 (10.7%)
Background screening	5,651	4,131 (73.1%)
Assessment board	1,520	497 (32.7%)
Polygraph	1,023	237 (23.2%)
Psychological evaluation	786	5 (0.6%)
Medical evaluation	781	18 (2.3%)
Chief's review	763	11 (1.4%)

As a result of the screening process, from 13,527 applicants over six years, 752 (5.6%) individuals were appointed to the academy. In total, 132 females were appointed (6% of female applicants and 18% of all appointments). Of the male applicants, 620 (5.5% of male applicants) were appointed. Although a greater percentage of women who began the process were actually appointed to the academy, the difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.85$, p = 0.36).

Loss of Female Applicants at Each Stage

The analysis began by calculating the number and percent of women that were lost (either through disqualification or self-selection out) at each stage of applicant processing. The rate of women lost was then compared to the rate of men lost at the same stage. The differences in the two rates of loss at each stage were compared using the chi-square test of independence. This test assesses whether the differences in rates of loss are independent of sex. The test provides a p-value indicating which differences are statistically significant; however, the raw differences in percentages are descriptively informative regardless of significance. The rates of loss for women and men at each stage are presented in Table 5.6. Because of the small number of individuals that were lost in the psychological, medical, or chief's reviews, these stages were not included in the analysis.

Table 5.6: Chi-square Analysis for Female Applicants and Stage

Stage	Women disqualified	Men disqualified	Chi-square
Application	78 (11.8%)	487 (14.5%)	$3.50^{\dagger}$
Pretesting	132 (22.6%)	722 (25.2%)	1.81
KSA	177 (39.1%)	749 (35.0%)	$2.77^{\dagger}$
Physical fitness testing	938 (51.4%)	3,913 (41.8%)	57.41***
Personal history sheet	77 (8.7%)	603 (11.1%)	4.52*
Background screening	543 (67.1%)	3,588 (74.1%)	17.18***
Assessment board	91 (34.2%)	406 (32.4%)	0.34
Polygraph	39 (22.3%)	198 (23.35%)	0.09

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, *** $P < 0.001$

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The results in Table 5.6 indicate that women were lost at a higher rate in the KSA and physical fitness stages of the process. The physical fitness stage had a greater impact on women as female applicants were 23 percent more likely than male applicants to be lost at this stage. Female applicants were 12 percent more likely than male applicants to be lost in the KSA stage. Female applicants were less likely than male applicants to be disqualified due to incomplete applications, the personal history sheet or the background stage. Women and men were lost at similar rates in the pretesting, assessment board, and polygraph stages.

While the previous analyses indicated where there were differences in the rates of loss of women and men, the following analyses address differences in the reasons that men and women were removed from the process at each stage. The analyses in this section used the multinomial logit model which compares the relative risk of removal for men and women for each of the reasons. Tables 5.7 through 5.11 report the relative risk ratios for each reason within a given stage. These ratios can be interpreted as the relative likelihood that a woman is removed from the process for that particular reason as compared to a man. Ratios above one indicate a greater likelihood of removal, and ratios below one indicate a lower likelihood of removal. For example, a relative risk ratio of 1.5 indicates that a female applicant is 1.5 times as likely to be removed from the process for that reason compared to a male applicant. In contrast, a relative risk ratio of 0.5 indicates that a female applicant is half as likely to be removed from the process for that reason. The analysis for reasons that applicants fail to pass the pretest is presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Female Applicants' Relative Risk of Disqualification during Pretest (n = 3.450)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio for Female	Std. Error
Academic	0.45*	0.18
Criminal history	0.49*	0.17
Driving violations	0.92	0.36
Illicit substances	0.82*	0.08
Withdrawal	1.00	0.21
Other	0.46	0.21
		Log likelihood = -3209.56
		Chi-square(6) = 13.04*

* $p < 0.05$

The analysis indicated that female applicants were less likely than male applicants to be removed from the process during pretesting for academic reasons, criminal history, or use of illicit substances. Rates of removal for driving history or withdrawal were essentially the same for female and male applicants.

The next analysis considered the reasons for removal from the process during the KSA. Unlike the previous analysis on reasons for removal during pretesting, the reasons for removal during the KSA relate to process issues. There are three categories that can result in an applicant being removed during the KSA. The applicant can fail to schedule the KSA or fail to show for the scheduled KSA self-selecting out of the process. In contrast, an applicant can be removed from the process by taking and failing the KSA. The results for the KSA reason analysis are presented in Table 5.8.

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Table 5.8: Female Applicants' Relative Risk of Disqualification during KSA (n = 2,596)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio for Female	Std. Error
Failed to schedule	1.01	0.15
Failed to show	1.30*	0.12
Failed examination	1.36*	0.21
		Log likelihood = -2687.48
		Chi-square(3) = 5.55

* p < 0.05

The results in Table 5.8 indicated that female and male applicants were equally likely to fail to schedule the examination. Female applicants were more likely to fail the actual exam. Likewise they were more likely to fail to show for an exam that they had scheduled.

The next model considered differences in rates of completion of the physical fitness test. As the physical fitness test allows multiple attempts to pass, applicants could fail to pass this stage either by failing to show for the initial examination, failing the first test and failing to show for the subsequent test, or failing the test outright by failing all of their attempts. The analysis for the physical fitness stage is presented in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: Female Applicants' Relative Risk of Disqualification during PT (n = 11,182)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio for Female	Std. Error
Failed to show	1.78***	0.11
Failed first test subsequent no show	1.46***	0.11
Failed examination	1.09	0.09
		Log likelihood = -12881.10
		Chi-square(3) = 86.24**

** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Female applicants were significantly more likely to fail to show for their tests. Additionally, they were significantly more likely to fail their initial attempt and then fail to show up for the subsequent attempts. Of the applicants that chose to take the test as many times as necessary to either pass or fail, female and male applicants passed at approximately the same rate.

The next analysis focused on the reasons that applicants failed to pass the background check. The reasons in this analysis are similar to those found in the pretest stage. The results are presented in Table 5.10.

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Table 5.10: Female Applicants' Relative Risk of Disqualification during Background (n = 5,651)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio for Female	Std. Error
Academic issues	0.52*	0.15
Criminal history	0.45***	0.07
Driving violations	0.52***	0.09
Employment history	0.85	0.14
False statement	0.58**	0.12
Financial responsibility	0.57*	0.15
Illicit substances	0.82*	0.08
Intemperate habits	0.47*	0.18
Withdrawal	0.99	0.13
Other	0.99	0.13
		Log likelihood = -11076.67
		Chi-square(10) = 49.59**

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

The analysis indicated that female applicants were less likely than male applicants to disqualify from the process during the background check for intemperate habits, use of illicit drugs, making false statements, poor driving record, criminal history, or academic issues. There was no difference in disqualification for employment history nor was there a difference in the rates of withdrawal.

The final analysis concerned the assessment board. In this stage, applicants could disqualify either by failing to show for the examination or by actually failing the assessment. The results are presented in Table 5.11.

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Table 5.11: Female Applicants' Relative Risk of Disqualification during Assessment (n = 1,520)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Failed to show	0.53	0.57
Failed examination	1.10	0.15
		Log likelihood = -1009.18
		Chi-square(3) = 0.88

The assessment board analysis indicated that female applicants were less likely to fail to show for the examination and more likely to fail it if present. However, these differences were not statistically significant.

Double Jeopardy for Black Females

The following analyses were undertaken to determine whether black females suffered a greater effect than white females as suggested by the idea of double jeopardy. These analyses were completed by including an interaction term (*female * black*) into the models. Logistic regression models were estimated for completion of each stage including *female, black,* and the interaction into the model. The logistic regression analysis resulted in odds ratios that are interpreted the same way as the relative risk ratios previously explained. The specific focus in these analyses is the interaction term that indicates how much more or less likely a black female is to fail at a given stage than a non-black female. For example, an odds ratio (or relative risk ratio in the multinomial logit models that follow) for the interaction equal to two indicates that a black female is twice as likely to fail in that stage as a non-black female. Due to insufficient observations

for black females, the interaction could not be tested for stages after the background

check. The results for each of the stages are presented in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Logistic Regression Analysis for Stage

Compared to passing	Odds Ratio	Std. Error	Model statistics
Application			Log Likelihood
Female	0.67**	0.10	-1621.70
Black	1.32*	0.19	Chi-square(3)
*Female * Black*	2.08*	0.66	18.96***
Pretesting			Log Likelihood
Female	0.89	0.10	-1929.45
Black	1.02	0.14	Chi-square(3)
*Female * Black*	0.78	0.27	2.43
KSA			Log Likelihood
Female	1.20	0.14	-6882.75
Black	1.64***	0.23	Chi-square(3)
*Female * Black*	0.90	0.28	17.08***
Physical fitness testing			Log Likelihood
Female	1.50***	0.08	-7618.05
Black	0.79*	0.07	Chi-square(3)
*Female * Black*	0.81	0.17	68.98***
Personal history sheet			Log Likelihood
Female	0.17**	0.10	-2153.62
Black	1.18	0.20	Chi-square(3)
*Female * Black*	1.98†	0.74	11.28**
Background screening			Log Likelihood
Female	0.72***	0.06	-3278.17
Black	1.49**	0.23	Chi-square(3)
*Female * Black*	0.74	0.24	24.14***

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A significant interaction was only found in the application and personal history

sheet stages. This indicates that, in the other stages, there was no significant effect of

being black above being female alone. However, it is possible that being black and

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female may alter the likelihood that a stage is failed for a specific reason. Therefore, multinomial models for the reasons for failure at each stage were estimated including the interaction. As in the previous analysis for female alone, some categories were removed from the analysis for insufficient observations. The results for the pretesting stage are presented in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13: Relative Risk of Disqualification during Pretest (n = 3,450)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Criminal history		
Female	0.58	0.21
Black	2.19**	0.58
*Female * Black*	0.34	0.37
Driving violations		
Female	0.94	0.39
Black	1.13	0.55
*Female * Black*	0.84	0.99
Illicit substances		
Female	1.04	0.15
Black	0.61*	0.14
*Female * Black*	1.39	0.64
Withdrawal		
Female	0.96	0.21
Black	0.60	0.20
*Female * Black*	1.64	1.06
		Log likelihood = -3195.88
		Chi-square(18) = 40.41***

† p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

The results in Table 5.13 indicated that there were no significant effects for the interaction between female and black. This indicates that there was no significantly

greater risk for black females than for females alone. The next stage analyzed was the

KSA. The analysis for KSA reasons is presented in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Relative Risk of Disqualification during KSA (n = 2,596)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Failed to schedule		
Female	1.05	0.17
Black	1.49*	0.28
*Female * Black*	0.66	0.32
Failed to show		
Female	1.12	0.22
Black	2.15***	0.45
*Female * Black*	1.68	0.69
Failed examination		
Female	1.47*	0.17
Black	1.47[†]	0.28
*Female * Black*	0.46	0.32
		Log likelihood = -2672.76
		Chi-square(9) = 35.00***

[†] $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Although the KSA analysis demonstrated an effect for being black for failing to

schedule and failing to show, it indicated that there were no significant interactions

between black and female. Thus, the effect of being a black female is not significantly

different than being female alone. The next stage analyzed was the physical fitness tests.

The analysis for the physical fitness test is presented in Table 5.15.

Table 5.15: Relative Risk of Disqualification during PT (n = 11,182)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Failed to show		
Female	1.83***	0.12
Black	0.74*	0.10
*Female * Black*	0.70	0.20
Failed first test subsequent no show		
Female	1.46***	0.11
Black	0.78†	0.11
*Female * Black*	1.09	032
Failed examination		
Female	1.11	0.10
Black	0.87	0.12
*Female * Black*	0.72	0.25
		Log likelihood = -12873.40
		Chi-square(9) = 101.64***

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

As indicated in Table 5.15, no significant interaction effects were present during the physical fitness test. The next stage analyzed was the background screening. The results for the background screening test are presented in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: Relative Risk of Disqualification during Background (n = 5,651)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Academic		
Female	0.55*	0.16
Black	0.52	0.31
*Female * Black*	0.01	0.01
Criminal		
Female	0.46***	0.07
Black	1.96***	0.41
*Female * Black*	0.68	0.38

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Table 5.16 (Continued): Relative Risk of Disqualification during Background

Driving		
Female	0.47***	0.09
Black	1.62*	0.40
*Female * Black*	1.66	0.89
Employment		
Female	0.89	0.15
Black	2.47***	0.58
*Female * Black*	0.51	0.29
False statement		
Female	0.49**	0.12
Black	2.55***	0.63
*Female * Black*	1.75	0.94
Financial		
Female	0.57*	0.16
Black	3.15***	0.89
*Female * Black*	0.78	0.57
Illicit		
Female	0.83†	0.08
Black	0.91	0.18
*Female * Black*	0.80	0.33
Temperate habits		
Female	0.50†	0.19
Black	0.82	0.50
*Female * Black*	0.01	0.01
Withdrawal		
Female	1.06	0.15
Black	1.32	0.33
*Female * Black*	0.22*	0.17
Other		
Female	0.85	0.39
Black	1.89	1.17
*Female * Black*	2.17	2.28
		Log likelihood = -11036.79
		Chi-square(30) = 129.35***

† $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$,** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

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As indicated in Table 5.16, the only significant interaction was present for withdrawal. This interaction indicates that black females are less likely to withdraw during the background screening than white females. On the whole, the double jeopardy analysis indicated that there is not a significant effect of being black and female above being female alone for each of the stages in the process, nor is there such an effect for any of the reasons that applicants fail to pass any given stage. Therefore, the effects of female alone presented in the first section of this analysis represent the best estimates of the differences between female and male applicants' performance at each stage as well as their reasons for failing to complete each particular stage.

In short, the quantitative findings about gender and applicant processing indicated that:

- Substantially fewer women applied than men.

- Female applicants were more likely to disqualify at the KSA stage.

- This was due in part due to a greater likelihood of failing to show for the exam and a greater likelihood of failing the exam.

- Female applicants were more likely to disqualify at the physical fitness stage.

- This was due to a greater likelihood of failing to show for the exam and a greater likelihood of failing the initial attempt and failing to return.

- It was not related to a greater likelihood of failing if all attempts were utilized.

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- Female applicants were less likely to be disqualified than male applicants at stages that measured the behavioral suitability of applicants like the personal history sheet, the prescreening, or the background check.
- This was due to female applicants exhibiting fewer problems with academic issues, criminal history, driving history, use of illicit substances, or intemperate habits.

The preceding analyses provided insight into the differences between the disqualification of female and male applicants. While differences were observed, there are important limitations of the analyses that should be noted. The primary limitation of the previous analyses relates to the nature of the samples used. In short, each sample analyzed, from the initial sample of applicants to the later samples that resulted from numerous rounds of disqualification, were not random. Rather, each sample resulted from a selection process. Whereas the later samples resulted from the screening process itself, the initial sample resulted from the fact that individuals who apply self-select into the process. Therefore, it is unclear whether these individuals are representative of a population of potential applicants or not at any given stage. This issue casts concerns on the use of tests of statistical significance.

Further, within the data, there was little ability to discern whether the men and women who applied were equivalent groups. Descriptive analysis indicated that women and men were approximately the same age, and the ages of male and female applicants varied similarly. Likewise, the racial/ethnic composition of male and female applicants was approximately equal. However, no additional data were available to compare the two groups. This resulted in a situation where it was unclear whether the disqualification was

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being applied to equivalent groups. Again, this questions the value of the statistical tests of significance.

Although these two limitations are noteworthy, there were substantial reasons to proceed with the analyses undertaken. Regarding the issue of sample selection, the analyses conducted were consistent with previous literature on the effects of police applicant processing (see e.g., Ho, 1999). Regarding the issue of equivalence of the female and male applicants, the analyses proceeded without undue consideration of this issue in light of the project goal. Specifically, barrier analyses are not primarily directed at whether or not a process disproportionately affects all members of a group who may apply, but whether or not a process disproportionately affects the members of a group who do apply. This is consistent with the EEOC's interpretation of disparate impact, which does not require a showing that the group disproportionately impacted by a test is actually equivalent (Sullivan, 2005). Further, this approach is consistent with the relevant guidance available for performing barrier analyses in police organizations (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012).

Ultimately, both the sample selection and the group equivalence issues affect the ability to interpret the tests of statistical significance. In light of these concerns, there are two ways in which the previous analyses may be viewed. The first involves the recognition that the differences noted between female and male applicants represent the descriptive differences that occurred within TMPD during this time period regardless of any claims of statistical significance. In interpreting the information this way, no inference is made and the analyses are only informative as to what actually happened within the organization during the period analyzed. The second way the previous

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analyses may be viewed involves making an inference about the process that may have generated the data rather than an inference to a separate population. Under this view, the groups of applicants can be viewed as a population, and the relevant question is whether the gender differences between the two groups had an actual effect on the disqualification outcomes at each stage. Following Blalock (1972), statistically-significant effects observed under this view indicate that significant differences in disqualifications observed are the result of gender and not the result of chance division of the population into two distinct groups. Thus, the analyses are informative both descriptively and inferentially.

Qualitative Analysis

While the quantitative data analysis utilized categorical data on the reasons that individuals disqualify (e.g., poor work history, false statements, intemperate habits), the data on applicant withdrawal and disqualification included qualitative remarks indicating details about the reasons for the disqualification. Because these qualitative remarks were not standardized, the remarks were thematically coded for analysis. Additionally, qualitative follow-up with the application processing staff was conducted to clarify the implications of each categorical reason for disqualification or withdrawal.

The qualitative remark data were most informative for the background screening stage where 504 (67.1%) of the 809 women screened were disqualified. Of the 4,842 men whose backgrounds were investigated, 3,588 (74.1%) were disqualified. Table 5.17 presents the most common reasons related to criminal history that were important in the disqualification of female applicants.

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Table 5.17: Most Common Reasons for Female Criminal History Disqualification[6]

	Women	Men
Domestic violence	20 (2.5%)	52 (1.2%)
Theft	14 (1.7%)	105 (2.5%)
Drug sales	2 (0.2%)	78 (1.8%)
Assault	1 (0.1%)	15 (0.4%)
DWI	1 (0.1%)	44 (1.0%)
Driving	1 (0.1%)	58 (1.4%)

The results in Table 5.17 indicate that, although women were less likely to disqualify for criminal history overall, they were more likely to disqualify for domestic violence than men. Rates of disqualification for theft were similar for both women and men; however, men were more likely to disqualify for other criminal behaviors including drug sales, assault, and driving violations.

The results in Table 5.18 indicate that, although women and men were likely to be disqualified for illicit substances at similar rates, there were differences in their substance use. Men and women were disqualified for cocaine use at approximately the same rates, but men were more likely to be disqualified for using marijuana or two drugs. Women were more than twice as likely to be disqualified for using three or more drugs.

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[6] Tables 5.17 to 5.19 present the raw numbers of men and women who were disqualified for each of the listed reasons during the background investigation. The percentages in parentheses indicate the percent of women or men subjected to a background investigation who were disqualified for that particular reason.

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Table 5.18: Most Common Reasons for Female Illicit Substance Disqualification

	Women	Men
Cocaine	69 (8.5%)	375 (8.8%)
Marijuana	52 (6.4%)	355 (8.3%)
Three or more drugs	29 (3.6%)	71 (1.7%)
Two drugs	23 (2.8%)	146 (3.4%)

The results in Table 5.19 indicated that women were substantially more likely to withdraw citing financial reasons. They were marginally more likely to withdraw due to getting another job, personal reasons, and due to medical concerns.

