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Feminism's greatest Challenge: women in law enforcement

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**FEMINISM'S GREATEST CHALLENGE:
WOMEN IN LAW ENFORCEMENT**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Administration of Justice Department
San Jose State University

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

by

Anthony DeLucchi Barberi

May, 1997

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ABSTRACT

FEMINISM'S GREATEST CHALLENGE:

WOMEN IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

by Anthony D. Barberi

This thesis addresses the topic of women in the male-dominated field of law enforcement. It examines the evolution, and the struggles of female police officers. The existence of informal practices, which operate within police organizations, essentially precludes the equal treatment of, and opportunity for policewomen.

The lack of acceptance policewomen receive from their male colleagues makes their assimilation and integration difficult. Policewomen are coaxed into roles that are riddled with compromise. This outcome precipitates additional stressors and feelings of ambivalence.

Taiwan, a Chinese province, has been impacted greatly by Western philosophy. The extent of this influence is sufficient enough to expect correlations.

A survey at Taiwan's Central Police University reveals support for the female police officer; but, this support appears to exist with her in a different capacity than that of her male colleague. Respondents perceive an ambivalence as to what role policewomen desire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to many people for their direct and indirect contributions to this research project. Kudos start at San Jose State University where Dr. Harry E. Allen provided the guiding light and approval for such a venture. My major advisor, Dr. Charlotte Shiang-yun Wong, provided not only her knowledge and wisdom pertaining to this inquiry, but also extended her genuine support and compassion in such a manner and degree that has me seeing her equally as a friend and educator.

Other committee members, Dr. Peter C. Unsinger and Dr. Louis M. Holscher deserve thanks and recognition, not only for their expertise, but also for their patience and understanding. I also want to thank Dr. Kristin Luker of the University of California at Berkeley who suggested to me, as an undergraduate student, that I should consider graduate study.

My going overseas for the summer to perform research necessitated a level of support as well. This research was not funded through a foundation, gift, or grant. I arrived in Taiwan with nowhere certain to live, a limited understanding of the Mandarin language, no job lined up, and money only for a few weeks. A friend, Bruce E. Dinger, assured me that I could make a living in Taiwan under such constraints; this was an accomplishment in itself that I will treasure for a lifetime.

The contacts provided by Sander Yu-jen Huang, a friend and native of Taiwan, proved to be invaluable during my first few weeks, and allowed me to locate my first students eager to learn English. Also, I would have never left my home and pets unless they were in good hands; Sander, and his lovely wife Emily, allowed for this assurance.

I wish also to thank the Vice General Manager of Kai Yang Construction, Patrick B. Chen, for retaining my services to provide English instruction to not only himself, but his colleagues, and his family. I want to say to all of my students, once again, that the desire they possess to learn a difficult language is very commendable; I do hope it is being maintained in my absence.

I am most grateful to those who spent their time showing and teaching me their culture, customs, and language. To those who joined the "crazy American" in the adventure up Jade Mountain during typhoon season, a

heartfelt "thank you" for your concern. I will always cherish the Chinese name given to me.

Accurate translation of the questionnaire into Chinese was facilitated by the aforementioned Dr. Charlotte Shiang-yun Wong, Sander Yu-jen Huang, and fellow graduate student, Teresa Chen. This was a painstaking process that I now can better appreciate. It was printed, reprinted, and reproduced in Taiwan with the assistance of Mr. Michael and Macy Tseng.

Taiwan's renowned Central Police University (CPU) received me with open arms and assisted me with my research in a professional and timely manner. Dr. Edward Te-hui Tsai, the Dean of Academic Affairs, not only introduced me to the CPU and his colleagues, but also to his beautiful family and his philosophy of life. His assistant, John H. F. Deng, has helped me obtain and clarify information on several occasions while still in Taiwan, and since my departure.

A good portion of my days was spent doing research in Taipei's main library. Given the language barrier, the staff was actually as patient as they were competent. They assisted me in getting a library card, directing me toward card files and computer retrieval systems, locating desired sources, and utilizing the photocopiers.

The Taiwanese people as a whole (vendors, pedestrians, bus drivers...) were very thoughtful and considerate. Now that I look back, those many difficult conversations employing hand signals and dictionary cites were well worthwhile because when successful communication was achieved, it brought smiles to our faces. I recall these instances quite vividly, and deeply appreciate the effort exerted by these caring individuals.

I also want to thank my parents for fostering the virtues of education. The importance of learning and empowerment, whether through the classroom or in the real world, has always been an ongoing endeavor in my family. Without such a foundation, this accomplishment would have never been conceived, let alone attempted and realized. Although neither my parents nor friends expressed support for this trek under the aforementioned conditions (I was not expecting such), I am appreciative for their loving concern.

I was recently asked if I grew up with sisters because in order to research such a topic, this person thought, I

must possess a level of sensitivity that most men lack. Sisters I do not have, but I do have a mother who is more able and accomplished, professionally and personally, than most others I have encountered.

She is an independent and strong woman who is more professional in her work, and handy around the home than most men I know. Quite simply because she tries; she does not let the preconceived ideas of others dictate what she wants to do, or become. Without her as an example of the possibilities women represent, this project would have never presented any intrigue.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Eastern cultures are generally recognized as being more repressive of women's rights. It is the aim of this research to inquire if Taiwan, a Chinese province, is an evolving exception. Due to the extensive Western, and in particular, American influence on the Taiwanese people, a change in traditional attitudes is expected, especially in the younger generations.

Although a sampling of such beliefs in Taiwan is central to this research, a reference point from which one can compare and deduce is first required. Since policewomen have a rich history in the West, their experiences and research findings act as such a barometer.

This thesis will discuss both popularly held attitudes regarding women in law enforcement, and how these dispositions hinder their full integration and acceptance into the police service, a traditionally male-dominated occupation. To better understand this reality, it is imperative to trace the roots of such sentiment in order to ascertain the origins of these attitudes. Once these influential factors have been identified, successful criticism of the past and present can lead to educated change for the future.

An understanding of the direction of this inquiry is imperative. Because barriers exist for women in employment

other than law enforcement, it would first be necessary to fully understand and refute the beliefs associated with these instances. Only then can an attempt be made to tackle the controversial subject of female police officers; without refutation and consensus on the former, it would be futile to argue the latter.

This approach reveals that the objections policewomen encounter are essentially no different than those criticisms women initially faced upon their entry into the labor market. Given the strides women have made in the business world, ammunition now exists to attack defeatist attitudes in the field of law enforcement. A progression or evolution becomes evident, and necessary; an ideal situation cannot suddenly appear. The test of time and resolve will chart a course of tolerable change.

The students at Taiwan's Central Police University serve as the population for this inquiry; their attitudes are particularly relevant in that they are the future decision-makers in the administration of justice. A questionnaire was devised to measure and interpret such beliefs. If these struggles exist in similar environments, a pattern or trend can be expected.

Due to the fact that traditional beliefs currently coexist with "new" egalitarian perspectives, it is expected that Taiwanese policewomen will sense an ambivalence similar

to that expressed by female police officers in the West. Also, as revealed in the evolution of Western policewomen, it is expected that support for female police officers will exist, but in a specialized capacity apart from policemen.

The findings of this research uphold these assumptions. It soon becomes evident that this issue is not relegated to a handful of countries, but is global in breadth, varying only in degree, contingent upon a people's unique history and circumstance. A thoughtful discussion further reflects upon the findings and offers insightful recommendations for a brighter and healthier future.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review that follows has a monumental task. After an initial discussion regarding the concept of attitude, a thorough discussion ensues regarding pertinent information, and previous research on women, and their struggle for labor force participation and equality with men in the United States.

With these challenges understood and traversed, the literature review transitions into the evolution of the female police officer in America. An in-depth look at the confrontations policewomen encounter reveals that they are facing the same type of criticism and rationale that attempted to dissuade women from the workplace in earlier years. A brief review of policewomen in other Western

nations reveals striking similarities.

An attempt will be made to understand the role of feminism in Asia, and how it has been impacted by Western philosophy; a contrasting look at China's situation will prove to be very enlightening. The obstacles encountered by Japanese business women will prove to be insightful in this endeavor. After the demographics of Taiwan are discussed, an understanding of Confucianism and Buddhism is appropriate. Influences from the West upon Taiwan's educational system, government, and economic philosophy have been dramatic and noteworthy. The literature review will dedicate much time to reveal and comprehend this pervasive Western infusion.

It is because of this pronounced impact from the Western world that makes Taiwan quite unique and worthy of postulation. The key ingredients of ancient Chinese customs and traditions, a religion with rather contemporary beliefs, and the relatively recent influences from the West, have made for a dynamic society that is incurring its share of growing pains.

It is important to note that because Taiwanese policewomen currently exist in their early evolutionary stages, a comparative literature review is not possible; Western nations have received the vast majority of research on this topic. The literature review concludes with a

discussion of the struggles and ramifications for modern Taiwanese women.

A. The Concept of Attitude and its Significance

The study of attitudes is an interesting concept that merits some discussion. Prior to its application to human behavior by scientists, the term "attitude" was used by poets and novelists in the seventeenth century for descriptive purposes (DeFleur and Frank, 1963). It was not until the mid-nineteenth century when the term began to address human thought processes. During this time, attitude, along with man's social and psychological nature, became a subject for scientific investigation.

As psychologists studied the concepts of learning, perception, and motivation through animal experimentation, the term "attitude" had gained prominence in psychological circles. Presently, the term is best associated with the endeavor of social psychology (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1984). Even though definitions of attitude have been advanced by many researchers over the years, since the 1920's, the operationalization of attitudinal measurement has focused on the assessment of human behavior toward an entity. It is generally accepted that an attitude is a human reaction toward an entity and that the behavior toward this entity can be verbal or nonverbal (Kiesler, Collins, and Miller, 1969).

Attitudes all too often depict the reality of the human condition; they are reflected in behavior towards others. For example, over thirty years ago, the Civil Rights Act, inspired primarily by those seeking equal treatment for African-Americans, made for *de jure* equality for all U.S. citizens. But as many Americans can attest, *de facto* equality, to this day, is still not a reality. Attitudes, especially those that are well-ingrained, can persist and even endure in the shadows of the just laws of the land.

Attitudes are predispositions toward an entity. In the short term, attitudes tend to be stable. However, over the course of time they are subject to outside influences, and with that are subject to modification (Lan, 1988). To truly understand the realities and actual practices that may informally exist, a study of attitudes is critical.

B. The Struggle of the Working Woman in America

The Realities of Early America

From its earliest colonists of the 1600's, to the citizens of today, the United States has nurtured the struggle for success. This American dream is not just simply about making money as it is about elevating one's relative status; going from "rags to riches," or to "make something of oneself" are indicative expressions that are firmly entrenched in Americana. Arguably the finest thing about America is the chance one has to get ahead on his own

initiative, goodness, work ethic, and perseverance (Sidel, 1990).

The steadfast belief in this dream has provided the force necessary to separate one not only from family and home, but from country, to venture to the promised land. If riches are out of reach, one could still expect to make for gains in income as well as social standing. However, it was the male who was expected to make his way in American society. The female was to improve her social status by either marrying well, or wisely. She was expected to help her husband succeed.

Not so long ago, reproduction, not production was considered to be the centerpiece of a woman's life (Sidel, 1990). Related child-rearing and domestic responsibilities soon followed. It is important to note that this was not always the case in American history.

It was not until the nineteenth century when child development and well-being were viewed as the major or sole responsibility of the mother. The eighteenth century advised both parents to raise their children together; it was not to be an exclusively female task. During colonial times, both parents shared in this endeavor as well. In particular, the fathers were important at home for they were to provide for the proper religious education of their children (Margolis, 1984).

Prior to the nineteenth century, household size was more often than not larger than the nuclear family. The presence of other adults who could assist in child care and domestic duties diluted maternal responsibility; the mother-child relationship was one of several. The household was a dynamic mix of home life and work; prior to capitalism, the family and the unit of production were one and the same. Yet, even within the family, women were often relegated to an inferior status (Margolis, 1984).

The Industrial Revolution of Western Europe brought forth industrialization to the United States by the nineteenth century. The home and place of work became separate. As work began to take fathers away from home for most of the day, child-rearing responsibilities fell heavily upon the mother. The mother's raising of healthy and well-adjusted children into ideal citizens has its origins in the nineteenth century. She was told that this was the nature of things (Margolis, 1984); because child-bearing required that she be sedentary, it was only natural that she stay home after childbirth to manage those affairs and related ones such as housework.

Patriarchy, in a variety of forms, has dictated human social relations for thousands of years. Contrary to what many espouse, what distinguishes capitalism is not the subjection of women, as this predates capitalist economics,

but the privatization of domestic labor, and the exclusion of women from social labor. Essentially this reproduces the subjection of women in a uniquely capitalist way. Under capitalism, the family ceased to have a direct relationship with production as women and children were gradually excluded from the factories, mines and workshops (Hunt, 1980).

