1993

San Jose cops : the women's story

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.txxx-5f46>
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San Jose cops: The women's story

Yancey, David Richey, M.A.

San Jose State University, 1993

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SAN JOSE COPS
THE WOMEN'S STORY

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
David R. Yancey
November 1993

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ABSTRACT

SAN JOSE COPS

THE WOMEN'S STORY

by David R. Yancey

This thesis chronicles the rise of women at the San Jose Police Department, from their role as Identification Officers, who performed many of the duties of male police officers without the recognition or commensurate pay, to their official acceptance as fully sworn police officers.

The research is in large part based on personal interviews with the women who were instrumental in bringing about the changes at the San Jose Police Department that gave women equal status. It also includes interviews with women currently working as police officers at the police department and describes their continuing struggle for fairness and equality in treatment and promotion.

It concludes with interviews of four women outside the San Jose Police Department who have reached the upper echelons of police management in several police agencies in the greater Bay Area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people deserve thanks and acknowledgement for their help and encouragement in making this thesis possible. First, the women of the San Jose Police Department who trusted me enough to tell their stories. They shared with me very difficult moments in their lives, and they were gracious, kind and tolerant of the intrusion. Whatever quality this work possesses is in large part due to the these women and the strength of character and courage they displayed, and continue to display, in their struggle for fairness and equality.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my graduate advisory committee. Dr. John Wintterle, my graduate advisor, whose guidance and encouragement in this endeavor kept me focused and on track. Professor Dwight Messimer, whose years of police experience were invaluable. And Dr. Leo Chavez, one of my original mentors and currently the President of West Valley College.

There are numerous others who gave support and guidance in this endeavor to whom I owe a great deal of thanks. A few deserve special thanks. To my good friend, Richard Honey, at the Commission on Peace Officers Standards and Training, for his help in locating much of the supporting statistical data, a special thank you. To Ann Hefley, at San Jose City College for her skillful proofreading and

careful analysis of this work that only an experienced English professor could provide, a sincere thank you.

Finally, I want to thank my family for their patience, support and love through what has been, at times, an arduous experience. My children, Matthew and Katherine, understood beyond their years why dad was always locked in his office into the early morning hours. My wife Elaine carried more than her share of the burden of the family to allow me the time to work on this project. Also important, was her constant advice and reassurance "to just take one step at a time." Without their love, help and cooperation this project would not have been possible.

To my wife Elaine,
whose strength, love
and patience seem everlasting,

and
to Dr. John Wintterle,
a master of the written
word.

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THE FORMATIVE YEARS

Historically, the hierarchy of law enforcement has been male dominated. From ancient Babylonia and Sumeria to the most recent times in the West, males have made the laws, caught the criminals who broke them, handed down the appropriate sentences, and, where necessary, wielded the executioner's axe. For better or for worse, all of this is changing. Inspired by a number of outstanding leaders, 19th century women began to demand a role in society commensurate with both their numbers and their abilities which, while most often unrecognized (by males), had yet been demonstrated in so many ways, and in so many areas, that it could not be denied by impartial observers. Their demands were met grudgingly but they were met then and are being met now. As a result, future history will no longer be written in masculine terms. Questions will no longer be posed about the "place" of women in society: With her "place" becoming as varied as the male's, the question will have become irrelevant.

Obviously, the transition of women from their traditional roles as mothers, wives and supporters of the male, into the work place reflects an enormous cultural and societal change in America. While it is largely true that the transition is still incomplete, there is one field where significant change has occurred--law enforcement. However,

that change has, in turn, generated a number of interesting questions that have only recently been discussed. Questions such as: Is equality in law enforcement more apparent than real? If it is real, how have women in this career field managed to achieve equality? If it is not real, then where, and how, does the system need changing? Surely of equal importance, in terms of women entering the profession, is how women adapt to what has always been considered a male dominated environment? And what kind of impact has that adaptation (and environment) had upon the personalities of women entering the profession? Further, has this change in law enforcement, in allowing the entrance of women, been a positive change toward acceptance and equality? Given the difficulties, stresses, and dangerous conditions often faced by police today, it would seem reasonable to expect no less. But expectations are not facts, and it is with facts and the answers they provide, that the writer of history must be concerned.

Before attempting to answer these questions, and others that will be generated by the issues raised, it might be well to turn aside for a minute and review the emergence of women into police work in England, Western Europe, and the United States. That done, the focus of the research will center upon attempting to answer the questions posed above by an extensive review of the practices of the Police

Department in San Jose, California, as viewed through the eyes of the women who have been associated with the Department in the past and are associated with it today.

The origins of modern police work, and the modern police force, are generally traced back to England and to Sir Robert Peel. In 1829, he secured passage of the Metropolitan Police Act which led to the reorganization of the London Police Force. Known as "Bobbies,"¹ the force was exclusively male. But over the century that followed, the changing climate of public opinion, and the methods of police work that were introduced into law enforcement, made possible the employing of women. That happened in 1905 when women, as a result of a reform group in England called the Criminal Law Amendment Committee, became part of the police community.² After their acceptance into this community, the first major step forward for these English pioneers came with the outbreak of the First World War when Margaret Dawson (who many authorities argue laid the foundation for the inclusion of women in police work) created the "Women Police Volunteers."³ By 1915, the role of these "volunteers" had been expanded to the point that the word

¹ Mary S. Allen, The Pioneer Policewoman (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1973), 6.

² Ibid., 7.

³ Ibid., 7 & 12.

"volunteer" could be dropped and the word "service" substituted. In addition, the duties of the women were more fully integrated with those of male police officers and the two sexes began working more directly with each other on various assignments. In her book, Women Police, Chloe Owings reports that during the war years over two thousand women applied for this new police service. Slightly over one thousand were chosen and were sent to a one month training school. Their training consisted of being taught military drill tactics, mastering the gathering of evidence, learning police court procedures, receiving instruction in the rudiments of criminal law, particularly as it related to women and children, first aid, jiu-jitsu, and how to search a house, or a person.⁴

That women achieved is a truism, but it was not without great effort. The obstacles faced by these early women in law enforcement were not unlike those still faced by female police officers today. Mary S. Allen, in her book The Pioneer Policewoman, relates that, in early England, getting upper level supervisors to utilize women in non-traditional roles was most difficult. Women themselves feared being judged as a group, based on the weakest performing female officer, instead of individually on their own merit. In

⁴ Chloe Owings, Women Police (Montclair: Patterson Smith, 1969), 17-18.

dealing with the training of women during this period, Ms. Allen adroitly answers one of the most common questions about female qualifications--that is, do they possess the necessary strength? She argues, "it must be confessed that much of the reluctance of the masculine mind to envisage women in these unaccustomed (physical) tasks seems to rest on a misplaced chivalry."⁵ She goes on to say that to try to protect women from the uglier sides of life is "on par with the proverbial methods of the ostrich."⁶ One woman member of the Women Police Service reported that her duties in government service included her roles as a "furnace stoker, inspector of boiler leaks, telephone and telegraph operator, fireman and gate-opener".⁷ A male constable, overhearing this report said he did all of that and "fed the pigs" as well. (It seems the male ego was fragile even in the early 1900's.)

In spite of negative male attitudes the Women Police Service Organization was given ever-extended duties. In 1916, these women became responsible for protecting and controlling munitions areas and war supplies. They were successful and, as a result of their success, their reputation grew. Eventually, their dark blue, business like

⁵ Mary S. Allen, The Pioneer Policewoman, 22-23.

⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁷ Chloe Owings, Women Police, 16.

uniforms with the W.P.S. letters in silver and their hard felt hats became more commonplace, and they soon came to be called "Liddy Coppers." Only on rare occasions was more force than just their presence necessary to restore the peace. As a result of their proven effectiveness, by the end of the First World War police women were working in England and in several countries within the dominions of Great Britain such as Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand and South Africa.

In Europe the use of women in the field of law enforcement varied, but nowhere was it nearly as extensive as in England. The early use of women in Germany, the first country to make use of the classification, or title, of "Police Woman" (Stuttgart 1903), emphasized their role in protecting young girls from abuse and prostitution. By 1914, thirty-five cities in Germany had given women police officers arrest powers.⁸ In Vienna, Austria, women were used as detectives and immigration officers. However, their usefulness in working as regular patrol officer was doubted and they were rarely utilized in that role. In Finland, women were first appointed to the police force in 1907. As in England, they were used mainly to handle the detention and investigation of women criminals, neglected or abandoned children, and the elderly. Holland's use of women in the

⁸ Ibid., 71

area of public safety was more in the role of nurses for the injured and abused. Italy employed women as assistants in the Welfare Department. France would have no part in the movement towards including women in police work at all. The attitude of the French was suggested by a poll in 1924 of the mayors of 30 of France's largest cities. According to the poll, the mayors believed that "women were meant to be mothers and home-makers." The mayors felt that the "French mind would naturally refuse to accept the possibility" of a French woman in a uniform and wielding a stick.⁹

In the United States the organization and operation of the local police is considered one of those "rights" expressly reserved to the states under the Constitution. Each state is free to develop and operate policing activities based on that state's particular needs. Thus there is great divergence in organizational structure and style of policing from state to state as well as within each state, at the county and municipal levels.

That enforcing the law is difficult was recognized early in our nation's history. The circumstances under which police had to work, and the often dangerous and dirty conditions they encountered, seemed completely inappropriate for women. Police responsibilities also crossed all lines, social, economic, and political, and because of the narrow

⁹ Ibid., 69-70.

role women played in society, police work was thus seen as a male only job. It was assumed that women knew nothing about the world of economics, politics, or the more vulgar aspects of general society. However, as early as 1776, a number of women were working in various aspects of what we refer to today as our Criminal Justice System. (Mary Lindsey, for instance, worked as a gaoler [jailer] in Henrico County, Virginia.¹⁰) Women's growing involvement in law enforcement was helped along by several groups and associations that were, in turn, part of the larger women's movement that was so important in the 19th century. There were, for instance the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, The Federation of Women's Clubs, and the National Young Women's Christian Association among others.

In 1845, under the leadership of the American Female Reform Society six police matrons were assigned to New York prison facilities. Two served at the city prison, today called the Tombs, and four others at the prison facility on Blackwell's Island.¹¹ In 1878, a member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Portland, Maine was appointed as a full time police matron to attend to the women being

¹⁰ Elizabeth Simpson Smith, Breakingthrough: Women in Law Enforcement (New York: Walker and Company, 1982), 5.

¹¹ Owings, Women Police, 98.

held in Portland's local prison.¹² As organizations such as the Reform Society became more active, other cities began appointing women to similar roles. In the early 1880's, several large cities, such as Chicago, Illinois; Boston, Massachusetts; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Baltimore, Maryland also joined the movement.

In 1885, San Francisco, Detroit, Denver and Providence, Rhode Island, also appointed women as police matrons.¹³ In 1893 the widow of a Chicago police officer, Marie Owens, was appointed as an unsworn police officer. She served the city for over 30 years.¹⁴

The motivation behind many of these appointments was assigning a woman to deal with, and be responsible for, other women or wayward or delinquent children. The idea of women working with female prisoners, young girls and/or other juvenile delinquents appeared acceptable to society, and its view of what was acceptable for women in the 19th Century. However, giving women police powers and sending them into the streets of the city to enforce laws necessitated the creation of a new category of officer and a giant leap of faith, acceptance and understanding.

¹² Ibid., 98.

¹³ Ibid., 99.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Smith, Breakingthrough: Women in Law Enforcement, 5.

The first experiment with this new category of police woman occurred in Portland, Oregon in 1905. Mrs. Lola Baldwin, of the Travelers Aid Society, was given police powers to protect both women and children attending the annual Lewis and Clark Exposition. This annual celebration traditionally drew lumberjacks, miners and assorted laborers into town. A tough group of men, they used the Exposition as an excuse to "go on a spree." Half drunken men, mixed with the multitude of women and young girls who also attended these events, created the potential for a number of difficult problems. Mrs. Baldwin's success in handling these problems was rewarded by the formation of the Department of Public Safety for The Protection of Young Girls and Women.¹⁵ She would hold the director's position of that organization through the tenure of six police chiefs and five Portland mayors. Her department was ultimately included, by city charter, into a division in the Portland Police Department.¹⁶ At the same time other women were making inroads into the law enforcement careerfield.

In her book Breakingthrough: Women in Law Enforcement, Elizabeth Smith maintains that the first regular "Police Woman," Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, was appointed in Los

¹⁵ Chloe Owings, Women Police, 99-100.

¹⁶ Ibid., 100.

Angeles, California in 1910.¹⁷ Mrs. Wells was a theology student and social worker who developed an interest in police work. She petitioned the mayor for a position as a public officer invested with police powers. When she was appointed, her duties included supervising dance halls, skating rinks, and picture shows as well as investigating missing persons. In 1911, the classification of female police officer in Los Angeles was placed under Civil Service Rules and by October of 1912 there were three policewomen in Los Angeles.¹⁸

The general public's reaction to the success of Mrs. Wells was one of surprise, even shock, that this "educated woman" had deliberately sought and secured the job of policewoman. The local press was not mild in its reaction. Their attack upon the idea of women in uniform created a caricature of a policewoman as a "bony, muscular, masculine person, grasping a revolver, dressed in anything but feminine apparel, hair drawn tightly into a hard little knot at the back of the head, huge unbecoming spectacles.... the whole [picture] presenting the idea in a most repellant and unlovely guise."¹⁹

Despite the negative image created by the press, Mrs.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Smith, Breakingthrough, 5.

¹⁸ Owings, Women Police, 101.

¹⁹ Ibid., 103.

Wells worked tirelessly over the next several years becoming, in time, a national ambassador for the hiring of women into the field of police work. She spent days traveling around the country promoting the value of women and the positive attributes they could bring to this very non-traditional profession. Her effectiveness is partially indicated by the fact that by 1916 policewomen were serving in 25 cities in twenty states. Two years later over 200 cities reported women on their police forces. In that same year the Indianapolis, Indiana, Police Department formed a woman's department headed by a female Captain, Clara Burnside, who supervised 24 female officers.²⁰ In 1925, Alice McCarthy was hired by the Chicago Police Department. She carried a gun and worked the streets of Chicago, alone. She was often called one of the city's best officers. In 1930, Massachusetts hired the first female State Trooper, and in 1950 the Miami Police Department put women into plainclothes and used them as detectives conducting follow up investigations.²¹

But all of these examples were just ripples on the surface of the ocean that constituted the overall women's movement in America. Women were stepping out of their

²⁰ Smith, Breakingthrough, 6.

²¹ Ibid., 7.

traditional roles and into the untested waters of a male dominated society. As to be expected, in many fields there originated a drive for equality and fair treatment. However, these female pioneers, and they were that, did not create the changes that occurred in a vacuum. Most substantive attitudinal change in a specific field is fueled and supported by desire for change in society as a whole. With the turn of the 20th century and the growing power of the Progressive Movement, the prevalent attitude towards women within police circles began to change to meet the changing mood of the times. As women became increasingly involved in other non-traditional roles, pressure mounted for the greater involvement of women in police work.²² Their services were seen as particularly valuable in terms of protecting women and children, especially in urban areas. In fact, it was their success in this field that helped keep the issue of women police before the public. Sentiment grew that women were better qualified for this specialized work than were their male counterparts.²³

The burgeoning women's movements began in fact to use feminine characteristics, such as compassion, gentleness and a non-threatening manner, the very characteristics that had

²² Fosdick, American Police Systems, 371.

²³ Susan Ehrlich Martin, Breaking and Entering - Policewomen on Patrol (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 22-23.

been used as barriers and disqualifiers in the past, as pluses for the inclusion of women. Women began to be portrayed as uniquely qualified to meet the growing emphasis in law enforcement on social work and the protection of those unable to care for themselves.²⁴ As a result of this "specialization" policewomen made major gains in breaking into the system. But still they were not seen as equals. Oddly enough however, equal status doesn't seem to have been a primary goal of the women during this period! Mrs. Baldwin in Portland, Oregon, didn't want the women in her bureau called officers. She insisted they be called "workers" or "operatives."²⁵ Apparently women were satisfied with their "specialty status." Even among themselves they believed that certain aspects of the job of a police officer, particularly the more physical ones, were better suited for male officers. Women appeared willing to accept the less aggressive roles assigned them, avoiding the more dangerous and physically demanding areas of police work.²⁶ They had made gains, major gains, but in the final analysis they accepted the more conventional view of women in society as being less qualified than men to meet all the requirements of being a

²⁴ Ibid., 23.

²⁵ Owings, Women Police, 101.

²⁶ Susan Martin, Breaking and Entering, 23.

police officer.²⁷

It is interesting to note how little that conventional view has changed. According to D.C. Hale, in her book, What Works in Policing, (1992) current research clearly shows that male and female officers are comparable in terms of performance and that female officers are perceived by the public as being just as effective as male officers, except in the handling of violent or confrontational behavior.²⁸ However, in her book, Breakingthrough: Women in Law Enforcement, Elizabeth Simpson Smith argues that the two greatest fears society holds relative to women as police officers are:

1. that they will panic in the face of danger and violence, and
2. that they lack the necessary physical stamina to handle the physical aspects of the job.

Ms. Smith argues that recent studies have dispelled both of these fears. In fact, studies have shown women's success in this career field is, in large part, because:

1. women officers arouse less antagonism than men when dealing with the public, and
2. women stimulate less fear in others and provoke less violence and abuse from potentially

²⁷ Ibid., 25.

²⁸ D.C. Hale, What Works in Policing (Cincinnati: Hale Anderson Publishing, 1992), 125-142.

violent situations.²⁹

She argues that that women can be successful in law enforcement in spite of their physical differences.

In 1930, the census data reported 1,534 policewomen in the United States, with every indication that the number would continue to grow.³⁰ However, between 1930 and 1950 the growth of women in law enforcement was stunted by several factors. The Great Depression of the 1930's made the specialty units of police departments appear to be expensive frills. There was also the negative perception of women working when so many men were unemployed. But perhaps most important was the effect of time on the movement itself. Many of the early leaders began to retire and leave the field to younger less motivated reformers. With this change the drive for reform began to decline. However, in the 1950's the numbers of policewomen began to grow again. By 1960 there were over 5600 policewomen in the United States.³¹ Ten years later that number had doubled.³² But even with this substantial increase in numbers the relative percentage of women to men in law enforcement was still low

²⁹ Elizabeth Smith, Breakingthrough, 8.

³⁰ Susan Martin, Breaking and Entering, 24.

³¹ Catherine Milton, "Women in Policing", from Police Foundation Report (Washington D.C.:Police Foundation Publishing, 1972), 6.

³² Ibid., 6.

at only 2%.³³

In spite of this low "relative percentage" in the total number of female officers, their duties and responsibilities increased within the profession. Women struggled against the "old line" thinking that had restricted their advancement and promotion into the hierarchy of police departments. They fought against the earlier definition of their role as that of "social worker" in an effort to reach a level of full participation and recognition. And factually, the more involved women became, the closer the idea of equal participation came to being realized: The decades of the sixties and seventies would open the door to that long sought goal.

During the 1960's, as social unrest spread in the United States, police organizations came under considerable criticism for their response. In 1967, a blue ribbon panel, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, was formed to evaluate what was perceived as an unsatisfactory police response. The Commission specifically recommended that "policewomen can be an invaluable asset to modern law enforcement and that their roles should be broadened", the report stated. "Qualified women should be utilized in such important staff service units as planning, community relations, and as legal advisors." The

³³ Ibid., 6.

report also recommended that the role of women, "should not be considered as limited to staff functions or police work with juveniles; women should also serve regularly in patrol, vice, and investigative divisions." The report went on to say, "finally, as more and more well-qualified women enter the service they could assume administrative responsibilities."³⁴

In 1972, the legal distinction between male and female police personnel was removed. Amendments to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (this amendment added police and other public safety personnel to the list of jobs covered under the original Title VII provisions) and the passage of the Crime control Act of 1973 made it illegal to deny women equal opportunity in law enforcement.³⁵ As a result, the percentage of female police officers began to increase nationwide. The long period of limited service and "specialty" assignments based on sex was ending. As women began to move into traditionally male domains such as patrol and investigative assignments the scope of their potential assignments was becoming unlimited.

In 1976, U.S. Department of Justice figures indicated, women made up 2.4% of all city police officers in the United States. Sheriffs departments reported that 8% of their

³⁴ Susan Martin, Breaking and Entering, 25-26.

³⁵ Catherine Milton, Women in Policing, 57.

total sworn staff were women and college campus police departments reported even higher figures; 13-17%. Indicative of the change that was taking place, the number of women in state and federal law enforcement agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Secret Service and the military police increased dramatically. 1986 statistics reported that nationally 3.75% of state officers were female, a 400% increase from the .9% level in 1976.³⁶ Growth in the overall numbers of women in law enforcement nationally grew between 1982-1986 from 5.9% to over 7%.³⁷ In California that percentage in 1986 was 9.5%.³⁸

Figures in 1990 show that in the five largest municipal police departments in the United States women make up an average of 11.86% of the total number of sworn officers.³⁹ Nationally, in 59 police departments in cities of between 250,000 and 1,000,000 population, women make up 9.35% of the total number of officers, and in cities over 1,000,000 people the percentage is 11.6%.⁴⁰

³⁶ U.S. Department of Justice, Source Book of Criminal Statistics 1990 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), 40.

³⁷ Robert Norman, Post Command College Report (Sacramento: State of California, 1988), 3.

³⁸ Ibid., 5.

³⁹ U.S. Department of Justice, Sourcebook of Criminal Statistics, 40.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 40.

Serving as a foundation for these changes was the 1972 Crime Commission's "Task Force Report" which urged police departments to employ officers on the basis of their interpersonal skills, emotional stability, intelligence and sensitivity to minorities.⁴¹ The Commission further recommended changes in recruitment standards including the areas of height, weight, age and vision in an effort to eliminate the disparate impact the older standards had on women and other minorities. Other recommendations included focusing recruitment efforts on minority, female and college educated candidates.⁴² While these efforts managed to further open the door for women and other minorities, recruitment efforts were less than successful. Susan Martin highlighted the problem when she argued that once their allotments or quotas of women applicants were reached, some departments would hire less qualified males despite the presence of a pool of higher qualified females.⁴³ Another example was reported by Catherine Milton in 1972. She states that in New York, in 1962, the average I.Q. of male recruits being hired was 107; by 1969 that average was down to 93. At the same time there was a qualified pool of female applicants with I.Q.'s

⁴¹ Susan Martin, Breaking and Entering, 36.

⁴² Ibid., 36.