Table 5.19: Most Common Reasons for Female Withdrawal during Background

	Women	Men
Financial	87 (10.8%)	105 (2.5%)
Getting another job	14 (1.7%)	57 (1.3%)
Personal reasons	11 (1.4%)	39 (0.9%)
Medical	14 (1.7%)	16 (0.4%)

Interviews

To add greater detail to the findings of the previous analyses, interviews were conducted with all TMPD staff involved in the applicant process, including: background investigators, polygraph examiners, supervisors, and the recruiting staff who administered the physical fitness exams and had initial contact with the applicants.

Qualitative interviews of the applicant processing staff were justified because there were only 27 total staff members. Of the 27 individuals, 18 individuals agreed to be interviewed. Data collection began in February, 2014 and continued through April, 2014. All TMPD processing staff were notified that they were not required to complete the interview, and informed consent was obtained prior to the interview. A copy of the informed consent for application processing staff is included in Appendix 5.3. The interviews were semi-structured and were guided by a list of questions about the application process and the respondent's perceptions of the differences between male and female applicant disqualification and withdrawal observed in the quantitative analysis. All 18 respondents consented to their interviews being recorded, and all 18 were digitally recorded. Interviews ranged from 11 minutes to 57 minutes, with the average interview being 23.8 minutes. The following questions guided the interviews:

1. Women are less likely to show for the written exam. Do you remember any female applicants who failed to show for the written exam? Can you describe the interaction with them before their failure to show?

2. Women are less likely to show for the physical fitness exam or fail to return after initially failing the physical fitness exam. Do you remember any female applicants who failed to show for the written exam? Can you describe the interaction with them before their failure to show or initial failure?

3. Do you believe the department can do anything differently to improve women showing up at the physical fitness exam? The written exam?

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4. While there are civil service rules for applicant disqualification, how much discretion can be used by background investigators? Can you give me an example of this discretion?

5. Do you believe that the race or gender of an applicant has any influence on their likelihood to be either disqualified or accepted to the academy?

6. What do you believe are some differences between men and women during the application process? Does the application process treat everyone equally?

7. Are there checks and balances in the applicant processing system?

8. The old assessment board allowed for more subjective interpretation of an applicant's answer. Was there a potential for gender or racial basis during the old assessment? How about the new assessment?

9. Are male and female domestic violence disqualifications similar in nature or different? Can you give me an example?

10. Do you believe that there are differences between male and female applicants in the reasons for withdrawing?

11. Describe a time that you have ever encouraged a female to withdraw from the process? Have you encouraged a male to withdraw for that same reason?

After the interviews were completed, the digital recordings were transcribed for coding purposes. To complete the coding, the data were loaded into ATLAS 1.7, and a two-step coding process was used. First, each interview was initially coded using a descriptive coding technique. Some items were coded to validate the quantitative data. For example, "discretion" was used as a code to indicate comments concerning the

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impact of investigator discretion on the process. Other codes were guided by the questions and the outcome of the quantitative analysis. For example, since the quantitative analysis indicted differences in the number of men and women applying, "interest" was used to code any references to a difference in general interest between men and women. Likewise, since the quantitative findings suggested that failure to show was a problem among female applicants, "failure to show" was used as a code. Guided by tokenism and the theoretical orientation of the overall project, "more women" was used to code responses related to the impact of levels of female representation on applicants. Finally, significant statements were coded to allow for the emergence of new categories.

The second step involved subcoding the data. Subcodes refined the codes used providing more detail. For example, "more women" was subcoded with the categories "positive". "negative", and "neutral" signifying the perceived impact of change in the levels of female representation. After the coding was complete, each set of coded data was reviewed for thematic reflection. Themes based on the identified domains and those that emerged follow.

Identified Domains

Following recommendations for empirical phenomenology (Aspers, 2009), six preliminary domains were pre-identified based the previous analysis. These six domains guided the phenomenological analysis. The domains included:

1. Why women are not interested

2. The impact of more women

3. The impact of discretion

4. Why women withdraw

5. Why women failed to show up for tests

6. Other reasons

Why Women Are Not Interested

The most common theme about why women are not generally interested in the profession involved the idea of gender differences. These included both physiological and socialization differences. Respondents generally believed that these differences were important considerations for women.

> And so for women, you have to be a very strong minded, you have to be very assertive, and naturally that's not how we're all molded. I mean, we just naturally are the protectors. And we're the ones that are deescalating situations. Whereas, in this type of career, you have to jump into whatever situation you're in and take charge.

> I think that a lot of women are not – they're not physically inclined by nature. You know what I mean? A lot of women, they don't horse around. After a certain age, maybe they're brought up to be a certain way. You don't – girls don't do that. You can't play with boys anymore because for whatever reason.

These differences were often contrasted with the idea that many women believe, because most police officers are men, policing is a man's job. This was often related to the idea that where women should not be employed as officers reinforcing their lack of interest.

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It being a male-populated job. The stereotype that it has and women should not be out there on the streets patrolling. Only men should. You know, the old stereotype of police work.

Respondent's perceptions about lack of interest in the policing profession was largely consistent indicating that they believed that women view themselves differently than men, and that women considering the possibility of becoming police officers must overcome a general belief that policing is a man's job. The tension between this self-image and the image of the profession was believed to explain why most women are not interested in the career and why so few women apply compared to men.

The Impact of More Women

Generally, the recruiting staff expressed a believe that increasing the number of women employed as police officers would have positive benefits. In some cases, the responses highlighted gender differences as reasons that more female officers would be beneficial for the field. These thoughts often echoed the empirical findings from the literature on women in policing that highlight female officers' communication skills and their tendency toward conflict resolution rather than conflict escalation.

I think women have a more diplomatic approach to most situations. There are obviously some hotheads among the female gender just like the male gender. I do think women can be more diplomatic. Whereas their ability to maybe settle something in a more passive state or be more diplomatic or democratic or whatever you want to call it is a little more leaning towards female generosity.

A lot of times a female can calm people down easier than men. Because you've got a macho man and a macho police officer, they're going to clash. Sometimes just having a female around can settle things down. So

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if there's a larger percentage that could make it a little bit more peaceful out there for our officers.

However, many contended that it was about the individual rather than the gender of the officer, and these statements often utilized prototypical male attributes of policing as the standards by which the benefits of female officers should be evaluated.

> Had you asked me 21 years ago, I would've said that what the hell would we want more women for …? But in the academy, [name omitted] got all her teeth knocked out. She's a fighter so if they were like [her], yeah, it'd be great. It comes down to how would it, would it be a better department? Yeah, because I don't view [her] as female and same reason I don't look at some of the other guys as male. I just see them as police officers.

Several recruiters expressed the idea that increasing the number of female officers would remarkably change the overall nature of the organization. They acknowledged beliefs that both positive and negative changes would result. Some individuals believed that the change to more female officers would be particularly important to the male officers in the profession as well.

> The more women you got, the old-school man's world would have to change a little bit, your officers. Because like I said before, no matter what, this is a thick skin job. You gotta have thick skin. I do. I think there would probably be more EEOC complaints, probably so, but that doesn't mean it's a good thing or a bad thing. It just changes it. Sometimes it could be a bad thing, but a lot of times it could be a good thing where it could be a different type of environment at work, because sometimes there are environments where there do need to be changes from the old boys' club or whatever it used to be.

> Overall, in general, I honestly think that it would definitely help the male officers out on the department because every situation requires a little bit different approach. And just the wide variation of approaches to handling these calls and the availability, I think would make it a lot easier on the male, especially when it comes to dealing with a group of four or five

females on one particular call. And out in the field, the availability of females is just not there like we would like it or need it to be at some point.

Some responses expressed how far-reaching the changes would be. However, despite the recognition of the benefits that employing more women may bring, not all of the changes were seen as potential positives.

> I just think so many things would change. Oh my gosh, I mean just everything. I mean, I'm talking from how things are handled administratively in recruiting and applicant processing to different units. Women can be very vicious, and women can be very controlling of situations. And I just think it would cause a lot of disgruntled officers. I mean, I know that sounds horrible, but with the few women on this department, I mean there are very few and it's hard to even see these women get along. You see a lot of: I don't like her. I don't like her. I don't like her. And there's not a lot of women in this department that are willing to say: I can get along with the majority of the women on this department. And I think that you'd have a lot of problems all over from beginning to end, if that makes sense?

Finally, several respondents expressed a sense that the process of integration needed to proceed very slowly to be successful.

> If you did it all of a sudden you'd have a terrible clash. If it's a gradual thing where it only went up a percentage or two at a time, I think as time goes on that some of these older officers would've retired because I guarantee you now some of these older officers, even some of the newer ones too, but I think that's changing somewhat slowly. But there's certain police officers that's been on that they don't want a female on the department period and that's because they've had instead of 10 percent they probably had 1 percent working when they came on. . . I think if you'd dropped and we had 50 percent female in the department right now it'd be terrible.

Respondents' beliefs about the impact of more women in the career covered a wide variety of potential benefits including benefits to the organization as well as benefits

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to society. It was also commonly contrasted against beliefs about why there were so few women in the profession. Typically, respondents' comments about the benefits of increasing female representation expressed individual value systems about whether the stereotypical masculinity associated with policing is actually a fundamental component of the profession.

The Impact of Discretion on the Process

Respondents typically reported that the civil service rules limited the amount of discretion used in the disqualification process for several issues like the use of illicit substances and driving history. However there was more leeway in other areas.

> Some Civil Service rules are very black and white. Drug rules, very black and white. No discretion. What is written down is what we follow. Traffic Civil Service rules, very black and white. Employment, a little bit discretionary. You could have somebody that might have had a bad experience at a job maybe three jobs back. They worked a job and terminated because they couldn't make sales. They weren't a salesperson.
>
> As a matter of fact there are very few rules in the service rules that are hard and fast like speeding tickets might be one of those. You either have more than ten or you don't have more than ten but a lot of the other ones there is some gray area in there and it's very tough to be very consistent with that.

Some respondents contradicted this position indicating that even with topics like illicit substances and false statements, discretion was involved in the decision to disqualify.

> There is a gray area in there and there are a few rules that have some gray area, it takes thousands and thousands of applicants to find those gray areas because you hear the same version of possession of marijuana for

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instance, you hear the same version but you hear it a thousand different ways and they're not all alike and so there has to be gray areas in there.

For instance, I have an applicant a while back. She listed two traffic citations on her application. I do a simple search on our computer system. She comes back with nine traffic tickets. So, what I did is I brought her in. Interviewed her. Let her – asked her how many tickets she had. She lied to me again. I turn the paper on her, and I showed her that she had nine just with a simple search on our computer system. She started crying. She understood. I said, don't lie to me again or you're gonna be disqualified. Other detectives in that same position would disqualify her there. False statement got her kicked out of the process. I stuck with her. Got her through that process – or backgrounds. She got through the process. She's a great officer now.

Some respondents indicated that the process itself was substantially more subjective than suggested by other respondents. This suggested that discretion potentially could have had a larger impact on the process than objective differences between applicants.

I think there's a lot of discretion. And to be honest, you know the criteria that they – there's really no criteria that they follow. They all use their own judgment. And I think that to a certain extent, I don't believe that they all make the right decisions. I think there should be specific criteria.

The interview responses related to discretion indicated that discretion can impact the process. This carries several important implications. First, the investigator's personal perspective on the proper result for any particular applicant may play a large role in whether that applicant is disqualified. Further, the investigator's position on whether the department should be helping particular candidates through the process could have an impact. Finally, the presence of discretion in the process indicates a potential for bias. However, respondents denied the presence of any bias in the process.

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Why Women Withdraw

Recruits were largely believed to withdraw from the process because they became discouraged about their perceived inability to pass the required tests. This was believed to be particularly common among female recruits.

> Oh, I've had thousands. So a female gender applicant comes in to take the PT test on hundreds of different time periods in the past 14 years. They fail a PT test dramatically. Like let's say their pushups were – they had to do 14 pushups. They do two. They are so discouraged by the fact they could only do two pushups and they have to get 14 just to make the minimum to get in to the academy that they don't show back up. I've seen that time and time again not just – with any race applicant whether it's a white applicant, Hispanic applicant, African American applicant, or an Asian applicant. I think regarding the female gender, they're definitely more discouraged.

This problem was often related to the idea that female applicants need additional encouragement. However, respondents were sharply divided on whether providing encouragement was a good idea. Some viewed encouragement positively as helping guide recruits through a new process, whereas others viewed it negatively as coddling applicants who needed to recognize the difficulties of the profession.

> I'd say just more follow through with contacting to let them know and giving them encouragement. A lot of times, people just need a little more encouragement and I know, coming on, we didn't have that because we're supposed to be tough-minded and know what to expect. But people really don't know what to expect.
>
> A person who does this job is going to have to want to do it. I don't believe you should be able to coax people into coming in and doing this job. You have to have it from the heart. This is what you want to do. And I believe that you shouldn't try to entice people to come in.

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The position against specifically encouraging female recruits through the process was viewed as particularly problematic by some respondents. These respondents noted the difficulties that arise when a single group of recruits is treated differently.

> …I think, if you start doing that, then we just begin to show favoritism, begin to show, "We're gonna do all this for women because we want women on the department, and we're not gonna do it for the male." You understand what I'm saying?

Respondents predominately denied that female recruits were encouraged to withdraw from the process for different reasons than male recruits. Rather, they indicated that they encourage applicants to consider whether they really want to pursue a career in policing.

> There was one female that I can recall that I did not encourage her [to withdraw], but I encouraged her to try harder. But what I told her is because we saw that she was not putting forth the effort, we encouraged her to if she's not going to put in the effort, to withdraw. Because she wasn't going to pass the academy with the effort that she showed us, being able to just barely make it through the first initial physical and not showing up to the PT sessions. And she said she wasn't working out on a daily basis and we knew that it was going to be a struggle for her. So it was more that we tried to encourage her. When the encouraging didn't work, we asked her, "Are you sure you want to do this?" We questioned her wanting to do the job.

The interviews revealed that processing staff members largely agree that discouragement was a female-specific issue. The idea that female applicants needed more encouragement was commonly expressed, but there was disagreement whether processing staff should engage in encouraging female recruits. The disagreement often reflected respondents' beliefs about the qualities of individuals that make them well-

suited to the profession. Respondents who were adverse to encouraging female applicants typically expressed stereotypical views that masculine traits are required.

Why Women Fail to Show Up for Tests

The quantitative analysis indicated that failing to show up for an exam, either physical or written, was more of a problem among female recruits than among male recruits. Respondents largely agreed that the primary challenge faced by female recruits was a fear of failure. A fear of others judging them was also noted, especially regarding physique.

> That probably is due more to a fear of failing. Either they don't think they're physical enough or sometimes people apply for a job and maybe just haven't done anything. Even though they might be able to pass it, they just probably have a fear, fear of the failure or somebody judging them. I think maybe women have a fear that people will judge them or talk more about them or more about their physique or physicality
>
> Total embarrassment, that's the feeling that I get when I see the majority of the females that fail any portion of the test, especially the physical portion of the test because they have so many males that do pass the test and they are physically fit, I'm not saying all of them are but in – it's like they're on showcase that they're trying to prove that they can do it and when they don't do it I think they are so embarrassed. I personally think if they would've come back for a second and third attempt I'm pretty sure they would've made it. Had they put some effort into it I'm pretty sure they would've made it but I think they got so embarrassed and fell into that trap, well, maybe this ain't for me.

Failing to show up for a second physical fitness test was also a problem. Importantly, respondents largely indicated that it was not primarily that women who failed the physical test the first time were not capable of passing it. Rather, respondents

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indicated that, after failing the test the first time, female recruits largely did not believe

that they could do it.

> I recall a couple that showed up the initial time, either failed or did not finish due to the time constraint, or couldn't complete an obstacle. Invited them to come back the second time, and a lot of time their interaction was just again very apprehensive. It seemed like they didn't perform to what they were realistically capable of. They were just very apprehensive about the obstacles almost like they didn't believe that they could actually do it when you've seen people that are more out of shape, or for lack of better terms, complete the same obstacles.

> I mean, they just – overall it was: I couldn't accomplish it the first time, so why even attempt to go back the second time? And that really – the few that did come back, I mean I really had to elaborate with them the fact that it's doable. I needed to give them some direction on to where they needed to take their workouts. I don't think they were doing enough. And so they immediately thought: you know, this isn't for me. I'm not gonna do it. I did have a few come back and they were successful, but I think they just needed that direction.

In contrast to the physical test, respondents largely indicated that women who

failed to show for the written test usually decided against continuing the process for

reasons other than fear of failure. Choosing to pursue another career was a common

reason for self-selecting out.

> I can remember from this last testing we did, I believe there were two, they took another job offer. They both said it wasn't – they didn't feel it was the right thing to do. And I do hear that quite a bit, I would say – I would venture a guess about 80 percent of the females that don't come, that's why. They've made a change in the avenue or the direction that they're going with their career.

Although failing to show up for exams was a substantial issue affecting female

applicants, the qualitative interview data suggested that it was not typically related to an

inability to pass the exams. Rather, processing staff expressed their beliefs that it was

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more often related to fear of failure, judgment, and a lack of belief in their ability to pass. The fear of judgment was pronounced related to physical abilities and seemed to be more problematic when men were present. Conceptually, this was largely related to the idea of visibility from the theory of tokenism.

Other Reasons

The quantitative analysis indicated differences in rates of disqualification for academic background, criminal history, driving violations, false statements, financial responsibility, illicit substances, and intemperate habits between males and females. Women were less likely to be disqualified for all of these reasons. Respondents commonly indicated that when women did disqualify for these reasons, relationships were often involved.

> A number of things. Crimes they've committed, as far as like family violence. Drugs are always an issue. I think – I think, they're easier to – to get into like the – the peer pressure. Have you seen it? Because their boyfriend's using it or like, when they're young. And credit, credit's always a big one; buy stuff for their boyfriends or whatever. Get in that – they dig themselves a hole in there

Similarly, relationships were believed to impact the decision to withdraw from the process. For various stages, respondents cited the lack of support from a spouse or significant other as the reason that female applicants withdrew. Additionally, issues with childcare were a common reason.

> I think recently within the last couple of years I've noticed that they get to a point in the middle of the process and they withdraw. So, I think they start having second thoughts about it or somebody interjects thoughts to them, a spouse or significant other gets them worrying too much about it.

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First off I'm gonna say physical fitness. I think that's the number one reason. Secondly, I'm gonna say mere support from a significant other or spouse. Third, I would say childcare issues or concerns.

The idea that disqualification for previous behavior was related to involvement in past relationships was commonly expressed. This is consistent with female delinquency as studied across a variety of other domains that have demonstrated the importance of relationships when understanding female behavior (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1996). Relationships were believed to be very important during the process which relates to the idea that female recruits may need more encouragement than male applicants.

Emergent Themes

Five important themes regarding why women do not apply, continue, or successfully complete the process were identified in these interviews:

1. Lack of confidence
2. Lack of preparation
3. Male-dominated field (issues of tokenism)
4. Family or spouse lack of support
5. Haircut policy

Lack of Confidence

The dominant theme that emerged related to the idea that female applicants lack confidence in their abilities. This idea was present when respondents discussed

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individuals' perceptions of their ability to do the job as well as their ability to get through the various stages of the application process.