For women, the term labor came to be associated with the reproduction of male labor power to sustain the economy. As a result, the female laborer was relegated to the home where she became completely dependent upon the male's wages (Allen, Sanders, and Wallis, 1974). Although she too worked in industry, the family, even today, is seen falsely as merely a consumption unit. Those who contend so neglect the fact that nearly all goods brought home are not immediately useable nor consumable; additional work and preparation is often required. Production within the domestic realm, and the servicing of labor-power are often overlooked (Hunt, 1980).

Nevertheless the separation between her work in the family and the work performed for wages created a situation where women could not envision themselves as wage earners (Rowbotham, 1975). A belief then soon followed that men's wages should be sufficient to support the household (Hartman and Banner, 1974). Mary Wollstonecraft, an early feminist,

equated this domestic confinement and consequent dependency of women to that of a lap-dog existence.

Legislation

As invariably some women did work outside the home, the need for protective legislation arose. In the 1890's such progressive women's groups as the National Consumers' League and the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) pushed for, and with a large measure of success, obtained enactment of minimum wage and hours laws for women employees. These reform organizations continuously lobbied state legislatures intensively. Issues and related struggles regarding gender can influence state policy decisions (Blankenship, 1993).

Even though both the Consumers' League and the GFWC sought for the legal protection of working women, they did so in a manner that was non-feminist. In attempting to obtain wages and working conditions equal to that of men, their arguments stemmed from patriarchal ideology. They asserted that women, in particular, need legal protections because not only are they the weaker sex, but that demanding work environments, and petty wages undermine their essential roles as wives and mothers (Abramovitz, 1988).

The rationale that women should be protected because they are the mothers of the next generation, was detrimental to the essence of feminism; the ends did not justify the means. Their methods utilized defined women's primary role

in traditional ways such that it helped to preserve women's economic dependence on their male wage-earning husbands. Because this ideological approach reinforced the gender hierarchy, it was patriarchal by nature (Lehrer, 1987). An example of this philosophy, still existent today, was expressed in the following statement by one-time Consumers' League leader, Florence Kelley:

The inescapable facts are, however, that men do not bear children, are free from the burdens of maternity and are not susceptible in the same measure as women, to the poisons characteristic of certain industries... The inherent differences are permanent. Women will always need many laws different from those needed by men. Mere identical treatment by the law is not enough (Lehrer, 1987:6).

The National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL) was composed of organized workers who also supported protective legislation for women. However, this organization, founded in 1903, argued for women's rights in a non-patriarchal voice. The goals of the NWTUL were formulated on the basis of women's economic role as workers as opposed to social roles as wives and mothers.

In addition to regulating hours and wages for women workers, the NWTUL sought the removal of gender hierarchies. Suffice it to say, these protective laws were quite unpopular with employers; in the absence of cheap female labor, production costs would assuredly rise (McCammon,

1995). Employers felt that the government did not have the right to dictate the employment relationship, and by doing so, these protective laws violated the freedom-of-contract doctrine that the courts had deemed an inalienable constitutional right (Baer, 1978).

With the passage of the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act, a large number of federal, state, and local agencies became subject to requirements for "good faith effort," affirmative action programs as defined by federal courts and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; this was pursuant to the legislative intent of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 (Steel and Lovrich, 1987). The controversy over such a policy rages to this very day.

Advocates of affirmative action measures see such intervention as a rightful correction of both past and present inequities (Goldman, 1979). The philosophical concept of "compensatory justice" is the backbone of proponents (Rawls, 1971). The consensus of supporters is that disadvantaged groups in the past have utilized this opportunity to "prove their worth." Women and the minorities of today deserve the same assistance not just for compensatory purposes to overcome private-sector barriers to equality, but also to serve as a public forum to reveal their true worth (Saltzstein and Saltzstein, 1980).

Opponents assert that these measures reflect a reversal

of discrimination as opposed to a correction; two wrongs not making for a right (Capaldi, 1980). Opposition to this preferential treatment is often rooted in the sanctity of the "equal protection" concept of individual rights (Kassiola, 1978). The feeling by many is that these good-faith efforts have degenerated into forms of discrimination or "quotaism" in order to obtain artificial "representativeness" of all groups.

Opponents also feel that compensatory employment programs will lower the level of service in not only the short-term, but permanently; the hiring and promoting of the less-advantaged over the better-qualified candidates will produce a less capable work force, and, over the course of time, this sacrifice of meritocratic principles will diminish the prestige of those positions such that the most able and talented will no longer be attracted to the same degree (Steel and Lovrich, 1987).

Also of note is the resentment factor of qualified minorities, who by their merits alone are deserving, yet the perception exists that they came in through the back door by virtue of a policy pertaining to gender or skin color.

Although there has been a myriad of related legislation over the past one hundred years, it was not until the decades after WWII when profound changes in the roles of working women required redefining and acknowledgment not

just by child-care experts and popular advice givers, but from the law itself. But it was not the law, civil rights movement, or any combination of popular authors that brought about the rebirth of feminism.

It was the reality of the condition of women's lives in the late 1950's and 1960's. More married women than ever before were employed, but in low-paying and dead-end jobs. Compounded by the fact that they continued to bear the traditional domestic responsibilities of child care and housework, discontent grew (Margolis, 1984). Legislation and feminist writings were simply a natural outgrowth and response to this growing concern.

Ramifications of Legislating Change

The arrival of the women's movement came with consequent trade-offs. The once popular belief that women simply worked for self-fulfillment or for "pin money" was being challenged by the reality that many were working out of economic necessity. However, these changing societal conditions were not paralleled in the domestic arena. Women were often simultaneously overburdened with family responsibilities and economically vulnerable because they were still playing by the old rules (Sidel, 1990).

Women typically experience problems related to this double job burden as houseworkers and wageworkers (Hunt, 1980). Many professional women with demanding careers find

themselves contemplating interruption of their working lives to start a family; sequencing, as it is termed, makes for a loss of seniority, status, and with that, income. Other women may be willing to sacrifice striving to the top while their children are young. Another consideration is to leave much of the child-rearing to caregivers. Some women invariably find themselves at the end of their childbearing years with no children or partner (Sidel, 1990).

The choices facing women in contemporary society are many. It equates to a balancing act between career and marriage, motherhood and career, timing of conception, and the problems of a demanding job versus the demands and joys of motherhood. The struggle for "having it all" has often created chronic fatigue, constant compromise, and a sense of missed opportunities (Sidel, 1990).

It is important to note that many men contemplate similar scenarios regarding their careers and familial aspirations. However, there are two key differences. Men do not bear children, and with that they need not interrupt their employment. Secondly, social expectations regarding motherhood and its importance are imposing factors for women that are well-ingrained from childhood; the significance of fatherhood is not similarly thrust upon males. It appears that these added pressures have been taking a toll on women.

It has been found that women report higher levels of

depression and anxiety than men. After controlling for emotional expressiveness and masking tendencies for both sexes, women experience distress about 30 percent more often than men; this includes sadness, anxiety, malaise, aches, and, surprisingly, anger, at a frequency twice that of sadness (Mirowsky and Ross, 1995). This genuine distress may very well reflect women's relative disadvantage in society; it seems to suggest the heavier burden of hardship and constraint of their dual responsibilities at work and home.

Gender Role Socialization and Female Employment

The socialization process of men into workers and women as their assistants begins with an infant's first social contacts and continues to evolve thereafter. A gender identity is usually formulated by the time language is acquired. From this point, the child structures experience in accordance with the gender identity. Many feel that dead-end, monotonous, poor paying jobs for women are a result of this socialization into conventional gender roles (Hunt, 1980).

Contributing to this work force reality is inadequate training and education of females, family and household responsibilities, and discrimination against women by employers and trade unions (Hunt, 1980). Indeed, many women who were taught that a husband would take care of them

regret this because otherwise they would have pursued further education and training, not married and had children at such a young age, and with that, not be socialized for subservience and dependency.

Even today, women in the workplace, particularly married women, are viewed by some as having no intrinsic motivation to work. Their interest in employment is seen mostly as instrumental, being inspired by money, or simply the desire to exchange the boredom of homelife for the companionship of colleagues (Jones, 1986).

This evolving socialization process is often validated, and perpetuated in reading materials. A review of nineteenth and twentieth century best-sellers, popular manuals, and ladies magazines reveal assumptions as to the proper roles for women. Although subtle at times, these popular writings advise women how to act, and serve as an influence upon their aspirations (Margolis, 1984).

Even though it has been argued that the use of such prescriptive writings can be problematic, they are reflective of the times and ideological trends. These advice books were essentially male formulations of ideal female behavior within the status quo (Berkin and Norton, 1979).

Women work predominantly in the lowest-paying jobs and often within the lowest-paying occupations. Two-thirds of

all poor adults are women (Sidel, 1990). Also, the male-female wage gap is not completely explained away by the fact that the male work force is distributed across the full spectrum of the occupational labor market (Coverman, 1986).

The positions of school teacher, secretary, nurse, and paralegal are predominantly occupied by women. These "caring" and "assistant" jobs are not recognized as professions, and with that do not receive "professional" status and compensation.

To be classified as a profession, power theorists assert that an occupation must entail the following essentials: it must provide a service to society that is both rare and valued; it must gain control over a body of knowledge; it must convince the public that it possesses the skill; it must limit the number of members; it must be guided by a code of ethics and focused on serving the client; and it must possess occupational dominance.

It is this last stipulation that denies nursing professional status for nurses accept subordination to doctors who have advanced knowledge and skills; it is seen however to possess semiprofessional status for this reason (Manley, 1995).

Recognized Male and Female Differences

More so than men, women are more likely to provide socio-emotional support within the home, and seek employment

emphasizing such social skills (Marini, 1990). Women tend to attach more importance than do men to jobs that involve assisting others (Finley, Fan, Marini, and Beutel, 1993). When employed in the same positions as men, women are less inclined to demonstrate a competitive orientation (Spence and Helmreich, 1983). This inclination toward caring and responsibility for others is consistent with the female gender role.

This is not to say that females are the uniformly more helpful sex. Although helping is more central to the female gender role, other forms of helping characterize the male gender role.

Heroic and chivalrous behavior, including non-routine and risky acts of rescuing others, and behavior that shows courtesy and protectiveness of subordinates are typical of male helpfulness (Beutel and Marini, 1995). This behavior can be found in relationships with strangers as well as loved ones, and is often directed toward women (Eagly, 1987).

However, overall, women are generally rated more favorably than men on helpfulness, kindness, compassion, and the ability to completely dedicate themselves to the needs of others (Ashmore and Del Boca, 1986).

Further testament to this is that women are more likely than men to de-emphasize differences between themselves and

others. Women also tend to have a greater concern for the less-privileged (Marini, 1990). There exists a great deal of research that indicates that women are more supportive of social welfare, education, health programs, and of economic policies within their own communities, and abroad (Beutel and Marini, 1995). Women are also more likely to favor policies that protect citizens, consumers, and the environment (Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986).

Female relationships are usually characterized by greater emotional intimacy, self-disclosure, and supportiveness. Male relationships tend to involve mutual involvement in activities, and are generally characterized by a relatively impersonal gregariousness and camaraderie (Williams, 1985).

Men seek and receive less emotional support than women when coping with problems (Rosenthal, Gesten, and Shiffman, 1986). Masculine values are deemed to incorporate high levels of competency, assertiveness, management skills, and technological proficiency. Feminine values are said to entail caretaking, emotionality, and subservience (Brown and Fielding, 1993).

Women appear to have greater abilities to take the perspective of another, and to comprehend the other's thoughts, wants, needs, and emotional reactions. Women also seem to possess a greater ability than men to decode and

encode nonverbal expressions of emotion (Brody, 1985). There is considerable evidence that empathy is linked to helping behavior (Piliavin and Chang, 1990).

Although these differences are widely accepted, it is debatable if their origins are naturally inherent to each gender, purely a matter of socialization, or a logical blend of both.

New Frontiers - Male-Dominated Occupations

Many of these patterns have changed in recent years as more and more women are going to college and graduate school. The number of women entering the labor force has grown markedly. There was a realization by women that they could succeed in the work world. Women now recognize that they must establish their own identity as opposed to acquiring one by virtue of a relationship with a man (Sidel, 1990).

Now that women in the workplace are no longer an oddity, as their value has been shown, advances can still be made with more solid ground on which to stand. Even previously male-dominated professions now present viable options for women seeking challenge, status, and good compensation.

Historically, women have been denied access to jobs, in particular, the occupations of highest prestige (Rhode, 1988). Increasing numbers of women are entering

traditionally "male" professions where they will encounter more harassment (Booth-Butterfield, 1989). Yet, there exists invisible barriers that essentially keep women from the top positions of genuine power and authority (Kay and Hagan, 1995).