⁴³ Ibid., 37.

averaging 110.⁴⁴ Despite these examples of implicit discrimination, it was clear, however, that changes were beginning to occur in the recruitment of women. In society in general more women were moving into the work place creating a more acceptable perception of the working woman. Even so, barriers still remained, primarily as women looked toward promotions and advancement into the variety of assignments available within most large police agencies.

Women in administrative and management positions still do not reflect the percentage of women in law enforcement, much less their percentage in the general population. It seems clear that the "glass ceiling" phenomenon alluded to in so many other career fields is also present within law enforcement. In his California Peace Officers Standards and Training Command College Report, "What Future Impact Will Women in Sworn Officer, Supervisor, and Management Positions Have on California Law Enforcement by the Year 2000", Robert G. Norman, Chief of Police in Foster City, California, reports that in September, 1987, women police officers held only 238 of the over 10,000 Sergeant or first line supervisory level positions available in California.⁴⁵ Additionally, women held only 61 of the 2,923 Lieutenant or Captain positions(2.1%) and only 2 of the 535 Chief of Police

⁴⁴ Catherine Milton, Women in Policing, 73.

⁴⁵ Robert Norman, Post Command College Report, 5.

positions or .5% of the positions available.⁴⁶ Even though women comprise approximately 10% of the total number of officers in California, only 63 have risen to management or executive level ranks (Captain or above). Norman states that "not only are women under represented in entry level positions, the figures clearly indicate that the situation progressively worsens as they attempt to make the climb to the top of their respective organizations."⁴⁷

Most progressive leaders in law enforcement, Chief Norman argues, agree that promotion through the ranks is critical to the continuing success of women in law enforcement. As Peter Horne states in his book, Women in Law Enforcement, a lack of females in top decision making roles will "work against female line personnel who are qualified and seek promotion."⁴⁸ Without pioneers to break new ground and to mark trails for the successful navigation of this new terrain few will follow and even fewer will succeed. Horne argues that it is critical that female officers strive for promotions and diversity of assignment. Without those kinds of breakthroughs the prevailing societal attitudes and perceptions of women in only "women's specialties"

⁴⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁸ Peter Horne, Women in Law Enforcement, 2d ed. (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1980), 115.

in law enforcement will remain entrenched, unfairly limiting the female officer. He further expresses concern that the "male powers that be" will resist any upward mobility by women, or even worse, the situation could result in what Horne calls the "tokenism" of the minority group supervisor.⁴⁹

In conclusion, it might well be argued that much of the change women have registered in law enforcement has resulted from both the women's movement in the 19th and 20th centuries, and legislation (including court decisions) which gave them legal grounds upon which to stand. The result, of course, has been the smashing of barriers that once surrounded the profession of law enforcement.⁵⁰

The participation of women in the labor force and the redefinition of the role of women in society has permanently altered women's social, economic and legal standing. The changes in the traditional societal concepts of what is masculine and what is feminine has improved the atmosphere for women entering non-traditional careers such as police work.⁵¹

Susan Martin makes the point that the media, particularly television, is helping to break down some of the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 118.

⁵⁰ Susan Martin, Breaking and Entering, 40.

⁵¹ Ibid., 41.

stereotypical ideas of women in society and particularly in law enforcement. Although her examples are somewhat dated and are too stereotypical for most contemporary viewpoints, such as Angie Dickinson as Pepper Martin, the strong female police sergeant on the television show "The Policewoman", or the trio of female investigators on "Charlie's Angels" who are tough and smart as well as beautiful, her point is well taken.⁵² Perhaps more representative of women today is their portrayal on television in shows like "L.A. Law", "Law and Order" and "Murder, She Wrote." These programs depict women as strong, intelligent and aggressive figures. Even more illustrative of Martin's point, the star of "Reasonable Doubts" is a deaf District Attorney played by Marlee Matlin who is actually deaf. Her underling assistant is the macho male character who would have been the star of the show ten years ago.

The question is have these changing perspectives affected the more basic concerns regarding women in law enforcement. To determine that affect we will turn to a discussion of the more traditional perceptions of women, men, and the mixing of the two in the law enforcement profession and the role conflict such a mixing causes.

One of the dominant themes in this discussion is the effect of, and the affect on, women in this male dominated

⁵² Ibid., 42.

profession. In her book, Women in Police Work, Pearl Jacobs suggests there are two basic questions relative to this discussion.

1. Do women effect changes in the nature of the police work they undertake? -or-
2. Do women who enter such a classically male dominated profession face such intense role conflict that they become more like the men with in order to survive?⁵³

There are two schools of thought regarding these questions. The first view is called the "Structuralist View." This view argues that job roles contain relatively fixed features. If an individual does not fit into an established role then either the individual will change to fit the role, or the individual ceases to perform the role.⁵⁴ The second view is referred to as the "Interactionist View." This view suggests that when there is role conflict it is temporary. When someone assumes a role that conflicts with an established "social front" the Interactionist argues that the conflict is reduced by the process of interaction between the actor and the role itself. Both the role and the individual change to accommodate each other. They meet somewhere

⁵³ Pearl Jacobs, "Women in Police Work: A Study of Role Conflict" (Phd. diss., Fordham University, 1983), 33.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 32.

between the two extremes, thereby reducing the conflict.⁵⁵

It seems clear that in both scenarios a successful female police officer must change. The important question to be asked is what degree of change is required? And what will be the impact of that change? Is she required to change her behavior as completely as possible, becoming as masculine as possible, to fit into this male dominated world, as the structuralist would suggest she must, or is she to balance the requirements of the profession with her own needs, perceptions, uniquely feminine qualities and personality as the interactionist argue? And what is the ultimate effect of these changes on the profession? These questions are obviously crucial ones, both for female police officers, and for society.

In an effort to arrive at the most accurate answer possible, a number of basic assumptions were made and designed into this paper. First and foremost, it is abundantly clear that the answers to these and many other crucial questions regarding women in this career field must come from the people most directly involved. Therefore, a major part of this work will consist of a series of personal interviews with female police officers who have been, and are, currently employed by the San Jose Police Department. Also included will be interviews with several women who have

⁵⁵ Ibid., 32-33.

reached the upper levels of police administrations in the greater San Jose area.

However, before beginning such an investigation, it might prove beneficial to turn aside for a moment and sketch the origin and development of the San Jose Police Department. Such background will help to clarify and give some historical perspective to the changes that have been made, and continue to be made, in the hiring, training and promotion of women within the San Jose Police Department.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The following historical review of the development of the San Jose Police Department was derived in great part from the San Jose Police Department Commemorative Album, 1849-1983. Produced by the San Jose Peace Officers' Association and the San Jose Police Union, Local 170. This is, to the best of my knowledge, the only source of information on this particular topic.

EARLY BEGINNINGS OF THE
SAN JOSE POLICE DEPARTMENT

From 1776, when the sleepy pueblo, San Jose de Guadalupe, was founded, until Mexico won its independence in 1821, law enforcement was the responsibility of soldiers under the authority of his Sovereign Majesty, King Carlos III of Spain. These soldiers served as the police, mayor and general protectors of the small number of settlers living in and around the pueblo. The Mexican Revolution, in the 1820's, and the decade of turbulence which followed, passed unnoticed in the small towns and villas that dotted the coastline of California. Certainly law enforcement's only reaction was the changing of the uniforms of the soldiers from Spanish to Mexican. The slow paced, relatively crime free life of this Mexican village might have endured for a century longer had it not been for the rising storm of expansionism brewing over the mountains to the east. The beautiful coast and pastoral grasslands of California would soon find itself in the middle of the turbulence of the 1830's and 1840's.

The decades of the 1830's and 1840's saw the rise of America's involvement in what orators of that period referred to as the United States' "Manifest Destiny." This movement generated a very real interest in the valleys and

ports of California. When Mexico and the United States found themselves at war in 1846 one of the goals of the United States was the acquisition of California. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 the United States had won the prize of California along with most of the United States' present day southwest.

In its early development, law enforcement was very much characterized by the term "frontier justice," and justice was usually swift and most often harsh. Unlike today, in early California the time between arrest, trial, conviction and punishment was short. This is amply demonstrated by the swift trip to the gallows of three rogues convicted of robbing a local miner in December of 1848. Within a week they were tried, convicted and legally hanged.

The discovery of gold in 1848 brought thousands of people into California. As to be expected, this flood of gold seekers, many lawless, put tremendous pressure upon the resources of villages such as San Jose and San Francisco. In Monterey, in November of 1848, a constitutional convention established a state run government. Not legally admitted to the Union until September 1850, this semi-state struggled to deal with the over 100,000 people who had flocked to the gold fields within the first year after the

discovery of gold.⁵⁷ San Jose was selected as the capitol and the city began the task of developing many city services, not the least of which was providing for police services.

William O'Connor was appointed Constable and thirteen citizens were chosen to fill part-time positions on this, San Jose's first bonafide police force. O'Connor was not, however, an official chief of police. It wasn't until a year later that James Frazier Reed assumed the position of "Chief of Police." Reed received \$10.00 a day for the job, which included both day and night responsibilities. Reed's previous employment had been that of wagon train master. His last job in that career field had been in 1846-47, heading a small wagon train over the Sierra Nevada's for a man named Donnor. One wonders if, perhaps, it was this near fatal experience that convinced him a career move was advisable. In any event, he's generally considered the first police chief of San Jose.

The requirements to be a police officer in San Jose in the last half of the 19th century were at best marginal and

⁵⁷ In a rare political decision California would bypass the normal process of being officially designated a territory, and then a state, by applying directly for statehood. As a part of the settlement of a larger political crisis in the United States over the growing sectional crisis of slavery, California would be admitted to the Union as a free state in September 1850. Until that time California operated as a "semi-state" under its constitution that had been written in 1848.

at worst non-existent. The most common way of being hired was to have a petition recommending you signed by your neighbors and then presented to the City Council for its, more or less, official approval. Generally both the Chief and his officers "served at the pleasure of the City Council"⁵⁸ and were subject to that body's complete support and/or wrath. As the turn of the century approached additional criteria were adopted. Officers began to be rated on their integrity, veracity, sobriety, residency and their ability to read and write.

The police officer's longevity in the job, as suggested above, was directly related to the political longevity of the local city council. Serving in that capacity created an increased potential for corruption and for abuses of power. So much was this the case that it was found necessary in 1898 to establish a Police and Fire Commission. The purpose and function of this commission, like the other commissions being established nationwide, was to professionalize the police force and to remove the police from politics, and, as far as possible, politics from the police. This effort resulted from public pressure to clean up local government; as such, it was an integral part of the Progressive Movement

⁵⁸ In this period in California, and in many places in the Southern United States today, particularly where the Chief and/or the officers don't have Civil Service status, city employees can be hired and fired without cause based on the wishes of the City Council or the Mayor.

which was having a profound impact upon American politics at the turn of the century. In San Jose, unfortunately, this kind of pressure did not put an end to the problem. It merely shifted the potential for corruption and abuses of power to the commissioners themselves. Whoever controlled the commissioners controlled the police. Corruption, in fact, would not be seriously addressed until the early 1940's when the police were granted Civil Service status.

By the end of the first decade of the 20th century San Jose had over 28,000 residents, and was growing and expanding, although farming was still the major industry along with some cattle ranching and fruit packing. As progress inched its way into San Jose, the police lumbered toward some elements of modernization. In 1910 a standardized police uniform was adopted consisting of dark blue, single breasted coats, trousers with a single stripe down the side and a round helmet shaped hat. The chief was paid \$125.00 a month and each of the thirteen full time officers received \$75.00 a month. The new century would bring many new changes to the police department.

The San Jose Police Department's first brush with technology would come in the area of communications. The telephone became not only a method of dispatching officers to answer citizen's calls but also a system for the citizen to call the police. By 1912, a system of police phones,

usually in locked boxes affixed to poles,⁵⁹ was established throughout the city. Any "reputable citizen" could obtain a key to these phones to call for police services. The idea that access to the police was "just a few blocks away" seemed a vast improvement in that era.

By the 1930's, radios were being widely used by police forces across the nation. These early radios were "simplex" in design, and initially limited the impact the radio could have.⁶⁰ In the 1940' and 50's, the "duplex" design was introduced, which vastly increased the value and practical function of the radio for police service. And it was partially as a result of the radio that motorized patrols came into vogue as an integral part of law enforcement during these years. Various makes of cars were used, although the Ford and the Chevrolet were favored. Most often the police vehicles were city property, but occasionally officers were allowed to use their private vehicles and at one point were compensated for fuel and oil.

⁵⁹ Police "call boxes" were usually large iron boxes with lights on them that were activated when a call was being dispatched and the beat officer would, having seen the light, then answer the phone and respond to the call. The telephone company recorded activity at these boxes by using moveable tape that was marked with a series of dots and dashes.

⁶⁰ Simplex means that transmissions can go only one way at a time (i.e., one way communication between the dispatch center and a single unit in the field; surrounding police units could not talk to each other. The development of duplex radios would allow two individual units to talk to each other without the assistance of the communications center.

Society was also becoming more motorized and the responsibility for traffic control and enforcement increased the dependency of the police department on the recently adopted motorcycle. Perhaps unfortunately, the technical innovations that eased the officer's work also helped to create a barrier between the officer and the citizen he was sworn to protect, a barrier that has come to characterize law enforcement more and more over the last forty years.⁶¹ However, in the beginning (as with so many technological innovations) these advancements were seen as improvements.

In 1917, John Newton Black was appointed as Chief of Police. Black was a dynamic, forward looking officer, and it was during Black's tenure in office (1917-1944) that the modern police organization, as it is known today in San Jose, came into being. Under his directions, specialized units, like the "Morals Squad," and a credible Identification Bureau were developed. The size of the department nearly tripled and higher standards for new officers were established. As importantly, more emphasis was placed on brain power than on brawn. In keeping with this new emphasis, a Police School was established at San Jose State

⁶¹ Today the reverse of this trend is occurring. The new concept and philosophy, called Community Policing, is to return officers to the old traditional footbeat, with the purpose of getting them out of their police vehicle and back to interacting with the people in the community. The San Jose Police Department is on the leading edge of this new concept under the aegis of its new chief Lou Cobarruviaz.

University where police officers could be trained in many of the more modern concepts of police work.⁶² However, it is unfortunate that the concepts taught in the 1930's and 1940's were still the basis for many procedures and tactics taught to police well into the 1960's and 1970's! Even so, it is important to point out, major changes in fundamental approaches to law enforcement philosophy and procedures have been occurring over the last decade. The efforts to make the officers more professional and better equipped to cope with the growing complexities of law enforcement which began with men like John Black continue, and will continue into the future.

The training of officers aside, by the mid-1950's, technology as applied in criminal identification and in information systems pushed law enforcement into the modern period. Internal reorganizations, often necessitated by technological development, created many of the bureaus and divisions one discovers today in most major departments across the country, including the San Jose Police Department. Divisions such as Investigations, Patrol, Communications, and Administrative Services are most common. Along with specialization within the police department there

⁶² It would be out of this school, and the Sociology Department at San Jose State University, that Stella Sullivan would emerge in the late 1950's to become one of the first fully sworn female police officers in the department and, in 1963, its first female police sergeant.

developed a need for non-police support personnel. This meant a wider opportunity for civilians, both male and female, to become involved in a variety of ways. For instance, the Civil Defense organizations of World War II furnished the department a semi-police organization called the Police Auxiliary, later renamed Police Reserves in 1960.⁶³ Civilian employees, in less official positions than the Reserves, increased with almost startling speed. And, what is most ironic, the personnel being hired to support this very male dominated profession were women!

⁶³ The current Police Reserve unit within the San Jose Police Department is one of the best trained and most utilized Reserve units in California if not in the United States.

The All Purpose Woman

"the girl on call for anything
she's the one to ask,
when a "real cop's" not around
she can do the task,"

Phyllis

Even though most societal and generational changes often occur with almost glacial slowness, there are instances in history when great forward movements in ideas, perceptions and values can be observed. These instances of accelerated social evolution often are expedited by the courage, intelligence and strength of will of someone or some group. At the San Jose Police Department it was a group of women.

These women were hired in a classification called Identification Officers(ID), but they actually fulfilled a myriad of duties, such as Matron, Records Clerk, fill-in secretary and all around "girl friday." All these positions were designed as support functions within the various divisions and bureaus of the police department. One such bureau was the Investigations Bureau, whose ID Officers were expected to deal with both female victims and female suspects, as well as with the various juvenile delinquents

and/or abused children who came to the attention of the police department. In other bureaus they also did filing, typing and fingerprinting of people being arrested as well as honest citizens who needed them for purposes of employment. Along with classifying and recording all those prints they were also responsible for answering the phones when the receptionist was unavailable. They did whatever was needed that wasn't considered "real police work." And they did it willingly and enthusiastically because they felt it was important work and it made them feel special to be part of the effort.

As these women demonstrated their ability to do their job, they were called upon to expand their duties to include more "real cop" functions. They were assigned as decoys in prostitution sweeps and as undercover investigators in more sophisticated and complex crimes. Some even found themselves investigating major crimes such as homicides. As the nature of their responsibilities and their expertise expanded, the women began to expect and then demand some recognition of their efforts and accomplishments.

Faced with these expectations and demands for wage parity and equal status, the leadership of the San Jose Police Department committed the typical organizational blunder--it denied them. Rather than discussed and accommodated, the work of the women was belittled, as

were their talents and their accomplishments.

In many instances circumstances were manipulated to create an adversarial relationship between the department and this group of dedicated and committed employees. Had someone in a position of leadership just acknowledged the contributions of the women, and given even minimal consideration to their demands, the circumstance of the evolution of women at the San Jose Police Department might have been very different. Unfortunately, this group of pioneers become the victims of a system that changed only as a result of a lawsuit filed in the United States Federal District Court in San Francisco. The changes forced on the system, as a result of the lawsuit, would involve the police department's policies and procedures, and ideally the attitudes of its leaders towards these particular women and hopefully women in general.

The following interviews are intended to provide, in these women's specific stories, an overall description of the combined trials, tribulations and experiences of the female Identification Officer as she progressed through this difficult but crucial period of transition.

Ann Cooney Moore

"a baker's dozen - we ladies
most near the autumn of our lives,
surely we don't threaten
these good men so strong and wise,"

Phyllis

The lawsuit, mentioned above, was filed as a class action suit in 1975 by a longtime employee of the San Jose Police Department and an accomplished Identification Officer named Ann Cooney Moore. Ann Cooney Moore, the daughter of a Santa Clara County Deputy Sheriff, had grown up with law enforcement. Although always intrigued by her father's line of work, she never had any serious aspirations to become a police officer. Her involvement with the San Jose Police Department began in 1960 as a result of a conversation with her close friend, Betty Cunningham. Betty urged her to take an exam for a position called Identification Officer being given by the City of San Jose. Ann's children were in grade school and she had been working as a secretary at their school which allowed her to work the same hours as the children. Encouraged by her husband, she reluctantly agreed to join Betty and take the exam, an exam which afterwards, she was convinced, she had failed. But she was contacted

for an oral interview. The interview apparently went well because Ann ended up second on the hiring list. A short time later she was hired and found herself in a uniform with police powers of arrest and authorization to carry a gun.

Perhaps because of her exposure to law enforcement through her father's career, Ann made the conversion from secretary to ID Officer very quickly. Her initial duties included taking police reports, fingerprinting people, sometimes suspects, assisting with female prisoners, helping victims, and doing the multitude of minor duties that were necessary to get the job done. She shared these responsibilities with other ID Officers, all of whom were called, occasionally, into the field to assist male police officers, with female or juvenile issues as they arose.

Later she was approached by the Chief of Detectives, Bart Collins, a long time friend of her father's, to work in the Narcotics Bureau. Once there, her duties and responsibilities expanded rapidly. She became involved in undercover investigations, developed informants, and assisted in developing cases in conjunction with male officers. But she wasn't allowed to make narcotics purchases and, of course, she did the clerical work in the bureau that the men felt was beneath them. She continued to work and excel in the Narcotics Bureau for nine years, always receiving positive

ratings of her work and performance.⁶⁴ But, as it turned out, when the women began to call for fair treatment and equity in pay, her work performance would count for little.

Problems began to develop in the late 1960's. The Identification Officers became concerned about the contradiction between the duties they were performing and their titled position. The initial spark leading to the confrontation was over pay, but the issue soon became more a matter of principle than economics. The women, as one Identification Officer, Sharon Young, stated "who didn't think we could say no!", began to more closely examine their position.

The principle involved their right to expect simple fairness from the department and the City of San Jose. These women were caught between two opposing forces. When police officers were negotiating for a raise they called the Identification Officers "clerks and secretaries", and said they belonged to the Municipal Employees group. When that group began negotiating for raises the ID Officers were conveniently shifted back to the police officer classification. As a result they went several years with no raises at all. This coincided with the issuing of new state-wide minimum employment standards and regulations, to be controlled under

⁶⁴ Ann Cooney Moore, interview by author, 12 December 1992, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Ann Cooney Moore interview).

a new state agency called Peace Officers Standards and Training(P.O.S.T.).

This new agency required everyone who had police powers to take a written test to be "grandfathered" into P.O.S.T.'s new ranking system. This system would automatically signal pay increases as officers progressed from one level to the next, starting with a "Basic Certificate" up to "Advanced" and supervisory levels. After taking a long ten part exam, a list was published and Ann Cooney Moore was one of three women from the police department to pass the test. (The other two women, Eunice Huntwork and Betty Kaizer left the department before Ann Moore filed her lawsuit.) Shortly after the test results were announced Ann was called to a meeting in Chief Blackmore's office with her supervisor, Deputy Chief Don DeMers. It was at that meeting she was told that the women at the San Jose Police Department were not police officers and thus not qualified to take the exam. After several months of discussions and long conferences with the department's administration, including the Chief of Police, J.R. Blackmore, the women were allowed to retake the exam. The test had to be retaken because all their results had been (supposedly) lost. Due to scheduling conflicts, Ann had to drive to P.O.S.T. headquarters, located in Sacramento to retake her exam. She successfully passed the test a second time. This time she demanded a copy of her results

to ensure they would not conveniently disappear again.

This issue, and others similar to it, led to a series of discussions, negotiations, and rumors about the status, role and duties of the Identification Officers at the San Jose Police Department. Were they "real cops" or were they just being used and manipulated by a system that was unwilling to acknowledge any of their contributions?

As the situation unfolded it became clear to the women that they were not to be treated fairly or equally. They seemed trapped between universes: The old universe of acceptable female behavior in a male dominated society and the new universe of women who were beginning to realize their worth and potential.