> I think some women don't believe that they're strong enough, capable enough to do police work, as far as if they have to fight someone or defend themselves, if they have to shoot someone. Those could be issues.

Lack of confidence regarding physical abilities (either believed necessary as part of the career or related to completion of the physical training test) was the largest area where lack of confidence emerged.

> This one particular female had said that it wasn't what she expected so she failed it and she was afraid to go back because she wasn't ready. She needed to put some work into physical exercise before she decided to try again. I advised her to try again, but she was reluctant. She didn't feel confident.

> It seems like the biggest thing kind of outside looking in is their lack of confidence in themselves, especially when they're out on the course. You hear a lot of females come out – especially if they did not finish – saying that I can't, when they're perfectly capable of doing it. Almost need to believe in themselves a little bit more.

However, respondents discussed lack of confidence in the ability to handle the mental stress of policing as well.

> And I think with women, a lot of it has to do with confidence and thinking that they can't handle the physicalities of the job. The mental stress of the job. So they decide, "You know what? Maybe this isn't for me." The talk of what people say, as well, maybe is intimidating for them.

Conceptually, lack of confidence relates back to other issues discussed such as the fear of judgment, the fear of failure, and the general discouragement that were believed to explain female applicants' tendency to not show up for examinations. Lack of confidence

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is similarly related to the issues that might keep women who never apply from considering a career in the profession given the image of policing.

Lack of Preparation

Another theme that emerged was a lack of preparation. Like lack of confidence, lack of preparation emerged across the domains of understanding the career or process in general, the physical and mental requirements.

> I think it's just not knowing more about what the job's gonna entail themselves. Those that are more prepared know more of what's going on. Like I said, just some people, because of the economy or whatever, some people just need a good job. I think that those people really aren't prepared for what they're gonna have to go through to earn this job. It's not a job that's just given to a person.
>
> I believe they're not prepared physically and mentally. The expectations are different than what they originally believe.
>
> I called them up and asked, you realized that your test was today, and they say yes. But then they turn around when asked are you gonna come in, you have three chances for this. They say well, I tried it once, I really don't think I'd be good at it. So once again it's the lack of preparation for that

Lack of preparation was also related to female applicants when there were children involved. This highlighted the tension between maternity and a career in policing.

> I think the lack of preparation of what they're gonna have to go through, the physical strain, the confrontation of the academy, those that have children being away from their children, not being able to take off work to get with their children. There's a motherly instinct. Mainly I think it's just lack of knowing what they academy's gonna entail for them.

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Lack of preparation is an important theme, because, unlike lack of confidence, there may be distinct implications for ways in which departments could address lack of preparation. Given that many of the comments about lack of preparation were associated with a general misperception about what the process of becoming an officer entailed, lack of preparation may result, in part, from a lack of information. While TMPD engages in a variety of activities to inform potential applicants about the job and the application process, the lack of preparation of female applicants warrants consideration of the effectiveness of these activities.

Male-dominated Field (issues of tokenism)

A third theme that emerged concerned policing as a male-dominated field. This was expressed in a variety of ways. The concepts of tokenism emerged in some interviews even without the interviewee necessarily knowing they were speaking about visibility (being noticed), polarization (exaggeration of differences) or assimilation (role entrapment and isolation). Several interviewees expressed the idea that women behave differently around larger proportions of males to avoid being visible.

> I think that maybe knowing that it's kind of a male-dominated
> environment assuming that it's gonna be a male-dominated test, and
> they're gonna have to be out there performing in front of a bunch of
> males. I think they're a little more apprehensive about getting out there
> and possibly failing whether they could or they couldn't to begin with. I
> think that has a lot to do with it, especially being that they – when we are
> out there testing, they put them, typically – well, if they have the option,
> will line themselves up towards the rear of the line after the bulk of the
> males have already gone.

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Often, the idea that policing was a male-dominated career was extended to include the idea that policing requires masculine traits. Some respondents indicated their belief that masculinity was a requirement of the profession. This finding is consistent with the tokenism factors of polarization and assimilation. Women, especially those with less masculine traits, are likely to have their feminine traits highlighted or to be viewed as only capable of jobs related to feminine stereotypes. As a result, women, especially those who are more feminine, may experience exclusion by their peers.

> So again, I think it boils down to it's predominately males on the department, and it's a different type of field. It's a different career that you have to just – it's not for anybody.

> I think it's a confrontational profession. I don't think all women are confrontational. I think it is historically gender-biased towards the male. I think more women would steer away from it just for that reason. I think that historically women look at policing as a male role model as a profession historically.

Some respondents indicated that the idea that policing requires overt masculinity was a misconception. Others indicated that these perceptions reflected institutionalized beliefs, and that within policing there is still a culture of male domination.

> I think I would say that it's probably just the – from the outside looking in, I think it's perceived as basically a male-dominated field, and it's very masculine. But maybe the misconception that there's not a place for them here, and I think that's where it's important getting the information out, and letting them know that we need females as much as we need males. It's a job, and they're capable just like anybody else as long as they meet the requirements.

> Well, probably because you can go back to the old days when all policemen were just men. And the mentality of the police male is there's no place for women in police work. And I think that still goes on today, maybe not as much.

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While it is clear that the perception of policing as a male-dominated career is problematic for female applicants in a variety of ways, the extent to which this image of the job is an accurate reflection rather than a stereotype is unclear. When discussing why the field is male dominated, many respondents referred to the history of policing with some noting that many of the older officers in the department had become officers during a time when female officers were virtually non-existent. While some respondents expressed their position that the overt masculinity associated with policing is a misconception that results from previous male homogeneity, others clearly expressed a belief that policing is male dominated because prototypically masculine characteristics are a requirement to do the job.

Lack of Support

The fourth theme that emerged is lack of support as a dominant reason why female applicants do not make it through the process. The lack of support can pertain to spouses and parents.

> Family issue is, for example, just that they're young, their spouse says hey, my dad and mom made it, we're gonna have kids, we can make it. The other one, the man just doesn't want his wife to be a police officer, doesn't want her to be in law enforcement. So that would be more his deal but she wants to have him as a spouse.

> Females may withdraw from pressure from family members. . . there's three sisters that are showing up to our workouts right now, and their father is in the military, but he'd rather them do [TMPD]. Usually it's vice versa, you can do the military, but you can't do policing. And so, pressure from family, "I don't want you doing… I mean, you can die" whereas you don't get that much from males. You really don't, but that's a huge female thing.

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I think spousal support is very hard to obtain, even when I was going to the academy, the three females that were in my academy, two of them were married and they fought like cats and dogs with their spouses over wanting to stay in there. I don't think females are so much afraid. I think when they start looking at the job, I think they know what they're looking at and they know the dangers and things like that. I think they get talked out of it a lot and I think if you talk negatively about this profession enough to somebody you can actually sway their opinion on it easily be it male or female but I think females have somebody fighting them against that far more than males do.

Lack of support could relate to others' concerns over safety in the profession. Especially in the case or spouses, the lack of support related to concerns about women working among a large group of men for either sexual reasons or the perception that their wife shouldn't be doing a man's job.

Pressure from – and when I say family members I mean mom and dad on that part-- but pressure from spouses because now the husband sees she's working in a male dominated field, just like we were talking about, and she's working with these men at between the hours of 12:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m., something's got to be going on other than policing. And we've had that too, a young lady quit because of that, she made it all the way through the department –through the academy, and he had her quit two weeks in.

Family pressure. Husbands if they're married. Boyfriends. Mom and Dad. They don't want their daughters doing that, wives doing that. Whatnot. The cliché of it being a man's job and it's not anymore.

The lack of support from spouse and/or family as a reason that female recruits do not make it through the process fits within the greater context about the unique challenges faced by women. Other themes demonstrated lack of confidence and fear of failure or judgment as obstacles for women. Likewise, encouragement was believed to be needed by many female applicants. Understanding women generally place more importance on relationships than men provides a clear explanation for this theme (Gilligan, 1982). If

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women who are not encouraged are less likely to complete the process and they receive

discouragement from their significant others and their families whose opinion they most

value, it is more understandable why women may have trouble completing the

application process.

Haircut Policy

The final theme that emerged was that TMPD's haircut policy for female recruits

was a substantial reason why many women choose to not apply. Additionally, the haircut

policy came up as a reason why women who had applied chose to withdraw.

> Well, the one with the hair, we get that a lot. We get some women who
> come for the information sessions, and their biggest thing is, "I'm not
> gonna apply because I don't want to cut my hair," and I'm just, like, "It's
> just hair. It will grow back. It's not −" I mean, if you want something bad
> enough, you're gonna do what it takes to make the sacrifices to get what
> you want.
>
> The hair-do. Yes, and I think in particular, African American women,
> especially ones that have served in the military. When I go. . . it's like
> pulling teeth trying to get an African American female −after I tell them
> you have to cut your hair, "Oh no, I don't want to do that" because of the
> hair cutting thing.
>
> I think I've had a couple, once they were in the process, and as they got
> deeper into the process, reality hit. So, "Oh, wait, this is police work. I'm
> gonna have to fight. I'm gonna have to cut my hair. I might get shot."
> And they pull themselves out because I think they look at it as, "Well, you
> know what? This might be a dominant man's job, and I don't want to do it.

The haircut policy is distinct among the themes explaining why women do not

apply or why they choose to not complete the process. Unlike the previous themes, which

the department may have some ability to address, the haircut policy represents a barrier to

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women that exists because of a departmental decision. As a result, it is within the power of the department to directly address this barrier.

Summary of Qualitative Findings

The 18 interviews conducted with TMPD application processing staff uncovered several interrelated themes regarding why women were believed to not complete the process. Analysis of the interview data indicated that:

- Increasing the proportion of female officers employed was believed to be beneficial for the organization.
- However, this process would be difficult to achieve and would create new difficulties.
- Discretion plays some role in the likelihood that an applicant qualifies for the academy.
- Some staff members assume a more active role attempting to encourage applicants, whereas others view this as creating problems or not effective.
- Women largely view policing as a masculine profession, and those that attempt to pursue a career in policing often lack support from others who view it in this way.
- Women withdraw from the process over discouragement and fear of judgment, especially regarding their physical capabilities.
- Women fail less than men for personal history issues, but those women who do often engaged in their previous behavior as part of a relationship.
- In general, female applicants lack confidence and preparation.

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- Women often choose not to apply or to withdraw because they prefer not to cut their hair in accord with TMPD's policy for female recruits.

Chapter Summary

A sequential explanatory design was utilized to understand the impact of the application process on female applicants at TMPD. The method involved quantitative analysis of 13,527 applicants who were processed between 2007 and 2012. This analysis served to determine the impact of various stages on women and to isolate issues (e.g., failure to show) that may be more common among women. The results of this analysis guided a series of 18 semi-structured interviews of the application processing staff at TMPD. The interview data were qualitatively analyzed using a phenomenological approach to provide a better understanding of why variation existed and why certain stages were more problematic for women.

The quantitative analysis indicated that although substantially fewer women applied than men, no statistically-significant difference between the overall rates of male and female appointment to the academy was present. Women were significantly less likely to be disqualified during the background check for behavioral issues in their pasts. Therefore, other obstacles in the process must have served to limit the rate of female applicant qualification. Statistical analysis indicated that the pre-employment physical fitness test and the written exam both posed significant barriers to women who were less likely to complete either stage.

The main problem for women in both the physical and written tests related to a failure to show up for the exam. In the case of the written exam, women were 1.3 times

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more likely to fail to show up for the exam once they were scheduled. Passing the written exam was also a problem with women who did show up being 1.4 times more likely to fail than men. Failing to show for the physical fitness exam presented a different issue. Women were 1.8 times more likely to fail to show for their first attempt and 1.3 times more likely to fail to show for a subsequent attempt if they failed their first try. Women who showed for all eligible attempts were not less likely to fail the actual physical exam.

Qualitative analysis of 18 interviews conducted with application processing staff provided insight into why women failed to apply, why they withdrew from the process, and why they failed to show up for exams. Thematically, the perceived reasons were related to lack of confidence, lack of preparation, lack of external support (spousal and familial), perceptions of policing as masculine or male-dominated, and the impact of the female haircut policy. Female applicants' failure to show for testing, both written and physical, was related to both fear of judgment and fear of failure. The processing staff largely believed that these fears were important factors that created obstacles for women who otherwise could have passed the exams.

The qualitative analysis also demonstrated that the role of the processing staff member handling an applicant involved discretion that could impact whether an applicant was disqualified or not. Although the processing staff expressed an understanding that increasing female representation in the department would substantially change the organization and that this change was largely positive, there was substantial dispute regarding the role of processing staff in using their resources to advance female applicants. Typically, the view that encouragement was inappropriate related to a

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perception of policing as a profession requiring strength, thus individuals who needed

encouragement simply to get through the hiring process would be ill suited to the job.

CHAPTER VI

ACADEMY EXPERIENCE AS A BARRIER TO WOMEN

Applicants that successfully pass all components in the screening process are appointed to the training academy where they are prepared to enter the profession. While the purpose of the academy is to provide education and training, several studies have suggested that the training academy may pose a barrier for women (Chapell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Haarr, 2005; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). This may relate to differential rates of completion for male and female recruits, or it may relate to differences in the perceptions and experiences of recruits regardless of whether they successfully complete the academy. This chapter presents findings from the third component study that assesses how the academy experience is different for women.

At TMPD, the academy is run by academy instructors who are all sworn police officers. The academy instructors are responsible for teaching all components of the academy required by the state and all additional requirements of the department. The academy training includes 643 hours for the Basic Peace Officers Course and 723 hours of training specific to TMPD. As of March 2014, the academy staff consisted of 23 instructors. Only two of the instructors were female.

Each academy class at TMPD is held for approximately 33 weeks, and the recruits are paid during their time at the academy. The academy class size and the frequency of the academy classes varies based on the departmental needs and budget at the time. Recruits are required to attend the academy from Monday through Friday. Recruits can

also be assigned extra duties during the academy such as flag duty or officer positions (leadership roles within their class) which may require staying extra hours.

Analysis of the Academy Experience

This section presents the analysis of data related to the academy experiences. This third component study addressed the following general research question:

> *Does the academy include barriers that disproportionately affect female recruits?*

This general research question was broken down into three specific questions:

R_{3a}*: Do female recruits complete the academy at rates comparable to men?*

R_{3b}*: Do female recruits in classes with token-level representation fail to complete at higher rates than those in classes with higher-level female representation?*

R_{3c}*: What aspects of the academy experience may be important obstacles for female recruits?*

A sequential explanatory design was used to address these research questions. An overview of the design is presented in Figure 6.1.

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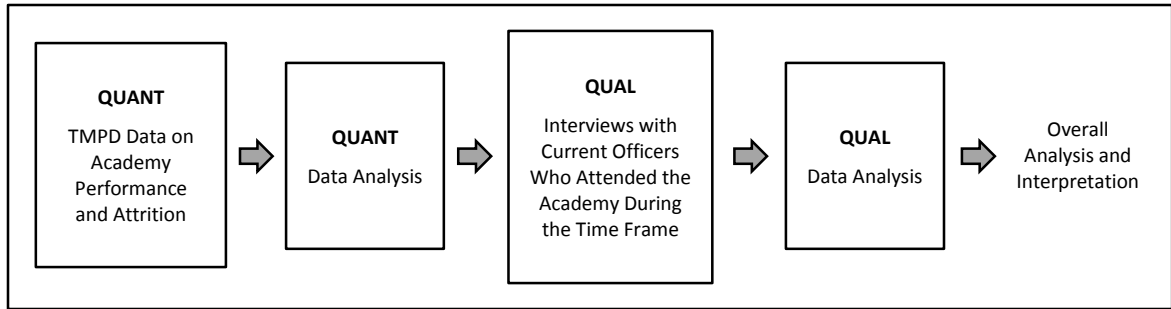
Figure 6.1: Academy Mixed Methods Design

The quantitative data for the design involved secondary data on academy attrition of male and female recruits. These data were collected from TMPD, and no identifying information was included. The data included information on all recruits who entered the academy from 2008 to 2013. Each individual entry contained the recruit's sex, recruit's ethnicity/race, recruit's age, whether the recruit completed the academy, and, if necessary, comments by the academy staff on the reasons for the recruit's failure to complete the academy.

A recruit could have failed to complete the academy for one of four reasons. A recruit could have withdrawn from the academy, been terminated from the academy, resigned from the academy, or have been recycled to another academy class. A recruit was considered a withdrawal when they either failed to start the academy or withdrew during the orientation the first day of the academy. Since the research was interested in academy classes as work groups, due to the theoretical scope of tokenism, individuals who withdrew from the academy were excluded from the analysis. Essentially, the research relates to the experience of token individuals within their work environment. While an academy class may have initially included a different composition of cadets, the experience of cadets is defined by the group that actually attended the academy. A recruit

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could have been terminated from the academy if he or she failed to meet the minimum requirements in either physical training, academics, driving, or firearms. Termination could also have occurred if a recruit violated an academy rule of conduct. Recruits may have been given the option to resign in lieu of termination. For this reason, the categories of termination and resignation are not distinct enough to analyze separately.

In addition to resignation in lieu of termination, recruits also resigned for personal reasons, e.g., deciding that law enforcement was not for them, or personal injuries. A recruit might be "recycled" into the next academy class if they became injured during the academy and were unable to complete at that time. However, to be eligible for recycling, the recruit must have been passing all of his or her core class and have made it past the 15 week mark. For the purpose of this study, a recycled recruit is considered a failure to complete as he or she was unable to complete the academy class that they originally started in. Detailed comments by the academy staff documenting the reasons why individual recruits left the academy were available for some of the recruits.

Quantitative Analysis

The academy completion data included information on 19 academy classes that occurred between 2008 and 2013. In total, 710 applicants were selected for the academy during this time period including 117 (16.48%) female applicants and 593 (83.52%) male applicants. Twenty-one applicants, four women (3.4%) and 17 men (2.9%), who were selected to begin the academy withdrew and did not enter the program resulting in 689 entering academy recruits including 113 (16.4%) female cadets and 576 (83.6%) male cadets. Of the entering cadets, 288 (41.8%) were white, 352 (51.1%) were Hispanic, 38

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(5.5%) were black, and 11 (1.6%) were Asian. Table 6.1 presents the gender composition for each class. Figure 6.1 indicates that, although female representation varied between academy classes, it did not trend.