C. The Policewoman - The Ultimate Challenge

Perceptions of Women and the Realities of Policing

The struggle for women's acceptance in the work force has essentially entailed ongoing confrontations with what is regarded as male domain. Probably no career conjures up more visions of masculinity than the male-dominated profession of law enforcement. Gaining entree by women into this field has raised important issues regarding gender and its significance. With regard to affirmative action measures to place women in police work, many feel there exists a nature/nurture dimension to this argument.

Opponents view women as biologically and/or socially highly different from men, and, as a result, deserving of protection from these "male" roles (Gilder, 1979).

Traditionally, the public has envisioned law enforcement as involving physical strength and aggressive behavior.

The stereotypic female sex role and temperament portrays women as submissive, and both physically and emotionally weak. Those with such beliefs feel that women, if allowed to serve in law enforcement, should not perform

"real" police work, and be directed in different career paths than their male colleagues (Remington, 1983).

To the contrary, others believe that women are not biologically or socially ill-equipped to perform law enforcement duties; that they do possess the physical and mental capacities for any public service. An understanding of police work, its realities, and culture is necessary.

Law enforcement agencies are paramilitary-like organizations. Quite simply, police enforce laws. These laws may not always be perceived as equitable by the public. In this capacity, police have been given the right to use force as necessary. This authority must be sustained, and possibly escalated if met with reticence or hostility.

Due to the exposure of traumatic incidents involved in police work, stress casualties are not uncommon. Police officers suffer adverse impacts of faulty management styles and organizational systems which often translate into sickness and absenteeism (Duckworth and Charlesworth, 1988).

Contributory sources of stress in police work include work overload, staff shortages, lack of support from senior staff, and poor communication (Brown and Campbell, 1990). Physical danger and violence are stressors that exist in police work (Kroes, Margolis, and Hurrell, 1974). Even just the threat of such encounters has proven to be detrimental (Jermier, Gaines, and McIntosh, 1989). The physical dangers

associated with this line of work dominate the policeman's self-image and lifestyle (Brown and Fielding, 1993).

The isolating effects of this profession, and related solidarity are well-documented (Remington, 1983). Their unique function, coupled with their irregular hours, creates a natural tendency for social identity within the force; police generally believe that only other police can fully appreciate their situation (Rubenstein, 1973). Discussions among policemen are usually dominated by stories of violence, fighting, sexual conquest, and feats of drinking (Smith and Gray, 1985).

This solidarity, along with the alienation from non-police, is paramount to their orientation regarding life (Bittner, 1980). Thus policing has an "us" versus "them" component. Policemen differ from other men outside law enforcement in their attitudes and personality characteristics. They tend to be more aggressive, and cynical, and value the idea of equality less than others in society (Kennedy and Homant, 1981).

All organizations possess an internal dynamic that guides the change process. Ideally, this internal organizational culture is related to the general social and political culture of surrounding society (Crozier, 1964).

Police organizations are paramilitary-like institutions that are very conservative and bureaucratic by design. The

implication of an internal dynamic within police agencies seems to many an oxymoron; "static" would serve as a more accurate descriptive. Police organizations are inhospitable to innovation (Jacob, 1963), and police themselves generally despise change, and are vehemently against any disruption of tradition (Kennedy and Homant, 1981).

These organizations, recognized for such male traits as dominance, use of force, and assertion of authority, have proven to be unreceptive to good-faith efforts to integrate women into their ranks. Despite this reality, women have managed to carve a niche into this male bastion. However, the entrance of women into the field of law enforcement has not come without pain for both women and their male colleagues. An understanding of this gradual integration, and limited acceptance is mandatory.

The Progression of the Female Police Officer

The history of American women in law enforcement dates back over eighty years. During the first sixty of these years they were considered specialists in aiding women and children. Their training and education was in social work, and their career path was in the separate Women's Bureau (House, 1993). Women have now been on patrol in the United States for over a quarter of a century (Brown, 1994). The evolution to this point is of the utmost concern.

Women's first experience with police matters was in

1845 in New York City as jail matrons. The first woman to have the title "police officer" was Marie Owens of Chicago; the widow of a patrolman, she assisted detectives with cases involving women and children. She did not have arrest powers though. In Portland, Oregon, the first American city to establish a Women's Division within the police department, Lola Baldwin had arrest powers in 1905. She was employed as a "safety worker" to care for women and children at the Lewis and Clark Exposition (House, 1993).

In 1910, Alice Stebbins Wells of the city of Los Angeles was the first woman to have both the title of police officer, and arrest powers. As an active social worker engaged in preventative, and protective work for women and children, she felt that she could achieve better results if she had police powers. She petitioned the police commission to request an ordinance to create the position of policewoman (Wells, 1929).

The duties of this position involved the supervision and enforcement of laws concerning juveniles and women at dance halls, skating rinks, movie theaters, and other areas of public recreation. Her appointment drew much national criticism and commentary. Why an educated woman, and social worker would choose such a career was perplexing to many. Caricatures of her as masculine, and muscular person with a revolver were not uncommon (House, 1993).

Despite the negative media attention, civic and private women's groups supported her wholeheartedly; these groups included the American Female Reform Society, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the League of Women Voters. To increase the support for the hiring of more policewomen, she traveled throughout the country.

By 1915, twenty-five cities in twenty-five states had policewomen. That same year, Wells helped to organize the International Association of Policewomen (IAPW) where she served as its first president. The IAPW's mission was to improve the standards and roles for women in law enforcement by better informing police agencies and the general public (House, 1993).

Over two hundred American cities had policewomen by the end of World War I. In 1922, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) proclaimed that women should be considered essential members of any police department (Horne, 1975). However, male police officers generally felt that the entry of women into law enforcement was unjustified, and that this "woman issue" was merely a passing fad (Owings, 1969).

The policing function was then considered to be punitive, as opposed to preventative (Horne, 1975). However, there were certain aspects of police work that were not deemed appropriate for men to handle: domestic disputes

and undercover work pertaining to such matters as prostitution. This belief, advanced by policewomen and their advocates, served as the core argument for the hiring of women in this field (House, 1993).

The primary responsibilities of policewomen as matrons and clerks remained the same into the 1930's. *The Policewomen's Handbook* of 1933 states that the prerequisites for policewomen were a good formal education and training, social work experience, a pleasant personality, and a positive attitude toward dealing with the behavioral problems of young women (Hutzel, 1933). The requirements for women in policing were tolerance, common sense, sympathy, and emotional stability. The earliest policewomen were often well-educated social workers with middle-class backgrounds (House, 1993).

The need for more extensive training became evident as the complexity of police work grew. In 1922, the American Social Hygiene Association, and the New York School of Social Work offered the first specialized courses for women with such career aspirations.

Women did not receive training in a police academy (New York) until 1927. In 1934, women first received "pistol practice," or firearms training with men in the New York City Police Department (House, 1993).

In 1916 the University of California at Berkeley was

the first to offer a university-level course in police administration. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1930 recommended that workers in juvenile bureaus be college educated with specialties in psychology and sociology. The State College of Washington offered a four-year degree in delinquency and crime prevention and a master's degree for applied research by the 1940's (House, 1993).

Contrary to popular belief, World War II brought about a decline in the average number of police - for both sexes. Despite this, opportunities increased for women during the 1940's. The National Women's Advisory Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Act, representing thirty national women's organizations (approximately 23 million women), unanimously passed a resolution that was designed to aid local law enforcement agencies with the problems related to policewomen: recruitment, training, effective use, and public support (U.S. Department of Labor, 1949).

Between 1940 and 1944, the number of women in police work increased from 562 to 797. By the end of the decade they were nearly one thousand strong. However, in the Department of Labor's, *The Outlook for Women in Police Work*, policewomen were still depicted interviewing minors, helping lost children, and serving clerical and jail matron functions. The requirements for entrance into the field

were beginning to change however (House, 1993).

By the 1940's, the introduction of civil service exams became a standard practice in the hiring process for many police departments. These tests covered materials involving sociology, criminology, and social work.

Potential policewomen were advised to be college graduates. They were also told that they should not be too feminine, yet not masculine (House, 1993). Other advice stated that it would be in the best interest of policewomen if they got involved in extracurricular social activities, and took careful notice to details, such as grooming (U.S Department of Labor, 1949).

As long as women remained in their traditional role in law enforcement (secretarial, dispatch, and women/children matters), they were generally accepted. As women began to break free of these confines in the late 1950's, obstacles appeared. It is, however, important to remember that the division of duties has its roots in the stereotypical feminine gender role that policewomen have supported since their indoctrination into the police ranks. Many female, as well as male police officers, opposed integration (Jones, 1986). In 1961, Lois Lundell Higgins, a policewoman, and president of the IAPW wrote in her handbook:

Both men and women police officers,
it should be emphasized, have their
proper roles and it is most obvious

that routine police work is principally a man's job....The idea that policewomen are social workers is still widely held (Higgins, 1961:90).

The Legal Response Toward Full Integration

A multitude of legislative, executive, and judicial rulings, resulting in part from the continued work of the women's movement, served to increase opportunities for women in law enforcement. By amending Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act was able to extend coverage to include public agencies. Along these lines, the Crime Control Act of 1973 prohibited grant recipients of the Law Enforcement Assistance Association from discriminatory employment practices (Remington, 1983).

Executive rulings have also assisted in the placement of policewomen in all facets of police work. In particular, Executive Orders 11246, 11375, and 11478 have extended this prohibition of discrimination to include federal agencies, contractors, and subcontractors (House, 1993).

Court rulings have been significant players as well. In Reed v. Reed (1971), the Supreme Court declared that a sex-discriminatory law violated the principles espoused in the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment. Also in 1971, Griggs v. Duke Power Company addressed the importance of selection procedures. Earlier, in 1962, Shpritzer v. Lang addressed promotional opportunities (House, 1993).

These, and other related precedents have contributed dramatically to an increase in the participation of women in not just law enforcement, but all lines of employment.

Opportunities increased greatly for women police officers in the 1970's. In 1973, the nation's largest police department (New York City) offered the first civil service exam that was not gender-specific. The advice to women still persisted though. They were cautioned that by virtue of being women in a predominantly male environment, they should not wear excessive makeup or suggestive clothing or use abrasive language. Yet, they were advised to gain respect in their profession while maintaining their femininity (Anderson, 1973).

Also by the 1970's, state governments began to require standardized training for the certification of peace officers. Women were now to be trained alongside the men in the police academies as generalists. The idea that women are naturally more qualified to fulfill a specialist role has limited their numbers, acceptance, and advancement; nearly 80 percent of American law enforcement agencies employ twenty-five or fewer police officers, and thus must require that all police officers be trained to perform a variety of duties.

From 1971 when women comprised only 1.4 percent of municipal police departments, the ratio of female to male

police officers has steadily increased over two decades. By 1990, women police officers constituted 8.3 percent of the nation's municipal police agencies (U.S. Department of Justice, 1990). Advances for women to supervisory ranks also increased during this period as well. However, women at the highest rank of Police Chief are still an anomaly.

Concerns and Sentiments of Male Police Officers

The concepts underlying democratic philosophy suggest that most legislation ought to be driven by popular sentiment. Change-driven legislation is the law's response to a relatively widespread popular support; legislation is simply attempting to catch up to society's wants and needs (Erhlich, 1936).

As alluded to earlier, legislating change often makes for undesired responses as prevailing sentiments are not yet in unison with the ideal. Legislation-driven change, where legislation serves as a means of effecting social reform, has often proven to be problematic, and viewed by many as social engineering directed by moral entrepreneurs, opinion leaders, and interested parties, as opposed to popular grassroots efforts (Brown and Fielding, 1993). It is for this reason, compounded by fierce police solidarity, that women police officers, to this day, have not been completely accepted by their male colleagues.

Policewomen, 8.6 percent of the new hires nationwide,

must deal with a reality that their male colleagues rarely confront: sergeants and other police officers who accept them less enthusiastically (Balkin, 1988). While a male rookie's abilities are generally assumed, this is not so for the female rookie.

Women who are placed in different working environments find themselves in a fragile situation as they are unfairly judged by particular incidents (Baumer, 1931). Female police officers who were previously employed within other male-dominated occupations, received acceptance in these positions only after proving they could perform. However, in police departments, these same women are finding that they must continually prove their value (Remmington, 1983).

Many policemen are concerned that women police officers cannot sufficiently control violent encounters (Milton, Abramowitz, Crites, Gates, Minz, and Sandler, 1974) and believe that policewomen are a danger not only to themselves and other police officers, but also to the public (Feinman, 1994). The underlying factor behind male discontent is the need for physical strength, or at least its appearance is deemed imperative for command presence to elicit citizen compliance. Most male police officers feel that women cannot portray this image (Remmington, 1983).

Not all objections are based upon this physical factor. There are some male police officers who feel that exposure

to general duties would be too gory for women (Brown and Fielding, 1993). Other policemen believe that female police officers are vulnerable because they can be more easily conned by victims and perpetrators (Remmington, 1983).