However, as the facts and evidence would reveal (poetic justice in a field where evidence and facts are held in such high esteem) the City's and the Police Department's position lacked any basis except those to be drawn from old sexist attitudes and irrational fears. These women found justification for their position in the City's own records. In 1963 the Chief of Police, J.R. Blackmore, had stated, in a staffing and budget recommendation to the City Manager, that "In recent years it has become apparent that female personnel should be substituted for males in certain positions

within the police department."⁶⁵ He went on to say that the work being performed by the ID Officers was work "previously performed by persons in the police officer classification."⁶⁶ He further stated that the duties and functions of these female ID Officers were above and beyond normal secretarial duties. He pointed to such duties as taking police reports, arresting and interviewing female suspects, and testifying in court. Other training documents provided further evidence that much of the training these ID Officers had received, such as a Advanced Officer, Officer Survival, Firearms Training, and partial exposure to Basic Police Academy training was identical to that given a regular police officer. Furthermore, but not mentioned by the chief, the Basic Academy Training and Advanced Officer Training were offered and partially funded under the auspices of the State of California. Reimbursement is based upon the trainee having police officer status, which the state relies on the participating agency to insure. Therefore, to deny police officer status to these women now, after having received reimbursement for their training, put the City and the Police Department into a difficult position to defend. Moreover, on November 22, 1965 the City's Civil Service

⁶⁵ Moore v. The City of San Jose, Civil Action C-75-1787, 11.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 11.

Department had issued a report that described the duties of the Identification Officer as involving investigations, interrogations, matron and other technical duties.

It is difficult to understand, in the face of this evidence, the City's actions in 1970. When Ann Moore requested a change in status in compliance with the result of her POST test the City arbitrarily reclassified the Identification Officer position.⁶⁷ This reclassification stripped the Identification Officers of their sworn status, their badges (that read Police Officer), and their firearms. The new job description of the Identification Officer, which was now called Identification Technician, restricted them to clerical activities within the department. Out of this reclassification came a new classification called Assistant Police Woman (APW).⁶⁸

This new classification of Assistant Police Woman was, "purified of all clerical duties," and spread throughout the department in various bureaus. If the former Identification Officers were interested in the new position they were required to apply and be tested to become Assistant Police

⁶⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁸ This new title of Assistant Police Woman seemed ironic to many of the Identification Officers because there was only one official position of Police Woman in the department and it was a closed classification and not in use any longer. It appeared to be only a renaming of their old job without any career advancement possible.

Women. If they chose not to apply they automatically were classified as Identification Technicians, mentioned above.

The City's position was further weakened by the actions of other law enforcement agencies which were faced with the same situation regarding female employees in similar positions. Most other agencies had simply taken employees in these positions and moved them into permanent police officer status. Two local Bay Area departments, San Mateo Sheriff's Department and the Sonoma County Sheriff's Department, accepted the lateral transfer of former San Jose Police Department Identification Officers into their sworn ranks based solely on the experience and training they had received while working as Identification Officers. San Mateo County went so far as to grant the San Jose Identification Officer who had transferred there eligibility to test for sergeant. She passed the test and was ranked number one on the promotional list.⁶⁹

In the middle of all this maneuvering, the City of San Jose, with the police department's help, shot itself in the foot. Without any additional requirements or testing, and with full credit for his time as a non-sworn employee, Peter DeLuca was reclassified to regular police officer with no fanfare. Officer DeLuca had been with the San Jose Police Department for many years in various positions, the last

⁶⁹ Ann Cooney Moore interview.

being an Identification Officer. The promotion of Peter DeLuca only added insult to injury given the fact that the female Identification Officers were required to take both physical agility and psychological exams just to be elevated to Assistant Police Woman.

For the nine women who could qualify for the new APW positions and for those who would come later not much had changed. The new positions, and the corresponding duties, were the same as the ones they had held just weeks before. The new title, Assistant Police Woman, seemed odd because the position of (full) Police Woman at the San Jose Police Department had been eliminated. It seemed to several of the women that all their efforts had only earned them a return to the status quo, with the false hopes of upward mobility to a position which, for all intents and purposes, no longer existed.

With all the posturing, the denying and manipulation of the facts of the situation, the issue of pay, which had sparked the initial controversy, soon paled in comparison with the more fundamental principles of equality and fairness.

By the mid-1970's the struggle between the APW's and the City came to a head. In 1975, Ann Moore decided she had waited long enough for the police department and the City to resolve the issues adequately. She and the other APW's had

discussed their options. All agreed their treatment was unfair; but many of the women were reluctant to "rock the boat" for fear of retaliation and even termination.

However, it was clear to Ann that the time had come to act. She decided to seek some form of redress. To be told that she wasn't qualified to be a police officer and that she had all along been, at best, only a glorified clerk flew in the face of the facts. After nine years in the Narcotics Bureau working informants and building cases and following them through to prosecution she didn't feel like a clerk. Illustrating the fact that she was not, was a specific case she handled in 1974 involving what most of the male officers in her unit called a crackpot old lady.

Ann had been making public speaking presentations on drugs and drug use prevention, and as a result of one of those presentations, she was contacted by a woman Ann described as hysterical. The woman wanted to report a murder. Ann informed her supervisor, Lieutenant Arnold Bertotti, about the call and he arranged for Ann to interview the woman in one of the bureau's taped interrogation rooms.⁷⁰ The woman told Ann that her brother and brother-in-law were involved in dealing drugs and she believed they had murdered some other drug dealers. All she knew for sure

⁷⁰ These are interrogation rooms that are wired for tape recording the interviews without the presence of an actual tape recorder on the table.

was that the murders had taken place in Southern California. After completing the interview Ann went to the Homicide Unit and laid the details before the investigators. They laughed at her and told her to "forget it." Frustrated but undaunted, Ann then asked what they would do if they were to investigate a case like this one. Using that information and her own skill Ann contacted the Orange County Sheriff's Department for any information it possessed about missing men.

The next day two Orange County detectives were in her office interested in the case. Ann worked on the investigation for the next thirty-six hours straight. The two murder victims were identified and their bodies located.

Ironically, it was on Ann's birthday that the bodies were found and the case completed. Ann called it a birthday present of vindication. Her actions resulted in the arrest and conviction of the hysterical woman's brother and brother-in-law and Ann was given a commendation, by Lt. Bertotti, for her work on the case.

Unfortunately, the commendation never made it into her personnel file. Ann stated that it was blocked by the Deputy Chief of Investigations, Edward McKay. He was vehemently opposed to women in law enforcement, she recalled.

After she had filed her lawsuit, Ann overheard the Deputy Chief telling one of his Captains that her homicide case was important but, due to the class action lawsuit she

had filed on behalf of the APW's, they couldn't afford to let it be known that "one of our own women did it."⁷¹ The Deputy Chief felt it would be embarrassing to the department. As a result, Ann Moore was not allowed to participate in the commendation ceremonies regarding this case.

Finally, after years of frustration and months of anguishing over her alternatives, Ann acted. She approached a local attorney with a good reputation named David Leahy. After long discussions with Mr. Leahy, she became the named plaintiff in a federal class action lawsuit, Ann Cooney Moore v. The City of San Jose et al., in 1975. Later, several other APW's joined the lawsuit. The lawsuit argued the women did in fact do police work and therefore deserved the status and pay of that position. The City's position was, as stated earlier, that these women were, and had always been, just clerks.

Ann bore the brunt of the department's negative reactions. She was shunned by many of the officers she had considered friends. (Years later, the APW's interviewed here praised her courage and strength of character and heaped credit for their success at Ann's feet.)

As a result of the lawsuit all the APW's were immediately restricted from any activity outside the police

⁷¹ Ann Cooney Moore, interview.

department. Their duties within the department were limited to non-police functions. Any female suspects encountered by male officers in the field were transported downtown to be searched by the APWs. On one occasion Ann found a loaded automatic pistol inside the purse of a female suspect during such a search. The purse had remained beside the unhandcuffed female suspect as she rode in the back seat of the patrol vehicle downtown to be searched. The officer's reaction to Ann's discovery was, "Oh my god!, don't tell anybody." Ann never did, even though to do so would have, perhaps, enhanced her own position. This example of competency, caring and commitment, not only to the job, but to their fellow officers was typical of the other APWs as well.

A short time later, and in obvious retaliation for filing the lawsuit, Ann Moore, a competent and highly skilled APW was unceremoniously transferred from her long held "day shift" position in the Narcotics Bureau to "graveyard shift" in the Patrol Division. Her decision not to fight the retaliation was another example of her courage and strength of will. She said, "If I frighten them that much, I will do whatever job they give me with a smile on my face."⁷² Eighteen months later when the suit was settled and she had won there can be little doubt that her smile broadened.

⁷² Ibid.

Ann Moore's experiences were not isolated incidents although some of the women at the San Jose Police Department responded differently. Two of these women were Stella Sullivan and Peggy Donald who are interviewed next.

Stella Sullivan

Stella Sullivan's experience is unique in many ways among the majority of the APWs.⁷³ She entered the police department from a different direction than the other women in this study. After graduating from San Jose State University in 1941 with a Bachelor's degree in Social Science, she found a position as a social worker, a job she soon discovered neither challenged her ability nor offered her much in the way of a future. As a result, when her husband began working for the San Jose Juvenile Probation Department, Stella decided to return to school and work on her master's degree.

Unfortunately, Stella's husband became gravely ill and by July of 1951 she was a widow with two small children ages two and five to support. This ended all of her hopes of furthering her education. She was forced to return to social work. Later that year she took a test for a position in the Juvenile Division of the police department. Because of her education and her high test score she was hired in January 1952. The only woman hired at that time, she was designated as a Juvenile Officer not a police officer. This designation, although a sworn position like a police

⁷³ Stella Sullivan, interview by author, 9 September 1992, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Stella Sullivan interview).

officer, put her and her career on a separate track from other women who would be hired in subsequent classifications such as Identification Officer, Identification Technician or APW. Her duties included handling all counseling of juveniles, and abuse victims, as well as the counseling of any related female suspects in juvenile cases. She was also involved in undercover investigations involving prostitution, narcotics and liquor law violations. As time passed she became more involved in actual field work. She became heavily involved in interacting with the local schools. Her increased workload in the field necessitated the hiring of a part time, and eventually a full time, secretary to take over the typing of the male officer's reports, answering the phone and taking the men's messages that had previously been part of Stella's duties.

In 1963, as part of a Police Commission Report indicating that the Juvenile Officers in the police Department were actually doing Sergeant's level work, all the officers, including Stella were allowed to test for the higher position. Stella passed and became the first female Sergeant in the San Jose Police Department.⁷⁴ Ironically, it was during this process that she experienced what she called sexual harassment. A retired Captain from the San Francisco Police Department, who was a member of the oral interview board for

⁷⁴ Ibid.

the new sergeant's position, complained openly that they were forced to pass Stella because she was a woman. Stella also related that some of the wives of male officers she worked with had expressed some concerns about the propriety of a woman working in this career field and particularly with their husbands. However, it didn't seem to be a problem with the male officers, most of the men considered her, and treated her, as an equal.

It is important to note here that Stella Sullivan and several other women who joined the police department in the 1950's, and some in the early 1960's expressed much different opinions about the way they were treated, and about the way they interacted with their male counterparts than did women hired later. The evidence suggests a generational phenomenon occurring on both sides of this issue. Women like Stella Sullivan and Peggy Donald apparently never found reason to struggle with their own self-image; nor were they influenced to any great degree by the national women's movements developing in those years, the kinds of movements that would have increasingly greater influence on later generations of female officers.

Stella and Peggy were both products of, and comfortable working within, the accepted parameters and perceptions of women that dominate the 1940's and the 1950's. This does not mean that they were not strong and independent women;

they were. Stella Sullivan stayed with the Juvenile division at the San Jose Police Department for twenty four years(1952-1976) and served her department well, receiving accolades for her achievements and in her own way providing an early example that women could succeed in such a male dominated profession as police work.

But society, in the years in which Peggy and Stella were pursuing their careers, had not yet arrived at the point where women felt free openly to demand equal opportunity, and to defy the more traditional perceptions of women and their designated role and status in society. Even today, both Peggy and Stella believe that women should not work alone in squad cars. They believe that women can serve a police department just as well by serving as investigators and by providing, what Peggy called, the more helpful and nurturing elements often missing in law enforcement today.⁷⁵

Both Stella and Peggy represent, for lack of a better word, the values, standards and the views of the older generation relative to women in law enforcement. But at the same time their strength, courage and ability put them on the leading edge of that generation's move towards the more massive changes women and their status would undergo in the

⁷⁵ Peggy Donald, interview by author, 7 October 1992, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Peggy Donald interview).

1960's and early 1970's.

Their male counterparts were of a different and older generation as well and were not faced with the kinds of problems that confronted the women. This being the case, they saw little reason to change. Largely, they did not. As a result, their attitudes toward women in general, and their perceptions vis-a-vis women in the marketplace, continued to dominate the police department. (And not just in San Jose. The same conditions obtained all over America.)

Thus by the 1970's, problems existed that could only be resolved by a head-on collision between the status quo, represented by the males, and the ever more clearly articulated demand for change and equality that was such an integral part of the women's movement.

Most of the officers on the police force were veterans of World War II and, as Peggy Donald describes them, they brought to their jobs both a considerable amount of experience, often won under extremely adverse conditions, and, equally, a considerable amount of common sense. They were men, in brief, who practiced the spirit of the law rather than enforcing it to the letter.

She points out that they treated her, and most of the other women, with respect and deference. This was to be expected. These men, like the women, were products of the same generation, and were comfortable with that generat-

ion's rules. As long as the women remained within certain acceptable parameters, as long as they accepted their traditional roles, they were acceptable to the males within the department.

The women were not only welcome, they were encouraged (by the liberal, and progressive males) to continue in their work with juveniles, abused children, females suspected of crimes, or female victims of crime.

Peggy Donald

Peggy Donald, recruited for the job in October, 1950 by Chief of Police, J.R. Blackmore, was one of the early Identification Officers. She accepted the position with a limited understanding of what the job entailed. She had been hired to replace Ida May(Waalkes) Hodgkiss, who was one of the two full-time Policewomen in the department at that time, and who had taken a leave of absence. The other full-time Policewoman was Janet Hickey, who had actually hired Peggy as the temporary replacement for Ida May.

The "Policewomen" positions, according to Peggy, had been closed by the current Chief of Police, and were being phased out, because the women in those positions had refused to do clerical duties as part of their responsibilities. Therefore, the new classification of Identification Officer had been created to incorporate clerical duties into the job descriptions of the women who would ultimately take over much the same work as the "Policewomen."

But the job Peggy thought she had accepted was nothing like the one in which she would spend twenty-five years. Peggy, when hired, had thought she would be working in the court system. She had no idea she would be in a uniform. As it turned out her initial experiences would vastly expand her exposure to life and would provide her a healthy dose of

reality. While working in the office one afternoon she was told by one of the officers to "book" the female he had in custody. She had no idea what it meant to "book" someone and was completely stunned to discover she also had to search the arrestee. Peggy, at 23 years old, was initiated into the world of crime and justice like the first time rider of the roller coaster at the oceanside amusement park.

The description, "jack of all trades," was woefully inadequate for the variety of functions this new job would entail. But Peggy was a quick study and she caught on fast. She describes herself as having been incredibly naive and remembers being mistreated more by the older Identification Officers, all of whom were women, than by any of the men. The women tended to view her as the new kid on the block and perhaps even as competition for the attention of the male officers in the department.

One of the early lessons Peggy learned was to avoid the trap of becoming too familiar with the male officers. She "believed you were treated the way you acted - act like a lady and you'll be treated like a lady."⁷⁶ Years later she was told by one of the male officers that when he had told his wife about the new female Identification Officer, he had said she was a "nice" girl, in the more traditional meaning of that term.

⁷⁶ Peggy Donald interview.

Peggy's life was destined to become even more intertwined within the police department's family fabric as a result of her marriage in 1951 to a bright young San Jose Police Officer named Ross Donald. During her career with the police department her husband rose to the rank of Assistant Chief of Police. Although her husband's success never overly influenced Peggy's self image, perceptions or beliefs, she was always cognizant of how her behavior would reflect on his position. She even refused to stand in the ceremonial photograph when the Chief of Police presented Ross with his Assistant Chief's badge. She said she never used his position for favors or special privileges. "I was always one to measure twice and cut once," she said recently, and she was always adamant that her attitude and work record reflect well on both her and her husband. She received the "best compliment ever" when a former officer told her that he "never thought of her as Ross's wife."⁷⁷

As her skill increased, Peggy became involved in fingerprint identification and soon became the main fingerprint expert in the department. She identified and filed incoming prints and had the responsibility of searching the thousands and thousands of individual print cards, a manual task in that day, to help identify suspects. Peggy would also classify latent fingerprints (these are prints taken

⁷⁷ Ibid.

from crime scenes) for identification. Peggy was acknowledged as a fingerprint expert and testified in court as such on several occasions. She also finger printed and identified the occasional "John Doe" corpse.

In the early 1950's, the ID Officers were also responsible for maintaining holding facilities for female prisoners, which included feeding them and changing their bedding. Indicative of the broad sweep of the ID Officer's duties, Peggy also participated in the operation of the police department's health clinic which tested and treated female prisoners with venereal disease.

As the years passed, job requirements expanded even more and, among other things, Peggy discovered herself spending more and more time working behind the Police Information Counter. Developing a real expertise in that position, she was soon made responsible for training newly recruited male police officers who were assigned to work the complaint desk as part of their initiation into the field.

In 1970, when the Identification Officer position was reclassified to create yet another separation of police and clerical duties for the women, Peggy and Jo Ann Moore declined to take the test for the new Assistant Police Women position. They were reclassified to Identification Technicians and Peggy remained in that position until 1975. As always, concerned about the effect of her actions on her

husband's position, she remained out of the open struggle then going on between the APWs and the department. Unfortunately, in 1975, her husband suffered a heart attack and Peggy retired from the department to care for him until his death later that year.

In her two and a half decades on the job, Peggy had proven efficient, indeed expert, in the positions assigned. Yet, in 1975, the capability of women, in spite of such obvious examples as Peggy, to be successful as regular police officers was still very much open to serious question. However, proof was forthcoming. It would be exemplified by the career of Sharon Young.

Sharon Young

"response time is disgraceful
but inside, no man shall we replace,
oh well, to hell with service
some men must save their face,"

Phyllis

Sharon was hired in March, 1960, as an Identification Officer after answering an advertisement in the San Jose Mercury News. Her only prior experience with law enforcement had been gained through reading some of her father's old duty manuals, saved from the years when he had worked for the Pinkerton Detective Agency. At the time of her employment she was married with one child. During the interview she described herself as "very non-assertive."⁷⁸

In the 1970's, when the dispute over job classification developed, Sharon, along with most of the other women, was reluctant to push matters to extremes. She liked her job(as did most of the other women), and she felt lucky to be doing such important and interesting work. "After all, we were

⁷⁸ Sharon Young, interview by author, 10 March 1993, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Sharon Young interview).

only women,"⁷⁹ Sharon said, remembering that most women in this period were excluded from police work completely. However, in the end, she supported the legal action initiated by Ann Cooney Moore, whom she praises for her courage in filing the lawsuit and for her stamina in seeing it through to a successful conclusion.

Sharon's experiences as an Identification Officer(ID) and later as an Assistant Police Woman(APW) were not unlike those of the other women in similar positions at that time. When Ann Moore was transferred out of the Narcotics Bureau in retaliation for her activism, Sharon was her replacement. She recalls vividly the isolation, verbal abuse, taunting, and the overall hostile working environment in which she found herself. The lieutenant in that bureau restricted her movement, duties, and responsibilities even more than the new APW classification required. She was not allowed to do any work in the field at all. Most of her work had to be conducted over the phone. The mistreatment by individual officers proved less intimidating, however, than the more oppressive institutional or organizational abuse and isolation.

One example of this type of abuse centered on a secretary's radio. Sharon's desk, like Ann Moore's before her, had been moved outside the normal officer's working area and

⁷⁹ Ibid.

placed near the door adjacent to the secretary's desk.

Diane, the secretary, played her personal radio so loudly that Sharon found it difficult to work, especially since the majority of the time her work required her to use the telephone. When Sharon asked her to turn down the music, Diane refused. The sergeant in the unit refused to intervene and when Sharon asked the lieutenant for help he said, "Diane is our secretary and we have to treat her right."⁸⁰ The lieutenant's only suggestion was that Sharon should close the door between her and the secretary. However, when she did that the other male officers became angry about having to open and close the door each time they left or returned to the office. Their reaction was to slam the door each time they passed through.

As a result of such treatment, Sharon began to lose her non-assertive personality. She took the issue to the next level, the Deputy Chief. Befitting his rank, the Deputy Chief quickly took action. He ordered Sharon's desk, phone and computer terminal, along with all the attendant wiring, moved to another location even further away from the normal officer work area. (This decision cost the department \$300.)

Chagrined and becoming more and more assertive, Sharon went to the next level of command, the Chief of Police. She wrote a letter to the Chief's personal assistant, Sergeant

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Bob Burroughs. She explained in the letter the circumstances surrounding the radio, the Sergeant's lack of action, the Lieutenant's attitude and finally the Deputy Chief's proposed solution.

Sergeant Burroughs response was refreshing. Even though only a sergeant his position as the Chief's assistant was a powerful one. He came down the hall to the Narcotics Bureau and ordered the secretary to "shut the goddamned radio off, this is a work place."⁸¹ Unfortunately, that small victory only intensified the pressure on Sharon. Criticism of her personal appearance, physical size, and work continued. She was not only a woman who should not be there but a pushy woman at that.

The more she and the other Assistant Police Women (APW) complained, the more difficult day to day survival became. Although all of the women interviewed here were strong, determined and confident individuals, it was a terribly difficult thing to be isolated from most of the department. The fear of not knowing their fate as a result of the turmoil within the department, of not being able to influence the circumstances, or at times control their own lives, made living any kind of normal life impossible. The harsh treatment they received from some of their co-workers, people they had worked with, in some cases for years, took a heavy

⁸¹ Ibid.

toll.

Most of those who were interviewed related moments when these feelings, fears and pressures pushed them to the very edge of their capacity to cope. Even though they all survived, the scars, invisible to the eye, were there, invisible but painful and unpleasant none the less.

But the old axiom that adversity breeds character was certainly true in this case. For Sharon and the others who were interviewed, this period of tremendous adversity surely brought forth the best that was in them. For Sharon, adversity forced a real change of character. The more she was told she could not, the more determined she became to prove she could. And her chance to really prove that was at hand, because the legal action initiated on behalf of the APWs was coming to a conclusion.