Table 6.1: Size and Gender Composition of Academy Classes

Academy class	Total cadets	Percent female
2008A	48	20.8
2008B*	55	10.9
2008C	45	17.8
2008D*	24	12.5
2009A*	43	14.0
2009B	39	15.4
2009C	33	15.2
2009D*	31	12.9
2010A	40	22.5
2010B	29	17.2
2010C	51	15.7
2010D	31	19.4
2011A	46	17.4
2011B*	20	10.0
2011C	20	25.0
2012A	20	20.0
2012B	53	15.1
2013A*	35	11.4
2013B	26	23.1

* Token-level representation of women (less than 15%)

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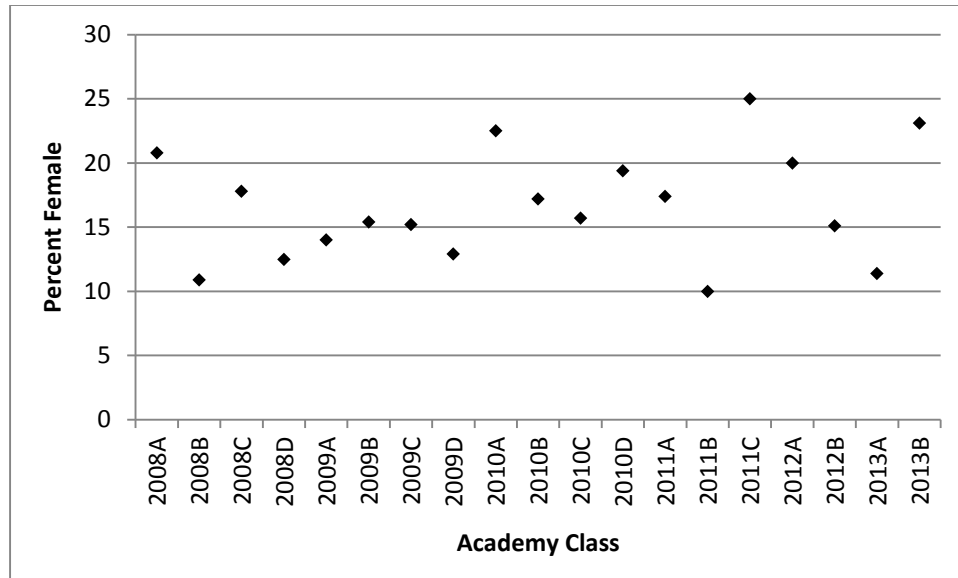
Figure 6.2: Gender Composition of Academy Classes Over Time

Total class size ranged from 20 to 55 cadets with a mean of 37.3 and a standard deviation of 11.6. Female representation in individual classes ranged from 10.0% to 25.0% with a mean of 16.6% and a standard deviation of 4.3%. Six of the academy classes exhibited token proportions of women.

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Table 6.2: Completion Rates for Individual Academy Classes

Academy class	Male completion rate	Female completion rate	Relative female completion ratio
2008A	84.2	70.0	0.83
2008B*	87.8	83.3	0.95
2008C	91.9	50.0	0.54
2008D*	81.0	100.0	1.24
2009A*	81.1	83.3	1.03
2009B	78.8	83.3	1.06
2009C	71.4	60.0	0.84
2009D*	70.4	50.0	0.71
2010A	77.4	66.7	0.86
2010B	70.8	80.0	1.13
2010C	79.1	100.0	1.26
2010D	76.0	50.0	0.66
2011A	84.2	87.5	1.04
2011B*	83.3	100.0	1.20
2011C	80.0	100.0	1.25
2012A	93.8	100.0	1.07
2012B	73.3	75.0	1.02
2013A*	77.4	100.0	1.29
2013B	100.0	83.3	0.83

* Token-level representation of women (less than 15%)

In total, 554 cadets (80.4%) completed the academy, and 135 (19.6%) were terminated or resigned during the academy. By gender, 87 female cadets (77.7%) and 467 male cadets (80.9%) successfully completed. The difference in the completion rates of men and women for the overall sample was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.632$). Table 6.2 presents the completion rates for individual academy classes.

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The relative female completion ratios presented in Table 6.2 were calculated by dividing the female completion rate by the male completion rate. Thus, these ratios provide an indication of female cadet performance relative to male cadet performance within a given academy class. These ratios can be interpreted as how much more or less likely a female cadet is to complete than a male cadet in the same class. Ratios below one indicate that female cadets are less likely to complete than male cadets. For example, in academy class 2008C, female cadets were 54% as likely to complete compared to male cadets. In contrast, values above one indicate that female cadets were more likely to complete than male cadets. For example, in academy class 2013A female cadets were about 1.3 times more likely to complete than male cadets.

Of the six token-level academy classes, four had relative completion ratios above one indicating that females were more likely to complete than males. Only two token-level academy classes had ratios less than one indicating that female recruits were less likely to complete. Of the 13 non-token-level academy classes, seven had relative completion ratios greater than one. The remaining six had completion ratios less than one. This indicates that there was not a pattern of higher female attrition in academy classes with token-level female representation.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis of the academy experience began with a thematic review of the comments data for reasons that recruits failed to complete the academy. As noted earlier, the "terminated" and "resigned" categories were not conceptually distinct. Whereas termination indicated that a recruit had failed to achieve proficiency in a given

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area or had violated academy rules, resignation could indicate that a recruit left for personal reasons, or that they had been given the opportunity to resign in lieu of termination. Therefore, the comments for the reasons that individuals left the academy were important for understanding why individual recruits left.

Comments were available for 106 of the 135 recruits that were either terminated or resigned (78.5% of those who did not complete). Of the 29 that were missing comments, 28 were classified as resigned indicating that the recruit had resigned without providing a specific reason. One recruit had been terminated without a specific reason recorded in the comments. Table 6.3 presents the categorical reasons for failing to complete the academy.

Table 6.3: Reasons for Failing to Complete the Academy[7]

	All Cadets	Male Cadets	Female Cadets
Recycled	17 (2.5%)	14 (2.4%)	3 (2.7%)
Resigned	102 (14.8%)	83 (14.4%)	19 (17.0%)
Terminated	16 (2.3%)	13 (2.3%)	3 (2.7%)

Ten of the 14 men (71.4%) who were recycled later retuned and completed the academy. In contrast, only one of the three (33.3%) women who were recycled returned and completed the academy. Thematically, the most common reason for resigning or being terminated was a failure to meet training standards for physical training, academic,

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[7] Percentages presented in Tables 6.3 are calculated by dividing the number who failed to complete the academy for each reason by the total number of individuals, males, or females in the academy. These percentages indicate the likelihood of failure due to a specific reason for each group.

firearms, in the academy. Fifteen total recruits (2.2%) failed to complete due to physical training, ten (1.5%) due to academics, three (0.4%) due to firearms training, and two (0.3%) due to driving training. Table 6.4 presents the breakdown of reasons by gender.

Table 6.4: Attrition by Training Area for Male and Female Recruits[8]

	Male Recruits	Female Recruits
Physical Training	12 (2.1%)	3 (2.7%)
Academics	6 (1.0%)	4 (3.6%)
Firearms Training	1 (0.2%)	2 (2.8%)
Driver Training	2 (0.4%)	0 (0.0%)

As indicated in Table 6.5, women were more likely than men to be terminated or resign due to deficiencies in physical training, academics, and firearms. However, no women were terminated or resigned due to driver training.

Physical issues, including injuries and unrelated medical concerns, were the next thematic issue that arose. In total, 23 recruits resigned or were terminated due to physical issues. Nine men (1.6%) and two women (1.8%) suffered injuries during the academy that prohibited them from continuing. Seven men (1.2%) and two women (1.8%) resigned or were terminated due to long-term injuries incurred before the academy. Two men (0.4%) and one woman (0.9%) resigned due to undisclosed medical reasons. Whereas physical issues were an important theme for why cadets did not complete the

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[8] Percentages presented in Tables 6.4 are calculated by dividing the number who failed to complete the academy for each training area by the total number of males or females in the academy. These percentages indicate the likelihood of failure due to a training deficiency in a particular area for males and females.

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academy, there was no statistically significant differences between men and women regarding physical issues.

Other academy issues were the third most common reason. Ten men (1.7%) were terminated or resigned for academy rule violations. No women were terminated or resigned for this reason. Two men (0.4%) and two women (1.8%) were terminated for failing to show during the course of the academy.

Finally, resigning for issues unrelated to the academy itself was an important reason. Twelve men (2.1%) and one woman (0.9%) resigned for undisclosed personal reasons, but another two men (0.4%) resigned citing family issues. Only one woman (0.9%) cited family as an issue for resignation. Finally, three men (0.5%) and two women (1.8%) resigned indicating that the academy or a career in policing was not a fit for them.

The analysis of the termination and resignation data yielded two interesting conclusions. First, women were disqualified for physical training reasons at only a slightly higher rate than men (2.7% of women versus 2.1% of men disqualified). Second, women were disqualified at a substantially higher rate for academics than men (3.6% of women versus 1.0% of men disqualified).

Qualitative Interviews

The quantitative analysis did not indicate that women who went through the academy in classes with token-level female representation were more likely to fail to complete. However, the female experience in the academy may have still invoked problems with visibility, assimilation, and polarization because of their small numbers. To further probe these issues, interviews were conducted with current TMPD female

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officers. This study lent itself to the use of qualitative interviews because the goal was to better understand the female experience in the academy in a detailed way. Female officers providing detailed descriptions about personal experiences as well as insights into issues with other cadets was a viable way of tapping into the detail desired. Qualitative interviews of current female officers were solicited from members of the police force. Female officers were identified by a female recruiter within the organization. These officers were contacted by the female recruiter via email and were advised of the project. Other recruiters who had worked with recent female graduates from the academy also contacted these female officers and advised them of the study. In total, 30 female officers were offered the opportunity to participate.

Of these, 17 individuals (56.6% response rate) agreed to be interviewed. Most interviews were conducted at the officer's substation, and officers from all six substations were represented in the project. Four of the interviews were conducted in other locations that were more convenient for the subjects. Two were conducted in public places including a restaurant and a coffee shop. One was conducted at the recruiting headquarters, and the final interview was conducted in another department building which is not described for the purposes of anonymity. Respondents were all members of the academy classes analyzed in the quantitative section and included individuals from token and non-token classes as well as both high and low female completion classes. This helped insure that there was an adequate distribution of experiences across multiple classes adding to the generalizability of these results. The choice of recent graduates also helped insure that the female officers interviewed had greater recollection of their

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academy experiences since had all graduated within the past six years. For the purposes of anonymity, the type of class each respondent was a member of is not identified.

Data collection began in March, 2014 and continued through April, 2014. All TMPD officers involved were notified that they were not required to complete the interview, and informed consent was obtained prior to the interview. A copy of the informed consent for female officers is included in Appendix 6.1. The interviews were semi-structured and were guided by a list of questions about the respondent's individual academy experience as well as their perceptions about other cadets' experiences. All 17 respondents consented to their interviews being recorded, and all 17 were digitally recorded. Interviews ranged from 14 minutes to 2 hours and 19 minutes, with the average interview being 37.4 minutes. The following questions guided the interviews:

1. Can you tell me what made you decide to pursue a career in policing?
2. Did you have any hesitations to becoming a police officer? What were they?
3. Can you describe the environment and culture of your academy class? Were all the recruits close?
4. Was there a time where you wanted to quit the academy? Why?
5. Do you recall anyone leaving during your academy class?
6. Why do you think certain individuals left?
7. For those who failed out of the academy, do you remember why?
8. For those who left voluntarily from the academy, do you remember why?
9. Do you believe that women were more scrutinized in the academy? Can you describe a time when this happened?

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10. Do you believe that women were more commended in the academy? Can you describe a time when this happened?

11. Were women and men treated differently from each other during the academy?

12. Do you believe that women were not included in the social life of the academy? Can you describe a time when this happened?

13. Do you believe that women were given sex stereotyped tasks in the academy, such as more administrative tasks? Can you describe a time when this happened?

14. Do you still keep in touch with academy classmates? Male or females?

15. Do you believe the academy is harder for women than men? Why?

16. On patrol, do you believe you are treated differently as a female officer by the public?

17. On patrol, do you believe you are treated differently as a female officer by male-coworkers?

18. What is the biggest challenge that you have faced thus far in your career?

19. Would you like to include anything that I have missed or add something?

As in the previous qualitative analyses, the interviews were conducted as part of an phenomenology oriented toward rendering general issues underlying a variety of experiences (second-order constructs). Individual statements from the interviews were coded, and themes were generalized through analytic reflection.

After the interviews were completed, the digital recordings were transcribed for coding purposes. To compete the coding, the data were loaded into ATLAS 1.7, and a two-step coding process was used. First, each interview was initially coded using a

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descriptive coding technique. The goal of the initial coding process was to remain open to all possibilities while reflecting on the content of the data, and a descriptive coding system, where the basic topic of each passage within the data was summarized using a short phrase, was used (Saldaña, 2013).

Some items were coded using the constructs associated with tokenism. For example, "visibility" was used as a code to indicate comments concerning perceptions of judgment and scrutiny. Other codes were guided by the questions and the outcome of the quantitative analysis. For example, since the quantitative analysis compared rates of attrition between male and female academy cadets, "attrition" was used to code any references to a difference in general interest between men and women.

The second step involved subcoding the data. Subcoding is the process of assigning a second-order tag to an entry after the primary code has been established, Subcodes refined the codes used providing more detail. For example, "visibility" was subcoded with the categories "positive praise" and "negative scrutiny" signifying the nature of the visibility. After the coding was complete, each set of coded data was reviewed for thematic reflection, and themes that emerged represent ideas that were important across a variety of codes.

Identified Domains

As in the previous qualitative analyses, major domains were identified prior to the coding. The four identified domains related to the constructs from tokenism (visibility, assimilation, and polarization) as well as the outcome of attrition.

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1. Attrition

2. Visibility

3. Polarization

4. Assimilation

Attrition

The discussion about female attrition commonly cited a few distinct reasons for

female cadets failing to complete the academy. Among these reasons, physical training

and firearms testing were common.

> And then the last girl who got fired, I don't know how this girl – I felt so
> bad for her. I don't know how she made it as far as she did because we
> were in tactics. Her first week was shooting and she failed. She was
> shooting like 20s, 30s and then they put her in our group. So we turn,
> shoot. I don't even know how she even got 20 points because this girl
> could not hit the paper.
>
> And then when it came to physically, her physical status, she wasn't up to
> date I guess on her PT, meaning she couldn't do her pushups so I would
> have to do her pushups. So she took that very hard because she believed
> that nobody else should carry her weight.

In addition, the idea that female recruits had a difficult time with the

psychological strain caused by instructors was often expressed.

> I remember we had this female, she was married, two kids, a master's
> degree, very sweet but she ended up quitting halfway through. She was
> too, she allowed her emotions to get the best of her, and I believe that's
> why she quit.
>
> She couldn't handle the yelling, the military aspect of it. And we would
> tell her, you know, it's just yelling, you gotta be able to handle that. But
> she just couldn't.

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When we first show up they kind of psych you out. They yell at you, they tell all these things, you're basically, you know, running from place to the other, never taking a breath.

Attributes associated with femininity were also associated with reasons for not making it through the academy. These included issues such as physicality, persona, and gender roles such as maternity.

> We had maybe like three not show up. And that, again, I think it was just the yelling, it got to them. The first three – it was kind of interesting. The first one was very petite, just smaller than me. She weighed like maybe 90 pounds when we started, and our sergeant at the time, just his presence alone would make her body – she looked like she was having a seizure. That's how much she would shake. And then the other two they all seemed to have the same persona, I'm not sure why they applied or why and not to be mean, but they really did not have anything policing about them.

> They weren't police minded; they didn't have the same mentality that most police officers have. They didn't have that alpha personality, they weren't stern. Even their voices were mousy and that's what you're probably going to think about me, but in our field you cannot have a girly voice. When you're giving off commands you can't sound like a mouse.

> One, she was – I believe she was like super smart and just felt like policing wasn't her thing and she wanted to be a lawyer, instead. The other one, she was before this a stay at home mom, and she claimed that she was missing her son.

Many respondents expressed that many of these factors were related to thoughts about leaving the academy.

> There was a time I didn't think I could complete the training. I was struggling to handle being married to an active duty service member and being a single mom during that time in the academy. I just thought, "How can I balance this profession, that really chose me, and be a great mom and a great spouse all at the same time?"

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Although the female officers acknowledged a variety of stressors and issues that they experienced or that they were aware that other female cadets experienced during their academy class, they tended to view little difference between these issues and those experienced by male cadets. They related success in the academy for women to an ability to get through the process rather than to become discouraged and give up.

Visibility (criticism and praise)

Of the tokenism constructs, visibility appeared most often in the qualitative data. While female officers acknowledged that scrutiny and praise are parts of the academy experienced by both male and female cadets, women were generally believed to experience greater visibility.

> You may have one person who says that's a great officer and then have somebody else tell you, the chick's a whore or she did this. So I mean it's one of those things where I think it's probably the same for men. It's just more pronounced, and I think that's because there are few of us whereas the same behaviors may be carrying across both genders because there are 2,000 officers and only like 250 females. It's more like a magnifying glass. So it may not be so much about stereotyping as about it's easier to remember because there's fewer.
>
> During PT they give you this reward called Blue Tiger, and that's basically saying you're in physical top condition. During that I believe we were praised, me and my other classmate. She was a track star in college so she had her PT down. We basically got our Blue Tiger awards and I remember them commending us and saying, "This is what kind of women we want. Don't make excuses and think just because you're female that you can't make it." So I think we did get praised more for it, not that we wanted it though.

Female officers often viewed differential treatment of female recruits by all instructors as adding to the issue of visibility. This could be related to additional praise,

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but was particularly problematic concerning differential physical training standards.

However, female officers acknowledged these training differences as necessary.

> And I feel like that's good, because, in a way, I don't want that special attention, because, just for that reason, if I do get it, guys are going to be like, "Oh, it's because she's a girl."

> Only on the PT testing, because like Coopers, we had one female that we considered kind of a slug, and she was in her, I think, mid 30s, and so when she was doing her Coopers test, it's based on age and gender, so when she did her Coopers test, everyone was like, "Well, of course she got a 240, or 230," which, 250 is max, and she got a 230 and 240, and they were like, "Well, of course she did, because look at her times. They're way less than everyone else's." So even though she physically did well, according to the standards on the test, everyone kind of knew, "Well, of course she did, because her [requirements] are so low." So nobody really gave her any gratification or any like, "Oh, good job," because she did it

> Now, if we were held to the same standards it would be harder because obviously the males would do better in certain things physically because of the way they're built, but I think they try to make it a little more fair based on that, but the males, they know better. They see it.

Female instructors were noted as often treating female recruits differently at times. Sometimes this came in the form of additional criticism, but other times it came in the form of additional encouragement or instruction. Most of the female academy recruits did not feel that this extra attention from female trainers was detrimental.

> I think it's fair in the academy. When I was in the academy, the female officers were harder on the female cadets. I mean the male officers were as hard on us also, but they were the same way with the men too. So it was kind fair that way, but when the female officers would be training us or teaching us something, or showing us something, they would be more aggressive with the female cadets. But I never took it as being unfair. I took it as being helpful because they know how it is. So they're just being tough on us so we can be able to deal with it and grow from it.

> I think maybe not positive reinforcement, but I noticed that, especially with our PT staff during fighting and stuff, there was a lot of "hey listen

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you're smaller than most of these guys, you're smaller than most of the guys you're gonna deal with. Here's some tactics that might work better for you and or you know, you can justify a higher level of force sooner than some." So there was some more specified stuff.

She took the time to take me aside and [said] you did fine and talked to me about how she felt I had done in tactics overall. I mean that was positive. That wasn't really a reflection of the academy. I think that was a reflection of her as a person.

The female staff at the academy, the female officers out there, would pull aside and say, "Hey, it's gonna suck, but be strong. If you ever need to talk, if you ever think about quitting, come talk to me." So, we had that support system there, from the female officers. I think that we couldn't go to the male instructors and cry, or you know – I don't know how to explain it, but it just seemed more acceptable to go to a female instructor, if we needed to.