A fairly recent survey of patrolmen echoes these prevalent male sentiments. Concerns regarding job safety are seemingly revealed as less than a third of male police officers would prefer a female patrol partner. Only a quarter of policemen would not mind female backup on a dangerous call. Less than a quarter of policemen feel that women police officers can fight as effectively as men and, if the opposite were to occur, less than 45 percent of the policemen polled feel that a woman can adequately chase a suspect on foot. A little over half of male police officers feel that women are capable of performing all the requirements of patrol work. Just over 10 percent of policemen could disagree with the statement that they would rather work for a male sergeant (Brown, 1994).

Protectionism Revisited - Unwelcome Legislation

Given these sentiments, the lack of confidence in policewomen leads to overprotective behavior. Informal management practices result in systematic deployment limitations for women police officers. The implication is that this practice is rooted in pervasive biases within the law enforcement culture. It is primarily male supervisors

who are responsible for this deployment blocking (Brown and Fielding, 1993). This preventative measure of protection from above is coupled with direct assistance on patrol.

It is not uncommon for male police officers to provide back-up for female colleagues, even when not requested. Often, when a policewoman receives a seemingly routine call, many male police officers converge, only to take over the situation. Since women are perceived as having different values from men, they are seen as less reliable, and only worthy of trust in a subordinate capacity (Lorber, 1975).

Women patrol officers, as well as detectives, are exposed to more sexual prejudice and repetitive paper tasks than their male counterparts. Even in the sexually mixed detective unit, females are subservient when partnered with males; the males always drove, dominated calls, and dictated activities while the female assistant handled the paper work. By playing this role, the female conforms to her sex role, allowing her to fit into this traditionally male environment (Remington, 1983).

This protective mentality is witnessed in the military where women are often treated paternalistically, and thus not allowed the opportunity to fully test their abilities and make for improvement. Within corporations, these "protective" gestures essentially erect further barriers to women's full acceptance into the group (Kanter, 1977).

Some women police officers do not have self-confidence in their physical capabilities. Quite possibly for this reason, many police officers prefer a male partner. Due to the protectiveness of male police officers, females seldom perform alone, which precludes the opportunity to improve both their self-image and the attitudes of their male colleagues. This vicious cycle propagates the attitudes and behaviors of both sexes (Remington, 1983).

Although policewomen tend to find service/community activities, domestic disputes, and juvenile issues more interesting than the men, law enforcement functions, such as making arrests, interviewing suspects, and collecting evidence are considered among the most interesting (Jones, 1986). Contrary to popular belief, research reveals that policewomen actually perform their work in a similar fashion as their male coworkers (Bloch and Anderson, 1974).

Very few differences have been found in the skills of male and female police officers as measured by performance ratings of supervisors and administrators, or by objective indicators. Both sexes obtain similar results in dealing with angry and violent citizens. There are also no differences in the number of days off sick, number of injuries, driving accidents, and resignations (Bloch and Anderson, 1974).

Other measures of productivity such as number of

arrests, patrol patterns, and complaints filed, reveal that women on patrol are as competent as men (Bouza, 1975). Policewomen on one-person motor patrol perform as well as the men (Sherman, 1975). Male police officers not only oppose women on patrol duty, but see women as subordinates, and as potential underminers of police solidarity (Koenig, 1978). Despite these, and a multitude of other comparable findings, including that of favorable citizen support (Bell, 1982), attitudes of policemen persist.

Many female police officers do not express overt or covert frustration or resentment towards their male colleagues for their attitudes and bodyguard-like behavior. The most accurate descriptive of female sentiment appears to be that of ambivalence. Policewomen usually choose not to confront their male colleagues. This may in part be due to their marginal position. It has been found that some women in the business world prefer to avoid conflict and controversial situations (Kanter, 1979).

Due to their marginal situation, women in male-dominated occupations often experience a rejection of certain aspects of their identity. In turn, women resolve this dilemma regarding their status inconsistently through role restrictions. Negative attitudes of policemen toward their female counterparts prevent the development of more productive patrol styles for policewomen (Kundsin, 1974).

The informal practices generated in the non-visible world of policing constitute the male working solution to unwelcome legislation. In an attempt to cope with a role made ambiguous by these practices, policewomen adopt a variety of policing styles.

Female Policing Styles - An Obvious Outgrowth

Women who work in historically male jobs experience conflict as their traditional sex role behavior clashes with that of the normative expectations of the occupation (Berg and Budnick, 1986). Within the law enforcement community, this role conflict presents two distorted images for police officers: a police force as a crime and disorder unit that is comprised of an authoritative, mission-oriented, dispassionate body of men; and women who are weak, emotional, sympathetic, and service-oriented (Fielding, 1987). This type of environment fosters the emergence of several policing styles for female police officers.

A neutral-impersonal style is businesslike in nature. The women employing this approach seek respect as full and equal members of the department. They do not want special treatment by virtue of their sex. Femaleness is to be used to enhance a given situation, and not something to limit participation (Wexler, 1985).

The policewomen who adopt a semi-masculine style of policing feel that they will never be totally accepted as

equals; acceptance as people is the primary concern. The aim is to be professional as possible without "rocking the boat" by confronting the status quo (Wexler, 1985).

The feminine style of policing places more emphasis on being a woman than a police officer. These women are more traditional in their views, and accepting of the male-dominated environment. Special treatment by their male colleagues is perceived as protectiveness of them as women, as opposed to condescension of them as subordinate coworkers (Wexler, 1985).

A mixed style of policing is not an uncommon response to this predicament. The desire here is to be treated as equals. There is to be a refusal of special help and preferential concern. However, respect is not only gained through hard work, but through flirtatious behavior as well. These women do not have any difficulty reconciling their femaleness and police work; they perceive no conflict in the two as they strive for equality while exploiting their femininity (Wexler, 1985).

Women police officers who employ the neutral-impersonal and mixed styles seek the complete acceptance of their male colleagues as equals. Policewomen with the reputation as good police officers are told that they are better than the other women. However, being good for a woman is not tantamount to being equal. Female police officers with

semi-masculine and feminine styles of policing are less likely to be recognized as good workers (Wexler, 1985).

Women police officers are often coddled into roles that fail to reveal their merits and promote them as bona fide workers; these roles entail the least stress for the female police officer. With the exception of the neutral-impersonal style, these styles reveal a modification of behavior that limits the potential threat to their male colleagues (Wexler, 1985).

The policewomen who accept the male-centered values of policing experience minimal difficulty. Subscription to the conventional norms, values, and expectations appears to be important (Martin, 1980). For this reason, the many female officers who adhere to the neutral-impersonal style suffer the most stress (Brown, 1994).

The women who actively pursue careers in law enforcement receive much resentment from their male colleagues (Weller, 1985). These women with aggressive career goals are often labeled as "troublemakers," "unwomanly," "sexually suspect," "physically weak," and "emotionally unstable" (Steel and Lovrich, 1987).

When policewomen attempt to strive within the prescribed parameters delineated by their male counterparts, they encounter psychological and social difficulties (Fairchild, 1987). In some manner, and of varying degree,

ambivalence, as mentioned earlier, exists for all policewomen with regard to their role within the department.

The emphasis placed upon courage and physical strength not only works against women from the outset, it has proven to inhibit their actual entry into the field as generalists, where male solidarity, along with prevalent norms would be threatened (Martin, 1980). Associated with the introduction of generalist duties, female police officers are to experience the full range of stressors impacting policemen. For the most part, when such exposure is equivalent for both male and female police officers, so too is the rate at which both sexes report stress (Brown and Fielding, 1993).

However, policemen do not feel that policewomen incur the same risks that they encounter. They believe that different deployment of the sexes and street protection of female police officers exists because women cannot do the same work, yet receive the same pay. The implication is that policewomen should either have their own department with work they can manage, accompanied with a corresponding rate of pay, or made to perform the same assignments exposing them to the full-range of stressors and related consequences and discomforts (Jones, 1986).

Although female police officers may indeed be sheltered from the complete spectrum of police stressors, often against their wishes, they must endure an anguish that

policemen do not. Because policewomen are rarely accepted as true police officers, policemen frequently engage in sexual bantering when interacting with their female colleagues (Remington, 1983).

As women in the business world can attest, topics of conversation in the workplace change with the presence of a female coworker. Sexual teasing and innuendo appears to be commonplace when women enter previously uncharted male domains. Whether in business or academia, this "hazing" serves as a reminder that women are not full-fledged members of the team (Skolnick and Currie, 1988).

A great deal of a policewoman's occupational life is spent dealing with this opposition to her presence. Female police officers must withstand their share of police stressors, in addition to these. Probably most damaging is that policewomen encounter blatant sexual harassment that further intensifies the working environment (Martin, 1980). This stressor has been identified as the major source of difficulty for most female police officers (Kroes, 1982). In conjunction with the pressures expected of her socially as a woman, and quite possibly as a wife and mother, policewomen report elevated levels of stress (Brown and Fielding, 1993).

Despite their lack of acceptance as true police officers, policewomen, for better or worse, have been

acculturated into the policing world. Given this, policewomen have modified their attitudes, behavior, and social relationships. Female police officers, like their male colleagues, have a difficult time maintaining friendships with civilians (Remington, 1983).

This composite reality for policewomen results in limited job satisfaction, and a lack of desire to continue in such an occupation (Poole and Pogrebin, 1988). Some of the policewomen who leave to have children, often do so because they sense a bleak future in their law enforcement careers (Bryant, Dunkerley, and Kelland, 1985). The history and experiences of women on patrol in America are not solely reminiscent of the United States. In Britain, where ground was first broken by female police, similarities abound.

The British Experience - Attitudes Prevail

About 11 percent of the police force in England and Wales is comprised of women. Enabling legislation (Sex Discrimination Act), like in the United States, has the purpose of drawing women into the full range of police functions so as not to inhibit their complete acceptance by their peers, and with that their progress through the ranks. This Act should have increased both the range of the roles and the qualitative nature of the duties of women police officers (Jones, 1986).

Essentially, the Act constituted the first legal

redefinition of the role of female police officers since their formal acceptance into the field. There was no longer to be any distinctions between male and female deployment patterns, as women, now generalists, are to undertake all aspects of police work, including patrol (Jones, 1986).

Many would indeed say that the Act is working because more women are entering the mainstream of policing; serving as evidence that equal opportunity does exist. By virtue of more women police officers performing a wider range of duties, and the related equal eligibility for promotion, testament to the Act's significance appears genuine. However, these partial truths are merely a facade as informal practices present the reality (Jones, 1986).

The introduction of this Act into law was without majority support from within the law enforcement community, and maybe even beyond: legislation-driven change. It appears uncertain if this resistance to unwelcome legislation reflects a division between police culture and that of society as a whole. The autonomy and related discretion that exists in law enforcement agencies directly impacts not only the selection of women police, but also generates informal organizational practices which actually circumvent equal opportunity legislation (Jones, 1986).

British women police officers are often protected from the full range of police duties. Policewomen can be found

on beats that are recognized as easy, or not active, so that they will be exposed to minimal risk. In rough areas, women police are doubled up with male partners; this is common practice even in areas where doubling up is prohibited. Women police officers are seldom sent to unpleasant incidents such as bad road accidents, the removal of bodies, certain domestic quarrels, and filthy jobs such as sorting through rubbish. This prevailing sentiment regarding the feminine role is seen as preferential gentlemanly treatment (Jones, 1986).

Although women are no longer considered specialists formally, they are still the first choice for such matters involving women and children. This is so despite the fact that many male police officers feel, and women officers generally agree, that men can perform these duties with kindness and understanding as well. Yet, informal workings can have a female police officer called off her generalist duties to address these traditional needs (Jones, 1986).

Many female police officers are formally employed in an administrative capacity. Other women police officers are deployed on clerical and routine tasks even though their job title suggests otherwise (Jones, 1986). Although the Act is law, this has proven to be the reality for female British police officers. Without the actual opportunity to prove their policing abilities, they will not gain the full

acceptance of their male colleagues.

These informal practices that dictate deployment patterns originate, for the most part, in the male supervisory ranks. Less than 12 percent of male sergeants and inspectors support women officers in a fully integrated role. About half of the sergeants and inspectors, and 80 percent of chief inspectors favor a modified role for policewomen (Jones, 1986). These are the decision-makers who possess the authority to abide by, or stray away from formal policy.

Management, by failing to intervene with these decisions and informal practices, has tacitly legitimized the operation. As with the United States, many studies in England reveal that women police officers on patrol are as effective as their male counterparts. Even with objective performance evaluations in their favor, the attitudes of policemen, and up through the ranks persists (Jones, 1986).

Coupled with the nature of police work, the female police officer in Britain encounters the same stressors as their American cohorts mentioned earlier. With this, the four styles of policing, and their related compromises and outgrowths are evident. The struggle for acceptance continues. Other Western nations have comparable dilemmas.