Approximately eighteen months after Ann Cooney Moore decided to file the lawsuit a pre-trial settlement was reached. The original action filed under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which had been joined, on the plaintiff's side, by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), was resolved in a most positive way for the APWs. The agreement, as usual, included all the necessary denials of wrong doing, and disclosures of no admittance of guilt that are typical of these types of settlements. But it was a clear victory for the women. The City of San Jose agreed

to a long list of demands and conditions that, many of the women felt, if taken to trial the City might not have had to accept. The fact that it accepted this type of agreement is usually indicative of a defendant (in this case the City of San Jose) not wishing to take a weak or losing case to trial.⁸²

The essentials of the agreement granted the APWs reclassification to full police officer status with equal pay as well as back pay, from the time the suit was filed. The City also agreed to provide all the necessary training to prepare the APWs for full street duty as police officers. The training, according to the settlement, was to be sup-

⁸² In a September 30, 1974 memorandum from Royce Fincher Jr., the Police Department's legal advisor and Deputy City Attorney of the City of San Jose, to Chief of Police, Robert B. Murphy, Fincher outlines the obvious weaknesses in the City's position in this matter. He lists four problem areas and then makes a prediction.

1. He cites a Police Foundation study that supports the use of women as police officers and adds that two City Councilwomen were interested in seeing this happen.

2. He states bluntly there are no "known studies justifying any sexual bias as job-related."

3. He goes on to point out that without any definitive studies to support such bias, the lack of women at the San Jose Police Department appeared "presumptively discriminatory."

4. Lastly, he adds that the existence of the classification of "Assistant Policewoman" without a corresponding class for men at the same, lower pay scale, is quite suspect.

Then he makes an ominous prediction. "We should expect an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission complaint at any time." (In August of 1975 Ann Cooney Moore filed her lawsuit)

portive and delivered in a positive manner designed to ensure success. Put bluntly, the City was required to train these women, not harass or abuse them, or create a training environment that would ensure failure. The processes for assignments and promotions were also to be open and free of any artificial impediments.⁸³

In the years ahead, for the most part, the police department's administrative efforts in this matter were positive. The trainers proved professional and they did an adequate job in providing an appropriate learning environment. However, the San Jose Police Officer's Association attitude was different. They would try to stop the agreement through a series of legal motions and maneuvers.

The settlement between the City of San Jose and the APWs, reached prior to a court trial and published in February 1976, was met immediately with opposition from the San Jose Police Officer's Association(SJPOA). The President of the Association demanded the issues in the lawsuit be brought to trial. It is unclear whether or not he was aware of the weaknesses in the City's position the Assistant City Attorney had outlined in his September 30, 1974, memorandum. (See Footnote No. 82 above.)

On February 5, 1976, the Police Association filed a

⁸³ Pre-Determination Settlement in the matter of The United States of America Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and (the APWs) vs. City of San Jose.

motion to intervene in the settlement. Federal District Judge William Orrick ordered all sides to file briefs outlining their positions. The Police Association, through their legal representative, Ronald Yank of Carroll, Burdick & McDonough, based their arguments against the settlement agreement primarily on the sanctity of the collective bargaining contract in force between the City and the Police Officers Association. They argued that their contract established and controlled the various conditions of employment. The Association argued that the City could not unilaterally alter this contract, by accepting the settlement agreement, because it could affect the working conditions of the members of the police department not involved in the lawsuit.

The main areas addressed by Mr. Yank were seniority, as it related to vacations, days off, shift assignment, promotions, and qualifications (or the lack of qualifications, such as the APWs not having met the physical agility standards or the required training of the Field Officer Training Program). Their last and perhaps strongest argument lay in Article VIII of the collective bargaining agreement which stated, "Existing practices and/or benefits which are not referenced in the Agreement shall continue without change unless modified or abolished by mutual agreement of the

parties."⁸⁴ Mr. Yank argued that because there was no legal decision on the merits of the original lawsuit, it was inappropriate for the court to allow the City to agree to a settlement that the Association felt adversely affected its members.

Mr. Yank's motives, as he described them in a telephone interview, were to protect the rights of what he referred to as "innocent" people (the current male and female police officers on the police department) from harm, in an attempt to right a wrong that may have been committed against the APWs. He also acknowledged the weaknesses in the City's position but felt obligated to ensure another wrong, against his clients, was not permitted to occur.⁸⁵

On June 23, 1976, a Temporary Restraining Order was issued by the Honorable Richard W. Rhodes, Judge of the Superior Court of the State of California, enjoining the City from implementing any settlement agreement until the Police Associations arguments could be heard.⁸⁶

On September 28, 1976 Mr. Yank filed a Motion To File

⁸⁴ Ann Cooney Moore v. The City of San Jose; San Jose Police Officers' Association, as Intervenor, in Civil Action C-75-1787 WHO.

⁸⁵ Ronald Yank, telephone interview by author, 13 September 1993, San Francisco, California.

⁸⁶ San Jose Peace Officers' Association v. City of San Jose, Temporary Restraining Order, No. 354338, 28 September 1976.

a Cross-Complaint. A trial was held on October 8, 1976, lasting almost three full days, where the merits of the case were heard before Judge William Orrick in San Francisco Federal Court. At the conclusion of the testimony Judge Orrick ruled that the agreement between the City and the Plaintiffs could proceed as previously agreed to and the lawsuit was over. Ann Cooney Moore, as the named representative of the other APWs, had won.

The City was ordered to assign the classification of Police Officer to all the named plaintiffs, along with the following requirements: each plaintiff was allowed to choose at least three slots at the police department for choice of assignment; each plaintiff was given five(5) years to obtain the required sixty units of college level academic work; each plaintiff had to attend a basic academy or advanced officer training, the training needed for each APW was to be determined by a review of each of their training records; seniority in the police officer status was granted to each plaintiff for vacations, days off, and promotions; and finally their pay would be equal to all other police officers of equal status and seniority.⁸⁷

All twelve of the original APWs in the lawsuit except one, Margaret Anthony, who chose to remain an APW, attended

⁸⁷ Order, submitted in the Civil Action No. C-75-1787 WHO, Ann Cooney Moore vs. The City of San Jose: San Jose Police Department, et al.

a special Basic Police Academy the Police Department designed for the APWs. Of those only four ended up in the Patrol Division. The others were assigned to positions within the department. But, largely, this is understandable. Several of the former APWs were in their late 40's or early 50's and had only a few years left before retirement when the lawsuit started. But, thanks to the hard fought victory, those who retired did so with the rank of police officer. However, for those who stayed, and especially for those who went on to patrol, the excitement was just beginning.

Sharon Young was one of the first APWs to enter the Patrol Division. It was there, she remembers, that life in the police department began to improve for her. She spent eight years working the streets as an officer, and in those years she received a number of high ratings, which had much to do with her becoming the first female Training Officer at the San Jose Police Department.

As a training officer, she was responsible for training new recruits, even male recruits. This constituted an enormous step forward for women at the Department, and for women in law enforcement in general. Not only were women doing their jobs successfully, jobs only males were supposed to be able to do, but, they were being allowed to train new officers, new male officers, a position usually reserved for

men with a considerable amount of experience.

Part of the value of Sharon proving herself in the Patrol Division was the role model she represented for others. Many were watching and wondering if women could perform and, on a larger scale, if women in general could succeed in such exacting and dangerous work (Sharon still feels that some men will never accept women in law enforcement, much less their working the streets in the Patrol Division). However, during her eight years on the streets she proved the critics wrong. She remembers that most of the men with whom she worked treated her well and most admitted that women seemed able to "do the job."

Unfortunately for Sharon, her patrol career ended prematurely. And it ended not at the hands of a violent suspect or in a high speed vehicle pursuit or any of a hundred other ways an officer can get hurt on this job, but rather at the hands of a fellow officer.

In 1984, two of the more senior day shift officers on her team had allowed a suspect to get away from them and a foot pursuit ensued. Sharon responded to assist and was about to catch the suspect when one of the two officers responsible for the escape, came up behind her and shoved her out of the way, knocking her into a construction project where stakes of rebar (a steel bar used to strengthen concrete forms) stuck up. Falling into the stakes she injured

her back, neck and, more seriously, her ankle and foot. As of 1993, she has had five operations to correct the injuries to her foot. The saddest aspect of this incident was the attitude of the officer who had pushed her. He told another female officer later that if she got in his way he would push her down too.

Restriction from patrol duties due to her injuries meant that Sharon had no chance of promotion to higher ranks. As a result she was bounced around among several less than desirable assignments. Boundlessly optimistic, even this terrible experience hasn't dampened the spirit or positive feelings that Sharon has for police work. She says she is as happy as she has ever been and her enthusiasm for her work has not diminished in spite of the trials and tribulations she and the other APWs endured. Currently she is working in Personnel and Training, doing background investigations on potential recruits.

Ann Cooney Moore, the original plaintiff in the class action lawsuit, was also given the opportunity to go to the Patrol Division as a result of the settlement. However, her experiences were not to be as positive as Sharon Young's. Ann's problems began while she was still in the academy.

Shortly after beginning the academy she was advised that her medical examination had revealed a serious heart condition and that she was scheduled to be retired. At her

own expense, Ann sought a second medical opinion from an objective private physician who determined her to be in fine health. Faced with this new medical opinion and not caring to challenge it, the City discovered its diagnostic equipment was in fact inoperative and the whole charade of her lack of physical fitness for the job was dropped.

Once in the Field Training Program,⁸⁸ Ann received more "special" treatment. A former co-worker in the Narcotics Bureau, who had since transferred to the F.T.O. program, requested Ann as a trainee. Ann recalls he spent most of the time they were together criticizing her style of work and, in Ann's view, did his best to sabotage her training. Unwilling to quit, and, according to the settlement agreement, guaranteed a fair chance to succeed, Ann ultimately finished the FTO program. She was then transferred back to the information counter where she was isolated from the other women and ignored by the male officers working there. Her career abruptly ended when, in a freak accident involving one the tall chairs the officers used at the counter caught on the carpet, she fell backwards crushing a disc in her back. Apparently, the sergeant had ignored the poten-

⁸⁸ The Field Training Program is a required part of a new recruit's continuing training once he has completed the Basic Recruit Academy. This training is conducted under actual street conditions. The new officer must complete a series of tasks, predetermined to ensure his ability to function as a solo beat officer. The typical training period is twelve to sixteen weeks.

tially dangerous conditions of these chairs, even though Ann had pointed it out to him two weeks earlier.

Ann Cooney Moore's career ended as a result of her injury. The woman who had borne the brunt of male criticism to gain parity for the APWs would not be allowed to enjoy the results of her labor.

Phyllis Trussler

"a decisive move could cause to dance
the eight sleeping lives of a cat,
but policemen's balls are out of style
you know?? I've noticed that-----"

Phyllis

Phyllis Trussler was last of the APWs interviewed. She is unique even within this group of unique women. Over the years, Phyllis became little less than the matriarch of the women's movement within the San Jose Police Department. By the end of her career she wielded more unofficial power than any other police officer.

The origins of her career as a police officer are not too dissimilar from all the other APWs in the San Jose Police Department. In the early 1960's, she was a mother of three children, recently divorced and, as she stated, "a most unlikely candidate for this line of work."⁸⁹ Her early life had prepared her for the traditional mid-western role for women: marry well and raise your children. Life in the Bible Belt had taught her that women always defer to men. Her divorce cracked that image, and her career with the San

⁸⁹ Phyllis Trussler, interview by author, 27 October 1992, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Phyllis Trussler interview).

Jose Police Department shattered it totally.

In 1962, she tested for the position of ID Officer and came out on top of the list. Her early duties as an ID Officer included the usual tasks; working in the matron pool and rotating that responsibility with the other ID Officers. She also worked on undercover investigations of prostitution rings and investigations involving illegal abortions (this was before Roe v. Wade). She liked the work and the power and prestige it gave her. She, like most of the ID Officers, felt privileged to be working at the police department and she had absolutely no intention or desire to become an activist for women's rights.

But in 1967, she received a call from Peggy Donald, another ID Officer, who told her that there was trouble brewing regarding Sharon Young's request for a replacement Mace canister(a chemical agent all officers carried). Deputy Chief DeMers, the ID Officer's supervisor, blocked the request. "He was apparently unaware that the Identification Officers had, for some twenty or so years, been carrying mace and firearms," Phyllis said, and she remembers his concern that their uniforms made them look too much like police officers.⁹⁰

Deputy Chief DeMers issued a memorandum restricting the Identification Officers from carrying mace or firearms. For

⁹⁰ Ibid.

reasons that are not altogether clear even today, Phyllis felt compelled to find out the reasoning behind a memo that seemed to ignore both history and the fact that the Identification Officers were sworn officers and authorized to carrying mace and weapons. She went to the Deputy Chief's office with the intention of asking questions about the memo. Somehow the questions she had planned to ask didn't come out exactly as she had phrased them in her mind. She entered the Deputy Chief's office, awed by the contrast between where she was and who she was. Amazingly, in spite of her awe, her questions began sounding a lot like a direct challenge to the Deputy Chief's new policies. Phyllis remembers hearing herself say, "I have a gun in my purse. If I am a sworn officer then it's O.K.. If not, then I am in violation of Penal Code section 12020 P.C. and should be arrested."⁹¹ The Deputy Chief, stunned by what he had just heard, sat (and Phyllis stood) for an extended moment or two, in silence. Shocked by what she had said and hearing no response from Chief DeMers, Phyllis returned to her desk and waited.

News travels fast in police circles, and within minutes of the confrontation the whole bureau was abuzz with what had occurred. Thirty minutes later she was called into her Captain's office, Captain Azzerello, and told she was to be

⁹¹ Ibid.

suspended and sent home. She was also to be given a "Red A" on her payroll sheet indicating a day of absence without pay. Shaken, Phyllis went home.

Frightened, angry and unsure of how to proceed, she pondered her future and wondered what tomorrow would bring. Encouraged by her husband, she returned the next morning, with a plan. She had decided to fight this disciplinary action.

She told Captain Azzerello that if he gave her the "Red A" she would consider it a suspension and as such she had a right to a hearing. The Captain said, "Its not like you need the money, you are married." She told him there were two ways to spell principle and here the spelling was important.

Perhaps it was the growing list of little indignities the ID Officers had been enduring, such as the pay raise issue, and other illustrations of unfairness within the department, individually not serious, but collectively overwhelming, that drove Phyllis to action. She felt that the time had come for someone to force the issue: What were the Identification Officers after all?

The ultimate resolution of the question was not earth shaking but it was a victory of sorts for the Identification Officers. Phyllis ultimately agreed to accept a letter of reprimand for speaking to the Deputy Chief in a challenging

manner, but only after she agreed as to who would write the letter. It was agreed that her direct supervisor Sergeant David Pollack would write the letter, and a unique letter it was.

The letter read more like a commendation for courageous and exemplary action than a reprimand for improper behavior! But it allowed the administration to save face and it gave Phyllis something to hang on her office wall. However, something far more serious also happened that day. Her confrontation with the Deputy Chief, and her refusal to be bullied by the administration, not only taught her a valuable lesson, it aroused the activist in Phyllis Trussler.

Phyllis readily admits that in the 1960's, when she and most of the other women first began working in the police department, women in general relied on their cuteness and sex appeal to survive, especially in work situations. The prize to be won was a man, preferably a medical doctor. But by the late 1960's and early 1970's (years she calls the "Transitional Years", because they reminded her of that stage in pregnancy, the toughest part, just before the baby is born), things were changing.⁹² And this change frightened both the men and women of the San Jose Police Depart-

⁹² These were among the more important years of the women's movement in our society, years in which judicial consent decrees regarding minority hiring practices and Title VII rulings created more open access to police work for women.

ment. Elements of both sexes were fearful of change and preferred, as Hamlet pointed out, the old rules supporting the status quo. But change was inevitable and unrelenting.

Nationally the 1964 Civil Rights Act had been amended to increase its protection against discrimination for a larger number of groups in society. As a result, specifically in law enforcement, the doors to many police departments were opened wider. Female recruits were being hired by the same process as men. But the old timers, the APWs at the San Jose Police Department, found the road to inclusion difficult.

Like the others, Phyllis was also frightened when Ann Cooney Moore "took the bull by the horns" and initiated her lawsuit: Her first instinct was to discover a hiding place somewhere in the middle, someplace safe. But that was not possible. She joined the lawsuit and was one of the group sent to the academy as part of the settlement.

In the meantime, another major change had occurred at the San Jose Police Department. In 1976, a new Chief of Police was appointed. His name was Joseph McNamara. He came to San Jose from New York via a stint as the chief of police in Kansas City, Missouri. He came to the department with a reputation as an innovator, a progressive thinker and a community-oriented chief of police. One might gather from that reputation that the APWs would find a friend in this

new chief.

Unfortunately, it was not to be so. The new Chief seemed reluctant to "grandmother" these women into the ranks, which is what most other agencies had done with employees under similar circumstances. In the opinion of most of the APWs interviewed, it soon became clear that the new Chief of Police was more concerned with the department's public image and the political implications of a given situation, than he was in resolving their problem.

After the settlement of the lawsuit had been reached, Phyllis and the other APWs were placed in the newly created academy. The academy was a struggle for many of the older APWs. Phyllis labeled the experience, the "Menopause Cause."⁹³ However, it was during her time in the academy that the next chapter in the life of "Phyllis the activist" began.

Chief McNamara came to the academy, along with a reporter from New York, and others, to have a question and answer session with the "women." During this session, when it appeared to Phyllis that the chief was taking too much credit for their success, she asked, "Chief how do you measure your police officers, between their ears or between their legs?"⁹⁴ The gasps in the room almost created a

⁹³ Phyllis Tressler interview.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

vacuum and there were several seconds before uneasy laughter and verbal fumbling restored some semblance of order.

Once again, as had happened when she confronted the Deputy Chief over the carrying of guns, Phyllis had no clear idea what motivated her to pose the question in such terms. The Chief never answered the question, but a few days later Phyllis, along with Ann Moore and two others, whom the city and Chief McNamara apparently thought had troubled them enough, received a call from City Personnel telling them that their retirement papers were ready for them to sign. This was a shock, since neither Phyllis nor any of the others had requested retirement nor had anyone spoken to them about the possibility of retiring. The City's medical examiner said Phyllis and the other three APWs (Ann Moore's case has been discussed earlier) had serious heart problems and could not be allowed to become officers; therefore she would have to retire. Phyllis argued that sixty other officers who couldn't work the street, because of medical reasons, had not been forced to retire. They had all been given some type of limited duty status and allowed to be productive employees. The City's response was that those officers' injuries were incurred as a result of being on the street. Phyllis pointed out that option had been denied the APWs by the City.

It seemed obvious to the women that this action was

simply retaliation for their activism. Faced with the opposition of the City's administrative structure, and with little help from the administrators within the department, Phyllis felt she had only one avenue left. It centered upon her ability to write. She wrote an article about the situation for publication in the Police Officers Association newspaper, The Vanguard. In the article she described her plight as a "Catch 22" situation. She felt, she said, like an animal caught in a trap whose only means of escape lay in chewing off her own foot. (It should be pointed out here, however, that she didn't relish taking on the Chief of Police and the City of San Jose.) After her article was printed in The Vanguard, it somehow found its way to the local media. Within a few days a local radio station called her wanting to set up a debate between her and the Chief of Police on this issue. She agreed to participate.

As the story spread throughout the City's many departments, Phyllis received encouragement from various groups and people, including a young city council member named Norm Mineta. Within a few days of the radio station's request for a debate, Phyllis was called into the Assistant Chief's office. "Miraculously her retirement had been rescinded," Phyllis recalled. The deal the Assistant Chief offered was simple: "put away your pen and we put away the retirement papers, and you can be assigned wherever you want to

work."⁹⁵ Phyllis accepted the offer and chose to work in the Field Training Officer program. The debate was also canceled.

It was clear that Phyllis had found an effective medium for getting people's attention. It had apparently gotten the Chief's attention. In a peace making gesture, and as a sign of mutual respect, the kind of respect one has for a formidable opponent who has fought well, Chief McNamara walked by her desk one day and laid a rose on it. Phyllis remembers thinking, it was his way of acknowledging her position. Phyllis would later learn, at a conference on women and how they can survive in a male dominated working world, that she had gained the Chief's respect by being able to play "the game" as well as he. This is often related in a football analogy called "making a nice tackle." It was an acknowledgement that she, in fact, could play the power game, the game usually restricted to men. By taking the initiative and using the media to strengthen her position she had indeed made "a nice tackle."

This experience taught her even greater lessons than how to succeed in a man's world. It taught her that the old competition between women, to capture the prize male, was divisive. She became an open advocate for women to learn the rules to the really important game in town, the power

⁹⁵ Ibid.

game, the only game that would ever give them real force. Only if women participated as equals with their male counterparts could they reach their ultimate goals of fairness and equality.

Furthermore, she believes that men should not fear the evolution going on in society or in the police department. Women, minorities, gays and lesbians can be effective citizens and effective police officers. To that end, Phyllis believes that the struggle by the APWs may have been a gift from them to the men on the San Jose Police Department. It demonstrated to the men that women can effectively carry the burdens of police work and do it without threatening male egos. And perhaps it helped make it possible for the men to accept other changes and innovations with more open minds. After all, if women can "do the job" perhaps change isn't so scary.⁹⁶

Phyllis became involved in many departmental issue and policy discussions in her career, but she was particularly concerned about issues concerning women. She was one of the first of the former APWs to see the necessity of bridging

⁹⁶ It is important to say here that not every white male at the San Jose Police Department was bigoted, closed minded and frightened. Phyllis and the other APWs pointed out that some of the best feminists at the police department were males. Fairness and balance are basic elements in a good police officer's psychological make up, and some of the men at the police department were supportive throughout the APWs' struggle.

the gap between her group and the newer generation of female police officers.

The lack of a relationship between the older women, who had fought and won "legal" equality as a result of a lawsuit (some called it kicking in the back door), and the women who entered law enforcement through the same testing procedures used for men (called the front door), is one of the initial ironies to be found in the early history of women at the San Jose Police Department. But, whatever the irony, it was certainly true that the struggle by the APWs for equality of opportunity and fairness of treatment was instrumental in helping to open the front door to the newer women entering the force.

With so much in common, it was Phyllis's belief, as well as other APWs, like Sharon Young, that the two groups should bridge the gap between them. Through Phyllis's nurturing and gentle pressure, gatherings, social at first, between these two groups started. It was at these early meetings that the women, particularly the younger generation of women, realized how they had been used and manipulated by the male officers. Most of the women interviewed felt manipulated by the Police Officer's Association and its President Hal Ratliff. He told the newer women that the APWs were trying to take their jobs and described the APWs as fat old women who hadn't earned the right and didn't

deserve to be real cops, as the new female arrivals did. He insisted that the newer women show their support for the male police officers at the department by signing legal declarations critical of the APWs. Most of the new recruits signed the documents never having met an APW much less knowing anything about their qualifications. Their signing was an act they would all come to regret, an act motivated by the fear of losing their jobs, intimidation, and the desire to be accepted into the brotherhood of officers.