Several female officers portrayed the criticism they received as a necessary part of the training experience. This was viewed as preparing female cadets for the next steps in their policing careers.

In a way, we were warned about how we would be scrutinized outside of the academy. When we would come on our cadet classes, they would warn us, and be like, "Hey, heads up, this might happen to you when you go on your cadet rides. This might happen when you hit the streets and you're with the FTO, and then after probation this might happen as well."

Despite these comments, overall female officers considered the scrutiny evenly applied to both male and female cadets.

I think that the instructors identified the people that were problem people whether it be academic or physically and then those people that had the most struggle or problems. They pretty much focused in on them. Like we had the one guy that ended up failing PT they focused on him because he was always last and he was always struggling, and then we had that one female that would miscount all the time.

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And I really do think it was fair. And I think that maybe times have changed because I have heard of back in the day where it wasn't really like that. But I think that we had a [different] staff at the time – [name omitted] was there and [name omitted] was there, and they don't take any mess. And [name omitted], she's there. She'll make a grown man cry. I've seen her make a grown man cry.

There would be situations; I think we had this bigger guy in the class. He could run but he was just a big guy. I believe he got some little hazing because when we were running I guess the shirt would rub so he started bleeding. So he got a little bit more hazing like you need to lose weight [and] you're fat.

Many female officers that believed that male and female cadets were scrutinized similarly suggested that women were sometimes just different in the way the scrutiny affected them. This related the idea of success to an individual-level reaction to judgment rather than a gender-based distinction.

There were several comments made, and it was just up to the female how they took it in or just let it blow off your shoulder like you needed to do in the academy. But there are a lot of comments made. For example the cliché this is a man's job. Females don't belong here. You'll never be able to get into this academy. You'll never pass.

I guess being a female is a little bit harder because you have all the standards. They're gonna judge you more than if you were a male. But other than that, it's not really anything too major. You just have to – if this is something you wanna do, you're gonna do it, and you're not gonna care what people say, or what they do, or talk about you.

Polarization

The issue of polarization among the cadets themselves was most prominent related to physical fitness. Several references were made to instructors using female cadets' success as a motivational tool for male cadets who should have been able to outperform their female counterparts physically.

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I didn't take it in a bad way because it felt like they wanted me to beat all the guys so that they could feel bad about being beat by a girl; that would make them push themselves harder. Because they didn't like that. It's not that they did not like me, but they didn't like the fact that I was beating them.

When it came down to the physical part, initially all the girls [made] this pact and we were going to stick together [during a run]. But I got picked out and was told if I ever let a guy beat me, that I was gonna be in trouble. When we would run or do any kind of [PT], I was afraid to not win.

Assimilation (role entrapment and group isolation)

Largely, female officers provided little evidence of assimilation. In most cases, group cohesion among cadets seemed to encourage participation of female cadets despite their minority status. The personal connection between academy cadets regardless of gender was overwhelmingly explained as being very close.

We were all very close. I mean you spend eight months of your life with these people, all in one room. You have to depend on each other. You have to feed off of each other's strengths and weaknesses. I love – I call them the guys, but there were I think eight females.

It's interesting because you get this dynamic. It's such an interesting dynamic. People from all over the place that come together, and we all have this common goal to become first responders. You will find yourself leaning on people that have strength in an area that you're weak in. You think you can do it all by yourself, and you quickly learn it's really all about teamwork. So we were very close.

Very often, the extent of group cohesion was expressed through indication of ongoing involvement in group activities with classmates long after the academy classes ended.

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We initially started out with 20 cadets, and then the first or second day we lost one, so there were 19 of us, there being arson investigators, and the rest were going to be officers. And we were super close. We still are. We just got together last Saturday, and we're still super close. We're a really close class.

Yes, we were very close. We developed a friendship – I mean, we still talk to this day. We still go out on events. My birthday's coming up, and we're all gonna get together and go out.

Instances where separate groups formed within single academy classes tended to be related to external life situations rather than along gender lines. For example, several female officers expressed that being single versus being in a relationship or having a family was more important in determining which other cadets an individual would affiliate with.

I think what happened is the ones that informally gathered would be the single ones, and there were single girls that joined that group, too. Then there was a group of us that had spouses at home, that had children. We studied a lot more and tended to be the ones that graduated like top of our class. So we spent any little extra time that we did have, it was gearing up for something else within the academy.

Obviously, there are always going to be guys who hang out more. If [you] have kids and stuff, like a lot of us, we did a lot of things together. . . I think all of the girls, except for maybe two had kids. We all had kids, and so we passed on some of those things because we never get to see our kids. They have stuff going on the weekends, too.

Cases where exclusion was acknowledged suggested that it was the behavior of the individual that determined whether or not they were seen as part of the group rather than gender. Importantly, female officers indicated that they had likewise excluded problematic female cadets. Cadets who caused additional work for others were often ostracized.

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I think she was excluded by her class, by us, because she just didn't seem to care. It wasn't like she tried really hard and just couldn't do it. She just never really seemed to care. Like, she wouldn't pass, and she'd be like, "Whatever." Then we would have to pay for it, so it frustrated us because she wasn't trying..

Female officers indicated that they did not perceive role entrapment during their academy classes that resulted from the instructors. They typically felt like duties and required work was fairly distributed between all cadets, and that gender played no role in the tasks that they were officially assigned.

Everyone had the same tasks. We all had to do gym cleanup and roll up the mats or whatever and then it was all kind of divided between us and we did our own thing so the instructors never did. We all had to clean; we all had to pick up on our own.

What we did was we were split up into four different groups. The whole class was split up into four different groups, so there were females in every class, and each one had different chores.

We had to clean our classroom and we had elements – teams were elements so we had four elements. And an element would clean each week. So whatever you wanted to do within that element, you figured it out yourself. We never were really assigned anything; it just got done.

However, female officers demonstrated that role entrapment was present regarding deeper issues such as functions within the job. Whereas female officers cited examples where male cadets were assigned leadership roles, female cadets were selected for other tasks where maternal instinct was believed to be more suited.

Who did they feel could better lead the group, who would [they] respect more. . . It's different when you have a female telling a group of majority of males to do something; how it's perceived. And when you have a male telling a group of people to do something that's mainly males, like they

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perceive it different, and they respond differently to you. We had [men on] our board. Like we had [a male] president and vice president.

There were certain scenarios we would do. They'd say put your mom hat on. So, there were certain things women could relate better to than our male partner. . . You just kind of help out your partner when they're kinda stuck, and being a mom and knowing more than somebody, it kind of helps out.

Emergent Themes

Reflection on the female officer interview data included an analysis of significant statements. Through this analysis four important themes emerged. These themes included:

1. Individual responsibility
2. Academy highlights gender differences
3. Relationship/support from relationships and family
4. Haircut policy

Individual Responsibility

One dominant theme emerged across all of the tokenism constructs, the idea of attrition, and across various significant statements. The majority of respondents expressed that they viewed individual recruits as responsible for the experiences in the academy. The idea of individual responsibility was clearly articulated for both visibility and assimilation where individual behavior was seen as the basis for scrutiny and social isolation.

That female, she got a lot of stuff but I don't think it's because they looked at her as a female, they looked at her as you need to improve, otherwise you're gonna get yourself killed out there or someone else.

The scrutiny that I saw was because we had deficiencies, not because we were women. Like me, I couldn't run the five miles at their pace, I just couldn't. It was physically impossible for me, it's physically impossible for me. I just can't do it because I'm not a runner, I don't run every day, so I can't do it, I just physically cannot do it, so I got in trouble for it. Not because I was a female. And with the other women it was the same thing

I think she really alienated herself because she just was the type that would do just the bare minimum and it made the rest of us look really bad so I think in a way the rest of us females overcompensated for her being kind of the weak link in the group.

The Academy Highlights Gender Differences

Despite respondents' stated beliefs that individuals were responsible for their experiences in the academy, many of their statements indicated otherwise. These statements revealed a second major theme that because women and men are different, the academy typically focuses on women as deficient. Essentially, this stems from the idea that the academy is designed for men making it a more difficult experience for women.

I told myself – and I had to keep reminding myself – that the academy is designed for a man. So yeah, of course, the female needs to be tougher, and if she's not at the top of her game PT-wise, then yeah, it's gonna be very, very hard for her because you're running and fighting and pushing and doing all this stuff designed for a guy, for a man.

Difficulty with the academy for female recruits was related to the idea that women are not built the same physically as men.

I think they're definitely held to the same standard, which is harder than some females, because physically we're different. We obviously can't pull as much weight, we can't do as much as the males, but they want us to be at the same level, which is understandable because we're doing the

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same work, but for some females they feel as though they're being picked on more because they're being held to a higher standard.

I think some of the physical tasks are, because we are built differently. I don't think anybody can deny that. Some women are super strong. Some women are fast, but you know the obstacles and stuff were, I think – I think, generally, yeah. We had to work a lot of different.

Some female officers also pointed out that there were other tasks and skills that were important at the academy that women were stronger at. These included topics such as academics and multitasking.

If you're talking academics I saw the men struggle more than the women. If you're talking about PT, I saw the women struggle more than the men. In tactics, the men did better.

The effects of the academy were believed to be harder on women because women were seen as more emotional than their male counterparts.

I think we're more emotional, so I think our emotions get in the way a lot more. I think our personal lives and then having to balance everything out. … guys …, they're just more relaxed a whole lot of times. …I'm stressed out about this going on at home, and then I'm kind of like, letting it affect the academy.

As a female, we tend to – most of us tend to be more emotional. Some of us tend to take things personal. I can understand especially when you have to fight each other and leave that just at the academy. There were sometimes where it just kinda continued on, and they felt like oh, you're attacking them. I was like, no, I had to do my job.

Women are more emotional and sensitive, so I think it is a little bit tougher. You just have to have the right mental state of mind when you go through it.

Finally, socialization differences between men and women amplified the different experiences of men and women in the academy.

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Most of us [women] weren't raised with a gun in our hand hunting. There are some things that, stereotypically, a lot of women don't grow up in society learning that maybe a male would learn, and so overcoming those challenges and those stereotypes, that was a challenge.

I saw some of my classmates were having a problem with voice inflection, asserting themselves, having good command presence.

Because in this job you have to be – even though you're female – in charge of the situation. And I could see some of my classmates struggling with that.

Support from Relationships and Family

Another common theme that emerged concerned the importance of support from family members. Most of the female officers interviewed expressed that they received strong family support, and they credited their success to this support.

They were very, very supportive. I mean through the academy I lived at home so that helped me out, I didn't have to stress about bills or anything like that. But as far as, I have like three grandmothers, so they're always like mija be careful, mija it's dangerous, mija, you know. And they're very religious so they give me the blessing every time I see them.

They were supportive. . .Before I even got into the police academy, [respondent's mother] kept asking me, are you sure this is what you want to do? Are you sure this is the path you want to go down? And I kept reassuring her, yes; this is what I want to do. It's a good thing for me. Just go with it. So she was very supportive. She was never negative, other than just being real worried that something was going to happen.

My mother-in-law raised [respondent's daughter] for me. I missed the whole year of first grade. All of it, everything - soccer, parent/teacher, everything. Her grandma took over because I hate school, and so I have to study really, really hard. And it's hard. You have to maintain a certain GPA when you're in the academy. And then we're just exhausted. And so she would stay with my in-laws for the full week. And then I would just pick her up on the weekends, and we would hang out on the weekends. And then her dad is really involved because we're not married anymore. But he was awesome. They were just awesome during that time.

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Yeah, but he [respondent's father] was amazing. When I first started
trying to PT and stuff, they have some – they've got four acres …, and he
actually built me a wall to practice going over, so once he realized that I
was serious, he did everything he could to help.

Spousal support for female cadets was another issue. Female officers typically

reported that they did not receive support from their spouses or significant others. In

many cases, the behavior extended beyond lack of support to negative reactions to the

female cadets' efforts. Respondents expressed that this was very difficult for them to

overcome.

He was not that supportive. I mean he gave me a pretty difficult time
through the academy. I still did everything for the kids, all the homework,
the bath, the dinner, and he didn't do anything because I think he wanted
to see me fail out but he would never really admit it. Now, he's fine just
because he knows that this is my job. I mean I had that talk with him
where it's my job; you don't get to choose what my job is. I choose my
job, not you.

He wasn't very supportive. I think he thought he was being supportive but
because he couldn't get on with our department, he was pretty bitter… so
with me trying to do all the things I needed to do, I focused on studying
and everything while trying to be supportive of him being upset.

Some female officers explained that the lack of support and understanding from

their significant other about their pursuit of a career in policing played a role in the

demise of their relationships.

I felt like my support towards her. . . was a lot different than the support
that I was receiving during my training, so that played a huge role in why
things just didn't work. This is how I'm being [to support you], and then
this is how you're being when I'm going through the academy. . . and that
relationship was over [one week after the academy ended].

I supported him. Then whenever I started doing my thing, I finally applied. We were having some marital problems. And I had asked him if there was a problem, and he said no initially. And then … it kinda just started everything. So when I first went through, I failed during my panel. But I just had so much on my mind. I actually filed for divorce because it just got [to be] too much, and he wasn't being supportive. Anyway, I think it was more like jealousy or insecurity. … I told him this is my life, my goals, my career, and I would expect you to support me. . . And he didn't, so I moved out, stayed at my mom's. We separated … until I decided to go ahead and go through the divorce

I believe the other one, the other one's husband. [She] said that he wasn't very supportive of it, and … she just didn't show up the next day. But I knew because I had talked to her that she was having trouble with the marriage.

Haircut Policy

The final theme that emerged from the interview data concerned the effect of TMPD's haircut policy and female cadets. The comments included several sentiments about how individual officers felt when they first cut their hair to enter the training academy. Although several acknowledged their understanding of the policy, they also expressed their negative feelings.

At first, I was very sad because I've always had long hair all my life. But during the academy I realized I did not want long hair at all because we had no time to shower, we were go-go-go, we would fight. Where there's so much to do you really didn't have time to maintain it. So I understood it, so I kept it very short the whole time until graduation day.

It was hard, but I understood why. Because we have, like, five seconds to shower, and there's no way I could wash this hair in the amount of time, so I understood it.

The haircut policy was perceived as continuing to create challenges even in the academy. It was noted that because recruits are subject to inspection, hair remained an issue during their training. Even recruits that had cut their hair to

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enter and had completed the majority of their training expressed problems with the rule.

> They split us up into different groups, so each group has an officer, a sworn officer that's their leader. And so, … every day when we do inspection, they come through and they inspect your uniforms and stuff. And it seemed like when it came to the females, we had to be more pressed … I mean any little things like, oh you have a string hanging. … if the hair was touching the collar, it was like, go get your hair cut, or you know, you need to go shorter.

> There was this one time that it was about a month before we were graduating and we had an inspection and her hair was too long. It was below the top of her collar so the instructors told her she needed to get a haircut. Well, we came back to the classroom and she flipped out. They can't make me get a haircut. I'm not getting a haircut. We only have a month to go.

Black female officers expressed the idea that the haircut policy for female recruits was particularly problematic for black female recruits. This was ascribed to both the difference in black females' hair as well as well as the cultural value placed on hair by black women.

> Especially for black women, because our hair grows differently. Our hair acts differently and everything. And so when I [had] to cut my hair, … it totally hurt me. Probably more than it hurt anybody else because I looked like a guy, like a straight up dude. At least [non-black women] have some hair that can [be straightened]. My hair doesn't come straight down where it can be straightened or anything.

> Will there be more? Not if they keep making us cut our hair like that. That's an issue. It's an issue, and nobody understands it, except the black girls. Hair is everything. We can't grow it like that. . . But it is a deal breaker.

The extent to which the haircut policy was perceived to be a problem was often expressed via comments that other women would likely be against entering the profession

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based on the haircut rule. This sentiment was applied to women who otherwise expressed interest in becoming officers.

> … I tried to recruit a lot of military females, and the main thing that I've gotten back is the hair cutting. That's the only thing.
>
> But I've heard that there are some females have come in – done ride-alongs with me, and they have said that they want to, but they don't want to cut their hair. And it's like, it grows back. It'll grow back.

Qualitative Summary

The 17 interviews conducted with TMPD female officers uncovered several interrelated themes regarding issues that female cadets experienced during the training academy. Analysis of the interview data indicated that:

- Female officers attributed issues with visibility, polarization, assimilation, and attrition to individual-level behavior among female recruits.
- However, an underlying theme indicated that these issues were problematic because the academy was designed for men highlighting women as deficient.
- Substantial visibility was present, with differential treatment by male instructors or female-specific standards adding to visibility. Additional support from female instructors did not increase visibility.
- Strong polarization existed in the realm of physical training where female recruits were not "supposed" to outperform male recruits.
- Little evidence of assimilation was expressed by women.

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- Female attrition was largely believed to be related to physical training, psychological strain, and issues associated with femininity versus the masculine orientation of the academy (e.g., physicality, command presence).

- Women were different than men in the way that they handled the academy based on their individual reaction to judgment.

- Support was important for female recruits that completed.

- Despite understanding the reasons, female recruits had negative feelings about having to cut their hair both at the beginning and throughout the academy. The haircut policy was believed to keep women, even those interested in a career in policing, out.

Chapter Summary

A sequential explanatory design was utilized to understand the impact of the training academy process on female applicants at TMPD. The method involved quantitative analysis of 710 applicants from 19 academy classes between 2008 and 2013. This analysis served to determine whether women completed at different rates than men and whether women who attended the academy in classes with token-level female representation were less likely to complete. The results of this analysis guided a series of 17 semi-structured interviews of current TMPD female officers. The interview data were qualitatively analyzed using a phenomenological approach to provide a better understanding of the impact of token-level representation on women in the academy as well as to isolate other important attributes of the female experience.

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The quantitative analysis indicated that substantially fewer women attended the academy than men, and there was no statistically-significant difference between the overall rates of male and female completion. Women who were members of academy classes with token-levels of female representations were as likely to complete the academy as women who were members of non-token classes.

Men and women's rates of resignation and termination were similar. Both groups were recycled at similar rates, but women were less likely to complete a later academy class if recycled. Women were more likely than men to leave due to problems with physical training, academics, and firearms. Male and female recruits' rate of attrition due to physical injury, whether suffered during the academy or previously, were approximately equal.

In the qualitative analysis of 17 interviews conducted with academy graduates, attrition was related to physical challenges, psychological strain, and differences in women's reaction to scrutiny. Evaluating the constructs of tokenism, findings indicated that visibility was a common theme, and assimilation was not believed to be part of the female experience. Polarization was present in the physical training component.

The qualitative analysis also uncovered several distinct emergent themes. The most prominent was women's belief that the individual was the biggest factor in academy success. This contradicted an additional finding, which emerged across a wide variety of discussions, of the idea that the academy was made for men and was difficult for women due to gender differences. The noted differences included physiological, psychological, and socialization differences. Together these themes suggest that, although female recruits in token classes did not experience higher levels of attrition than those in non-

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token classes, the effects of tokenism were present in all classes. However, visibility and polarization were seemingly related to gender differences rather than low representation questioning whether the constructs of tokenism are related to issues beyond proportional representation. In the end, low female representation was not related to higher female attrition. However, two of the concepts from tokenism (visibility and polarization) seem to impact female recruits' success in the academy.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Three separate component studies were completed with each utilizing a sequential explanatory design. The first component focused on perceptions of a career in policing from the point of view of potential female applicants. The second component focused on applicant processing. The third component focused on the training academy. All three were guided by the theories of tokenism and the sociology of work. Together the three independent inquiries were undertaken to inform the general research question, *what are the perceived and organizational barriers to women interested in entering the policing profession?*

This chapter presents the findings of the overall project. First, the conclusions regarding the general research question that resulted from all three components are presented. Second, the theoretical implications of the findings are explained. Next, the limitations of the overall study are addressed. Finally, policy recommendations guided by the findings are made.