Northern Ireland and France - Same Story

Given the recent history of Northern Ireland and the

relatively high number of police assassinations, the Chief Constable found it prudent to arm the male police officers throughout the regular course of their duties. The contracts of female reservists were not renewed as the Chief did not want women equipped with firearms, nor to be trained in their handling and use (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

The rationale utilized against the arming of policewomen has several components. If women police officers are armed, they would increase their likelihood of being targets of assassination attempts. Arming female police officers would lessen their effectiveness, as women are better suited for welfare-type work involving women, family, and children. Lastly, if women, as well as men are armed, the public would perceive this as a much greater departure from the ideal of an unarmed police force (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

The principle of equality is a fundamental principle of Community law in Europe. The prohibition of discrimination in Community provisions is simply a specific enunciation of this general principle. Flowing from the principle of equality is the right of equal treatment. It is this right which provides the standard of behavior required to avoid the charge of discrimination (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

With regards to discrimination, two elements are of significance: the comparability of the cases under

consideration, and the presence or absence of a justification for different treatment. The Court (European Court of Justice) has suggested that inequality of treatment may be justified if certain legitimate policy aims are pursued, or because differential treatment is required to protect other interests (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

The Sex Discrimination Order stipulates that none of its provisions should override actions to preserve national security or public safety and order. The Court did not uphold the Chief Constable's action based upon these grounds. However, the Court also stated that the sex of a worker is a determining factor in the performance of certain occupational activities, as biological characteristics are noteworthy, as well as the environment in which the duties are performed (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

The French government agrees that many police duties can be performed by either sex. Within the French civil service, one is appointed to a grade as opposed to a post per se; the civil servant then rotates posts which often entail very different occupational activities. Discrimination based upon gender is prohibited by the provisions of the civil service.

The French government contends that a great proportion of women in the national police corp would seriously damage its credibility. In particular, the

maintenance of public order calls for a display of the capacity to use force at all times which would be significantly disrupted by a large scale recruitment of women. The ability to dissuade potential troublemakers, and the physical dangers involved serve as justification for a limited recruitment of women (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

Under this civil service system where police officers must be interchangeable, the French feel that separate recruitment of women must be maintained. The French government also noted that many of the women recruited have requested part-time work and that a pregnant officer is not only less able, but cannot wear a uniform, so she must be relegated to a desk job (Prechal and Burrows, 1990).

The pursuit of equality and acceptance for policewomen in these Western cultures, and others, is essentially met with the same resistance. It is important to note that these examples involve nations that possess a rich history of democracy and egalitarian principles.

Such experiences and case studies are currently in the formative stages in the East. For this reason, a comparative literature review on the topic of policewomen is not currently possible. However, a brief look into Asian customs and recent developments can reveal sufficient insight on the subject.

The existence and role of feminism, and the struggles

these women confront as they attempt to earn a wage in these dynamic societies exposes trends from which analogies can be drawn, and forecasts deduced. As the United States served as the focus in the West, Taiwan will receive primary attention with regard to the East.

D. The Struggles of Eastern Women

Feminism - A Different Perspective in Asia

The revival of feminism in the 1960's has the task of challenging institutions and traditions that are often many centuries old. Beliefs in male dominance and female inferiority are being attacked on many different fronts. Western feminists identify the patriarchal system as the culprit in the oppression of women. This system, though, dominates the world scene for it has endured the test of time. It operates through four factors: anthropological, biological, cultural, and religious. The relatively recent shift from communal to private property is also considered an ingredient (Iglitzin and Ross, 1986).

American feminism stresses sexual equality, where both men and women have freedom to choose their roles, and behaviors; options available to males, should likewise be open for females. Oppression results when women are discouraged from seeking alternative roles to that of mother and wife. This sex role stereotyping, perpetuated by many institutions, has relegated women to subordinate, and

inferior positions (Goodman, 1985).

The feminists in the United States challenge the very notion of the fundamental assumptions about the nature of men and women in society, and advocate major change in the influential institutions. In particular, the dual institutions of patriarchy and capitalism are seen as primary players in the devaluation of women's roles and importance in society (Goodman, 1985). Without the raising of consciousness, these objectives are not tangible.

When the United Nations declared the 1970's as the "Decade for Women," feminist concerns became internationalized. The world's developing nations wishing to participate in the evolving global economy invariably encounter Western feminism. The impact of Western culture upon these dynamic societies is profound. Western women are viewed internationally as highly independent, mobile, educated, and free. Advocates for such liberation wish to propagate their beliefs to these unchartered lands (Goodman, 1985).

However, there appears to be great ambivalence, if not outright reluctance of the women in the Third World with the tenets of Western feminism; it is not appealing to many feminists in Asia. Although feminism in Asia has a much longer history, its main focus is on oppression and exploitation. It has not developed as autonomously as in

the West.

Much of the feminism in Asia is not considered contrary to religion, nor out to destroy popular culture; they feel that equal rights can be achieved without upsetting the traditional male role, or cultural values. Feminists in Asia frown upon the perceived militant and aggressive anti-male Western feminism. Yet, it is important to note that these feminists are committed to full equality for women in social, political, and economic life (Goodman, 1985).

Accurate criticism of Asian feminism must account for the conditions in which they struggle. Many women in Asia's Third World economies are among the lowest classes in society. They may live in an environment so authoritarian and repressive that such radical change would be detrimental.

Quite possibly these women sense a higher and more urgent social and political agenda than that of their own. Any movement that aspires to grant equality must first recognize and understand the objective conditions in which equality is sought. It may very well not be appropriate to impose the righteousness of Western feminism to the unique history, conditions, and struggles of women elsewhere (Goodman, 1985).

For better or worse, "radical" Western feminism has found its share of supporters in Asia. Since the 1980's,

women's movements have taken root in many Eastern lands; the most progressive of which can be found in Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. They all have two objectives: liberation from economic and political oppression, as well as liberation from sexual discrimination based on patriarchy. Basically, national liberation movements, and changes in social structure are combined with women's liberation (Goodman, 1985). To better coordinate the efforts among all feminist organizations, the Asian Women's Research and Action Network (AWRAN) came into existence.

Mainland China's communist regime has not been as receptive. As of the late 1980's, there was no such movement, nor small independent organizations in China. The government organized Women's Federation shuns the idea of feminism as a separate political focus; it channels feminist concerns and activities into areas that complement the general party line, or at least do not conflict with it. Although the Constitution and other laws indicate that women and men are equal in China, feudal ideology presents the reality (Weeks, 1987).

Yet, many Chinese women express acceptance of this situation as these practices are seen as a rational response to the problems women have with their dual burden as homemaker and wage-earner. It is believed that if they can overcome these burdens, equality is achieved. A husband who

performs any type of housework serves as an indication of their equal status at home. Because her primary role is that of mother and wife, the protection of women's health is absolutely mandatory. Women are placed in jobs that are less dangerous and strenuous, and with that receive minimal compensation. The economic independence of holding a job, though, leads many women to feel that they are indeed treated as equals (Weeks, 1987).

The younger generations born after the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) tend to confront traditional ways due to their broadened educational experiences. They possess enlightened perspectives that heighten not only their personal expectations, but also those for their society. Without the existence of a separate and independent feminist critique, such sentiment will remain dormant.

Because no channels exist to foster a mass-based movement, instigating a grassroots effort to question patriarchy is inconceivable. The mere existence of the Women's Federation, with its limited feminism, diffuses the demand for an autonomous movement (Weeks, 1987). Its existence has the effect of disguising the urgency of this issue, thereby pacifying the masses.

The Republic of China, or Taiwan, is recognized by the People's Republic of China as a renegade republic. Taiwan's government does not operate under the confines of communist

philosophy. The Chinese Nationalist government gives top priority to political stability and anti-communist ideology.

Unlike China, Taiwan's situation has allowed for unbridled feminism. In 1982, while still under martial law, Taiwanese women formed a group that began to publish a newsletter called *Awakening* with the aim of raising consciousness (Matsui, 1989). Employment within factories was, and still is a popular avenue to freedom for many Taiwanese women, as well as other women of Asia.

Factory Jobs and the Ideology of Parent Repayment

The sexual division of labor, preexisting gender inequality, and prevailing beliefs about women's proper roles inhibit their labor market opportunities and participation, and with that dictate employment patterns. Advanced technology and mechanization has not only created more jobs, but has created many new positions that fall within the range of women's physical abilities (Huang, 1984). Although traditional obligations emphasize the female's reproductive role in the domestic sphere, it appears not to conflict, and may actually foster her production in the public sphere as a factory worker (Afshar and Agarwal, 1989).

There exists throughout much of Asia a strong conviction to repay parents for all that they have expended, including affection, in the raising and nurturing of their

children. Although this need is expressed in both sexes, daughters adhere to it much more than sons. This repayment is not perceived by women or their families as coercive or exploitative; it is simply viewed as a natural and voluntary act of reciprocity (Afshar and Agarwal, 1989).

However, families of Asian women not only encourage, but practically compel their daughters to work in export factories because of the economic benefits that accrue to the family by virtue of the employment. The increasing numbers of young females in these labor intensive industries has been, more or less, a family strategy (Wad, Brun, and Norlund, 1984).

With the cost of higher education out of reach for some families, factory work is virtually a given for daughters of low-income rural and urban families after primary or junior high school. This voluntary personal sacrifice for the family is not undertaken because the family views itself as poor; it is simply seen as means of upward mobility. Many women welcome this employment opportunity to fulfill traditional obligations; parent repayment is often more of a motivating factor than poverty (Afshar and Agarwal, 1989).

These factory jobs are not especially desired, as no one aspires to such a career. The turnover rate of these employees, primarily young women, is very high. This type of work often comprises an interim period between schooling,

or until marriage (Wad, Brun, and Norlund, 1984).

Although this factory employment is generally motivated as a form of parent repayment, a new sense of independence and autonomy is achieved that does not adversely affect her perception of family and her role within it. Women are now not only marrying later, but are selecting their partners as opposed to the traditional prearranged parent-selected marriages (Kung, 1983).

Before a thorough discussion on Taiwan commences, a brief understanding of the struggles of Japanese women can prove to be helpful. Since Japan serves as a role model for so many developing nations, particularly those in Asia, a look-see is appropriate.

Japan - Sexism in the Pride of the Orient

Japanese women have pursued a litigation campaign comparable to that of civil rights and environmental struggles in the United States where the courts were used as a tool to press for social reform not so easily obtained through political channels. Litigation has the ability to transform an isolated individual matter into social awareness (Upham, 1987).

By doing so, disparate groups can be enlightened of common interests and unite to better associate these interests with that of society as a whole. Often this occurs regardless of the outcome of the litigation;

particularly with strong media coverage, the court serves as a forum to raise consciousness (Upham, 1987). Just as in the United States, attempts to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment have made for enlightenment and the formation of grassroots efforts that are necessary to create change at the most important level - the minds of the people.

Even though Japan does follow an equal pay for equal work principle, this proves to be problematic for women with families. When women cease to work due to marriage or childbirth, they lose both seniority and status as regular or permanent employees. A return to the labor force brings with it a drop in seniority and benefits. Japanese companies that can fill vacancies with these type of employees can minimize costs and enhance efficiency. These women can be paid less without violating the principle of equal pay (Upham, 1987).

Just a decade ago nearly 80 percent of Japanese companies refused to hire female graduates of four-year universities. Due to this practice, female graduates constituted the only category of Japanese for whom employment opportunities was not increasing. This reality is not disguised as employers readily admit this to the government, and the media (Upham, 1987).

A 1981 Ministry of Labor survey revealed that 45 percent of the companies polled did not promote women to

supervisory positions and that only 39 percent had actually employed women in such a capacity. Over 70 percent of these companies indicated that they treat female employees differently (Shimbun, 1981).

Quite possibly, the career woman provokes a fear that she will not assimilate within the corporate family, and may make for male unemployment. The ideal of homogeneity may also explain the failure of Japanese companies to hire Burakumin (ethnic Japanese outcasts); this includes Koreans with residency, as well as women. The solidarity forged through long hours of togetherness starting with early morning calisthenics and ending with ritual late night drinking would be threatened (Upham, 1987).

The typical long hours of overtime could not realistically be expected of women due to their usual family responsibilities and the legal limitations placed upon their employment by the Labor Standards Act. Also, the continued discrimination persists because the role fulfilled by wives in Japanese families is paramount. Without the wife at home tending to child-rearing, as well as other domestic duties, the devotion of the male to his job would have to change (Smith, 1981).

Much of Japan's economic success can be attributed to this large pool of complacent, well-educated, low-wage workers whose terms of employment can be easily manipulated

as dictated by economic pressures. This dual structure plays an important role in the ability of Japanese corporations to provide goods and services at low prices, while assuring its regular employees lifetime employment (Upham, 1987). Feminism in Asia, as everywhere, has its hands full with the universality of male dominance.

E. Taiwan - An Exciting Blend of East and West

Demographics

Approximately one hundred miles off the coast of mainland China's Fukien province lies the Republic of China, on the island now called Taiwan. For centuries, Taiwan was known to the West as Formosa; so named by Portuguese explorers in the 16th century who, upon sighting it, exclaimed "Ilha Formosa!" (Beautiful Island).