These social gatherings soon began to focus on women's concerns at the police department and eventually formed the foundations of what would become a formal women's organization. The unification of these two groups allowed the women to concentrate on specific concerns they faced.

Phyllis would also be involved in redefining the police department's policies and procedures on the issue of sexual harassment. It became increasingly clear to the women that Chief McNamara's attempt to address this very sensitive issue was too rigid; overwhelming force was brought to bear and too many investigative actions were set into motion upon even the most trivial complaint.

It was an over-reaction by both the Chief and the City to avoid appearing soft on this type of complaint. The effect was to stifle understanding and cooperation between men and women. The men felt that any complaint

automatically became a "felony" investigation. This made them less willing to participate or even try to understand the concerns of the women. The women became equally reluctant to complain because what they wanted was some mechanism for communicating their concerns. They also wanted, if

possible, to address the problem at the lowest level. If someone was making inappropriate remarks or suggestions the women wanted to be able to say "please stop" without a major event having to occur. Chief McNamara's policy, in Phyllis' opinion, did the opposite. It required so much high visibility reporting that the women were reluctant to use it.

An alternative needed to be found. While searching through a multitude of policies and procedures, Phyllis found the Municipal Manual for the City of San Jose. In that manual she found a procedure, used initially to deal with discrimination complaints, that had several low level steps in a resolution process. It also allowed for more escalated responses if necessary, but it emphasized resolution through communication.

Ironically, the women had a hard time convincing the male dominated city administration and police department that this was a better process for handling sexual harassment cases. It seemed that the men were afraid to appear less than staunch supporters of women, the irony of all

ironies, on this issue. But the women succeeded. The new process did not trigger all the reporting mechanisms of the old policy. It called for discussion, communication and training. It allowed the issue to be addressed openly and handled at the lowest level. Women could complain and men could respond without a huge organizational convulsion and it allowed people to continue to work together and maintain a reasonable working environment.

The new policy reduced tension between the sexes because it appealed to the practical side of both the men and the women. The new policy eventually became a regular segment of the department's Inservice Training. Phyllis became one of the women who taught this block of instruction in the department's annual training sessions. She would continue to teach this curriculum to inservice officers even after her retirement in 1992.

Phyllis retired after having served in the San Jose Police Department for thirty-one years. At her retirement dinner over 300 people came together to relate their experiences with, and to share their feelings about, this unique member of a unique group of women. With Phyllis' retirement the "Transition Phase" came to an end.

FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS

-THE NEXT GENERATION-

If the Transition Phase was over and if the Menopause Cause had been won, was the struggle for equality finished? Unfortunately the answer is no. The previous interviews were meant to chronicle, describe and attempt to put a human face on the ordeal of the Identification Officers, and their efforts on their own behalf; efforts that at the time could not be recognized or appreciated for their importance. These kinds of struggles never are. It is the task of the historian to put them into perspective and to assign them appropriate value and importance.

It is clear, however, that the efforts of this generation of women was a significant step forward. But it was only one step down the long path to equality. The success of the APWs was not the final victory. The women hired after 1972 via the new amendments to the 1964 Civil Rights Act were also important in the continuing struggle for equality. The new law permitted women to be members of the police department as regular officers. However, the battle for acceptance, equal treatment and access to various assignments and promotions was still to be fought and there were no guarantees it would be won. If the APW's had kicked in the back door to obtain fairness of treatment, the newer

group of women found many new obstacles at the front door. Thus it would only be through the continued efforts of women like Brenda Herbert, Adonna Amoroso, Linda Torres, Pat Campbell and many others that final success would be realized.

As suggested above, the group of women in the following section are representative of all the women who were the beneficiaries of the experience, work and the successful struggle of Ann Cooney Moore, Phyllis Trussler and the other APW's at the San Jose Police Department. It was these women who laid the foundation upon which the next generation would build. Each group helped blaze a trail into territory uniquely masculine. It is the work of these two groups, and the sacrifices they were forced to make, that began to blur the distinction between officers; to make that distinction, when it existed, a distinction based upon performance and ability rather than on gender.

The following interviews will chronicle the travails and the successes experienced by the group that would go further than any other women had ever gone at the San Jose Police Department: the next generation.

Brenda Herbert

Brenda Herbert was an elementary school teacher when she met and married her first husband, a San Jose State University football coach named Willard Wells. Being married to a coach made physical fitness part of Brenda's life and in 1974 she began a life long fitness routine that she maintains today. Through one of her colleagues at school she met a Deputy Chief from the San Jose Police Department.

His encouragement, and her growing frustration with teaching, convinced her to take the series of tests being administered by the police department. Part of her preparation for the tests, was to go on several "ride-alongs,"⁹⁷ and she liked the experiences. When the test date arrived Brenda passed both the written and physical portions and was placed on a hiring list. In 1975 she was hired.⁹⁸

She recalls her treatment in the academy as fair and adds that she experienced no major problems with negative treatment or sexual harassment. Her experience in the Field Training Program (FTO) was also generally fair but she was

⁹⁷ "Ride-alongs" consist of private citizens actually riding along with an officer during a regular shift in the Patrol Division. Most agencies allow for this level of citizen participation but each agency may have different criteria for selecting which citizens can qualify.

⁹⁸ Brenda Herbert, interview by author, 11 March 1993, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Brenda Herbert interview).

aware of a distinct feeling of separation and distance between the male and female officers. However, her initial assignment in the Patrol Division was to a very supportive team where she believes she and the other male officers worked well together.

In 1976 she was reassigned by the Chief of Police, Joseph McNamara, into the department's highly trained and specialized M.E.R.G.E. Unit (Mobile Emergency Response Group and Equipment), which was San Jose's version of a SWAT Team. This transfer was not exactly voluntary. Brenda was called into the Chief's office and asked to take the assignment. In police circles, as in most professions, requests and orders sometimes merge into a single meaning and this was not a request she felt she could refuse.

Then a major problem developed. Her husband received an offer to coach at Tulane University in Louisiana. Brenda now found herself in the position many career oriented women experience when forced to choose between their own aspirations and those of their male partners. She chose to stay on the police force. Both she and her husband made a valiant effort to conduct a long distance, commuter type, relationship; she even took a short leave of absence and tried the life of football coaches' wife again, but the

marriage ultimately failed.⁹⁹

When Brenda moved into the M.E.R.G.E. Unit it was clear that the men didn't want her there. It was apparent to them, as it had been to Brenda, that her presence was a forced infiltration of this very "male" bastion. The men were pleasant enough, but behind her back there was lots of grumbling and unhappiness. Finding a suitable partner was also awkward. Men didn't want to work with her and wives of male officers were not pleased with the idea of their husbands working with her either. Finally a male partner, whose wife was also an officer, was designated as a "safe choice."¹⁰⁰ Even so, his wife called him every night to check on what he was doing and where he was doing it.

At best the situation was uncomfortable. It became even more uncomfortable whenever her assigned partner took a night off or went on vacation. None of the other officers would work with her, which meant she had to work alone. Furthermore, she discovered that she had difficulty getting "back up" even when involved in a serious situation. Then,

⁹⁹ Prior to transferring into the M.E.R.G.E. Unit Brenda took a leave of absence and moved to Louisiana to try to salvage her marriage. But the life of a football coach's wife is often lonely and obscure, and in Brenda's opinion, not as challenging as that of a police officer. After trying to reconcile these two very different worlds, she made the decision to return to San Jose and her career.

¹⁰⁰ There was apprehension about assigning female and male officers as partners, mostly as a result of concerns expressed by the spouses of the male officers.

ironically, she was criticized for making felony arrests without using a backup unit!

To make matters even more difficult, Brenda became the focus of her supervisor's sexual advances. He was having marital problems and turned to her for consolation. Brenda was able to stave off his advances but she admits that the situation was terribly uncomfortable. However, it was not unlike the situations of many other female officers. She even suspected that there was some kind of competition going on between the men to see who could be the first to sleep with a female officer. With the passage of time, the situation in the M.E.R.G.E. Unit became increasingly intolerable. When a position in the Narcotics Unit became available, a position she had previously requested, she asked for a transfer. It was denied.

Her supervisor told her she would have to see the Chief personally to request the change. When she met with Chief McNamara, he told her that before he would approve the transfer she would have to write a memo saying she could not succeed in the M.E.R.G.E. Unit because of a lack of upper body strength. She says the Chief insisted on the letter to appease those groups, outside the department, that would be critical of her transfer. Even though this was not at all the issue, she agreed and wrote the letter. For Brenda it was a very tough decision. To fight for a transfer, for the

real reasons, seemed more trouble than it was worth. It would have required that she name the overly affectionate supervisor, mentioned above, plus others who had harassed her while in the M.E.R.G.E. Unit. Brenda felt this would have violated the so-called police "Code of Silence,"¹⁰¹ ever present in law enforcement, and would have made her tenure on the police department even more difficult. Faced with isolation, harassment and sexual pressure, and with little support in her personal life, the letter offered her a way out.

Brenda entered the Narcotics Unit on the heels of a huge scandal involving the misuse of confiscated drugs. The resulting investigation led to the removal of the Commander and a Lieutenant and the resignation of two other officers. A new Lieutenant was assigned to head the unit. His opinion that women didn't belong in police work was well known. But by the time he took control, Brenda had become an active member of the unit. She had served as an effective undercover buyer, and she had made critical buys in several ongoing investigations. She was also working well with the other male members. Immediately following his taking command of the Unit he called her into his office and told her none of the men would work with her. When she asked who the

¹⁰¹ This "Code of Silence" is a negative aspect of the police culture which enforces silence among officers, particularly in cases of officer misconduct or inappropriate behavior.

men were, she was told, "you're not here to ask questions." He went on to say he didn't think it was safe for her to be on the street because she might get raped. As a result of this "supposed" concern, he pulled her off the street and told her she would be responsible for a program dealing with juvenile drug problems in some of the local schools. His parting comment was that if she didn't like this new assignment she could transfer out of the Unit. To Brenda, her demotion reflected a typically male sexist rationale still pervasive in the department.

At home that night she pondered her options. It would not look good on her record to leave another unit so soon after leaving M.E.R.G.E. Besides, she liked the Narcotics Unit and she was good at her work. The strategy she decided upon was to turn the situation to her advantage and to diffuse her Lieutenant's prejudice. The next day she thanked the Lieutenant for the opportunity to work in the new program. "He almost choked," she recalled. He had expected her to ask for a transfer and thereby he would be rid of her. But, she was not only staying, she appeared happy about the less than desirable assignment. The situation had to have been frustrating for him. Not only had he failed to force her out, he had been outwitted, and by a woman.

Within a few days, Brenda was ordered to see Deputy

Chief McKay, the same man who had blocked Ann Cooney Moore's commendation. At that meeting, McKay "gently urged" her to leave Narcotics because of what he described as "a personality conflict" between her new Lieutenant and herself. It would be, he suggested, best for everyone if she left the unit. By this time Brenda had grown tired of the constant hassling. She was unwilling to defer again. The more she was pushed, the more determined she became to resist the obvious maneuvers to get her to request a transfer. There could be no personality conflict involved because the two didn't know each other; and her work was beyond criticism. She told the Deputy Chief to put his concerns in writing and he could then discuss them with her attorney, but she would not leave.

To her astonishment, Brenda learned a short time later that several of the male detectives were secretly rooting for her, because they didn't like the tactics being used or, for that matter, the Lieutenant. This knowledge strengthened her resolve. As it turned out, no memo from the Deputy Chief appeared. But if Brenda thought all was well she was shortly to be disillusioned: Her Lieutenant was apparently determined to make her life as miserable as possible.

His harassment manifested itself in many forms. For example, she was required to prepare a list of activities each day that she had planned and submit it to him. He

would then go over the list and decide what she could or could not do. No male officer had any such requirement. He also required the officer sitting next to her to report each morning on Brenda's daily activities. All of this was done with the knowledge of her co-workers and was intended, in Brenda's opinion, to belittle and degrade her, not only as a police officer but as a woman. Within a short time the pressure and tension began to affect the whole unit.

Fortunately, fate was about to intervene in Brenda's career. Her first case under her new assignment in the Juvenile Drug Program was the result of a tip by an informant and involved a potential illegal drug manufacturing lab. When she had received the tip about the lab the Lieutenant was too busy to see her. Knowing the necessity to pursue leads as quickly as possible, Brenda decided to act on the information. As a result of her investigation she was able to establish the location of the illegal lab which led to several important arrests.

The arrests were big news and she received commendations and praise for her work. The Federal Drug Enforcement Administration(DEA) wrote a letter to the police department, and to Brenda, commending the quality of her work. Needless to say, her Lieutenant was furious. His anger resulted in his restricting her to office duties only. But Brenda persevered. She began to use young-looking, recently

graduated, rookie officers in an undercover drug buying operation at a local high school. She coordinated and supervised the operation mainly by phone from her desk. She was only allowed in the field when accompanied by a male officer to ostensibly supervise her activities. The program was very successful and the school officials, who were quite pleased, wrote a letter of commendation to acknowledge the department's and Brenda's efforts. However, when the special awards ceremony was scheduled Brenda was not allowed to attend. Her Lieutenant sent the male officer who had supervised her field activities during the operation to represent the department. But to give meaning to the old adage, "you can't keep a good man(woman) down," fate was about to intercede again.

A few weeks after the school awards ceremony, the police department received a request for Brenda to participate in a Federal Drug Task Force sponsored by the Drug Enforcement Administration(DEA). Her previous work on the drug lab investigation had earned her the opportunity. Fortunately, her supervisor was out of the decision making loop and her selection was approved.

She worked on the drug task force for nine months and did so well that a rumor soon circulated that the DEA was interested in giving her a permanent position with their agency. Unfortunately, she hurt her ankle in an off duty

activity and had to be placed on restricted duty. As a result, Brenda, against the wishes of a DEA supervisor, was replaced on the task force and reassigned to the information center at the police department. Brenda suspected that her Lieutenant used her injury to transfer her out of her special assignment with DEA and then ultimately to remove her from the Narcotics Unit. But the Lieutenant would soon find himself under scrutiny for the misuse of departmental time sheets and he was ultimately forced to retire under a cloud of suspicion.

After recovering from her injury, Brenda went back to the Patrol Division. She remained in patrol for three years before returning to the detective division again. This time she was assigned to the Sexual Assaults Unit. She immediately became aware of a distinct separation between the men and women even in this very hard working unit. She had felt the same separation in her last tour in patrol but she thought some of that separation was because of the physical distance between patrol officers working in different districts. But in Sexual Assaults she discovered that the women were given the less complicated cases: the more serious investigations were assigned to the men.

At this time, Brenda was working on her master's degree in counseling at Santa Clara University. As part of a class project, which involved developing a small encounter group,

Brenda met with several of the other female officers. "It quickly turned into a pitiful Pearl session," Brenda said. Each woman would describe her particular version of what were very similar problems. Shortly thereafter this group of women, along with some of the APW's, like Phyllis Trussler, became the core group that helped bridge the gap between the newer generation of women and the older APW's. It also became the driving force for the development of a formal women's organization.

In 1981, to address their concerns, Brenda and this core group of women formed the San Jose Women Police Officer's Association (SJWPOA). We needed "a voice and the power to improve things," Brenda recalled. She became the first president of the organization.

Most of the women on the department joined, but there were some who still identified more with male officers than female. The male officers were reluctant to support the new Women's Association as well. The official bargaining unit, the San Jose Police Officer Association, was suspicious of the group's intent and angry that the women felt the need to form their own organization. As Adonna Amoroso, a member and future president of the women's organization, observed, "after years of telling us we were different the men were now arguing against the need for this new organization by

claiming we were all the same."¹⁰²

The new organization did gain more access to the upper levels of the department's administration but in Brenda's opinion there was little initial change. However, as time passed and the women's organization became better known, it gained acceptance and at least the courtesy of being consulted when "their" issues arose.

Brenda's first experience with being the leader of the new women's group came as a result of an incident in the very unit in which she was working, Sexual Assaults. Shortly before she was to return to patrol, an article appeared in the Op-Ed page of the San Jose Mercury News called the "Shaky Finger." In the article there was a lengthy discussion of the use of Pre-Menstrual Syndrome(PMS) as an excuse for violent behavior, even murder. The article was posted on the main bulletin board in the Sexual Assaults waiting room, where victims wait, with the most degrading passages highlighted in yellow. A copy of the article, with all the highlighted sections, was also suspended from the ceiling directly above the female investigator's desk area.

Another female officer, Jo Names, removed the offensive article and wrote a memo, signed by all three of the female investigators in the unit, to the Unit Commander, Lt. Thomas

¹⁰² Adonna Amoroso, interview by author, 8 March 1993, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Adonna Amoroso interview).

Seck, denouncing the incident. A few days later Brenda entered the office and found several of the male investigators, including the one responsible, reading Officer Names' memo. She was outraged that their memo had been given to the very one responsible for the incident. She held a subsequent meeting with Captain Ivan Comelli to complain about the letter being given to the men. "The meeting accomplished nothing," Brenda recalled. The ultimate effect was to embarrass the women and belittle the situation.

This was a hard yet valuable lesson for both Brenda and the other members of the organization. It taught her that sexist and bigoted attitudes ran deep in some of her male colleagues. Fairness and equality were not to be easily won.

Once back in the Patrol Division, she became aware that the incident involving the newspaper article had become part of the "rumor mill" and had spread throughout the department. She also soon realized that her role as the President of the Women's Organization was viewed by many of the men in very negative terms. The men on her new team now refused to fill(cover) her on calls. Many would not even talk to her. When she approached her supervisor about the problem, he refused to believe it was occurring. She then went to the next level supervisor who advised her to "lay low" until she could transfer off that particular team.

Fortunately for Brenda, shift change was not far away. She transferred to a more senior team in the Patrol Division and experienced no further problems. It was clear from all that had happened so far that being the president of the Women's Organization would be a difficult role to fill. She, like future presidents, had been (and would be) subject to ridicule and blamed for problems and circumstances completely unrelated to her own performance or experiences. Simply being the symbol of such a threatening group, at least as it was perceived by the males, was reason enough for mistreatment and scorn.

Ironically, she may have received her most negative reaction when she acted in defense of a male officer. The officer, a detective sergeant, was accused of sexual harassment involving one of the Detective Bureau's secretaries. Brenda, as the representative of the women's association, was called into Deputy Chief Stuefloten's office. In the recorded interview, Brenda claimed that Stuefloten had been actively catering to the women's group, for political reasons, for some time and was trying now to make what she believed a major case out of a minor incident between two old friends.

The sergeant and the secretary involved had been friends for years, and the secretary was not offended nor was she pursuing a complaint. Brenda told the Deputy Chief

she understood what he was trying to do but that this was not a good example for him to use to make his point. Undaunted, the Deputy Chief, at a hastily called meeting of the command level staff, with Brenda and the Police Officers Association representative present, made his case. The sergeant had apparently, as he greeted her that morning, bumped his brief case against the secretary's buttocks as she drank from the drinking fountain.

The Deputy Chief suggested a written reprimand and then turned to Brenda and asked for her opinion. He apparently expected her to support his position. She told him again she didn't think this incident constituted sexual harassment and that it was the wrong kind of incident to use as an example. Angered by Brenda's stand, the Deputy Chief's face turned red. The entire room became quiet as if her mild defiance was a highly inappropriate act violating the sanctity of the Deputy Chief's administrative world. Disagreement was not acceptable, especially by a woman.

After the meeting, she was called into his office and told she wasn't competent to lead the women's group and he said that if the media found out about the incident that they would make "mince meat" out of her.¹⁰³ Brenda told him she felt compelled to be honest about her opinion and to make a big issue out of this incident would not have helped

¹⁰³ Brenda Herbert interview.

women's issues at the department. He told her he would not forget her embarrassing him and her failure to support him in his efforts to help women. He did not.

Deputy Chief Stuefloten didn't have to wait long for the opportunity to seek his revenge. Just prior to the confrontation at the command level staff meeting, Brenda had been selected to participate in a special task force. The task force was established to catch a serial rapist called the "Red Car Rapist" because he used a red vehicle to lure his, usually young, victims into going for a ride. Brenda, the only female assigned to the task force, had more experience in sexual assault investigations than most of the male officers assigned.

Just before the task force began Brenda was informed that she would not be assigned to the operation. She was sure this was the Deputy Chief's handiwork and she protested the action. When her complaint reached Assistant Chief Stan Horton's desk he ordered her reinstated.

However, the tension between Brenda and Deputy Chief Stuefloten continued and the burdens of leadership began to take a toll on Brenda and her enthusiasm for police work. So, in 1985, she resigned from the presidency. But leadership instincts aren't gained or lost by the possession of a title. Brenda continued to be a leader in the women's group and will always be among the role models for the women at

San Jose P.D. A big part of being a role model is to give other victims of abuse and mistreatment an example to follow. She would add to that example by being promoted to Sergeant in March of 1992.

Pat Campbell

Many new female recruits experienced abuse, discrimination, isolation, and sexual harassment. And, like Brenda Herbert, their strength of character and will helped them overcome the many obstacles women faced in the San Jose Police Department. Even though Pat Campbell's experiences as a police officer were not uncommon, her resiliency and inner toughness, in the face of these experiences would prove to be.

Pat Campbell was a student at Santa Clara University majoring in psychology in the mid 1970's. Her family had recently sold the family business and moved to Southern California because of her father's ill health. The move deprived her not only of her family but also of her employment. Not wanting to interrupt her education, she went to work at a local clothing store to support herself. While at the Santa Clara University she began dating a San Jose police officer. He encouraged her to test for the police department. A female recruiter, Janie LaFall(Jensen), was particularly encouraging, as was the thought of gainful employment.

Pat finished the testing process and was placed on a hiring list for almost a year. In the meantime she finished her schooling and graduated from Santa Clara University with

a Bachelor of Science Degree in psychology. In April of 1976, she was hired and sent to the Police Academy. Her classmates were all male except for three other women, including Adonna Amoroso. Her months at the academy "were the best experiences I had on the department," Pat stated.¹⁰⁴ She did well in all areas and finished with the second highest academic score in her class. She made good friends among her classmates and recalls no mistreatment or initial harassment. The criticism she received, she felt, was intended to make her a better officer. Even the constant pairing of her and much larger male recruits for physical activities Pat construed positively, because she felt it better prepared her to do the job.