Overall Findings

The theoretical factors related to tokenism all had substantial impact on women. Consistent with previous research on women in other phases of careers in policing (Belknap & Shelley, 1993; Gustafson, 2008; Martin, 1979; Stichman et al., 2010), visibility, the idea that women as members of token groups are more likely to be noticed

than non-tokens, had a substantial impact. This was particularly important during the application screening process, where women demonstrated a significantly higher likelihood of failure to show for both the written and physical examinations. Whereas the qualitative data suggested that failure to show for the written exam may be related to other reasons, failure to show for the physical exam was strongly associated with a fear of being judged. Related to visibility, women were noted as being more easily discouraged when subjected to scrutiny. In contrast to previous work which treats both praise and scrutiny as the visibility construct (Kanter, 1977), qualitative data suggested that positive support during the process from recruiting staff, academy trainers, and other applicants/recruits helped women. This was related to the quantitative findings about visibility among potential applicants where expectations of positive visibility, or praise, were related to a greater likelihood of applying. In the academy, visibility (both scrutiny and praise) was believed to be evenly applied to both male and female recruits. However, women were viewed as being different in the way that they handled scrutiny. This is consistent with Kanter's (1977) contention that tokens vary in their response to the token environment, and the tendency was less pronounced when the scrutiny came from female trainers. In contrast, praise from male instructors increased scrutiny from the male recruits.

Polarization, the exaggeration of differences between groups, was also problematic as found in previous research (Belknap & Shelley, 1993; Gustafson, 2008; Martin, 1979). Potential applicants that perceived polarization within the police organization were less likely to apply. This was especially pronounced when the polarization was sexually explicit, indicating that this may be a gendered issue rather than

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a token issue (Yoder, 1991). Either way, expectations of sexually-explicit polarization were strongly related to a lower likelihood of applying. Qualitatively, potential female applicants indicated a strong sense that they would have to prove themselves to be seen as police officers rather that as women, supporting the idea that perceptions of polarization were viewed as an issue. During the academy, there was strong polarization between male and female recruits regarding physical performance where women were portrayed as weaker even when some female recruits outperformed their male counterparts.

Assimilation, group segregation, and role entrapment for members of the token group were much less of an issue. This was an interesting finding considering that several studies on tokenism within policing have also not found effects for assimilation (Belknap & Shelley, 1993; Stichman et al., 2010). Expectancies of assimilation were not related to the likelihood of applying, and there was no evidence of assimilation being related to withdrawing from the application process. Although some evidence of assimilation emerged during the academy research, women reported tasks as being evenly assigned between men and women and saw little problem with men being elevated to leadership roles more frequently than women during the academy. Although some instances of exclusion were noted during the academy, these were believed to be related to individual qualities rather than to being female.

The gender model of work suggests that physiological and socializations differences between men and women account for differences in attitudes and performance (Lorence, 1987; Feldberg & Glenn, 1979). Several findings from this study were supportive of the gender model. Qualitative data from the potential applicants

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suggested that women believed that roles for men and women in policing should be the same, but policing was more difficult for women than for men due to physiological and gender-socialization differences. This was supported by perceptions of the academy from female officers that stated that the academy is designed for men, making it harder for women. Physical strength (male) and emotional response (female) were gender differences that were found in all three component studies. These findings support previous work which suggest that that the academy experience is problematic for women because of its tendency to overvalue masculine traits such as physical strength (Chapel & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010) and that women suffer from self-esteem issues resulting from stresses in policing (Krimmel & Gromley, 2003; Tougas et al., 2005)

Consistent with gender model assumptions that women's central concerns are familial (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979; Rubin, 1983), issues concerning familial relationships were also important for women. Among the potential applicants, concerns about safety were negatively related to the likelihood of applying. Qualitative data suggested that the safety issue reflected the impact of a career in policing on a woman's family more than its impact on her, specifically the concern of leaving her children motherless if killed on the job. Issues about the impact of the career on families emerged in the application processing and academy components as well. Familial or spousal support also emerged as important in these research component studies. Female officers reported that support from their families was an integral part of their success in the academy. Lack of support from significant others was an important issue and was related to failing to complete the application process or the academy. Further, lack of support was related to failed relationships.

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Other important findings were atheoretical. The department's haircut policy, which requires female recruits to cut their hair to a maximum length of one inch, was a substantial issue throughout the process. Although some potential female applicants were not concerned, those that did oppose the policy felt strongly about it. Negative feelings about the haircut policy were related to lower likelihood of applying. For women who did apply, the policy remained an issue as evidenced by the qualitative statements from the application processing staff that indicated that many of the women who chose to withdraw from the process did so to avoid cutting their hair. Even among women who chose to cut their hair to enter the academy, the policy created challenges. Despite their decision to comply, several female recruits in the academy had negative feelings about having to cut their hair and expressed reluctance to maintain the shortened length throughout the duration of the academy. These findings support previous work that has argued that hidden elements in the academy serve to impose masculine dominance in the academy (Prokos & Padavic, 2002)

From a process standpoint, the written and physical examinations both posed barriers to women. While previous research has suggested that these stages may pose barriers as women are unable to pass at rates equal to men (Birzer & Craig, 1996; Gaines et al., 1993), the present study indicated that disparity in these stages did not exclusively relate to women failing the exams at higher rates than men. Instead, the problems of failing to schedule and failing to show for the exams were a greater issues. This relates to the earlier conclusions about female applicants' fears of judgment and discouragement as well as the importance of support from within the department and from their families. Although some processing staff members took a more active role in helping female

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recruits through the process, others saw little value in that approach. Instead, many staff members suggested that the underlying issues for female applicants relate to a general lack of confidence and/or preparation.

Theoretical Implications

This study demonstrated that issues related to both tokenism and the gender model of work were related to female experiences throughout the process of becoming an officer from the decision to apply to academy graduation. Evidence supporting one of the theories casts no doubt on the other, as the theories are not mutually exclusive. However, this adds to the difficulty of understanding whether the challenges facing women entering policing relate primarily to low proportional representation or to simply being female. More generally, since token groups are often composed of minorities and/or disadvantaged groups in other realms, it is difficult for researchers to distinguish adequately which particular issue (low proportional representation or group affiliation) is responsible for any particular outcome.

The present study renders no conclusions about the nature of the relationship between these two intermingled theoretical perspectives. However, consistent with previous criticisms of tokenism (Yoder, 1991) the findings do illustrate that attempts to understand the unique experience of women in many environments under one framework or the other are too simplistic to guide research adequately. An integrated model incorporating both proportional representations within an environment as well as group affiliation would be superior. This type of model should acknowledge that a group's level of representation changes when viewed at various levels (i.e., within a particular

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department, within a given field, within the realm of employment, within society in general) and that minorities at one level are likely minorities at other levels is likely .

Another important theoretical finding relates to the tokenism concept of visibility. Whereas, according to tokenism, the concept of visibility is about being noticed, the theory does not distinguish between being noticed for poor performance and being noticed for good performance. Thus, scrutiny and praise are equivalent under Kanter's (1977) view of visibility. However, across all areas, the present study showed that the effects of scrutiny and praise were quite different. Given these findings, it is difficult to contend that visibility alone is related to lack of success. More generally, it seems that visibility relates to a variety of domains with some being positive and others being negative. Therefore, visibility itself is not uniquely related to either success or failure. Rather it is negative visibility that is a problem. Negative visibility was related to perceptions of judgment, which were related to a variety of issues throughout the process. Thus, while tokens may feel more visible for both praise and scrutiny, the extent to which visibility is an issue depends on the nature of the visibility.

The next important theoretical finding concerns the tokenism factors of polarization and assimilation. Following previous research (Belknap & Shelley, 1993; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011), the present study utilized overt measures for polarization and assimilation that directly inquired about both concepts. For example, during interviews, respondents were asked about particular jobs, roles, and tasks that they were or believed that they would be assigned to. Many times respondents would indicate that they felt that there was no exaggeration of differences between men and women. However, in responses to other questions not directly addressing polarization, they would indicate the

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presence of stereotypes of women and important distinctions between men and women's abilities.

Likewise, respondents would indicate a lack of assimilation noting things like equivalent assignment of tasks. Again, discussion of non-related issues would often reveal that, even within the same task, men were assigned or assumed male roles (e.g., leadership) while women were assigned or expected to fulfill feminine roles (e.g., communication). This suggests that polarization and assimilation may be factors that are present although respondents may not be aware of them. This measurement issue is similar to research on measuring self-report of rape or sexual harassment, where respondents will often not identify their experiences with questions specifically asking about rape or sexual harassment, but respondents will identify with descriptions of rape or sexual harassment (Schwartz, 2000). Further, it suggests that the questions commonly used to measure polarization and assimilation may be too direct, assessing perception rather than presence of the factors that make up the construct.

The final interesting theoretical finding involved the observation that expectations of tokenism were related to the likelihood of applying. While job expectancies theory explicitly asserts that decisions related to job preference are made based on the qualities of the various organizations being considered, studies of job expectancies have focused on objective economic differences in careers rather than subjective expectations of various environments. The analysis of potential female applicants herein suggests that the subjective perceived qualities of non-economic factors are important in employment decisions consistent with the attraction-selection-attrition model (Rynes & Miller, 1983; Schneider, 1987). Considering the issue noted above, that groups that commonly

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experience tokenism are typically minority groups in other circumstances, in conjunction with respondents' stated feelings about previous employment in other male-dominated fields, it is likely that individuals that experience tokenism at one point evaluate later employment opportunities considering the similarities of the new organization against those of the previous organization. This may explain potential applicants' conclusions about lack of fit in organizations (Cable & Judge, 1996).

If this phenomenon is true, it suggests important questions about the process of experiencing tokenism. Specifically, this relates to how previous visibility, polarization, and assimilation affects perception of these factors in other circumstances. Considering that women in this study varied in reporting perceptions of tokenism, either they experienced different environments or they differed in levels of sensitivity to factors such as visibility, polarization, or assimilation. This could possibly relate to previous experiences in token environments. For example, military experience is common among both male and female police officers. Females who have had military experience may be either sensitized or desensitized to token environments. The nature of this process may shed light into the conceptual overlap between tokenism and other theories about minority attitudes and behavior as minorities have likely experienced tokenism at multiple points in their lives.

Limitations

Three limitations are discussed in the context of the larger study. The most prominent limitation in this study is that the study used data from one metropolitan police department. While the concentrated effort on one police department allowed for a

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thorough analysis, using both quantitative and qualitative data, the generalizability of the study is limited. Metropolitan police departments may have slightly different hiring practices than more rural police departments due to budget and personnel. Likewise, other police departments (particularly those outside of Texas) will have different standards and criteria. Even major metropolitan police departments in Texas vary in their type of physical fitness test and criteria for hire.

In addition to departmental variation, individuals applying to police departments may vary based on geographic region. Compared to the national average, TMPD is located in a relatively low cost of living city, and police officers make a competitive wage for the area. However, this dynamic is not the norm for most police departments, where the salary may be low for the city's cost of living. While individuals applying to TMPD may not see the police officer salary as a financial disincentive to joining the force, women in other geographic areas may have a different perception. In addition to salary differences, other factors such as reputation of the police department, perceived level of crime, and other job opportunities may also play a role in different locations. Considering that factors external to the department, such as female participation in municipal government, have been shown to be related to female representation in policing (Zhao, He & Lovrich, 2006), this study focuses on only the components of the decision making process related to policing itself.

Another limitation of the study is the use of secondary data collected by the police department used in the disqualification component and the academy component. While the secondary data from the police department provided detailed information on applicant disqualification and academy attrition, some of the coding may underrepresent the

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number of disqualifications. For example, applicants who were suspected of being involved in a domestic violence altercation may have stopped calling the police investigators thus informally withdrawing from the process. Applicants who failed to return phone calls were coded as failing to comply during the personal history sheet phase or background since there was insufficient proof at the time to write off the applicant for the criminal activity. Unfortunately, without going through individuals' records with background investigator notes, the actual number of individuals who would have disqualified from the process is unknown.

In regards to the academy attrition data, some recruits (particularly from earlier years in the dataset) did not have a reason for their resignation or termination. Since the process that resulted in this missing data is unknown, it is unclear how this issue may bias the findings To address the limitations of using secondary data, the researcher spent time with those individuals who compiled the disqualification and academy data to determine the limitations of each data set and request additional clarifying information, when possible. After additional information was received, the researcher spent time reconciling multiple data sets to create the most informative dataset for each component of the study.

Finally, the purpose of the qualitative data for each component was to provide further details to help understand the quantitative findings. However, the use of only females for the potential applicant component and the academy component poses a unique limitation on the ability to understand these details as being unique to women. Concerns such as family or danger may also influence potential male applicants and their decision to apply. Similarly, male police officers may have had similar experiences in

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the academy. Future research in these areas should address the perceptions of males, as well as the perceptions of females during these stages to determine if perceived barriers of females are similar to perceived barriers of males. If so, police department staff should be aware of the ways in which all applicants are influenced.

In addition to the three overall limitations of the study, there are several limitations specifically related to the individual components. First, the study on potential applicant perceptions only measured the likelihood of applying to TMPD, but did not include the actual follow through of an individual applying to TMPD. While reconciling the attendees to an applicant list to determine who actually applied would have addressed this issue, various departmental changes in the application process that occurred during the period following the event would have made impacted the results. Most notably, after the symposium studied, TMPD changed their application form to include the lengthy personal history form as part of the initial application. After implementing this change, TMPD received a drastic reduction in applications.

Another concern of the first component was the utilization of telephone interviews for the qualitative data collection. While many of the attendees left their contact information to be called for further feedback, several of the individuals did not answer the phone again after scheduling a specific time for their interview. While the researcher left voicemails for those individuals who did not answer, none of the individuals who received voicemails called back. It is unclear whether the willingness to participate in the interview was indicative of any other issues studied. For example, women who were willing to participate may have represented a biased sample of individuals with higher than average interest in the career. Finally, those who were

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willing to participate in the phone call varied in their level of detail in responses. This suggests the possibility that women who provided more information may have been different than those that provided more limited responses.

The second component on disqualification and the third component on the academy have similar limitations involving the measurement of reasons behind applicant or recruit behavior. Both of the qualitative studies used individual's perceptions to measure other individual's reasons behind withdrawal/disqualification and resignation/termination. For example, the application processing qualitative data includes processing staff's perceptions of reasons that women withdrew. Similarly, many statements made by current female officers about the academy concerned other women's reasons for leaving the academy. A more accurate measurement would be the perceptions of the applicants and recruits who did not continue the process. While this limitation was unable to be rectified in this study, future research should strive to obtain more direct, first-hand measures of applicants and recruits' reasons for withdrawing. By working in conjunction with police departments, researchers should obtain consent for follow-up from individuals when individuals begin the application process or academy to allow for this possibility.

Despite the limitations of individual components of the research project and the limitations in general, the presented research provided a detailed view into many of the issues creating barriers to women interested in entering the policing profession. While each of the limitations is important to consider when evaluating individual findings or when seeking ways to continue research in this area, the consistency of themes in the qualitative sections and their strong relationship with the quantitative findings both

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within and between components suggests that the limitations noted should not justify serious concerns about the substantive conclusions of the overall project.

Policy Recommendations

Several policy implications were suggested by the research. These implications are broken down into three distinct sets. The first set includes implications concerning improving the climate for women entering policing in general. This set includes issues that extend beyond individual departments. The second set includes suggestions to police departments in general, and the final set includes recommendations specifically directed at TMPD where the research was conducted.

Overall Recommendations

In general, the findings suggested that many of the issues that limit women's entrance in to the policing profession extend beyond individual departments. The results suggest that society still largely views policing as a man's job and that women's role as caretakers to children is still viewed by many as their most important role. As a result, issues related to a career in policing, such as safety, are amplified for women as they are viewed against the backdrop of child rearing. This social problem is difficult to address, because the scope and meaning attached to the mother role is unlikely to change anytime soon. Likewise, stereotypical views about the danger of policing and the physicality of the job have to be dismantled before other individuals such as family members may be able to support women in their decisions to pursue the career.

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Although research has suggested that increasing female officers within a single department is unlikely to produce genuine change within that department (Halford, Savage, & Witz, 1997), it is possible that increasing the representation of female officers in the profession will alter both the culture within the field as well as perceptions about the career that lead to a lack of external support for interested women. This is a greater social objective than simply increasing representation of females in a single agency alone. An important step toward this goal involves embracing the recognition that this issue is a national problem, and that substantial change may likely involve national support such. Federal and state governments have given financial support to encourage women to pursue other male-dominated fields, including Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) (The White House Council on Women and Girls, 2012). Considering the societal impact of policing, similar support should be demonstrated for the field of policing.

Recommendations to Departments

Individual police department seeking to improve the number of female applicants as well as keep women engaged in the application process should consider many of the recruitment practices in place at TMPD. The present research indicates that women entering the profession lack confidence and need support. Likewise the research showed that family and significant others often were not supportive of the decision to become a police officer. This was related to stereotypical views about policing being a man's job. The Women in Policing Symposium hosted by TMPD provides a forum where the public can interact with women with successful policing careers.

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This forum provides an important chance for interested women to learn about the possibility of becoming officers from women that have been successful in the profession. The recruiters involved in the symposium encourage women to bring their spouses and families to the event. As a result, individuals brought friends, daughters, kids, and significant others. This provides an opportunity to educate women's family and significant others prior to their entering the process. Ideally, this will help to increase the support network available to interested women if they choose to apply.

In addition, departments are encouraged to engage in pretest physical training sessions. Given that previous research has shown that women tend to fail the physical fitness test (Birzer & Craig, 1996) and the present study indicated that women tend to withdraw during the physical fitness exam portion more than men, free physical training sessions have the potential to help prepare female applicants for the test, both physically and mentally. This provides a chance for women to prepare for one of the noted barriers in the process while interacting with a current officer. Given the effects of visibility and evidence that support from female officers was important to many women during the process, it would be ideal if these sessions were gender specific and were hosted by female officers for female applicants.

Finally, departments should expand their data collection efforts including data during the recruiting, application, processing, and academy processes. Further, these data should be collected in electronic format. Using an electronic data collection would provide substantial benefits to departments. First, departments would be able to continuously monitor for disparate impact in the various tests. Second, easily-accessible electronic data on applicants would allow departments to isolate the factors that limit the

entrance of women that are specific to their organization or area. Considering that previous work has isolated a variety of issues related to agency-collected data (Wilson & Heinonen, 2011), this is a promising area for academic-practitioner collaboration.

Recommendations to TMPD

There are two recommendations specific to the TMPD. First, the haircut policy should be revisited by the command staff to determine if the costs of the policy (fewer applicants and negative perception of TMPD by some applicants) outweigh the benefits of the policy (shorter recruit preparation time, safety during recruit training, and loyalty testing). The theme of the haircut policy as a barrier to women entering policing emerged across all the three studies. Potential female applicants, recruiters, investigators, and current female officers identified that the haircut policy has a negative effect serving to limit the number of applicants, increasing the number of withdrawals, and creating discord among female academy recruits. Additionally, there was evidence that the policy has potentially greater negative impact on African American female applicants. Thus, it may have greater implications for diversity overall.