Taiwan is about 235 miles long (north to south) and ranges in width from 60 to 90 miles (east to west). Roughly the shape of a tea leaf, at 13,969 square miles, it is slightly larger than the state of Maryland. It is a strategically located gateway between the East and West.

The current population of the island is at twenty-two million. This makes Taiwan one of the most densely populated places in the world at over 1,500 people per square mile. Taiwanese people comprise 84 percent of this population while Chinese (mainlanders) make-up 14 percent. Mandarin is the official language while dialects of

Taiwanese and Hakka are also spoken. Taipei, the capital and largest city with a population of 2.7 million, serves as the educational and cultural center for the island. Other notable cities include Kaoshiung, Taichung, and Tainan.

Taiwan has a subtropical climate which entails hot and humid summers from May to September and winters with increased rainfall, producing a very humid environment, particularly in the north. Annual rainfall averages 101 inches. The mean monthly temperature ranges from 80 to 85 degrees Fahrenheit in the summer, and from 60 to 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the winter. The typhoon season is from May to October. Monsoons and earthquakes are not uncommon.

Two-thirds of the island is dominated by mountains with many peaks exceeding ten thousand feet. Yu-shan or Jade Mountain (elevation 13,114 feet), within the Central Mountain Range, running north to south, is the tallest peak in Asia, excluding those in the Himalayas. Because the mountains are heavily forested, 60 percent of the island is tree-covered. The west coast of the island contains most of the usable land. Due to the predominance of mountains and trees, as well as a variety of terrain, only 24 percent of the island's area is arable.

Religious beliefs in Taiwan are extensive. Traditional religions such as Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism (not a religion per se) are predominant. Catholicism,

Protestantism, Islam, as well as other faiths, have taken root in recent years. Each religion has its own doctrines and independence regarding practice. Taiwanese people possess the freedom to develop their own religious preferences.

Disarray to Prominence (With Some Help)

Prior to becoming a Chinese province in 1885 by the Manchu government, the island had changed hands several times; most notable occupations were by the Dutch and Spanish. By the end of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895, the island was ceded to Japan. But with the defeat of the Japanese in World War II, Taiwan was returned to China on October 25, 1945.

After the Chinese Communists overran the mainland in 1949, the Nationalist Government, bitterly defeated, withdrew from Nanking and reestablished the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. Since that time, Taiwan has been viewed internationally with controversy. Martial law was in existence for thirty-eight years, but not without a growing Western (in particular American) influence.

Within the span of a generation, Taiwan had become one of the world's leading growth economies. From 1952 to 1980 the GNP increased at an annual rate of 9 percent, which is more than twice the rate of industrialized nations, and

substantially more than the 5 percent rate for the group of other developing countries (Wad, Brun, and Norlund, 1984). Taiwan's economic boom is often regarded as a model for developing nations worldwide. However, the Taiwanese model of capitalist development cannot be easily replicated because many factors facilitated this success story (Research Institute of America, 1980).

Although internal circumstances were ripe for such a transformation, external or international ingredients played a major role. The creation of a stable and dynamic private enterprise system was financed, and fostered, in great part, by a massive amount of civil aid from the United States; from 1951 to 1961, this equated to 6 percent of the GNP at market prices, 37 percent of gross investments, and 34 percent of the imports of goods and services (Galenson, 1979).

Extensive military aid, also from the United States, made for political stability essential for a good investment climate. Other noteworthy international factors included expansion of the world market, the emergence of new marketing channels, the increasing wages in Europe and the United States, the favorable import policy conducted by the United States towards Taiwan, and the shift of the Japanese industrial structure towards more technology and capital intensive production (Fajnzylber, 1981). Taiwan's

democratic government is prospering under capitalism.

Such a modern economic society requires a trained labor force with technical and supervisory abilities. It requires that literacy become almost universal. For all of this to be realized, an educational investment was mandatory. Again, the American/Western influence was present and allowed for sweeping reform.

Since the rich and powerful influences of Confucianism and Buddhism predate the arrival of a formal educational system, an understanding of this cultural fabric is necessary to better understand the Taiwan of today.

Confucianism and Buddhism - Tradition at Odds

In Taiwan, as in the majority of Asia, Confucius ideology is well-ingrained within the folkways and mores of society. As touched upon earlier, this system of ethics is sexist in its approach. The philosophy that it expounds oppresses women as demonstrated in the three obediences: to father as child, to husband as wife, and to son as widow.

Prior to the 1949 Revolution in China, Taiwan's mother country, the terrible plight of women was well-documented. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out, women had to endure four powers: politics, religion, relatives, and husband (Matsui, 1989).

Traditionally, women of all social classes are seen as different than men. Chinese culture has clearly distinct

expectations for boys and girls from the outset. The birth of a son was a treasure, while the birth of a daughter was a disappointment (Carus, 1907); to a degree this is still so today. Not dissimilar to many Western cultures, boys learn to behave and speak in a direct and forthright manner, while girls are socialized to be unassuming and demure.

Records of Chinese educational scriptures contain several sayings about the extent of a female's education. Of particular note, one statement reads that women without ability are moral (Lan, 1988); a woman who was untalented, unskilled, and ignorant had virtue. Women are not to pursue high social status, and are to accept such standing only if it comes to them. Women who obtain high social status run the risk of being labeled as masculine. Often this has women content with vicarious achievement (Huang, 1984).

The powerful tradition-oriented attitudes toward male and female roles is evident in Taiwanese school children's reading materials: government-published and edited textbooks and supplemental readers. Male characters appear more often than female ones thus revealing their greater importance. Men were portrayed as active achievers who produced ideas, solved problems, and enjoyed positions of power. They were also more aggressive, physical, assertive, and directive.

The women were portrayed in nurturing roles such as mothers caring for families. Not even 20 percent of female

characters worked; and the ones that did so, comprised only six different occupations. Whereas 60 percent of the male characters had jobs that spanned sixty different occupations (Wang, 1980).

Social learning theory then states that these elementary school children may vicariously experience what is considered appropriate male and female behavior through role identification. That being the case, young Taiwanese school children are being led to believe that the world of work belongs to men, and that the few women who do work, have only the limited choices of less prestigious jobs (Wang, 1980).

The Confucian idea of respect for men and disdain for women has not yet been totally overcome. Indeed, this is the essence of the struggle for feminists throughout Asia; consciousness-raising to overcome more than two millennia of oppression. Long before the recent introduction of Western influences to aid in this effort, the contemporary virtues of Buddhism have provided a contradictory foundation from which women could obtain some form of identity.

In many Asian countries, religion is an indispensable aspect of life. Buddhism, the predominant religion in Taiwan, and much of Asia, developed as a criticism against the caste system of Hinduism in India. Hindu belief has women treated as property to be handed down under the

protection of men. These women were not allowed to perform rituals on their own (Matsui, 1989).

Under Buddhism though, women are less oppressed, and are generally more free to live active lives. It was the first religion in the world to establish a community of ordained women with the belief that women can achieve salvation equal to that of men. Buddhism has allowed women to escape the confinement of their expected roles. Personal fulfillment of ideal roles, including that of wife and mother, became possible for the propagators of this new religion (Matsui, 1989).

Christianity is taking root in many Asian nations. Its influence makes for more understanding, and opportunity for women in society. The women of Asia now question religions that have them suffer and endure a life of subservience. Once a tool for oppressing women, religion now serves as weapon for their liberation from the constraints of Confucianism (Matsui, 1989).

Before a discussion of Taiwan's educational system ensues, it is important to note that like most other institutions on the island, it is guided by the Three Principles of the People, as prescribed by the Western-educated Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the "Founding Father" of the Republic of China: Nationalism, Democracy, and Social Well-Being. It is not by mistake if this creed seems to echo

such American foundations as "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness" (United States Declaration of Independence).

Education - A Powerful American/Western Influence

Before 1862, there was no formal schooling in Taiwan. Traditional education during this period focused upon family education which was necessary for living. Sons and daughters were taught by their fathers and mothers, respectively, job skills and domestic skills; a common prescription in practice even in the "progressive" West during this era.

Confucianism, the basis of Chinese education, strongly emphasizes forgiveness and the toleration of others' opinions. It purports that if a good education can change a man for the better, such schooling should be made available (Cleverley, 1985).

Traditional Chinese education stressed ethics and morality through daily instruction regarding behavior, propriety, and interpersonal relationships. It was believed that those who best internalized the moral precepts and customs espoused in the Confucian Classics were best qualified to govern; the transmission of such information from generation to generation was viewed as the main purpose of education (Appleton, 1978).

Children were instructed by private tutors in a variety of locations. The goal of such instruction was to assist

students in the preparation for a government examination, which was limited to classical literature. The method of rote memorization was employed for comprehension. By no means are competitive examinations new to the Chinese; for over a thousand years an elaborate system has been intact with the primary purpose of recruiting government officials to assist the emperor in governing China (Appleton, 1978).

Apprenticeship was another kind of education, which in actuality was the earliest type of vocational education. The apprentice lived in the master's house who had absolute power over him. The master, within an agreed period, taught the apprentice his trade (Hayhoe and Bastid, 1987).

As a result of the contact with Western culture, defeat in wars to foreign countries, and the economic and political pressures present, a new educational curriculum developed. Modern schools were introduced into China by the Western missionaries. Intervention was led by the British as a result of the first Sino-British War. The unequal Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, which ceded Hong Kong to Britain, ended the war, but allowed the clergy of foreign powers, and their converts, to open educational institutions and enroll Chinese students (Cleverley, 1985).

This new education's main purpose was to improve individuals and their social lives through utilization of a scientific teaching method. From this point on, educational

development can be divided into three distinct stages: the beginning period, the transitional period, and revolutionary period (Lan, 1988).

From 1862 to 1901, the beginning period of educational development, imitation of Western education was emphasized. The principal focus of instruction was on foreign languages, weapons operation, commercial and warship manufacturing, and other related endeavors.

The school system was not nationalized; they were individually or locally operated. Problems arose because these institutions did little to improve the political situation. Schools did not offer preparatory courses, so enrollees were not always well-qualified and sufficiently skilled to utilize such an education. Lack of planning and motivation rendered this schooling useless (Lan, 1988).

While the Chinese Kuomintang government sought to implement modern Western educational institutions, they wanted to preserve the political heritage of Confucianism. These reformers did not realize that institutions affect values, and that the Western knowledge would account for a change in Chinese political thought. Although the Kuomintang attempted to thwart the promotion of modern technology within a prescribed blend of Chinese and Western philosophy, permeation was undeniable (Taylor, 1973).

The transitional period from 1902 to 1921 saw the

inception of a formal school system. The emphasis was not only on learning Western science, but also Western politics and educational methods. School policies, curricula, and grade levels were organized in a systematic manner. Out went the old "Eight Legged Essay" which was replaced by shorter and more practical essays patterned after the needs of Western society (Hayhoe and Bastid, 1987). During this period, a nationwide school system began to evolve.

The revolutionary period commenced in 1922 with the National Education Plan which exemplified even further, the trans-Pacific educational influence of the United States. This plan, through the recommendation of the American influenced Federated Educational Association of China, adopted seven objectives: education for social change, democratic education, individuality, economic livelihood, universal education, local adaptation, and education for life (Cleverley, 1985). Reflecting the American school system, Taiwan has adopted the 6-3-3-4 grades plan.

Unlike the United States, and reminiscent of its Chinese tradition, Taiwanese schools are still somewhat paternalistic and authoritarian. Instructors are highly valued, and are given respect not only from students, but from their families and the community (Lan, 1988).

The current school system in Taiwan is centralized, or more specifically nationalized. The Ministry of Education

has absolute power and responsibility regarding policies and standards from preschool to higher education (public and private).

Since 1968 free schooling has been made available through the ninth grade in order to expand educational opportunities (Huang, 1984). The school system in Taiwan is comprised of the following levels and options: Kindergarten, Elementary School, Junior High School, Senior High School, Senior Vocational School, Junior College, Technical College, College/University, and Graduate School (Lan, 1988).

There is to be no discrimination between the sexes, and equal opportunities are to be provided for all people. The nationwide Joint College Entrance Examination serves as a filter in deciding which students continue their education, and at what institutions. This annual exam held in early July includes the subjects of Chinese, English, Mathematics, the Three Principles of the People, and social or natural sciences (Lan, 1988).

Education is still primarily for the young as adult education, or "life-long learning" has not yet been embraced. Although night schools do exist, they are attended by young full-time students who did not meet competitive entrance requirements (Huang, 1984).

Taiwanese Women Dealing with the Past and Present

Women who wish to pursue meaningful careers, as opposed

to factory work, are confronting barriers and related difficulties. Given the sweeping reforms taking place on the island, traditional Chinese ways still persist.