But there was one pairing she did not appreciate. This pairing was the first significant incident of sexual harassment Pat experienced at the San Jose Police Department. It occurred at the end of her training at the police academy and was the result of a misuse of authority by one of the academy instructors.

As a matter of course, at the end of each academy all of the theory and classroom instruction must be tested. The tests are conducted in specifically designed scenarios,

¹⁰⁴ Pat Campbell, interviewed by author, 14 April 1993, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Pat Campbell interview).

now called Critical Incident Scenario Testing. These tests are usually held at night, and are called by almost everyone, "Night Week."

It was during this part of the academy that Pat was approached by one of the scenario evaluators, a sergeant on the police department, and told about a get together after that night's training sessions. He told her that there would be several other evaluators there, many of whom she should meet because they were involved in the F.T.O. (Field Training Officer) Program. He felt it would be helpful to her career for her to get to know them. He offered to take her as his guest. When she asked the other recruits if they had heard about such a gathering they said no. Unable to think of a way to get out of the situation she reluctantly decided to meet the sergeant at the address he had given her.

When she and the sergeant met, the situation became even more uncomfortable. As they walked towards the apartment where she supposed the gathering was to be held, the sergeant took her hand in his. She immediately removed her hand. When they entered the apartment it became very clear that the only attendees were to be she and the sergeant. Pat was now completely panicked. "How do I get out of here gracefully," she wondered anxiously.¹⁰⁵ This man is an

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

F.T.O. Sergeant and someone, she felt, who could exert considerable control over her immediate as well as her future career. "You look tired," he said, and offered to give her a massage if she would just lie down on the bed. It was now or never Pat thought. She agreed with his assessment, said she was very tired, and rising to her feet she moved quickly towards the door.

Once outside the apartment she was immensely relieved to have escaped. She then became angry, then embarrassed and, worse, she began feeling like a fool for having gotten herself trapped into such a situation. The main question she faced was what she should do about it. By 1993, there would be several avenues she could take to report the sergeant's actions and there would be a support structure of other female officers she could turn to for help and guidance. But this was 1976 and none of those alternatives existed. As a result Pat told no one. Not her boyfriend, the cop, her classmates or even her friends.

Unfortunately, for Pat, her dealings with this sergeant were not finished. Bad luck, or perhaps manipulation of assignments by the sergeant, brought them back together in the F.T.O. program. The same sergeant was assigned as Pat's primary F.T.O. Sergeant during her probationary period. "This sergeant made it a practice to have each recruit ride in his vehicle for one shift a month as part of his

evaluation process," Pat said. The thought terrified her. Finally, she confided in her Training Officer, whom she considered a friend, regarding her concerns about riding with the sergeant. Not telling, specifically, why she was concerned, she persuaded her Training Officer to accompany her on her monthly ride alongs: as a result the evaluations were completed without any problems.

Pat was able to complete her F.T.O. training without further incident but fate was not finished with her and this sergeant. Her path crossed his one more time, eight years later.

When discussing her early experiences in patrol, Pat's recollection is of a successful training program made possible by hard working and dedicated training officers. Her problems started when she finished her FTO training and was assigned as a solo officer to one of the most senior teams in the Patrol Division, working the swing shift in the North San Jose/Alviso areas. "The reactions of most of the men to me was at best distant and uncommunicative, and at worst openly hostile,"¹⁰⁶Pat recalled later. Her radio transmissions were often covered by the other officers and they often ignored her requests for advice, assistance or even

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

back up.¹⁰⁷ The beginning of each shift was particularly uncomfortable. One particular officer continually made crude and denigrating remarks about women, usually vulgar and often graphic. His favorite description of female officers was as "squatters" based on his perception that "real cops" stood up to urinate. All of these comments were made in front of the other officers, the shift supervisors and of course in front of Pat, who was the only female officer at that briefing.

A few of the officers were less vulgar, but no less critical. One evening, Officer Bob Grant, who worked the adjoining beat, met her during their shift and passed on his opinion of women in law enforcement. Grant had just recently rotated out of the Narcotics Unit back to patrol and Pat remembered him as one of the more "macho" cops on the shift. He told her he didn't think she should be working as an officer and couldn't understand what motivated her, or other women, to try.

Shocked by his bluntness and frustrated that her nearest cover unit felt the way he did, she suddenly realized that he was at least airing his prejudice to her face and not snickering or laughing at her behind her back. As an

¹⁰⁷ Note: This means her attempts at using the radio would be interrupted by other officers keying their radio microphones at the same time. This effectively blocked any transmission or receiving of calls over the radio.

indication of how bad things seemed to her at the time Pat actually thought this was a positive experience. Displaying uncommon composure, for the circumstances, Pat told him she understood his concerns. She said she wasn't crazy about the circumstances either, especially the "squatter" type comments and the isolation she felt from the other officers. She asked him to evaluate her by her actions on the job and then judge her right to be there.

A few months later, Officer Grant was promoted to Sergeant and Pat was transferred to a new team. Ironically, her new Sergeant was the newly promoted Sergeant Grant. When she arrived on the team he called her and another male officer into his office. At that meeting, he offered both of them the "early cars" in the district.

These are considered plum assignments because they allow the officer to work an early shift as an overlap unit between the day shift and the swing shift. This means that these officers get off earlier in the evening than the regular swing shift units. To Pat, the early hours weren't nearly as important as what the assignment to these early cars said about the quality of the officers assigned to them.¹⁰⁸ Sergeant Grant told her that after working around

¹⁰⁸ The rationale is to put the most capable officers in these units because they are often the only units on the street between the end of one shift and the beginning of the next.

her on their previous team he felt she deserved the early car assignment, if she wanted it. To Pat this was like a rite of passage. This was official acknowledgement that she could do the job.

She continued to win the respect of the department and her male counterparts as she moved into more specialized and often more dangerous assignments. She went into the detective division, assigned to the Sexual Assaults Unit, and continued to excel. As her general experience on the street and her specific expertise in Sexual Assaults grew she became recognized for her investigative ability. It was in recognition of her expertise she was asked to teach the Sexual Assaults curriculum in the police academy.

Over the next nine years she served two tours in the Sexual Assaults Unit with two one-year tours in patrol (which is required by San Jose Police transfer policies). It was during her first tour in Sexual Assaults that she crossed paths again with the F.T.O. Sergeant, now a Lieutenant, who had tried to seduce her while she was a student in the academy.

The San Jose Police Department received a call from the Los Gatos Police Department regarding a complaint by the mother of a teenage girl against an unnamed San Jose police officer. Because the complaint was for sexual molestation, Pat and her partner, working out of the Sexual Assaults

Unit, were dispatched. After conducting the initial interview with the victim, where she discovered who the suspect was, Pat told her partner and their supervisor that she should probably be removed from the investigation. It was then that she, for the first time, discussed the academy incident involving this officer. The supervisor declined to remove her.

Unfortunately, the criminal case against this officer unraveled when it was discovered that the victim's aunt was the officer's fiancée. She and most of the victim's family turned against the young girl, many blaming her for the incident and accusing her of causing the problem and some denying that the incident occurred at all.

However, the police department pursued the matter internally. The Lieutenant was brought up on departmental charges of misconduct. During the subsequent internal investigation, Pat became aware there had been other female recruits invited to these "private get togethers." Due to Pat's testimony, and the testimony of two other female officers,¹⁰⁹ the Lieutenant was found guilty and fired. This was a significant event to Pat because it allowed her to release the strain and tension she had carried around inside for all these eight years.

¹⁰⁹ The female officers were JoAnn Punneo and Miriam Hippeli.

During the second of her two one year turns in patrol Pat became aware that she didn't particularly care for patrol but loved investigations. But she knew that if she stayed at the police department she would inevitably have to pull tours in patrol. As a result she began to look for alternatives.

During her tenure in investigations, she had become acquainted with several investigators in the District Attorney's office. They encouraged her to apply for a position in that office. Pat ultimately tested and interviewed for an Investigators position and was placed on a hiring list. During a final interview, before being offered a position, Pat was shocked and somewhat taken aback by the high esteem in which she was held by the interviewers. "Am I that good?," she asked herself, as she heard them assess her skills and talent. "I wasn't sure it was me they were talking about," she confided. For the first time in her career she felt appreciated and wanted. The fact that she was a woman was never mentioned nor did it appear to play a part in the interviewer's evaluation. It was her ability to do the job that mattered. What a unique idea!

She left the police department after thirteen and one half years. "It was time for me to move on," she said. Once settled at the District Attorney's office she moved from Sexual Assault's into Homicide Investigations.

Once again it seems that other agencies, like the two agencies mentioned earlier, who hired and promoted the former APWs, were willing to look past gender to skill and ability in assessing the women at the San Jose Police Department.

ADONNA AMOROSO

The woman who replaced Brenda Herbert as the President of the San Jose Women Police Officer's Association was Adonna J. Amoroso. Adonna continued to push for acceptance of women in law enforcement, setting an example by her own achievements. She was the first female Lieutenant at the police department and, on October 24, 1993 she became the first female Captain.

Adonna's beginnings at the San Jose Police Department were similar to those of other women hired in the mid to late 1970's. A former teacher working at a local bookstore, Adonna became interested in police work through contacts with other women in the field. A female security guard, in the mall where Adonna worked, named JoAnn Punneo, was one of the most influential. Both Adonna and JoAnn, along with Pat Campbell, joined the police department in 1976. These three women brought the number of women hired as "police officers" to six. As to be expected, Adonna has vivid memories centering upon her first weeks as a police officer; one of those vivid memories was how totally unprepared the department was to deal with women and women's issues. A central issue, as has been suggested, was the lawsuit filed by the APW's in 1975. It caused turmoil in the department, involved every woman and man, directly or indirectly, and

led, in fact, to the manipulation of the rookie female officers. Adonna was among the manipulated.¹¹⁰

Sergeant Ratliff, who was President of the Police Officer's Association, drew the new recruits to his side by telling them that, among other things, the APW's were "fat, dumpy old women who wanted their (the new female recruit's) jobs." As Adonna admits, in retrospect, "I should have been stronger and resisted the pressure."¹¹¹ One reason she, and the others, did not result from the fact the men gave them the impression they were the "real cops" and if they joined the effort against the APWs they would become part of the brethren in this male dominated department, and acceptance was, and still is, a major part of the struggle in which women are engaged. Such manipulation was to have far-reaching consequences. Many of the new women, including Adonna, at the insistence of the P.O.A. signed legal declarations denigrating the abilities and the skills of the APWs. It is an action that Adonna regrets, and one that opened a gulf between the APWs and the newer women for years to come. For Adonna, bridging the gulf came with direct exposure to an APW several years later.

Adonna was working in a special undercover Burglary

¹¹⁰ Adonna Amoroso, interviewed by author, 8 March 1993, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Adonna Amoroso interview).

¹¹¹ Ibid.

Investigation unit when she met Liz Michaelson, a veteran APW who was now a fully sworn officer, working as a regular investigator in that unit. Adonna was investigating a series of crimes committed by a suspect who was also involved in some of Liz Michaelson's burglary cases. Adonna was immediately struck with how effective this "Old APW" really was. "She was a better partner than some of the men I had worked with," Adonna remembers.¹¹² Adonna was particularly impressed with Liz's "go getter" attitude and her knowledge of criminal investigations. After working with Liz and hearing the other side of the story about the APWs, Adonna realized just how badly she had been used by the Police Officers Association. She also realized how much these two groups of women had to gain from each other. However, the process of healing is slow; hurt feelings still existed. Bringing these two groups together would take time.

The early meetings between the two generations began as social gatherings, Adonna recalls, where politics and police issues could be avoided and relationships started. Adonna remembers these early meetings with a smile. "Our parties were just like the men's," she recalled, "except we drank better booze and always had better food."¹¹³ She said the

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

men drank beer and ate peanuts and the women had good wine and fondue's. She did admit they would, occasionally, let one of the men tend bar for their meetings.

As the group became more formal, some of the women, not wishing to be involved, drifted away. They were uncomfortable with an organized women's group. Those who stayed were, however, nicely balanced by a group that became increasingly militant. Naturally, the men reacted. The typical male reaction, as described by Jo Ann Moore, (a former ID Officer who left the department in the late 1970's) was suspicion and perhaps fear. She stated that, "as an individual, I was treated well by most of the men, but when we came together as a group they saw us as dangerous or threatening and demanding special treatment."¹¹⁴

When describing their goals, Adonna argues that women didn't want "special treatment" at all. It was, ironically, "special treatment" that had kept them from the choice assignments in the more exciting and prestigious units in the police department. They were denied male partners because of the irrational fears of the administration that there would be problems keeping mixed partners from having sex on the job. They were denied female partners because it was widely believed that two women working together couldn't

¹¹⁴ Jo Ann Moore, telephone interview by author, 26 January 1993, Grass Valley, California.

get the job done. Therefore, the women were forced to work alone. Which raises the interesting question: if two women could not "get the job done," then how could one woman alone be successful?

Over time, Adonna began to share a growing perception among the women that there was a departmental experiment being carried on to determine the overall capabilities of women to be police officers, not as individual women, but as a whole gender. This perception was reinforced when the male officers were readily accommodated when they requested partners, even as rookie officers right out of the academy.

Adonna argued then, as she still does, that the women's goal was for "same" treatment, not "special" treatment. "It should be the ability of the officer to do the job, not the gender that matters," she believes.¹¹⁵ It was this strong belief in fairness and equality that drove the women's efforts for recognition. The message the Women's Association sent out was clear. "Recognize what's unfair and fix it or the Women's Association would act."¹¹⁶

During Adonna's tenure as president (1985-1990) the issue of equity became the focal point of their efforts. "We had no real power at this time," she said, "but it was clear we were threatening to the male power structure."

¹¹⁵ Adonna Amoroso interview.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Like many women critical of masculine dominance, Adonna came to believe that one of the major reasons women lacked power was their absence from administrative positions. She is joined by a growing number of more enlightened male police administrators in believing that without representation within the power structure, women have no voice in either policy or decision making. As in corporate board rooms across America, so in the San Jose Police Department, the administrative ranks served as another bastion of male dominance. As stated earlier, in Chief Norman's report, even though women comprise approximately 10% of the total number of officers in California, they are vastly under-represented in the higher ranks of police departments. (They hold only 61 of the 2,923 Lieutenant or Captain positions and less than 1% of the Chief of Police positions.)

It is clear to Adonna that if women are ever to achieve equality it will be by their ascendancy into departmental leadership. It is there that the standard of fairness and equality will be established. But the San Jose Police Department's attitude toward women in the 1970's was less than supportive.

Adonna believes that the Chief of Police at that time, Joseph McNamara, was "more interested in appearances" than positive management of the women's issues. She credits whatever successes the department has achieved in this area

to the many talented and motivated subordinates in the police department, male and female. These people talked to each other and worked out solutions to problems. She gives great credit to Phyllis Tressler for her guidance and wisdom, particularly in establishing sexual harassment guidelines and policies.

But as generations change so, too, do the style and capabilities of current leadership, both formal and informal. And Adonna is quick to point out that there are still problems to solve and new challenges to face. Women are still quicker to be scrutinized or viewed more harshly than men in her opinion. "It is still noticed that there is a woman working in the Robbery or Homicide Unit, but no one notices the Hispanic male there as well."¹¹⁷ She is hopeful that the new Chief of Police, Louis Cobarruvias, will bring a more constructive and positive attitude to the resolution of these issues.

However, Adonna is pleased to note that some positive changes have already occurred. The types of complaints she now hears from female officers are more like the complaints the male officers are making, i.e., seniority issues such as selections for days off, shift assignments, and vacations. As their complaints start to parallel men's, she feels, the stronger the implications that equality is being attained.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

But, in an ironic twist, Adonna also believes that the more equal the males and females become the better, and the worse, it will be for women. In spite of all the negative aspects of being a female in a male dominated profession there was a certain positive feeling of uniqueness at being the first of one's gender to break through barriers and accomplish goals that had been previously denied. As a result, the more equal women become they will, by that very act, lose their unique qualities.

Her personal goals for the future have changed somewhat in the last several years. She feels it is important to help the newer women make the adjustments necessary in this career field, and to help them start the difficult climb toward upper levels of administrative power. As the only female Captain at the police department(as of October 1993) she knows that real equity will be achieved only when women become an active part of the administrative structure at the highest levels.

Along with Adonna, one of the women who will be part of that future for women in law enforcement, and, in particular, to the future of women at the San Jose Police Department, is Linda Torres.

Linda Torres

Linda succeeded Adonna as the President of the Women's Organization. She is also among those female officers whose accomplishments include important first's for women at the San Jose Police Department. She is, for instance, the first female in the Homicide Investigations Unit. Her assignment into this particular unit integrated one of the last two male dominated units at the police department. However, the road to her success was not smooth nor were the bricks painted yellow to guide her way.¹¹⁸

Her first exposure to law enforcement came when she worked as a secretary in the Campus Police office at San Jose City College, in the late 1970's. She was greatly attracted to the "camaraderie" she saw among fellow officers, especially the officers of the San Jose Police Department, who were using the campus police office as a command post for student disturbances that had been occurring on the campus. "That was the hook," she said later, that brought her into law enforcement as a career. Unfortunately, one of the cruel ironies, in Linda's and other women's experiences, is that she has been on the San Jose Police Department for

¹¹⁸ Linda Torres, interviewed by author, 22 March 1993, San Jose, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Linda Torres interview).

over sixteen years and she has never been allowed to share in that comradery, except among the other female officers. She blames the leadership of the department for not allowing women to have permanent partners, where much of that feeling of camaraderie is rooted. Even though she is now a sergeant working in the Homicide Unit, a most prestigious and respected assignment with a permanent partner, that sense of comradeship or just "hanging out" with her fellow officers eludes her. Linda is the first to admit that part of the problem is her "stand offish" attitude, itself created by her prior experiences as a rookie and then later as a solo beat officer. This attitude keeps her on the outer edge of that fellowship she found so attractive in 1976.

However, in spite of a professional life lived on the edge of acceptance, police work has proven so intrinsically challenging that her dedication and her motivation have rarely faltered. The challenges she has faced on a daily basis have themselves, as for so many women, served as a stimulus for achievement. All through her early years at the department, and through all the negative experiences she has had, it has been those challenges, and her conviction that she could meet them, that have driven her to continue.

When hired into the department, she was sent to the academy with two other women, one a former belly dancer and the third a young woman named Sandy Radabaugh. Linda and

Sandy completed the academy successfully but the dancer decided police work was not for her. Her academy training behind her, Linda was assigned to the F.T.O. program. Her memories of this phase of her training are both painful and exhilarating, painful because of the tremendous strain and pressure imposed on her by her training officers, and exhilarating because she remembers vividly the turning point in her career, the night when she discovered the key to her success.

Linda always felt she could be a police officer and was determined to succeed. She had always loved to write; she enjoyed the challenge of critical thinking, especially under pressure; all traits that should serve her well in this profession. However, in the F.T.O. program she struggled. It seemed the harder she tried the more frustrated she became and likewise her trainers with her. Her evaluations were damning. "I could not understand what I was lacking," she said. What was that intrinsic quality her evaluations said she lacked but which her evaluators were unable adequately to describe?

Unable to tell her precisely what it was, they were nonetheless sure "it" was missing. She would search every corner of her mind trying to find this indescribable quality, the lack of which was about to get her bounced out of the program. But even with that eventuality becoming more

real, and even when completely frustrated at being unable to perform a task she felt she had the skills to complete, she persevered.

Sensing she was failing the FTO program, and feeling enormous stress, to the point of making herself sick, she reported to work on what she felt might be one of her last nights on patrol. As it turned out, it was on this night that Linda discovered what her trainers and the department had been unable to describe as the intrinsic quality she was missing. She had resolved to herself that if that night was to be her last, and she believed it might be, she would not take any more criticism or abuse. "To hell with it," was how she described her attitude that night, "I am not going to try anymore."¹¹⁹

Assigned to District Six, near Blossom Hill Road and Almaden Road, she and her Field Training Officer responded to a call about a man urinating in the parking lot of the movie theaters on Almaden Road. When they arrived, Linda approached the subject. When he saw her, and while still exposing himself, he "went off" on her. He became extremely irate and abusive. But tonight Linda was not in the mood for anymore abuse. "Shut up and put your penis back in your pants and listen to me," she ordered. The subject, apparently caught off guard by her stern attitude, did as he was

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

told and Linda placed him under arrest. Then she handcuffed him and placed him in the back seat of the squad car. When she got back in the vehicle her training officer had a big grin on his face. "Great, you're going to make it," he said.

But what had she done? Then she realized that she had stopped trying to please her trainers and just acted the way she thought was right. That indescribable element she was trying so hard to find had been inside her all along!

What her trainers and the department had been unable to articulate, and bring to the forefront of her consciousness, was the strength of her character and all of her life experiences and values that made that character. When she allowed them to surface she displayed that presence, confidence and inner strength her trainers had been unable to describe. When she stopped trying so hard to be what she thought they wanted, and relied on her own common sense and experiences, she was fine. She had always felt she could do the job.¹²⁰ Ultimately it was her faith in herself and her

¹²⁰ Part of the problem had been the Police Department's inexperience in training women. The characteristic they found lacking in Linda, but were unable to adequately describe, is today called "Command Presence;" that ability to take charge and make decisions; to control people and situations by extending your legal authority through the strength of your personality and demeanor. However, in the last twenty years the San Jose Police Department has become far more sophisticated in its training methods; so sophisticated, indeed, that its training program has become nationally recognized and has

abilities that allowed her to overcome all the frustrations. Once she relaxed and allowed the real Linda Torres to emerge she experienced no further trouble in her training, successfully completing the F.T.O. program.

After her F.T.O. training Linda remained somewhat of a loner. None of the women were allowed to work as partners together. Rather, they were always spread around the various divisions on different shifts which made communication and socializing difficult. Without any type of support group to discuss their work, Linda was forced to face any problems that arose on the job alone. When a problem with another officer came up, Linda, like many of the other female officers, would try to discuss it with the other officer in an attempt to talk the problem out, a process that brought success more often than failure. Such an approach, however, was wholly atypical of interpersonal relationships amongst men in law enforcement and one of the great strengths female officers brought to the profession. Men tended to gather their support from their friends by complaining about the "other guy," usually over a beer at the end of the shift. To approach a fellow officer and ask to discuss whatever was wrong was never a viable option for the men. Doing so would have been perceived as acquiescing

served as a model for many police and sheriff's departments around the United States.

or being weak. It is small wonder that in such an environment women seemed so threatening. They were willing to extend themselves, and even be a little vulnerable, in order to maintain a relationship, even a professional one.