While resistance to the haircut policy may be perceived as trivial or vain, there has been research suggesting that hair, especially for African American females, has deep cultural and historical significance. Wentz (2001) describes the relationship with women and their hair as having a deep impact on women's social position. The mainstream view of feminine and attractive hair is described as long, preferably blond, and either curly or wavy. The haircut policy requires women to explicitly abandon the mainstream view of attractiveness as a requirement for employment, despite the fact that there is no such

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requirement for sworn police officers. Wentz (2001) points out that African American females are less likely to downplay their femininity in hairstyle due to their lack of acceptance into mainstream white attractiveness to begin with. This adds to the overall diversity concern created by the haircut policy noted above.

Second, TMPD should monitor their targeted recruiting events to determine the effectiveness on increasing applicants and awareness of policing as a career open for women. This is fundamental to the development of best practices in female recruiting as suggested by Taylor et al. (2006). The recruiting department hosts numerous events and opportunities designed to increase the number of female applicants. The Women in Policing Symposium is held yearly, and hundreds of women show up to learn more about a policing career. Conducting follow-up contact with the attendees to the various events would provide the department important information on what types of events are most effective at increasing women's interest in and/or understanding of a career in policing. Ultimately, understanding those details are important in designing events that increase the number of applicants, an important reason that most departments cannot hire sufficient officers to meet their particular needs (Koper, 2004). This is a fundamental consideration in achieving the actual goal of increasing the number of female officers in the department.

Directions for Future Research

While the present study demonstrated a variety of reasons that women interested in policing may choose not to pursue a policing career, the research did not address whether these issues differ between men and women. It is possible that men and women

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have distinct reasons that affect their decisions to apply. For example, haircut policies are likely reasons women choose not to apply yet these policies likely have little impact on men. In contrast, their reasons may center about the same issues, but each issue may have a different effect on men and women. For example, family may be an important issue for both men and women; however, given women's greater role as caregivers to children, especially babies, the effect of family concerns may be greater on women. Either way, understanding this phenomenon would provide important guidance to agencies attempting to recruit both men and women. Additionally, it would provide greater evidence on the effectiveness of targeted recruiting strategies.

Other process issues within applicant screening need further study. For example, considering that female applicants were typically disqualified early in the process but male applicants were typically disqualified late in the process, the impact of the order of the stages on women is unclear. Considering the evidence that related female fears of judgment and failure to withdrawal, changing the order of the application processing stages might increase the number of successful female applicants. Women who have passed several stages might be more confident in their ability to pass later stages. Police organizations may structure their processes to maximize processing resources. For example background investigations usually requires more resources than physical fitness testing. Therefore, departments may prefer to disqualify unfit candidates using the physical fitness test prior to conducting the background screening. This may make testing the impact of order on female success difficult, but such an analysis would be beneficial to the field.

Another challenge facing researchers attempting to understand women in male-dominated fields such as policing relates to the nature of studying groups. Often, groups are analyzed as though they are homogenous. Evidence from the present study suggests that women pursuing careers in policing are a varied group. Considering that many outcomes within the process were related to an individual's response to a particular situation, further research to understand how this variation impacts successful transition into the field is needed. While some women may react to issues such as visibility or polarization, other women may simply not perceive these things as occurring. Previous experiences, individual characteristics, and external factors such as culture may affect women's ability to discern or sensitivity to negative dynamics that may serve as barriers. Understanding these components would carry a host of ramifications, both theoretical and practical.

Finally, this project illustrates the mutual benefits received when researchers and practitioners work together to understand issues affecting criminal justice. While TMPD had collected applicant data electronically, many agencies are ill prepared to engage in reflective analysis. Researchers can play a vital role in assisting organizations in implementing data collection systems that meet organizational needs and provide the opportunity for external analysis. Functional relationships between researchers and practitioners allow an ongoing discourse resulting in higher quality research and better practices in the field.

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Conclusion

Despite earlier growth, the representation of women in policing has plateaued. There are two reasons for this. First, women enter the profession at lower rates than men. Second, women leave the profession at higher rates than men. Limited research exploring either of these issues is limited. However, these differential rates of entrance and retention result in women continuing to be largely underrepresented in policing. In most agencies, women are represented at token levels.

Beginning a career in policing is a challenging process. First an individual must choose to pursue the career and apply. Next, the individual goes through a lengthy applicant screening process that involves passing multiple examinations to continue. After successfully navigating the screening process, the applicant begins the training academy. Only upon successful completion of all three steps does an individual begin working as a police officer.

The process of becoming a police officer is long and arduous for both male and female applicants. However, differences between men and women suggest that various parts of the process may affect men and women differently. Thus, unique challenges may be present for women, and some of these may pose barriers to women interested in entering the field. This study assessed such barriers at all three stages of the process (decision to apply, applicant screening, and the training academy).

Some of the identified barriers were procedural corresponding to the procedures used for candidate selection. These included the pre-employment physical and written tests. Another, the haircut rules for female recruits, was policy related. Finally, several of the barriers were perceptual. These perceptual barriers concerned women's feelings about

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support and judgment. Across all three stages of the process, women who struggled with feeling of lack of support or who became discouraged over feelings of judgment were less likely to advance.

While the policy recommendations concerning procedural and policy-related issues are straightforward, recommendations resulting from the perceptual barriers are less clear. This results, in part, from the need for better understanding of how various experiences throughout the process relate to these feelings of discouragement and lack of support. While the present study provided an initial glimpse into the importance of these issues as barriers, future research should be conducted to discern how organizational and external processes reinforce these feelings limiting women's success entering careers in policing.

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX 4.1

Survey Instrument for Recruitment Event for Women

Please circle the number indicating the extent to which you agree or disagree that the following statements describe what it would be like to work at a law enforcement agency.

1. I am worried that having to relocate may make it difficult for me to pursue a career in law enforcement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

2. Coworkers will often commend me when I do good work.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

3. I am worried about missing time with family (mother, father, sister, brother, children, and extended family) due to the work schedule of being a police officer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

4. Supervisors will often commend me when I do good work.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

5. I am worried about having to handle dangerous situations by myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

6. It will be difficult for me to do my job without being noticed by my male coworkers and supervisors.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

7. I would be less likely to apply for a job in policing if I were required to cut my hair short for the academy.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

8. If I don't do well at something in the academy, everyone will notice

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

9. Coworkers will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

10. Supervisors will ridicule me if I have to ask questions about how to do my job

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

11. I will have difficulty getting adequate childcare because of the work schedule of being a police officer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

12. I believe I can be authoritative in situations that I may encounter.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

13. Divorce or relationship problems are more likely because of my career.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

14. I will need to do the job differently because I am a woman.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

15. Supervisors will joke about sex and these comments will bother me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

16. Policing will be more dangerous for me because I am female.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

17. Coworkers will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

18. The danger of policing scares me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

19. As a police officer, I will have difficulty dating, finding a significant other, or spending time with my current partner.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

20. Supervisors will joke or make offensive remarks about being a woman

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

21. Co-workers and supervisors will exclude me from things because I am a woman.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

22. My family (mother, father, sister, brother, children, and extended family) will not support my decision to be a police officer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

23. I will have as much opportunity as my coworkers for receiving preferred assignments or promotion

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

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24. If I decided to have a child or another child, my career would make it more difficult.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

25. I believe that I can make good decisions about how to react to the situations that I will face.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

26. I will be expected to work well with women and children because I am a female.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

27. I am afraid that I will have trouble protecting other officers in dangerous situations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

28. If a male police officer tries to protect me, I won't be offended.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

29. My spouse/partner/significant other will not support my decision to be a police officer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

30. If I encounter someone physically bigger than I am, I don't know if I can subdue them.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

Are you interested in applying to TMPD? (Y/N)

Are you interested in applying to DPS? (Y/N)

Are you interested in applying FBI? (Y/N)

Indicate your likelihood of applying to TMPD.

0	2	3	4	5	6	6
Not likely at all						Very likely

Indicate your likelihood of applying to DPS.

0	2	3	4	5	6	6
Not likely at all						Very likely

Indicate your likelihood of applying to FBI.

0	2	3	4	5	6	6
Not likely at all						Very likely

Right now, do you believe that you will apply to TMPD within the next 90 days? (Y/N)

Right now, do you believe that you will apply to DPS within the next 90 days? (Y/N)

Right now, do you believe that you will apply to FBI within the next 90 days? (Y/N)

Have you already applied to TMPD? (Y/N)

Have you already applied to DPS? (Y/N)

Have you already applied to FBI? (Y/N)

Have you already applied to any other law enforcement agencies? (Y/N)

Please answer the following questions about yourself.
   1) In what year were you born? <u>19____</u>

   2) What is your race/ethnicity?
        a. White/Caucasian
        b. Latino/a
        c. African American
        d. Asian-Pacific Islander
        e. Other: _____

   3) What is your highest level of education?
        a. High school diploma or equivalent
        b. Some college
        c. Bachelor's degree
        d. Master's degree
        e. JD/Professional degree
        f. Doctorate degree

   4) What is your marital status?
        a. Single, never married
        b. In an relationship, never married
        c. Married/Civil union
        d. Separated
        e. Divorced
        f. Widowed

   5) Do you have children
        a. Yes   *If so, how many children do you have?* _____
        b. No

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APPENDIX 4.2

Informed consent script for telephone interviews with women who attended the

[recruiting event]

CONSENT SCRIPT

Hello, I am Anne Kringen a doctoral student at Texas State University. I am contacting you to talk to you about your perceptions about a career in policing. I have some information that I would like to read to you that explains what I am doing to help you decide if you would be willing to participate. May I read it to you?

You are being asked to participate in a research study, conducted by researchers at the Texas State University School of Criminal Justice. I want to understand the process that applicants go through when applying to become police officers and reasons that they withdraw from the process. You have been selected for participation due to having indicated your willingness to speak with an independent researcher when you attended the recent [EVENT NAME OMITTED]. My name is Anne Kringen (alk42@txstate.edu) and I am the primary researcher working under the supervision of Dr. Joycelyn Pollock (jp12@txstate.edu).

This project 2014O3443 was approved by the Texas State IRB on 2/13/2014. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 - lasser@txstate.edu) and to Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-2314 - bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

What will be asked: You will be asked questions about how applicants are processed and about things that you observe during your recruiting and application process. Completing the interview should take approximately 20 minutes. The interview will be recorded. Once the interview has been transcribed, the original recording will be destroyed.

Participation is voluntary: Participation in this study is completely up to you. Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to participate, you may end this interview at any time and it will not affect your relationship with TMPD. Also, if there are questions that you do not feel comfortable answering for any reason, then you may choose to skip them.

Anonymity: No identifying information about you will be collected, and your responses will be anonymous. All of the information collected in this interview will be kept confidential. Nothing you share will be shared with anyone outside of the primary researcher and the dissertation committee involved in the research. All research materials will be kept in a secure location and destroyed once the research project is completed.

Risks and benefits: We need to identify any risks associated with your participation. The only potential risks involved in this study may include a feeling of discomfort perhaps as a result of answering questions. Possible benefits include being able to voice your opinion as well as adding

to the research on this topic which might make it easier for women to apply to police organizations in the future.

If you have questions: If you have questions, you may ask them now or later. You may also request the results of this study as well by emailing Anne Kringen (alk42@txstate.edu).

Do you have any questions? Are you willing to participate?

VERBAL CONSENT DOCUMENTATION FOR PARTICIPATION

SUBJECT: Women interested in becoming police officers

This consent serves as documentation that the required elements of informed consent have

been presented orally to the participant by using the telephone consent script below.

Verbal consent to participate in this telephone survey has been obtained by the below

investigator on the below date documenting the participant's willingness to continue with the

telephone interview.

_____
Investigator's Name (Printed)

_____
Investigator's Signature

_____
Date

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APPENDIX 5.1

Applicant processing documentation

Personnel Rules of The City of [NAME OMMITTED]
Fire Fighters' and Police Officers' Civil Service Commission

Effective October 15, 2013

RULE VII (updated September 10, 2012) Minimum Qualifications

A. Police Officers

Applicants must possess the following qualifications at the time of application for the position of police officer:

1. Applicants must be at least 20 years and 6 months of age by the date of the KSA exam.

2. A person who is 45 years of age or older may not be certified for a beginning position in a police department.

3. Applicants younger than 21 years of age may be eligible, if the applicant is at least 18 years of age and has:

   a) Successfully completed and received credit for at least sixty (60) hours of study at an accredited college or university; or

   b) Received an Associate Degree from an accredited college or university; or

   c) Received an honorable discharge from the United States Armed Forces after at least two (2) years of active military service.

4. Applicants must not have any of the disqualifying items listed below on their record:

   a) Conviction of any offense above the grade of Class B misdemeanor, or other crime involving moral turpitude.

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b) Any discharge from the United States Armed Forces other than Honorable. (Uncharacterized and Entry-Level discharges may be accepted and will be assessed on an individual basis.)

c) Traffic citations for two (2) or more hazardous moving traffic offenses with any disposition other than "not guilty" within the twelve (12) months preceding the date of application.

d) Conviction of a Class B misdemeanor within the last ten (10) years.

e) Conviction of a crime involving family violence.

f) Have been on court-ordered community supervision or probation for any criminal offense above the grade of Class B misdemeanor.

g) Have been on court-ordered community supervision or probation for a Class B misdemeanor within the last ten (10) years from the date of the court order.

h) Currently under indictment for any criminal offense. Personnel Rules of The City of [NAME OMMITTED] Fire Fighters' and Police Officers' Civil Service Commission

5. Applicants must have a high school diploma or a G.E.D. certificate. The applicant's academic records must reflect a minimum overall grade point average of "C" or its numerical equivalent. In the event an applicant's high school grade point average is below this standard, or the applicant presents a G.E.D. certificate, the applicant must have attended an accredited college or university, completed at least twelve (12) semester hours, and maintained a minimum grade point average of a "C" or its numerical equivalent.

6. Applicants must be a U.S. citizen.

7. Applicants must be able to read, write, and speak in the English language.

8. Applicants must meet all legal requirements necessary to become eligible for future licensing by the Commission on Law Enforcement Officer Standards and Education.

9. Applicants must meet the suitability requirements listed under Rule IX. H. (13) Use of Illicit Substances.

G. Suitability for Appointment to a Beginning Position

An applicant will be deemed unsuitable for appointment to a beginning position whenever the applicant loses any of the minimum qualifications set forth in Rule VII, MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS.

In addition to the minimum qualifications, the following establishes causes for determining
an applicant's suitability for appointment to a beginning position in the Police Department:

1. Academic Ability

Applicants' academic records must reflect the ability to maintain the high standards demanded in the Training Academy.

When an applicant presents a high school diploma or a G.E.D. certificate, the applicant's academic records must reflect a minimum overall grade point average of "C" or its numerical equivalent. In the event an applicant's high school grade point average is below this standard, or the applicant presents a G.E.D. certificate, the applicant must have attended an accredited college or university, completed at least twelve (12) semester hours, and maintained a minimum grade point average of a "C" or its numerical equivalent. The college hours shall be from an accredited learning institution of higher education recognized by the State Board of Education in the State in which the college resides and accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools or a similar regional association recognized by the U.S. Department of Education.

Semester hours presented under this cause do not include Continuing Education Credits (CEU), Technical Training, credit for Life Experience or any other training where college credit was given but specific letter or number grades were not assigned.

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months after the date of their last KSA exam.

2. Withdrawals

Applicants desiring to withdraw from consideration must submit a signed written statement indicating this desire to the Applicant Processing Unit. In the event no written

statement is presented, the applicant will continue in the process subject to the conditions specified in these rules.

Applicants withdrawing their applications are eligible to reapply six (6) months after the date of their last KSA exam.

3. Financial Responsibility

Applicants must demonstrate fiscal responsibility and judgment in the management of their personal affairs. An applicant's poor or bad credit history, failure to pay just debts, delinquency on outstanding loans, or bankruptcies, repossessions, and foreclosures will be considered on a case-by-case basis due to the number of variables involved. Factors considered include the type and number of debts, reasons for credit problems, extenuating circumstances, and the potential for financial-related problems to have an impact on the applicant's judgment and integrity.

Applicants obligated to child and/or spousal support payments must be current on all payments.

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are not eligible to reapply for eighteen (18) months from the date deemed unsuitable under this cause.

4. Physical Testing

Applicants must meet or exceed the standards established in the [NAME OMMITTED] Police Department Physical Ability Test (PAT). The PAT shall be designed by experts in the field of industrial organizational psychology and approved by the Commission as required by Rule XV, MEDICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, and PHYSICAL TESTING.

Applicants must meet or exceed each standard during a single evaluation to be considered having successfully completed the evaluation.

Applicants will be allowed two (2) practice evaluations and a final evaluation. In the event that an applicant fails the two (2) practice evaluations the applicant will be allowed to take one (1) final retest within twenty eight (28) days of the first evaluation. Applicants will be deemed unsuitable for this cause if they fail their initial evaluation and do not subsequently pass either their second practice evaluation or their final retest.

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause who have taken a KSA exam during their current processing cycle are eligible to reapply six (6) months after the date of their last KSA exam.

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause who have yet to take a KSA exam during their current processing cycle will be eligible to reapply six (6) months after the date they failed their most recent evaluation.

5. Driving Record

Applicants must possess a valid Texas Class "C" Operator's License or another state's equivalent.

Applicants' driving records must reflect driving habits that are compatible with the safe operation of emergency vehicles. Applicants are deemed unsuitable when at any point in their processing; their driving records reflect one or more of the following:

a) No more than three (3) hazardous moving violations, with any disposition other than "not guilty" or a non-conditional dismissal, within thirty-six months of application. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply after this disqualifying factor no longer exists and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

b) No more than ten (10) traffic citations with any disposition other than "not guilty" or a non-conditional dismissal. Traffic citations under this subsection shall only include all hazardous moving violations as well as no valid license, seat belt and financial responsibility ("insurance") citations. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are permanently unsuitable.

c) Involvement as a driver in two (2) or more motor vehicle accidents within the preceding twenty-four (24) months where the applicant's actions contributed to the accident in any way. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply after this disqualifying factor no longer exists and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

d) Suspension or revocation of driving privileges within the preceding twenty-four (24) months. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply after this disqualifying factor no longer exists and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

e) Traffic citations, regardless of disposition, for two (2) or more hazardous moving traffic offenses with any disposition other than "not guilty" within the twelve (12) months preceding the date of the appointment to the Training Academy. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply after this disqualifying factor no longer exists and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

f) Applicants must not be on probation for DWI or other traffic offenses. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply after this disqualifying factor no longer exists and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

g) Applicants must not be wanted on outstanding traffic warrants. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply after this disqualifying

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factor no longer exists and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

6. Polygraph Examination

Applicants must demonstrate their veracity in responses to all personal history, employment, criminal activity, and personal habit interrogatories presented in the Polygraph Questionnaire approved by the Commission. Satisfactory demonstration of this requirement will be based on a polygraph examiner's report of "No Deception Indicated."