The man is to be the head of the family. Superstitions and folk medicine are popular. Many Taiwanese still prefer to consult a folk doctor and visit a Buddhist temple when ill (Li, 1979). Patrilocality is still practiced; in 1983, over 53 percent of newlyweds shared a residence with the groom's parents (Sun, 1984).

Granted that not all of these age-old practices are adverse to the feminist struggle, the fact that they persist in light of the rapid and drastic socioeconomic changes is testament to the strength of Chinese tradition. Although steadily on the decline with passing generations, these customs are giving in to Western influence (science, technology, and cultural values). The rate of social change has been dramatic not only between generations, but within as well (Ma, 1985).

Although once a taboo, the divorce rate in urban areas surpassed 20 percent; the option to leave an abusive relationship is becoming more feasible. A new sense of freedom has unfortunately made for an increase in the premarital pregnancy rate (38 percent) among newlyweds (Sun, 1984). Employment, along with educational attainment, are two significant factors facilitating the emergence of the

modern conception of women in society (Mason and Bumpass, 1975).

In 1982, 48.8 percent of the Taiwanese female population was employed (Executive Yuan, Republic of China, 1983); a relatively high percentage as compared to previous years. The increased income from the employment of women has directly benefitted society as a whole.

Yet, regardless of what the statutes may profess, signs of male chauvinism exist in both personal and professional male/female relationships (AASCU, 1977). Although public attitudes are generally more accepting of women who are employed, many people in Taiwan do not believe that female wage-earners are serious about their work (Huang, 1984).

More and more women are pursuing higher education. Taiwanese families are pushing their daughters to excel in school. Academic success gains "face" or prestige for the family (Appleton, 1978). Particularly relevant to this research is that there has been a substantial increase in the number of women pursuing law enforcement careers in Taiwan. The competitive entrance exam requirements of Taiwan's Central Police University have not deterred women from this career path.

As a matter of fact, it is said that more young women than men pass the nationwide Joint College Entrance Examination and go on to higher education. Yet, many female

graduates are underemployed as men usually get better employment opportunities upon graduation. Supposedly this is so because female students tend to prefer the humanities and social sciences while the male students typically pursue engineering, business, and the professions (Huang, 1984).

Many studies in Taiwan reflect that women are ambivalent about their sex roles (Chang, 1986). Conflict arises as they maintain their traditional Chinese sex roles where they play a secondary and supportive role to their husbands at home, while they simultaneously insist upon equality, employment, and participation in social and political activities (Lu, 1981).

Nearly two-thirds of Taiwanese women believe that they should obey their husbands. About 60 percent feel that they should sacrifice their career for the family. Well over half believe that women with children should not work. The majority also feel that women should not occupy leadership positions in society (Lu, 1981).

On the contrary, 94 percent of Taiwanese women think that decision-making is to be shared equally among husband and wife. About 80 percent feel that it is alright for women to participate in social activities. Over 60 percent agree that women should be entitled to compete with men in social and political activities. Also, over 60 percent believe that men should perform housework. Close to 70

percent of the Taiwanese women polled feel that women should have the option to pursue employment (Lu, 1981).

Although a more recent survey found that the majority of Taiwanese women now feel that it is not their duty to obey their husband, ambivalence is still evident (Afshar and Agarwal, 1989). Nearly half of the married women in Taiwan are not employed, for when they attempt to pursue work outside of the home, they experience a crisis that threatens their self-worth and identity (Lu, 1994).

Pressure from the husband, family, and even society as a whole can be intense. It appears that some Taiwanese men, like men in the West, find it embarrassing to accept and admit that their wives work; this scenario of a working wife seems to reveal the male's inadequacy as a provider.

Adding to this, there is little to no recognition for the work performed at home as wife, mother, housekeeper, nurse, teacher, and cook. This is particularly bothersome and detrimental to younger housewives, who are often better-educated, and possess aspirations beyond that of the domestic arena.

For many of these women, being cooped-up in the house is tantamount to being trapped. For this reason, younger housewives report higher levels of stress and depressive symptoms as they anguish with internal strife (Lu, 1994). These sentiments are disturbingly similar to those shared by

women in the West, and worldwide.

III. METHODS

A. The Sampling Procedure

The Population

Students at Taiwan's Central Police University (CPU) serve as the population for this research. In recognition of the importance of police education, the Chinese government established the CPU in 1936. Its first president was Chiang Kai-shek.

Originally located in Nanking, China, it offered a two-year academic program for incoming senior high school graduates. During the early 1940's it relocated to Chungking only to return to Nanking in 1945. Satellite schools were established in Sian, Canton, Tr-hwa, Chungking, Peiping, and Shengyang. Police training classes were in Shanghai and Taipei (Central Police University, 1994).

With the Nationalist government's defeat and relocation to Taiwan, the University ceased to exist in 1950. It was however re-established by the government in 1954 in Taipei. In 1957 it had become a four-year bachelor-degree-granting institution. The 1960's saw an influx of foreign students enrolling in the CPU as well as the creation of specialized professional courses for police officers. With the 1970's came the creation of a graduate school for police administration which now offers both masters and doctorate

degree programs.

The CPU is currently located near Taipei in a city named Taoyuan. Having attained a high standard of academic excellence, many of Taiwan's best and brightest students seek to matriculate at the University. About 12 percent of the 1,216 enrollment includes female students (104). Table 1 depicts this composition. The first year a woman attended the CPU was 1974.

Table 1.
Gender Distribution of CPU Student Body

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	1,112	88
Female	104	12

Total 1,216 100%

The Instrument Employed to Assess Attitudes

The instrument utilized was that of a questionnaire. With the aid of several native Chinese-speakers (Dr. Charlotte Shiang-yun Wong, Teresa Chen, and Sander Yu-jen Huang), the instrument was refined on several different occasions. While in the United States, and in Taiwan, the questionnaire was scrutinized for accuracy; Dr. Charlotte Shiang-yun Wong and Teresa Chen were in Taiwan to further critique the instrument after pretests.

In Taiwan, the term "police officer" does not carry the same connotation as it does in the United States. In America, a police officer would be described as one who patrols a community with law enforcement functions. A direct, or literal translation into the Chinese language produces an entirely different job descriptive; a CPU graduate, or law enforcement executive could possess such a title.

There actually exists four terms in the Chinese language that relate to law enforcement. The meaning that most accurately reflects the desired job description was adopted. It was further noted on the questionnaire that this term is used to describe those with patrolling and law enforcement duties. The instrument employed, and its English translation can be referenced as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, respectively.

The Sample

With the assistance of Dr. Edward Tsai, the Dean of Academic Affairs, two hundred questionnaires were administered to students in a multitude of classes at Taiwan's CPU. Ninety-seven percent (194) were completed. Of these 194 respondents, 173 are male and 21 female; about 11 percent of the respondents are women. Table 2 reflects the sample of this study.

Table 2.

Gender Distribution of CPU Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	173	89
Female	21	11

Total 194 100%

As in the United States, and other countries, police academies exist to prepare individuals to enforce laws within the community. It is important to note that graduates of the CPU are employed as decision-makers, administrators, and educators in the field of law enforcement; these students will provide for the future direction and management of law enforcement in Taiwan. It is for this influential reason that their attitudes are imperative to this study.

B. Measurements and Variables

The questionnaire makes use of eight statements regarding women in law enforcement. Respondents are instructed to express to what degree they hold certain attitudes. A Likert scale was adopted for this purpose. The instrument provides five response categories: (1) "strongly agree," (2) "agree," (3) "undecided," (4) "disagree," and (5) "strongly disagree."

The major independent variable pertains to the gender

of the respondent. There are eight variables of interest in this study: **Disallow Policewomen, Responsibilities Desired, Partner Preference, Preferred Protection, Perceived Safety, Different Duties, Perceived Effectiveness, and Pay Equity.**

Disallow Policewomen:

This variable seeks to find out if respondents feel women should be allowed to be police officers. In order to assess this variable, Statement 1 was designed: "I believe that women should not be allowed to serve as police officers."

Responsibilities Desired:

This variable attempts to ascertain if respondents believe that policewomen "want" to perform the same work as policemen. Statement 2 was designed toward this end: "I feel that women police officers want the same responsibilities expected of male police officers."

Partner Preference:

This variable attempts to understand if respondents would desire a male partner over that of a female. Implicit to this variable, is the safety afforded by a competent partner. Statement 3 was constructed to explore this variable: "If I were a police officer, I would prefer a male over a female partner."

Preferred Protection:

This variable attempts to reveal the respondents'

preference for having a male police officer in a life-threatening situation over that of a female police officer. To assess this variable, Statement 4 was adopted: "With my life in danger, I would want the protection from a male police officer over that of a female police officer."

Perceived Safety:

This variable addresses the respondents' concern regarding their safety if women police officers were deployed in their neighborhoods. Statement 5 was designed to measure this variable: "I would feel less safe if women police officers were assigned to my neighborhood."

Different Duties:

This variable aims to find out if respondents feel that female police officers "should have" different duties than their male counterparts. The assessment of this variable is accomplished through Statement 6: "I believe that women police officers should have different duties than their male counterparts." This variable is different from **Responsibilities Desired** variable where that variable asks the respondent to speculate if policewomen "want" to perform the same work as policemen.

Perceived Effectiveness:

This variable attempts to find out if respondents feel that biological differences in the sexes prevent policewomen from being effective as policemen. In order to assess this

variable, Statement 7 was utilized: "I believe that natural differences in the sexes will never allow women police officers to be effective as their male colleagues."

Pay Equity:

This variable seeks to ascertain the respondents' feelings about less demanding work for policewomen resulting in less compensation. Statement 8 was designed to measure this variable: "If women police officers have less demanding duties than their male counterparts, they should be paid less."

C. Hypotheses

Based upon the extensive literature review, and previous research discussed earlier, the following hypotheses were established and tested:

1. **Female students will be noticeably younger than their male cohorts (Tables 3 and 4).**

Because of the traditional expectations imposed on women, it is believed that they will have fewer opportunities than men. As women get older, there will be less likelihood of continued education.

2. **Female, as well as male respondents, will feel that women should be allowed to serve as police officers (Tables 5 and 6).**

Although the responsibilities and definition of "police officer" were well-delineated, respondents will feel compelled to respond that women too can be police officers.

3. **Both male and female respondents will express uncertainty when attempting to ascertain if policewomen desire the same job duties as**

policemen (Tables 7 and 8).

The ambiguity over the ideal role for policewomen is well-documented. Because the contemporary status of women in Taiwan is still in its early evolutionary stages, the exact role of women in the workplace is constantly being challenged and redefined in light of the many familial obligations the culture places upon womanhood.

4. **In the hypothetical situation of being a police officer, both male and female respondents will choose to have a male partner, as opposed to a female partner (Tables 9 and 10).**

The predominant image of policing is that of heroism and physical prowess. Men, more so than women, are associated with these traits and attributes. This issue is central to any discussion about women in law enforcement. When respondents address issues regarding their safety and well-being, they will desire the protection afforded by a male police officer.

Three variables were used to measure the perception and significance of this belief; hypothesis 4 relates to **Partner Preference** and hypotheses 5 and 6 address **Preferred Protection** and **Perceived Safety** concerns. The consistency and magnitude of this sentiment cannot be gauged as accurately with only one variable.

5. **In a life-threatening situation, both male and female respondents will prefer to have a male police officer over that of a female police officer (Tables 11 and 12).**

Unlike the previous hypothetical situation (**Partner Preference**), this scenario has the respondent's life in impending or immediate jeopardy. If a heartfelt response is expressed, it is expected that respondents will prefer the assistance of a policeman in such an instance.

6. **Both male and female respondents will reveal that they would feel less safe if policewomen were assigned to their neighborhoods (Tables 13 and 14).**

The patrolling of police officers in one's neighborhood has the benefit of crime prevention or deterrence. Implicit is the avoidance of potential danger to not only the respondent, but for his/her loved ones as well.

7. **There will be a general consensus from respondents, both male and female, that policewomen should perform different work from policemen (Tables 15 and 16).**

Although respondents may be uncertain as to what responsibilities policewomen "want" (Hypothesis 3), they will be more unified in their response as to what responsibilities female police officers "should have."

8. **Both male and female respondents will feel that policewomen can be effective as policemen, even though natural differences exist between the sexes (Tables 17 and 18).**

The idea of women in the work force, and even in law enforcement, has already gained limited acceptance in Taiwan. However, this progression, as witnessed in other cultures, is undeniably intertwined with traditional beliefs. To accommodate this growth, a modified, or specialized role for policewomen is often the logical outcome of this struggle.

Because these specialized duties for policewomen accentuate the stereotypical female gender role, respondents will generally feel that biological differences in the sexes are not imperative in judging effectiveness.

9. **Male respondents, more so than female respondents, will feel that if policewomen have less demanding duties than policemen, they should receive less pay (Tables 19 and 20).**

Although respondents will feel that policewomen should not perform the full-range of law enforcement functions, their specialized roles do not render them ineffective. Such consensus is not expected regarding the issue of compensation.