Linda's personal life serves as another example of her inner determination, strength and character. She had been dating the same man, a San Jose officer, for several years, even before she became involved personally in law enforcement. Strikingly, in a profession where dating relationships are usually surrounded with a circus-like atmosphere, she and the officer had been able to keep their personal relationship fairly private. (The character of police work and the familial nature of relationships in a police department often remove the privacy and intimacy relationships and marriages need to be successful.)

However, Linda's experience was to be different. Even though there were times when a supporting word or a hug would have done wonders, she and her future husband, Ralph Torres, were diligent in the separation of their work lives and their private lives. In spite of their supervisor's fear, and in spite of the contingency plans each of their supervisors had developed, there were no secret meetings on duty or sex in the back of one of their squad cars. She and Ralph never met on duty. They never shared coffee(a time honored tradition amongst men), a meal, or even acknowledged

each other when passing in the hallways at the Police Administration Building. It was this forced isolation from Ralph and his seeming acquiescence to the anti-women pressure from other male officers that are among the more painful memories from this period for Linda. But today, after thirteen years of marriage, which is unusual in its length for any police marriage, much less one where both parties are officers, Linda says they have a strong relationship and she is the happiest she has ever been.

In 1982, Linda continued her work in the patrol division by transferring to the Eastside of San Jose, a much busier area in terms of calls for service and the seriousness of crimes being committed. She worked there for two years before being transferred again, this time to the detective division.

Three years flew by in the Burglary Unit and Linda once again transferred back to patrol not as part of the required rotation but because she had, after over eleven years at the police department, taken her first promotional exam and had been appointed to the rank of Police Sergeant in 1988.

A female patrol sergeant was a rare occurrence for women at this or almost any other police department. But with the promotion came low seniority and the least desirable shifts and assignments. As a result, Linda found herself working the First Watch (midnight till eight in the

morning). After two years she transferred to a day shift position in the Records Division to have more time with her family, which now included a nine year old son.

From records she transferred to the Assaults Unit as a Sergeant/Investigator. It was from this position that she took a significant step, specifically for herself and the women on this department and for women in law enforcement in general. She transferred into the Homicide Investigations Unit. This Unit, along with the Intelligence Unit were two of the last male strongholds, at the line level, at the San Jose Police Department. Dianne Jones would kick down the door to the Intelligence Unit a short time later.

Linda's arrival in Homicide created two precedents. First as a female Homicide Investigator and second as a female sergeant in that Unit. Her supervisory duties are generally restricted to the annual evaluations of personnel, which she is grateful for because it leaves most of her time free for working cases.

The prestige of the unit has "leveled the playing field" with the other males at the department, she says. Within the unit she describes a positive working environment where she hasn't experienced any problems. "There is still some distance between me and the other investigators," she admits, but overall the relationship between her and the other male officers has improved considerably.

She credits both her own growth and her confidence as an officer as well as the improved sensitivity and growth on the part of the male officers at the department for that improvement. The camaraderie among fellow officers, which had drawn her into police work, is not as strong between her and her detective partner as she would like. But their growing mutual respect for, and confidence in, each other's abilities, is a step in that direction.

Along with her assignment to the Homicide Unit, and all the attention that it has brought, Linda's professional life took on new significance for women at the department when she was elected as the President of the Women's Organization in 1990. This is a role she takes very seriously. She decries the politics of the job, but realizes it is a necessary part of the position and she understands that political power is crucial for women in this organization. "Our attitude is to work for change, not to file lawsuits,"¹²¹ she said. She believes "lawsuits are last chance efforts, and when lawsuits are filed, everybody loses."¹²²

Linda believes the major benefit derived from the women organizing was, and is, to create a "female factor," that should be considered before the department implements new policies and procedures. At the same time she hopes for the

¹²¹ Linda Torres interview.

¹²² Ibid.

day when "female" is not a necessary adjective in describing a police officer at the San Jose Police Department.

The Future

The decades of the 1960's and 1970's were decades of struggle across America. The issues involved ranged from the rights of minorities to be directly included in the political, social, and economic life of this country to equality before the law for women. The changing perceptions of society towards these groups along with a growing body of more socially oriented jurisprudence will allow history to record that both minorities and women won. In terms of women in law enforcement, women achieve a major victory in the early 1970's.

In 1972, Congress amended Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which make it illegal to deny women equal opportunity in employment, particularly in the area of Public Safety.¹²³ Thanks to the terms of that act, and the changes mentioned above, in 1975 the APWs at the San Jose Police Department, led by Ann Cooney Moore, Phyllis Trussler and Sharon Young, were able to win a clear cut victory in federal court against the City of San Jose. Legal discrimination would no longer be tolerated.

Unfortunately, however, that was not the end of the story. The battleground merely shifted from legal equality, guaranteed in the statutes and in the court settlement, to

¹²³ Catherine Milton, Women in Policing, 57.

real equality, the kind of equality women would experience in the work place.

As the reader will recall, women like Brenda Herbert, Adonna Amoroso, Pat Campbell and Linda Torres exemplified the type of women who have continued that battle into the present at the San Jose Police Department. Seldom, however, do these kinds of battles address all the issues or answer all the questions involved in such broad based social changes. It is no different here. Several questions remain unresolved.

For instance, were the women involved in this struggle changed by the nature of the work in which they engaged, or did the nature of the work change to meet their needs? Were they forced to assume the characteristics of their male counterparts in order to be successful? The answer varies. Regardless of whether one accepts the Structuralist or the Interactionist viewpoint mentioned earlier, the female officer changed. But, her change was in conjunction with a necessary change in the nature of the job and in the way the job was done. Women have proven that there is more than one way to do police work, and be successful.

Women can, have been, and will continue to be successful in the role of the line level police officer. That question, for all intents and purposes, has been settled. Not only can she be successful, she has introduced into

police work new departures in decades old police techniques. Women are matching the men in intelligence, good judgement, and common sense, and they have demonstrated that language is as powerful a weapon, when disputes arise, as brute strength. Not trapped in the egocentric mentality of some men, women see no shame in talking rather than fighting, even though they can fight when that is their only option. Indeed, by adopting persuasive tactics rather than physical intimidation, they are helping to create a new image, perhaps a new self-image, of the police officer, as one who is strong yet concerned, involved, courteous, compassionate, and even kind.

The degree of change that takes place in each individual when she enters police work, varies, of course, from person to person. But all of the women interviewed here believe it is crucial for female officers to maintain what is often a delicate balance between being a woman (in the socially accepted sense of the word) and functioning as a woman in a male dominated profession. As difficult as it proves to be, they all have found it unnecessary to forego being who they are just to be successful.

To the question of what degree of equality is there in law enforcement, the answer is more clear. Most of the women interviewed believe there is progress toward equality today, more so, than there was twenty, or even ten years

ago. But they all agree that true equality has yet to be achieved. They point to their own place of work, the San Jose Police Department, which has over eleven hundred and seventy-three sworn officers, only 7.4% of whom are women.¹²⁴As much to the point, even though the department has been hiring women for almost twenty years, there is only one female officer above the rank of sergeant. Ironically, several smaller agencies in California have much better track records even though there are far fewer officers from whom to choose administrative personnel.

As Chief Norman pointed out in his Command College Report, women in law enforcement hold a disproportionately low percentage of all ranks in law enforcement considering their percentage of the profession's population.¹²⁵This disparity gets worse when one examines the administrative ranks.

However, in spite of the pessimism engendered by Chief Norman's statistics, the future for women in law enforcement shows promise of improvement, although slower than women would prefer. It is important to point out, however, in some places women have broken through the glass ceiling Chief Norman described and are reaching goals most men believed, and all women were told, they could never achieve.

¹²⁴ San Jose Mercury News (San Jose) 22 October 1993.

¹²⁵ Robert Norman, Post Command College Report, 5.

Striking evidence of this fact is to be discovered in the careers of the last four women to be considered in this paper. All are women who have had earlier careers similar to those of the other women selected here. What makes these women unique is that they have crossed through the gateway into upper management positions. Two are at the top. They are Chiefs of Police. One is an Assistant Chief of Police and the fourth is second in command of her department at the rank of Captain.

Just as the women discussed earlier were pioneers in their departments, so, too, are these four. The "firsts" they have achieved in their careers are staggering: 1st woman hired, 1st woman in patrol, 1st sergeant, 1st lieutenant, 1st captain and 1st female chief. Again, as with the women discussed earlier, their achievements were not without cost in terms of degrading remarks, petty persecution, and all manner of barriers erected in their paths simply because they were women.

But there is something else unique about these four women. The APWs and the officers in the Next Generation strove to be recognized for what they were or what they had achieved: To be allowed to do what, in the APWs case, they had already proven they could do. But this last group of women have moved beyond mere recognition and acceptance; they are exploring their potential and demanding room to

expand. They are not satisfied with what they are, they are determined to see what they can be. This characteristic sets them apart from most of the women interviewed previously.

This group of women are in their positions, admittedly, because of the efforts of many others who have been part of the overall struggle by women. But they are determined to move beyond tolerance or mild acceptance of women in this career field to respect and admiration for their accomplishments. These women have made conscious commitments and many personal sacrifices to put themselves in the position to take advantage of the opportunities that have become available. Ambition, hard work and surely a measure of good luck have allowed these women to obtain the levels they enjoy today. But it is also clear that none of them ever rested on her laurels as she reached higher levels of rank. All have continued to excel. Perhaps their being in smaller departments has allowed their exemplary qualities to be more readily recognized and less likely to be ignored.

It is perhaps unfortunate, but inevitable, that their achievements must constitute yet another burden. Because of their rank, their performance, success or failure, can, and in all likelihood will, have dramatic ramifications for female officers in every state in the union. These four women personify the future of women in law enforcement.

The only question now, the final question really, is what is that future for women when they do break through to the top? Unfortunately, no conclusive answer can be given because no woman has yet stood at the head of a large metropolitan police force in California. Even so, some hints can be drawn by examining the lives and careers of Captain Connie Van Putten, from the Union City Police Department, Assistant Chief of Police, Lynne Johnson, of the Palo Alto Police Department, Chris Dean, Chief of Police at the Danville Police Department, and Lucy Carlton, Chief of Police at the Los Altos Police Department.

Connie Van Putten

If the future is explored by pioneers, then Connie Van Putten is a leading explorer.

Born into a law enforcement family, her father is a retired officer from the Chula Vista Police Department, her brother is currently an officer in Oregon, Connie began her career not in San Jose but in San Diego.

The San Diego Police Department began hiring women as fully sworn Policewoman in 1959. Connie Van Putten was hired in 1965. She was the eighth Police Woman hired. Their status and their pay equaled the male police officers on the force. These women were assigned to the Investigations Bureau, because it was believed that women were not suitable for patrol duty. "There was some initial resentment by the men,"¹²⁶ Connie said, because the men were required to have four years of patrol duty before they could apply for investigator positions.

Seven years later conditions within the department and society's view of women in the work force had changed enough that all of the women were given an opportunity to move into the Patrol Division. Of the eight women who were working in 1965, only Connie was prepared to take a chance in a

¹²⁶ Connie Van Putten, interview by author, 27 August 1993, Union City, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Connie Van Putten interview).

new division. Moving meant leaving the security of the Investigations Bureau; but, taking risks in order to expand her skills, and therefore her options, became an early career pattern for Connie. It is that willingness to take risks and make sacrifices that she will exhibit throughout her career.

In spite of her extensive investigative experience, Connie knew that she would need actual patrol experience to earn the respect of male officers and thus enhance her promotability.

On her first night working patrol, after completing the required FTO Training, Connie was assigned to work alone. "I was terrified,"¹²⁷she said. As she sat in her squad car, a male officer, one who had openly opposed women in patrol and one of the most macho men in the department, walked by. He stopped and bent down as if to tie his shoe. "I know your insides are churning, but go out and stop the first car you see and write them a ticket and things will be okay," he said.¹²⁸Then he straightened up and walked away. "He was right." Connie said.

As time passed more women were hired and assigned to work patrol duties. Interestingly, whenever a new woman was assigned to the Patrol Division, she was assigned as far

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

away from Connie as possible. Connie said it was a deliberate attempt to keep the women separated from each other. Thus the department could reduce the risks of the more senior female officer, Connie, from exerting undue influence on the newer recruits. What kind of influence they feared was not exactly clear. Connie excuses this practice today by giving the department the benefit of the doubt. She argues that the department thought what it was doing was best for all concerned.

In terms of her experience with sexual harassment, Connie adopted a unique perspective. When she received a "pink baton" or a gift wrapped "athletic supporter," she considered it a rite of passage and did not take offense. Likewise, she chose to ignore the nasty jokes, many of which would be, today, considered serious breaches of acceptable behavior.

However, though she chose to ignore remarks and tolerate unacceptable behavior, Connie believes women have every right today to speak out about improper or abusive treatment. At the same time, she also believes women have to be strong enough to survive in the professional world. "Never give in to fear," she admonishes, and "refuse to become a victim."

Women who succeed, in Connie's opinion, are those who refuse to be defeated; who fight against the obstacles

thrown up in their paths. She firmly believes it is the obligation of women, at her rank, to help insure that women have a work environment free of abuse and harassment. She feels it is, in fact, the obligation of all those in positions of authority, both male and female, to guarantee that freedom.

As events were to prove, Connie's matter of fact approach to the realities of life in a police culture, and her determination to succeed, served her well. She became the first female Sergeant at the San Diego Police Department in 1976, and its first Lieutenant in 1981.

When offered her current position as Captain at the Union City Police Department she, once again, took the risk, exactly as she had years before when she moved into the Patrol Division. She accepted the new post, aware that she would be under tremendous pressure to succeed.

As most people know, one of the most difficult pressures in climbing the promotional ladder is the prospect of failure. "It is a hundred times worse when a woman fails," she believes. In her opinion, a woman's performance is always magnified. If she is beaten up while on the job, some will say women should not be in the field in the first place. "See, we told you they could not do the job," she heard whenever a female officer was unsuccessful in San Diego. For her to fail in her new position here in Union

City, she feels, would be damaging to women everywhere.

But, in spite of what's at stake, Connie took the risk. It seems a common characteristic of these four women that they are willing to take the chance, to leap forward into uncharted areas and to be the first.

Fortunately, Connie's is a story of success, even though the prospect of failure was built into her new assignment in Union City. Not only was she a female, but she was hired from outside the department and over the heads of four in-house applicants. These four men were soon to be her subordinates.

Her new boss, Chief Albert Guzman, assigned Connie to command the Patrol Division, a similar position to the one she had held prior to leaving the San Diego Police Department. Chief Guzman, who was very supportive of Connie, went so far as to ensure her new uniform was ready for her to wear on her first day at the department. She recalls how warmly she was received by all of the officers at the department, including the four Sergeants who had also competed for her position.

As the new Patrol Division Commander, Connie went on several ride-alongs and participated in making several arrests during her first several weeks. Her past patrol experience was paying off in her ability to gain respect within her new department.

One such incident she recalls was in responding to a serious vehicle accident which was being investigated by one of the department's motorcycle officers (most departments designate their motorcycle officers as accident investigation specialists). As the officer acknowledged his new female Captain, she asked, "what was the impact speed?" He turned towards her, smiled broadly and said, "you speak traffic."¹²⁹ Connie could see she had gained his acceptance.

Connie sees more women moving into the higher ranks of police work in the near future. In the 1970's, women began entering into law enforcement in fairly large numbers. She believes, that this has created a large pool of women, many of whom are qualified for administrative positions. She believes that she, and other women at her level, should act as role models and mentors to women in the lower ranks. Unlike the way her male counterparts felt about women, Connie feels a responsibility to also mentor and encourage male subordinates. But clearly it is the women who benefit the most from the example that Connie and her female colleagues set.

Working conditions in a police department are not, of course, the only factors that influence women negatively in terms of promotion. Connie, interestingly, is concerned that some women themselves may be partly responsible for the

¹²⁹ Ibid.

glass ceiling mentioned previously by Chief Norman and that is reported widely in the media. "We only hold ourselves back,"¹³⁰ Connie says. She believes women must plan for success if they are to rise into the upper levels of management.

She acknowledges that women often face additional obstacles and burdens not faced by men. There is, for instance, the choices women must often make between their careers and their role as the primary care givers in the family. As a result, women often turn down opportunities for special training, experience or advancement because they may be required to give up a choice shift assignment, good days off (usually weekends), or desirable vacation periods. Connie emphasizes that women who make the above choices, are still productive and effective police officers.

But she also believes that it is crucial for women to make such sacrifices if they are to move up through the ranks and push the door of opportunity open. She does not make light of the responsibilities incurred by rearing a family. In fact, she thinks law enforcement must start addressing these kinds of issues for both men and women. She believes the career field will inevitably have to make changes as more qualified women join police forces around the country.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

In terms of the qualifications of females to be officers, Connie believes success is determined more by individual skill than what sex the officer happens to be. This is in contrast to some commonly held assumptions in law enforcement. As an example, most people in law enforcement believe that women make better investigators in certain kinds of "sex crimes," particularly crimes involving children or assaults on women. Connie disagrees. "It not a man's job or a woman's job -- it's an individual's job,"¹³¹ she says. In her experience some of the best sex crimes investigators have been men. Connie feels that being a woman does not automatically make one more sensitive towards female victims. "Each person brings their own personality, ethics, morals and values to the job," she believes.¹³²

In conclusion, Connie believes each officer creates his or her own limitations. "If you want to get ahead, you must move yourself," is the advice she gives to aspiring female officers. They must, as she feels she has, aspire to higher rank and authority. When it becomes "normal" and not "unique" for a chief of police to be a woman the struggle will be over. Connie believes it is a realistic goal. But until then the struggle continues.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

Lynne Johnson

In Palo Alto, California that struggle is being led by Lynne Johnson. She is the Assistant Chief of Police at the Palo Alto Police Department.

Lynne's beginnings in law enforcement are similar to many of the other women interviewed for this work. However, Lynne's journey was eased somewhat by the progressive attitude of her former Chief, James Zucher. Chief James Zucher, now retired, made it clear when he was Chief that he believed women were qualified to do police work. He removed obstacles that would impede women's progress and promotion. During his tenure several women were hired by Palo Alto and put directly into the Patrol Division. Lynne points to his high standards for all officers, including women, and his "play no favorites" attitude towards everyone, as critical in women being accepted at Palo Alto.¹³³ Likewise, Lynne said, Chief Zucher's policy of promoting only the most qualified gave credibility to those women who were promoted.

Lynne came to Palo Alto, in 1975, as a recent graduate from San Jose State University, with a degree in Psychology. She was looking for a job where she could make use of her education. Fortunately, the Palo Alto Police Department had

¹³³ Lynne Johnson, interview by author, 31 August 1993, Palo Alto, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Lynne Johnson interview).

been actively recruiting women for patrol duty for some time.

Once hired, Lynne experienced some open resistance, similar to many of the previous interviewees, such as, no back up units, having her radio transmissions covered, and the ever present feeling of isolation within the department. However, Lynne was fortunate to be among several women hired at Palo Alto within a short period of time, which meant an immediate support group of women who were in the same situation was available. In spite of Chief Zucher's progressive attitude not all of the male officers at the police department were supportive. Some were openly hostile; most were more subtle in their opposition. But Lynne says most of the men were helpful. An attitude Lynne attributes directly to Chief Zucher's positive attitude about women.

Lynne soon began her rise through the ranks. Hired in 1975, she was the second female promoted to Sergeant in 1979.¹³⁴ Three years later, in 1982, Lynne was promoted to Lieutenant. She felt she earned her promotion through hard work and dedication. She had served as an "acting Lieutenant" for some time before being permanently promoted. Some of the males objected to her quick rise in rank she says, but most accepted her and respected her skill and ability.

¹³⁴ The first was Pam Roskowski. She is currently the Chief of Police in Corvallis, Oregon.

By 1986 and her promotion to Captain, Lynne had worked in every division except Crime Prevention. Her experiences at this level were generally positive although she admits some of her male counterparts around the state were less than enthusiastic about her quick rise in rank. At a training seminar for upper level managers, sponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), she recalls chastising several of the instructors for their insinuations that women hadn't proven themselves in law enforcement. They implied that what promotions women had gained they had gained "on their backs."¹³⁵

Within the city government in Palo Alto, Lynne's experiences have been positive. This was largely because the citizens of Palo Alto have been willing to accept women as police officers. Perhaps more important, the women on the police department served as a strong support group. As an example, she points to such officers as Pam Roskowski.¹³⁶

Another factor helping to insure Lynne's success, is the network of women in similar rank that has been set up around the Bay Area. Women like Lucy Carlton, Connie Van

¹³⁵ Lynne Johnson interview.

¹³⁶ Pam Roskowski and Lynne had a close friendship. Pam had preceded Lynne as the first Sergeant and the first Lieutenant at the Palo Alto Police Department. Pam left the police department several years ago and is now the Chief of Police in Corvallis, Oregon. A tribute, perhaps to the Palo Alto Police attitude towards and recognition of women in law enforcement.

Putten and Chris Dean who have shared her experiences, her problems, and have often suggested solutions. When they could not, they have, at least, been there to listen.

Her personal life is comfortable and happy. She has always received strong support from her family for her career choices, and she has made it a point to maintain a strong group of friends outside the law enforcement community. "It helps me maintain my perspective, of both myself and the job," she says. And being single has given her the freedom to concentrate on her own goals. But she admits being an Assistant Chief of Police makes dating difficult. She says most men are intimidated, not only by her legal power and by the fact that she carries a gun, but by her rank, and the authority she exhibits when supervising large groups of men.

Like Connie Van Putten, Lynne is acutely aware of her responsibility as a role model for other women and the pioneering aspect of her rise to such high rank. She feels a strong obligation to succeed because failure at her level would be magnified far beyond the failure of a male failure of equal rank. In addition, she feels obligated to mentor other female officers and to encourage them to strive to better themselves. But she insists that all candidates for promotion be qualified and not promoted just because of their gender.

Lynne's advice to aspiring female officers is the same she gives to aspiring male officers. "Be yourself!" "Don't change just to fit into some preconceived model." "Be sincere and recognize that you are hired for the strengths, talents and positive character traits you bring to the job."¹³⁷ She further encourages officers to know their strengths and weakness, and to set goals for the future.

She speaks frankly to female officers telling them they will have to work harder to succeed than the male officers, but that in time, as more women succeed at higher levels, this unfair requirement will diminish. Lynne feels the door to equal opportunity for women is partially open, but not completely. As increasing numbers of women are promoted to higher ranks, the distinction of gender will disappear at higher levels much as it is disappearing at the police officer level.

¹³⁷ Lynne Johnson interview.

Chris Dean

Across the bay in the Contra Costa County town of Danville the Chief of Police is Christine Dean. Chris is one of the two Bay Area Chiefs of Police who are women (the other is Lucy Carlton).