Manner of Testing

a) Each applicant is required to complete an approved "Polygraph Examination Questionnaire" prior to undergoing the examination.

b) The polygraph examination is for the sole purpose of verifying the applicant's truthfulness in the responses to the approved questionnaire.

c) Current or former law enforcement, corrections, or security officers are required to respond to additional questions relating to their conduct as a law enforcement, corrections, or security officer.

d) Polygraph examinations are conducted by a licensed polygraph examiner.

e) Applicants whose original polygraph results are found to be other than "No Deception Indicated" are re-examined within thirty (30) days.

f) Subsequent polygraph examinations are conducted by a different examiner.

g) Examiners who are related to an applicant, in the first degree by blood or marriage, are ineligible from administering the polygraph examination to the relative or to applicants appearing higher than the relative on the eligibility list.

Applicants whose polygraph results remain deceptive or inconclusive after two (2) examinations are deemed unsuitable.

Applicants deemed unsuitable one time under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

Applicants deemed unsuitable more than one time, under this cause are deemed permanently unsuitable.

7. Psychological Evaluation

Applicants must be certified by a licensed psychologist or psychiatrist to be in satisfactory psychological and emotional health appropriate to the duties and functions of a professional police officer.

Applicants who fail to be certified as psychologically fit to perform the duties of a police officer by a licensed psychologist or psychiatrist are deemed unsuitable.

In accordance with Chapter 143.022, applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause may request another examination by a board of three physicians, psychiatrists, or psychologists, as appropriate, appointed by the commission. The applicant must pay for the board examination. The board's decision is final.

Applicants who fail to be certified by the board are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

8. Compliance with Processing Requirements

Applicants are required to complete and satisfactorily meet the employment process requirements. This includes submitting paperwork such as the personal questionnaire and other documents prior to the designated date, reporting to appointments and examinations on the scheduled dates and times, proper notification of address and/or telephone number changes, and complying with the directions and instructions of the Applicant Processing Unit.

Applicants who fail to complete or satisfactorily meet the employment process requirements are unsuitable.

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

9. Employment History

> a) Applicants must demonstrate maturity, dependability, integrity, good work ethic, and loyalty to their past and present employers.
>
> 1) The applicant's employment history from age seventeen (17) must not indicate instability in the applicant's employment history; excessive tardiness or absenteeism; inefficiency; failure to follow directions, policies and procedures, and rules and regulations; poor working relationships; or negligent work habits.
>
> Applicants deemed unsuitable under the above cause are not eligible to reapply for a period of eighteen (18) months from the date deemed unsuitable for this cause.

b) Applicants must not have been terminated, asked to resign, or resigned from any previous employment for engaging in inappropriate or unlawful behavior, including but not limited to any of the following:

    1) Theft

    2) Assault

    3) Threats

    4) Any Felony Offense

    5) Sex Crimes

    6) Sexual Harassment

    7) Discriminatory or Retaliatory Acts

    8) Any offense involving acts of morale turpitude

    9) Disorderly Conduct or other Breaches of the Peace

Applicants deemed unsuitable under the above cause remain permanently unsuitable.

c) Applicants must not have been employed or engaged in an illegal occupation.

Applicants deemed unsuitable due to employment in an illegal occupation remain permanently unsuitable.

d) Applicants previously employed as law enforcement officers, corrections officers, emergency medical technicians (any level) or fire fighters who have been terminated or asked to resign from the employing agency remain permanently unsuitable. This shall include law enforcement officers, corrections officers, emergency medical technicians (any level) or fire fighters that have been terminated or asked to resign during their probationary period, but does not include applicants who are terminated or are asked to resign while attending a training academy.

10. Personal Interview and/or Behavioral Assessment Device

a) Applicants must demonstrate their ability to effectively communicate in a Structured Oral Interview (SOI) process as designed by experts in the field of industrial and organizational psychology.

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b) Structured Oral Interview components will exhibit linkage to the following skill areas:

   1) Decision Making

   2) Judgment and Reasoning

   3) Problem Analysis/Problem Solving

   4) Interpersonal Skills

   5) Public Relations Skill/Community Service Orientation

   6) Oral Communication

   7) Planning and Organizing

   8) Composure and Conflict Resolution

   9) Team Orientation

   10) Decisiveness/Thoroughness

c) Applicants who do not achieve a passing score on the SOI will be deemed unsuitable.

d) Unsuccessful applicants will be provided feedback regarding their interview and what they might do to improve future performance.

e) Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause for disqualification will be eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

11. False Statements of Material Fact

Applicants must be truthful and honest in their responses to all inquiries relative to their suitability for employment.

Applicants found to have withheld material information, and/or practiced or attempted to practice any deception or fraud in their application, examination, or appointments are deemed unsuitable.

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

If an applicant is deemed unsuitable for this rule based on a finding of unsuitability by another agency, the period of unsuitability will be the same as that of the originating agency.

12. Medical Examination

Applicants must be declared physically sound and free from defect which may adversely affect the performance of the duties of a police officer. To this end, applicants must be certified by a licensed physician in accordance with Chapter 143 of the Texas Local Government Code to meet or exceed the physical requirements established by this Commission for the position applied for.

In accordance with Chapter 143.022, applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause may request another examination by a board of three physicians, psychiatrists, or psychologists, as appropriate, appointed by the commission. The applicant must pay for the board examination. The board's decision is final.

Applicants who fail to be certified by the board are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

13. Use of Illicit Substances

In order to be deemed suitable, applicants must show no trace of drug dependency or illegal drug use after a physical examination, urine test, blood test, or other medical test designed to detect the presence of controlled substances.

Applicants are deemed unsuitable if they have:

a) Used marijuana or synthetic cannabinoids for the purpose of recreation or intoxication:

1) Any time during the twenty-four (24) months preceding the date of KSA exam. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply for subsequent entrance exams when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

2) More than three (3) independent times during the five (5) years preceding the date of the KSA exam. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply for subsequent entrance exams when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable and after six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

3) At any time while serving as a law enforcement officer, correction officer, security officer, or fire fighter. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

b) Used paint, glue or other inhalants for the purpose of intoxication:

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1) On no more than two (2) separate occasions while the applicant was younger than seventeen (17) years of age. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are not eligible to reapply for a period five (5) years from the most recent date of usage.

2) On three (3) or more separate occasions while the applicant was younger than seventeen (17) years of age. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

3) While the applicant was seventeen (17) years or older. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

c) Used any hallucinogenic drugs, including, but not limited to LSD, STP, or Psilocybin. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

d) Abused or illegally used prescription medicines for the purpose of intoxication or recreation, whether prescribed to them or another person or otherwise obtained:

1) On no more than three (3) independent occasions. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are not eligible to reapply for a period of five (5) years from the date of last usage.

2) On more than three (3) independent occasions. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

e) Used anabolic steroids for any reason other than the treatment of a medical condition, authorized by and under the direction of a physician. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are not eligible to reapply for a period of five (5) years from the date of the usage.

f) Illegally used any other substances or drugs listed in the Texas Controlled Substances Act or the Federal Controlled Substances Act, including but not limited to: Amphetamines, Cocaine, Methamphetamines, Opium, Barbiturates, Heroin, Morphine, Ecstasy, and Eve. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

14. Criminal Activity

Applicants are deemed unsuitable if they:

a) Are under indictment for a felony offense. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

b) Have a Class A, B, or C Misdemeanor charge pending against them. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

c) Are currently under investigation for, or are considered a suspect in, any criminal offense. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no applicable.

d) Are on probation or parole for a criminal offense. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

e) Have an outstanding warrant for their arrest for any criminal offense. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

f) Make an admission to the commission of a Class A or B Misdemeanor which occurred within the last ten (10) years while the applicant was seventeen (17) years of age or older. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

g) Are currently living with anyone who is a convicted felon. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

h) Have been or are currently on court-ordered community supervision or probation for a Class B misdemeanor within the last 10 years from the date of the court order. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam when the unsuitability factor is no longer applicable.

i) Have executed a confession to a felony offense, such confession being admissible as evidence against the person in any criminal proceeding. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

j) Make an admission to the commission of a felony which occurred while the applicant was seventeen (17) years of age or older. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

k) Have permitted, condoned, or assisted in the commission of a felony offense by another which occurred while the applicant was seventeen (17) years of age or older. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

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l) Admit to the delivery or sale of any substance listed in the Texas Controlled Substance Act or Federal Controlled Substance Act. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

m) Have been convicted of a Possession of a Controlled Substance offense. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

n) Admit to or have been convicted of the offenses of Public Lewdness, Indecent Exposure, Disorderly Conduct No. 11 (Tex. Penal Code Ann. § 42.01(a)(11)), or similar offenses. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

o) Admit to or have been convicted of an act of family violence. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

p) Have ever been or currently on court-ordered community supervision or probation for any criminal offense above the grade of a Class B misdemeanor. Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

15. Membership in Prohibited Organizations

Applicants are deemed unsuitable if they currently are, have belonged to, or been closely associated with:

a) Any organization which advocates the overthrow of any level of government in the United States including, but not limited to, Federal, State or local, by force or violence.

b) Any organization which advocates or engages in unlawful conduct directed at individuals or groups based upon the individual's or group's race, sex, religion, national origin, age, skin color, sexual preference, disability, or conduct otherwise commonly known as "Hate Crimes".

Applicants deemed unsuitable under this cause remain permanently unsuitable.

16. Temperate Habits

a) Applicants must demonstrate moderation and self-restraint in their personal, social, and public affairs reflecting the high standards required of a professional police officer. Applicants must demonstrate temperance in the use of alcohol and display emotional self-control while portraying respect for others' dignity, privacy, and property. Similarly, applicants must exhibit the absence and avoidance of extravagance, violent outbursts, and extreme partisanship. Applicants disqualified under this cause are not eligible to reapply for a period of eighteen (18) months from

the date deemed unsuitable.

b) Applicants must not have anything in their personal history that would create undue liability for the City of [NAME OMMITTED] or the [NAME OMMITTED] Police Department, as determined by the Department Head. Applicants disqualified under this cause are not eligible to reapply for a period of eighteen (18) months from the date deemed unsuitable.

c) Applicants may also be deemed unsuitable if their suitability is marginal in three or more "cause" categories. This is applicable when such marginal suitability suggests instability, poor decision-making, immaturity, and lack of dependability or disregard for rules, regulations or laws on the part of the applicant. Applicants disqualified under this cause are not eligible to reapply for a period of eighteen (18) months from the date deemed unsuitable.

d) Applicants must demonstrate moderation and good judgment in their personal appearance and should project an appearance befitting that of a professional officer. To that end, body art should not detract from an applicant's personal appearance.

Body art shall be defined as tattoos, piercings, branding, intentional scarring and intentional mutilation. This includes but is not limited to foreign objects inserted under the skin to create a design, effect, or pattern; a pierced, split, or forked tongue; stretched out holes in the earlobes; excessive piercings of the ear; piercings of the cheek, nose, eyebrow, or lips. Piercings of the ear that are not excessive in size or number are acceptable.

Inappropriate body art shall be defined as:

      1) Body art that is obscene

      2) Body art that depicts or advocates discrimination based on sex, age, race, national origin, ancestry, citizenship, religion, disability, or sexual orientation

      3) Body art that depicts or advocates gang affiliation, supremacist or extremist groups, or illegal drug use

Applicants exhibiting the following shall be found unsuitable:

      1) Inappropriate body art on any part of the body

      2) Body art on the head, face, neck, or hands

      3) Body art that will not be covered by the regulation SAPD long sleeved uniform

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Applicants may reapply when their appearance is no longer in violation of this rule.

17. State Licensing Requirements

Police applicants must meet all legal requirements necessary to become eligible for future licensing by the Commission on Law Enforcement Officer Standards and Education.

Applicants disqualified under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

18. Ability to Read and Write English

Applicants must demonstrate their ability to read, write, and converse in English.

Applicants disqualified under this cause are eligible to reapply six (6) months from the date of their last KSA exam.

APPENDIX 5.2

Impact of applicant processing stages on black applicants

Of the 13,527 applicants processed over the six-year period, 975 (7.2%) were Black and 12,552 (92.8%) were non-black. Of the 752 individuals appointed to the academy, 38 appointees (3.9% of Black applicants and 5.1% of all appointees). Of the non-black applicants, 714 (5.7%) were appointed. The difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 5.53$, p = 0.02). While this project is not designed to specifically assess the barriers to black applicants, it does explore the idea of double jeopardy for black females. Prior to conducting the analysis on double jeopardy presented in Chapter five, an analysis of the impact of being black alone was undertaken using the same methods for female applicants in the previous section. The results of those analyses are presented in this Appendix.

Chi-Square for Disqualification of Black Applicants by Stage

Stage	Black applicants disqualified	Non-black applicants disqualified
Application**	90 (18.9%)	447 (13.3%)
Pretesting	94 (24.4%)	719 (24.65%)
KSA***	134 (45.9%)	741 (33.7%)
Physical fitness testing**	247 (37.6%)	4,402 (43.8%)
Personal history sheet†	55 (13.4%)	590 (10.4%)
Background screening*	279 (78.6%)	3,686 (73.8%)
Assessment board	21 (27.6%)	452 (32.8%)
Polygraph	12 (21.8%)	218 (23.5%)

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Reasons for Disqualification of Black Applicants during Pretest (n = 3.450)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Academic		
Black	1.85*	0.54
Criminal		
Black	1.97*	0.50
Driving		
Black	1.10	0.48
Illicit		
Black	0.66*	0.13
Withdrawal		
Black	0.68*	0.19
Other		
Black	1.31	0.51
		Log likelihood = -3,206.69
		Chi-square(6) = 18.78**

Reasons for Disqualification of Black Applicants during KSA (n = 2,596)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Failed to schedule		
Black	1.38[†]	0.24
Failed to show		
Black	2.48***	0.44
Failed examination		
Black	1.28	0.25
		Log likelihood = -2678.12
		Chi-square(3) = 24.28***

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Reasons for Disqualification of Black Applicants during PT (n = 11,182)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Failed to show		
Black	0.70**	0.08
Failed first test subsequent no show		
Black	0.82	0.10
Failed examination		
Black	0.84	0.11
		Log likelihood = -12918.67
		Chi-square(3) = 11.10**

Reasons for Disqualification of Black Applicants during Background (n = 6,449)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Academic		
Black	1.70*	0.46
Criminal		
Black	2.18***	0.37
Driving		
Black	1.78**	0.37
Employment		
Black	1.86***	0.32
False statement		
Black	2.26***	0.44
Financial		
Black	2.90***	0.75
Illicit		
Black	0.86	0.15
Temperate habits		
Black	0.66	0.39
Withdrawal	1.04	
Black		0.24
Other		
Black	2.35[†]	1.16
		Log likelihood = -13152.63
		Chi-square(10) = 68.34**

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Reasons for Disqualification of Black Applicants during Assessment (n = 1,520)

Compared to passing	Relative Risk Ratio	Std. Error
Failed to show *Black*	1.96	2.08
Failed examination *Black*	0.75	0.20
		Log likelihood = -1008.83
		Chi-square(3) = 1.58

APPENDIX 5.4

Informed consent form for application processing staff interviews

CONSENT FORM

You are being asked to participate in a research study, conducted by researchers at the Texas State University School of Criminal Justice, which aims to understand the process that applicants go through when applying to become police officers and reasons that they withdraw from the process or are disqualified. You have been selected for participation due to your position within the recruiting department of a large, urban department in the state of Texas. The primary researcher is Anne Kringen (alk42@txstate.edu) working under the supervision of Dr. Joycelyn Pollock (jp12@txstate.edu).

This project 2014O3443 was approved by the Texas State IRB on 2/13/2014. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 - lasser@txstate.edu) and to Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-2314 - bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

What will be asked: This research will be a semi-structured interview with a researcher. You will be asked questions about how applicants are processed and about things that you observe in your job. Completing the interview should take approximately 20 to 30 minutes. The interview will be recorded. Once the interview has been transcribed, the original recording will be destroyed.

Participation is voluntary: Participation in this study is completely up to you. Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to participate, you may end this interview at any time without prejudice or jeopardy to your standing with TMPD. Also, if there are questions that you do not feel comfortable answering for any reason, then you may choose to skip them.

Anonymity: No identifying information about you will be collected, and your responses will be anonymous. All of the information collected in this interview will be kept confidential. Nothing you share will be shared with anyone outside of the primary researcher and the dissertation committee involved in the research. All research materials will be kept in a secure location and destroyed once the research project is completed.

Risks and benefits: Risks involved in this study may include frustration with the organizational structure of the police department and stress experienced as a result of answering questions about your job. Possible benefits include being able to voice your opinion as well as adding to the research on this topic.

If you have questions: If you have questions, you may ask them now or later. You may also request the results of this study as well by emailing Anne Kringen (alk42@txstate.edu).

By signing below you are stating that you are consenting to participation in this study. It also means that you have read the above information and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the data collection process and the privacy of the information being collected.

Participant's Signature _____

Researcher's Signature _____

APPENDIX 6.1

Informed consent form for current female officer interviews

CONSENT FORM

You are being asked to participate in a research study, conducted by researchers at the Texas State University School of Criminal Justice, which aims to understand individual's perceptions of the police academy experience. You have been selected for participation due to your position as a police officer in a large, urban department in the state of Texas. The primary researcher is Anne Kringen (alk42@txstate.edu) working under the supervision of Dr. Joycelyn Pollock (jp12@txstate.edu).

> This project 2014O3443 was approved by the Texas State IRB on 2/13/2014. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 - lasser@txstate.edu) and to Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-2314 - bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

What will be asked: This research will be a semi-structured interview with a researcher. You will be asked questions about your experiences in the police academy. Completing the interview should take approximately 20 to 30 minutes. The interview will be recorded. Once the interview has been transcribed, the original recording will be destroyed.

Participation is voluntary: Participation in this study is completely up to you. Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to participate, you may end this interview at any time without prejudice or jeopardy to your standing with TMPD. Also, if there are questions that you do not feel comfortable answering for any reason, then you may choose to skip them.

Anonymity: No identifying information about you will be collected, and your responses will be anonymous. All of the information collected in this interview will be kept confidential. Nothing you share will be shared with anyone outside of the primary researcher and the dissertation committee involved in the research. All research materials will be kept in a secure location and destroyed once the research project is completed.

Risks and benefits: Risks involved in this study may include frustration with the organizational structure of the police department and stress experienced as a result of answering questions about your previous experiences. Possible benefits include being able to voice your opinion as well as adding to the research on this topic.

If you have questions: If you have questions, you may ask them now or later. You may also request the results of this study as well by emailing Anne Kringen (alk42@txstate.edu).

By signing below you are stating that you are consenting to participation in this study. It also means that you have read the above information and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the data collection process and the privacy of the information being collected.

Participant's Signature _____

Researcher's Signature _____

APPENDIX 7.1

IRB Certification

TEXAS ★ STATE
UNIVERSITY
SAN MARCOS
The rising STAR of Texas

Institutional Review Board Application

Certificate of Approval

Applicant: Anne Kringen

Application Number : 2014O3443

Project Title: UNDERSTANDING BARRIERS THAT AFFECT RECRUITING AND RETAINING FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS: A MIXED METHOD APPROACH

Date of Approval: 02/13/14 10:01:38

Expiration Date: 02/13/15

Assistant Vice President for Research and Federal Relations

Chair, Institutional Review Board

Return to IRB Home

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