Chris was appointed to the Chief's position in December of 1992. Danville is an unincorporated town which contracts for police services with the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department. That is how Chris came to the Chief's position. She is employed by the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department with a permanent rank of Lieutenant. She went through an extensive testing procedure, designed like most other testing procedures for the selection of Chief's of Police, and she won. The competition was open to all lieutenants and above within the Sheriff's Department and both men and women participated.

As the Chief, she manages a five million dollar budget and has all the power and responsibilities of any Chief of Police, in any city, in California.

In spite of her current status in Danville and her other accomplishments, Chris denies she is a pioneer for women's issues or that she is motivated by any desire to raise the image of women in law enforcement. Her long struggle against abuse and discrimination because of her

gender is characterized by Chris as just a love for the job and a desire to improve the effectiveness of her agency. History will no doubt put Chris' career into proper perspective; but her story is hard to view as anything but trail-blazing and precedent setting.

She was hired as a Deputy Sheriff/Female¹³⁸ with four other women in 1972 and, like so many women who refuse to be quiet and accept the status quo just because they are women, within a few years she was in trouble. Wishing to stretch her wings (and perhaps a little bored), after her first three years at the jail, Chris audaciously asked to be transferred to the Patrol Division. Her request was denied. Compounding her offense, she also had become vocally critical of the Sheriff's requirement that the Deputy Sheriff/Females wear only skirts, not pants, and were not allowed to carry a gun.

These women were required to wear their hair down and not allowed to pin it up close to their heads. Chris saw this as a matter of officer safety, especially in the jail environment. The Sheriff, Harry Ramsey, responded with, "you were hired as a woman and you will look like a

¹³⁸ This designation was the official title of female Deputies. The "/Female" is ultimately dropped after 1976.

woman."¹³⁹ He suggested they try to look like Angie Dickinson. (apparently referring to the character, played by Angie Dickinson on the television show Police Woman).

Finally she sought the advice of a local attorney about her rights in this situation. The attorney sent a letter to Sheriff Ramsey, outlining Chris' complaint regarding the restriction of women from working in the Patrol Division. The Sheriff Ramsey's reaction was swift and punitive. He assigned Chris as a Deputy County Coroner; a less than desirable job within the Sheriff's Department. A Lieutenant told Chris later that she had permanently damaged her career. The transfer was meant as a warning, he said, and he further warned she, "had better take it and take it with a smile," or leave the department. The effect of the transfer was clear, complain and you will be punished. Chris took the transfer. But this punitive assignment had a silver lining.

Unwittingly the Sheriff had provided Chris with an enormous opportunity. She was out of the jail and working the streets. She was interacting with the male officers of her own department as well as with a variety of other law enforcement agencies. As a Deputy Coroner, Chris responded

¹³⁹ Christine Dean, interview by author, 3 September 1993, Danville, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Chris Dean interview).

to all homicides and most major crime scenes in some of the roughest neighborhoods in Contra Costa County.

Most male officers were shocked to see a female get out of the Coroner's vehicle, process the crime scene and collect the bodies of the victims. Chris considered the experience invaluable. It increased her knowledge and skill and allowed other males to see women functioning effectively under the same conditions with which they were intimately acquainted; the violence, the hostile crowds and the endless flow of human misery.

After two and one-half years Chris reached a saturation point in dealing with the death and violence associated with being a Deputy Coroner. She reached it when, in the spring of 1977, she participated in the processing of the victims in a major bus accident where 28 people were killed, all of them children. Of the twenty Deputy Coroners present, Chris alone was given the task of contacting the parents of the children who survived and those of the children who were killed. The experience was excruciatingly painful. At first she felt singled out because she was a female but her lieutenant said, "No, you are the best person for this situation."¹⁴⁰ As painful as the task was, Chris agreed. She has never regretted it because she believes she handled the contacts better than the others could have.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Some time later, Chris asked for a transfer back to the jail. Sheriff Ramsey asked her if she had had enough? She said yes. He told her he "didn't want to hear anymore garbage about patrol."¹⁴¹

Within a month of her return to the jail Chris was again restless and unhappy. Her two and a half years as a Deputy Coroner, although at times numbing, had generated a love for the street. Once again she approached an attorney and once again a letter was sent to the Sheriff. The response this time was more positive. Two Deputy/Females would be allowed to work in the Patrol Division for one year, and then return to the jail. Although Chris was the ranking female in the jail the Sheriff chose two lower seniority females for the assignment. It was a small victory and one that failed to benefit Chris, but it was a step in the right direction.

Fortunately, Sheriff Ramsey was up for re-election the following year and Chris threw her support to his challenger, a young Captain named Richard Rainey. Rainey told Chris he supported her demands and that on the day he was elected, if he was, she would be assigned to Patrol. He won and she was transferred to the Patrol Division.

In 1981, after three years in patrol, Chris was promoted to Sergeant and was once again assigned to the jail. She

¹⁴¹ Chris Dean interview.

served two more years in the jail before being transferred to the Records Division.

She continued her climb through the ranks. In 1986, she was promoted to Lieutenant and transferred back to a jail assignment. Two years later she was appointed the Commander of the Branch Jail. During her assignment at this facility Chris felt, and the evidence supports her belief, that she excelled as a manager and as a supervisor. As the Jail Commander she oversaw massive new jail construction and an increase in the jail population from 180 to 560 inmates. Without question, this assignment provided her with both the exposure and the training she needed to achieve her goal of obtaining higher rank.

Unfortunately, her next assignment angered and disappointed her. The County 911 Center had been experiencing a growing number of sexual harassment complaints against the male supervisors and manager. Chris was assigned to stop the harassment, if true, and to quiet the charges. Assigning her to that center, in Chris' opinion, was a copout. She felt the county made the decision to assign her mainly because she was a woman, and to avoid the issues raised by the female dispatchers in the Center. Chris took being selected purely on gender as an insult. As she put it, "I went kicking and screaming."¹⁴²

¹⁴² Ibid.

Shortly after being transferred into the 911 Center Chris learned of a pending vacancy at Danville. Determined to succeed, to win the position that was opening up, she involved herself in an intense program of study to prepare herself for the selection process. It paid off. In December, 1992, after achieving perfect scores on all aspects of the Assessment Center portion of the selection process, Chris was appointed the Chief of Police in Danville, California.

Chris has a clear plan for promotion in the future. Her preparation for the Danville Chief's position had been extensive. Her plans for the future are equally well thought out. She plans to return to U.C. Berkeley and expand her education as a stepping stone on her way to a permanent Chief of Police position, or even to the office of the Sheriff of Contra Costa County.

Chris attributes her success to hard work, to having a very supportive husband and family, and to having an overall plan. "I created my own career path because there was none for females in Contra Costa County," she recalls. She said she had no female mentors along the way.

In an attempt to be a mentor for the other women on the Sheriff's Department Chris will, once a month, call a female Deputy, even one she doesn't know, and take her to lunch. At lunch Chris talks to them and encourages them to commit

themselves to a plan for advancement.

Chris says the other female upper level managers in the Bay Area, like Lucy Carlton, Connie Van Putten and Lynne Johnson are "beacons of light" for her. They provide her with support, advice and just a friendly voice in her constant struggle against the insensitivity towards women's issues at the Sheriff's Department.

Chris' experiences in Danville have been very positive, she says. She believes her position there has helped level the playing field between her and the other managers in the Danville organizational structure. Her relationship with the male officers under her command has also been rewarding.

She feels that her working relationship with her male officers is a positive one, which she attributes to an increase in training designed to open up communication between her and the rank and file. She believes the emphasis on such training, and the use of training in general as a reward, is a key to her success in Danville. She is, she says, committed to finding new ways of maintaining morale and improving the level of law enforcement in her town.

Chris doesn't subscribe to the theory of the "glass ceiling." She believes many women unknowingly place a limit on themselves. Particularly in law enforcement. She feels women need to make a conscious commitment to winning promotion. They will have to make sacrifices, i.e., giving up

good days off, comfortable assignments, and seniority privileges. But she insists that women are promotable if they will commit themselves to the challenge. They must be willing to take the promotional exams, work odd shifts and various assignments, to gain a broad base of experience and skills.

She believes as more women make the commitment and the sacrifices that are necessary the more women will succeed. Those who succeed will open the door for those who follow. She believes women need to be able to look to role models and to form networking contacts for support and guidance.

Even if she resists the designation of role model, Chris Dean is truly an example of the dedication and resiliency characteristic of women who succeed. She may shy away from the "pioneer" label, but she cannot avoid the obvious similarities nor her place in the future of women in law enforcement.

Lucy Carlton

At the Los Altos Police Department, just west of San Jose, the future of women in law enforcement is being charted by Chief of Police Lucy Carlton.

Lucy understands the impact of her role as a female chief of police and is keenly aware of how change effects an organization. "Change is always difficult," she says, "but when the change is brought about by a change in gender, then change becomes threatening."¹⁴³

Lucy's move into the position of Chief of Police at Los Altos was one of the smoothest changes of her career. She was already known by many of the officers at the police department through her years of instructing at the regional police academy. Her experience as a former labor leader (President of the Milpitas Police Officer's Association) reassured the line level officers of her ability to relate to their issues. "They welcomed me with open arms," Lucy recalls. She feels very fortunate. A few short decades ago women in her position were not only unheard of but unimaginable.

Lucy's career began after a failed attempt at life in a convent. She said her gregarious personality made vows of

¹⁴³ Lucy Carlton, interview by author, 19 August 1993, Los Altos, tape recording. (Hereafter cited as Lucy Carlton interview).

silence difficult. These same talents, which made her unacceptable in the convent drew her to the challenging field of law enforcement.

In 1969, she was hired as a "Police Woman" at the Milpitas Police Department. She says she was selected for the position by the Chief of Police. She had met the Chief when he was one of her instructors at San Jose State University. She says "he hand picked her" for the job, as he would hand pick the other women who were hired later. "He wore the women on his department like ornaments,"¹⁴⁴ Lucy said. He always hired attractive women and seemed to "parade them around" for everyone to see. The Chief was very patriarchal in his leadership style, she said, but even more so with the women.

Lucy remembers how he controlled everyone. You were promoted or transferred, succeeded or failed at the Milpitas Police Department, according to the wishes and timetable of the Chief. As Lucy learned, if you challenged his control you paid a heavy price. Lucy learned that lesson first hand.

Her initial assignment was as an investigator in the Investigations Division. She soon became aware that she was working harder than most of the men around her and being

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

paid much less.¹⁴⁵ After several years on the job, and with the support of several of her male colleagues, Lucy filed for a reclassification of her Police Woman position to full police officer status. In 1976, Lucy was reclassified to full police officer rank.¹⁴⁶ This reclassification put Lucy into the same category as all male police officers which allowed her to compete for assignments and promotions with the men.

In retrospect she sees this as a turning point in her career and in her relationship with the Chief. She had forced a change which, Lucy says, he took as an affront to his patriarchal role as the Chief of Police. She believes he, in his own perverted way was trying to protect her by leaving her in the Police Woman classification.

The immediate result of the reclassification was her transfer out of investigations and into the Patrol Division. Once in patrol, the Chief was openly critical of her and quick to discipline her for minor mistakes that other officers, even other female officers, made without reprimand.

Even while her investigative expertise, particularly in Sex Crimes Investigations, was being widely acknowledged

¹⁴⁵ She was hired as a Police Woman with police officer pay, but the other investigators were receiving Sergeants pay for the same duties.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

by outside agencies and other criminal justice professionals, the Chief was intransigent in his opposition to her.

Lucy said she always received her professional "strokes" from outside the department. One place that was particularly positive for her was the police academy, where she was a very popular instructor.

In 1976, Lucy had passed the Corporal's exam the Chief promoted her at the insistence of George Cavalo, the Milpitas Personnel Director. Unfortunately, she initially failed as a Corporal. She acknowledges that she made mistakes, but she believes much of the trouble she had, and particularly the resistance she faced from male officers, occurred as a result of their support for their Chief.

When her probationary evaluations as a Corporal gave him grounds to demote her back to Officer, he did so immediately. "He expected me to quit,"¹⁴⁷ Lucy said. She had been humiliated by the demotion but leaving was never an option. She had too much invested in her work and in her life at the police department to be chased off and she felt she was young enough to "outlive" him.

By 1979, Lucy was again on the top of the promotional list, and once again over the objections of the Chief, she was promoted to Corporal. This time she succeeded. The previous adversity had strengthened her resolve and she was

¹⁴⁷ Lucy Carlton, interview.

determined to succeed. By 1980 Lucy had been promoted again, to sergeant. This time the Chief refused to sign the promotion order. Lucy said she was promoted without his signature. In spite of her successes she believes that if the Chief hadn't retired she would have remained a sergeant for the rest of her career at the Milpitas Police Department.

Lucy's career inside the police department expanded in the early 1980's when she was elected as the President of the Milpitas Police Officer's Association. This election stands as a monument to how she was perceived by the rank and file officers on the department. She laughs as she recalled the inside joke about her election. The joke was that she was the best choice for President of the Association because the Chief already hated her and she nothing else to lose! In reality, she believed it was more than hate. She felt the Chief really wanted to destroy her. As it turned out he was a very determined man.

He disciplined her at every opportunity even to the extent of referring two incidents to the District Attorney's office for possible prosecution. Both times the charges were groundless and quickly dropped. But after the second attempt Lucy decided she had had enough. She filed a Malicious Prosecution civil suit and prepared to sue her own department and the City of Milpitas for allowing what she

felt was harassment to continue.

Within days of her filling the lawsuit, the Chief announced his retirement. Lucy does not believe her lawsuit was the only reason he retired. She does feel her lawsuit may have been the last item, in a long list of items, that finally tipped the scales against him.

After a lengthy search and selection process, Frank Acosta was appointed as the new Chief of Police for the City of Milpitas. Unlike most new chiefs, Frank Acosta moved slowly at first. Lucy said he spent time learning the department's dynamics and getting to know the personnel.

However, when he did make changes, they shook the department to its foundations. In the past, promotions had been made by seniority, attrition, and in accordance with the old Chief's timetable. But now, when a Captain's position opened up Chief Acosta allowed sergeants and lieutenants to compete.

Always good at taking tests, Lucy scored well on the test and thus ranked high on the final list of candidates. Then Chief Acosta took a giant progressive step, and a giant political gamble, and promoted Lucy from Sergeant to Captain over several lieutenants who had also taken the test. Her supervisors one afternoon were her subordinates the next morning. The promoting of an officer two ranks at once is not unheard of in law enforcement, but clearly it is not the

typical pattern for most police agencies.

At the Milpitas Police Department the lieutenants were stunned. The promotion of a sergeant to captain violated the old method of promotions. To promote a woman over them was really twisting the knife. It raised a "real stink", Lucy said. The lieutenants cried foul and dredged up her past evaluations, saying she was unqualified for the promotion. A less public reason to oppose her promotion was that the old Chief didn't think she was qualified.

But by October of 1988, Lucy Carlton had nearly twenty years of police experience, eight of those years as a Sergeant and she had served lengthy assignments as an acting Lieutenant. She also had extensive experience in budgeting and had been the President of the Police Officer's Association. Lastly, she had a positive management style that coincided with that of the new Police Chief's.

To Lucy, the promotion was a reward for the hard work, pain and discomfort she had experienced under her previous Chief. Many believed she would use her new position to seek revenge for past wrongs and mistreatment. "They never got close enough to me to know I wasn't like that," she said, "I don't play those games."¹⁴⁸

Once in charge Lucy managed her new assignment in the positive manner she described. She called her Lieutenants

¹⁴⁸ Lucy Carlton interview.

into her office and told them what her expectations were, and that every three months she would review their performance. Then she told them they were professionals and to do their jobs. Then she ordered them to never treat any other employee the way they had treated her. She ordered them to treat all employees with respect and dignity while viewing each employee as a valuable asset to the department.

Over the next two years Lucy said the sergeants and the lieutenants who worked for her learned she was not from the old Chief's school of negative motivation and political favoritism. She said, in fact, her relationship with most of her subordinates improved greatly.

By July of 1991, Lucy was receiving encouragement from her friends to apply for the Chief's position at Los Altos. This encouragement came from all quarters: Female colleagues, long standing male friends and mentors, both inside and outside the Milpitas Police Department. Some of those who encouraged her were other female candidates for the same position. She described the attitude of these women as, "if they don't get the job then they hoped it could be another woman."¹⁴⁹

Once selected for the position, the decision to leave Milpitas was one of the most difficult in her life. Despite

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

the pain and turmoil she had endured there, it was still home and there were many close friends and associates she didn't want to leave. Furthermore, after having endured the wrath of the old Chief for years she was now a Captain and it felt good. It would have been easy and comfortable to be satisfied with what she had accomplished at the Milpitas Police Department, and stay. She had risen higher in rank than any other woman at the police department and few would have faulted her for playing it safe.

However, Lucy is not someone to rest on her laurels. She, like Connie, Chris and Lynne share a unique quality that pushes them onward and upward. The position of Chief of Police was an enticing challenge. It was, she firmly believed, the right kind of position for her.¹⁵⁰

One of the advantages of the position at Los Altos lay in the fact that the police department there had a long history of hiring women as police officers. This was an inducement because she felt her style of management and the needs of this agency were well matched. Her evaluation of the department indicated the need for a connection between the line level personnel and the Chief. "They needed an advocate," she said, and Lucy had been the Police Officers

¹⁵⁰ Potential chiefs will evaluate a department and select which type of agency fits their style or skills. Picking the wrong kind of department, especially as their first job, can be disastrous for a new chief.

Association President at the Milpitas Police Department. The combination of all these things, in Lucy's view, made her an outstanding choice. The selection committee in Los Altos agreed, and in July of 1991, she was selected, thus becoming the first female Chief of Police in the greater Bay Area.

One of her first challenges was the creation of a management team. Uncomfortably, her team had to consist of two male captains who had competed for the position Lucy now held. True to herself and consistent with her sense of fairness and her positive style of leadership, Lucy was able to establish a solid working relationship with both of the men.¹⁵¹

Lucy feels her earlier experiences at Milpitas were vital "character builders" for her. She said she is a better chief today because of the bad example of her old Chief. He taught her, she says, how not to be a chief.

She is quick to point out that she may do things differently than other male Chiefs but she says women have been

¹⁵¹ Lucy recalled an early problem in communication. It seems her methods of solving problems or just giving directions to her team caused some confusion among the two male captains (Her secretary, a woman, understood her completely). Lucy's solution was typical of how women address problems versus how men do. She discovered she needed to become more direct in her manner when dealing with the male members of her team. When she did that the problem diminished. Her solution is unique in that most male Chiefs would see the problem as that of the subordinate, and not his.

doing police work differently for years. "You can be different and still succeed," Lucy says. Her whole career, and many of the negative remarks to be discovered in her early evaluations, were based on her doing law enforcement outside accepted police practices.

When asked how the other Chiefs and law enforcement managers in Santa Clara County reacted to her promotion she smiles broadly and says they support her one hundred percent. Many of the current Chiefs she has known for years and all have been helpful. Chief Acosta, was "proud as a peacock," Lucy said. He felt vindicated for taking that risk in 1988 when he made her a Captain.

Like the other women who have won management positions, Lucy feels a strong sense of responsibility to succeed because she is all too familiar with the role of a pioneer. She has been the "first" all her career and understands how important her pioneer role as a Chief is to the future of women in law enforcement. Lucy, like all the women of rank interviewed here, feels a strong obligation to mentor both male and female officers.

She advises new female officers to obtain adequate life experiences, such as living on their own, and working. They need to understand the realities of the working world and, also, have something with which to compare police work. She warns them against expecting fairness; it probably won't

happen. Thus high self-esteem is a major factor in surviving a career field that will be full of ups and downs.

Women must also get tough. Never give up or let circumstances defeat you, she warns. Women need not abandon their innate skills and abilities to do the job like men. Control, Lucy says, doesn't have to be based on physical domination.

She believes that one of the advantages women have over men is not what they have but what they do not have. Women don't have that male ego which is so clearly visible and so easily challenged. They aren't as easily goaded into a physical altercation as men because women know they don't have the physical strength to overpower larger individuals. Therefore, Lucy says, they should use their verbal and intellectual skills to control the less violent situations. However, she also recognizes that women must be willing and physically prepared to use force when the situation calls for its use.

Lucy believes, more importantly, that women's ultimate success depends on male support. Male chiefs must allow women access to management level posts and groom them for future Chief positions. Current Chiefs, male and female, must ensure the doors of opportunity are open to all women.

Without that needed access, the movement of women upward through the ranks will be slowed: It may take them

additional decades to gain acceptability in the upper echelons of law enforcement. Lucy feels the access afforded her by Chief Acosta and the support she received from her male colleagues through the years, allowed her to be where she is today. She speaks warmly of those very thoughtful and progressive men.

Lucy believes that male officers can benefit from learning that there is more than one way to do the job that all of society believes is vitally necessary if we are to enjoy our freedoms within a democratic society. Male officers may discover that the strengths women bring to police work may be the kinds of strengths the police of the future need to face some of the gravest challenges in its history.

Epilogue

It is clear that many of the questions surrounding women in law enforcement have been answered. The evidence proves that women can do the job at the line level, as a police officer, and it strongly suggests that they can do the job at all levels. As society adjusts to the changing role of women so will the various institutions of society. The narrowing of the gap in equality between men and women represents great strides forward, yet there are great strides yet to take. The evidence in this work suggests that how women fare in law enforcement can have an effect on how women will be perceived in society as a whole. The high visibility of police departments and their integral role in how a society functions, provides a stage and a forum the rest of society can use to observe women in a new way; working and succeeding in a very male dominated role. Perhaps from that stage and in that forum women can achieve the rights and the equality that have been so long denied them.

It is also clear from this paper that change is slow. From the early days of the APWs and into the future in which women are, and will be, serving as Chief's of Police, one can mark the changes with the passing of generations. From Stella Sullivan and Peggy Donald to Phyllis Trussler and

Sharon Young to Linda Torres, Pat Campbell, Adonna Amoroso and Brenda Herbert change has happened as attitudes and values have evolved. As the new male recruits enter law enforcement their more contemporary attitudes and values will make these advances for women seem more normal and natural. As these new male recruits see more women in upper management positions, like Lucy Carlton, Chris Dean, Lynne Johnson and Connie Van Putten even their uniqueness will disappear.

And as these current and future generations of police officers progress through their careers, hopefully the person wearing the badge of a police officer will not be described by any adjective except, perhaps, professional, honest and compassionate. Connie Van Putten put it as succinctly as possible when she said, "being a good police officer is not gender specific."¹⁵²

¹⁵² Connie Van Putten interview.

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