10. In general, female respondents will tend to be more supportive of policewomen than male respondents (Table 21).

Although support for women police officers will exist regardless of gender, male respondents will tend to show signs of favoring the status quo. Female respondents will tend show signs to the contrary.

IV. FINDINGS

A description of the results concerning each of the eight variables follows. To further examine the relationships in the hypotheses, the data will also be depicted in accompanying bivariate frequency and percentage cross-tabulation tables. Because one male respondent did not supply his date of birth, n is 193 for age distribution calculations.

It is important to note that although this is not a random, or probability sample, representativeness is prevalent: 12 percent of the student body, and 11 percent of the respondents are female. The ratio of women to men in the University, and in this study is actually quite comparable to the ratio of women to men in law enforcement agencies worldwide (as referenced in the literature review); it reflects the gender distribution of the respondents in this sample.

Age:

Hypothesis 1 states that female students will be noticeably younger than their male cohorts. The age of

respondents ranges from twenty-one years of age to thirty-two. Over 90 percent of the respondents were less than thirty years of age. While the majority (58 percent) were between twenty-two and twenty-four years old, 70 percent are between twenty-two and twenty-six years of age. Tables 3 and 4 reflect this age distribution by gender.

Table 3.

Frequency Distribution of Age by Sex

Age	Male	Female	Total
21	1	0	1
22	24	6	30
23	43	5	48
24	30	4	34
25	5	1	6
26	16	2	18
27	16	0	16
28	15	2	17
29	6	1	7
30	10	0	10
31	4	0	4
32	2	0	2

Total	172	21	193
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Table 4.

Percentage Distribution of Age by Sex

Age	Male	Female	Total
21	1	0	1
22	14	29	15
23	25	24	25
24	17	19	18
25	3	5	3
26	9	9	9
27	9	0	8
28	9	9	9
29	4	5	4
30	6	0	5
31	2	0	2
32	1	0	1

Total	100%	100%	100%
	(172)	(21)	(193)

While almost a third of the male respondents are twenty-seven years of age or older, only 14 percent of the females comprise this age range; there are no female respondents thirty or older. Consistent with this trend, 56 percent of the male, and 72 percent of female respondents are between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-four. Also, 68 percent of the male, and 87 percent of the female respondents are within twenty-two to twenty-six years old.

This seems to reflect that women have fewer options

than men with increased age. Quite possibly the traditional, and still powerful influences of motherhood and family dissuade many females from pursuing further education as they get older. Hypothesis 1 appears to be supported by this data.

Disallow Policewomen:

Hypothesis 2 states that female, as well as male respondents, will feel that women should be allowed to serve as police officers. Statement 1 was designed to test this assertion: "I believe that women should not be allowed to serve as police officers."

Tables 5 and 6 reveal the gendered response regarding this statement. While almost 20 percent of the male respondents agree with this statement, none (0 percent) of the female respondents feel likewise. As none of the female respondents are even undecided on this issue, 100 percent disagree with the statement that women should not be allowed to serve as police officers.

Table 5.

Frequency Distribution of Disallow Policewomen by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	10	0
Agree	24	0
Undecided	7	0
Disagree	74	8
Strongly Disagree	58	13

Total	173	21
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Table 6.

Percentage Distribution of Disallow Policewomen by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	5	0
Agree	14	0
Undecided	4	0
Disagree	43	38
Strongly Disagree	34	62

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Disallow Policewomen is measured by Statement 1:

"I believe that women should not be allowed to serve as police officers."

Although women respondents are unequivocally clear with their sentiment, it is important to note that 77 percent of the male respondents also disagree with the assertion of

this statement. This is particularly noteworthy given the fact that less than a generation ago, women were an oddity in the workplace. Support for women in law enforcement is evident. Hypothesis 2 appears to be supported by this data.

Responsibilities Desired:

Hypothesis 3 states that both male and female respondents will express uncertainty when attempting to ascertain if policewomen desire the same job duties as policemen. Statement 2 was employed to test this belief: "I feel that women police officers want the same responsibilities expected of male police officers."

The purpose of this statement is not to find out what responsibilities policewomen "should have" (this is the function of Different Duties); it is designed to speculate as to what responsibilities women police officers "want."

As expected, respondents, particularly male, reveal noticeable uncertainty as to what role policewomen desire. Male respondents are totally miffed as both 35 percent agree and disagree that policewomen want the same responsibilities as policemen; the other 30 percent are undecided. Not quite to the same degree, female respondents are similarly torn on this issue. The gendered response to this statement can be found in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7.

Frequency Distribution of Responsibilities Desired by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	7	2
Agree	53	10
Undecided	52	2
Disagree	50	5
Strongly Disagree	11	2

Total	173	21
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Table 8.

Percentage Distribution of Responsibilities Desired by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	4	9
Agree	31	48
Undecided	30	10
Disagree	29	24
Strongly Disagree	6	9

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Responsibilities Desired is measured by Statement 2:

"I feel that women police officers want the same responsibilities expected of male police officers."

Perhaps the perception exists that policewomen want the same responsibilities as policemen in order to obtain equal

status, acceptance, and compensation. However, this desire may conflict with the belief that they are not fit to perform such work; thus, the uncertainty as to what female police officers really want. Hypothesis 3 appears to be supported by this data.

Partner Preference:

Hypothesis 4 states that in the hypothetical situation of being a police officer, both male and female respondents will choose to have a male partner, as opposed to a female partner. Statement 3 was constructed to test this assertion: "If I were a police officer, I would prefer a male over a female partner."

Along these lines, the perceived abilities of policewomen to protect and save lives is crucial. Nearly three-quarters of both sexes responded (75 percent male and 72 percent female) that they would prefer a male over a female partner. Tables 9 and 10 reveal the gendered response to concerning this variable.

Table 9.

Frequency Distribution of Partner Preference by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	48	4
Agree	81	11
Undecided	29	3
Disagree	9	2
Strongly Disagree	6	1

Total	173	21
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Table 10.

Percentage Distribution of Partner Preference by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	28	19
Agree	47	53
Undecided	17	14
Disagree	5	9
Strongly Disagree	3	5

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Partner Preference is measured by Statement 3:

"If I were a police officer, I would prefer a male over a female partner."

Only 8 percent of the male, and 14 percent of the female respondents disagree with such a sentiment. If employed as a police officer, it seems that both male and

female respondents would prefer to have a male partner instead of female partner. Hypothesis 4 appears to be supported by this data.

Preferred Protection:

Hypothesis 5 states that in a life-threatening situation, both male and female respondents will prefer to have a male police officer over that of a female police officer. Statement 4 was used to test this sentiment: "With my life in danger, I would want the protection from a male police officer over that of a female police officer."

Tables 11 and 12 reveal the gendered response to this statement. With the respondent's life in danger, almost 80 percent of the male respondents would want the protection of a male police officer over that of female police officer. Less than 10 percent of the male respondents felt otherwise. Also, over half (52 percent) of the female respondents cannot disagree with the statement that they would prefer a male police officer in a life-threatening situation.

Table 11.

Frequency Distribution of Preferred Protection by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	55	2
Agree	81	4
Undecided	21	5
Disagree	12	10
Strongly Disagree	4	0

Total	173	21
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Table 12.

Percentage Distribution of Preferred Protection by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	32	9
Agree	47	19
Undecided	12	24
Disagree	7	48
Strongly Disagree	2	0

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Preferred Protection is measured by Statement 4:

"With my life in danger, I would want the protection from a male police officer over that of a female police officer."

Worthy of note is that 48 percent of the female respondents disagree with such an expression. However, this

response is not strongly emphasized though; none (0 percent) of the female respondents felt a strong disagreement with this statement. Nonetheless, this sentiment is contrary to expectations, and worthy of later discussion. This data is not conclusive in its support of Hypothesis 5.

Perceived Safety:

Hypothesis 6 states that both male and female respondents will reveal that they would feel less safe if policewomen were assigned to their neighborhoods. Statement 5 was adopted to check this assertion: "I would feel less safe if women police officers were assigned to my neighborhood."

The gendered response to this statement is expressed in Tables 13 and 14. Of the male respondents, 62 percent agree that they would feel less safe if policewomen were assigned to patrol their neighborhood. Of the female respondents, 57 percent agree; a third disagree, and 10 percent do not know.

Table 13.

Frequency Distribution of Perceived Safety by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	33	0
Agree	74	12
Undecided	39	2
Disagree	24	7
Strongly Disagree	3	0

Total	173	21
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Table 14.

Percentage Distribution of Perceived Safety by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	19	0
Agree	43	57
Undecided	22	10
Disagree	14	33
Strongly Disagree	2	0

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Perceived Safety is measured by Statement 5:

"I would feel less safe if women police officers were assigned to my neighborhood."

Implicit to this statement is the perceived safety afforded by male police officers. The majority of both male and female respondents would feel less safe if women police

officers were patrolling their streets. Hypothesis 6 appears to be supported by this data.

Different Duties:

Hypothesis 7 states that there will be a general consensus from respondents, both male and female, that policewomen should perform different work from policemen. Statement 6 was utilized to critique this belief: "I believe that women police officers should have different duties than their male counterparts."

This variable addresses the issue if respondents feel women police officers "should have" different duties than their male counterparts. This variable is different than the **Responsibilities Desired** variable where the aim is to inquire if policewomen "want" the same work as policemen.

Tables 15 and 16 depict the gendered response to this statement. About 84 percent of the male, and 95 percent of female respondents share the belief that women police officers should have different duties than their male colleagues.

Table 15.

Frequency Distribution of Different Duties by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	53	4
Agree	92	16
Undecided	10	1
Disagree	15	0
Strongly Disagree	3	0

Total	173	21
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Table 16.

Percentage Distribution of Different Duties by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	31	19
Agree	53	76
Undecided	5	5
Disagree	9	0
Strongly Disagree	2	0

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Different Duties is measured by Statement 6:

"I believe that women police officers should have different duties than their male counterparts."

Both sexes feel that women police officers should not perform the same type of work as policemen. Of particular note is that none (0 percent) of the female respondents were

in disagreement with this statement. Hypothesis 7 appears to be supported by this data.

Perceived Effectiveness:

Hypothesis 8 states that both male and female respondents will feel that policewomen can be effective as policemen, even though natural differences exist between the sexes. Statement 7 was created to analyze this assertion: "I believe that natural differences in the sexes will never allow women police officers to be effective as their male colleagues."

Almost half (48 percent) of the male respondents disagree that biological differences between men and women prevent policewomen from being effective as policemen. Of the female respondents, the vast majority (81 percent) similarly disagree with Statement 7. This data is reflected in Tables 17 and 18.

Table 17.

Frequency Distribution of Perceived Effectiveness by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	10	1
Agree	36	0
Undecided	44	3
Disagree	70	9
Strongly Disagree	13	8

Total	173	21
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Table 18.

Percentage Distribution of Perceived Effectiveness by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	6	5
Agree	21	0
Undecided	25	14
Disagree	40	43
Strongly Disagree	8	38

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Perceived Effectiveness is measured by Statement 7:

"I believe that natural differences in the sexes will never allow women police officers to be effective as their male colleagues."

The other half of the male response is somewhat equally split between uncertainty, and the belief that female police

officers cannot be effective as male police officers. Despite the existence of biological differences in the sexes, respondents, particularly female, tend to feel that policewomen can be effective as policemen. Hypothesis 8 appears to be supported by this data.

Pay Equity:

Hypothesis 9 states that male respondents, more so than female respondents, will feel that if policewomen have less demanding duties than policemen, they should receive less pay. Statement 8 was designed to assess this claim: "If women police officers have less demanding duties than their male counterparts, they should be paid less."

Of the male respondents, 60 percent agree that if policewomen have less demanding duties than their male colleagues, they should be paid less. As for the female respondents, 43 percent feel likewise. Tables 19 and 20 provide these results.

Table 19.

Frequency Distribution of Pay Equity by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	36	0
Agree	67	9
Undecided	29	1
Disagree	36	8
Strongly Disagree	5	3

Total	173	21
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Table 20.

Percentage Distribution of Pay Equity by Sex

Responses	Male	Female
Strongly Agree	21	0
Agree	39	43
Undecided	16	5
Disagree	21	38
Strongly Disagree	3	14

Total	100%	100%
	(173)	(21)

Note: Pay Equity is measured by Statement 8:

"If women police officers have less demanding duties than their male counterparts, they should be paid less."

As expected, over half (52 percent) of the female respondents do not accept such a rationale. While 43

percent do, none (0 percent) do so strongly. The issue of just compensation provokes a divergence with regard to gender. Hypothesis 9 appears to be supported by this data.

Overall Support for Women Police:

Hypothesis 10 states that in general, female respondents will tend to be more supportive of policewomen than male respondents. The mean response by gender for all the variables is provided in Table 21. The aforementioned results are revealed in this manner.

This averaging of responses was accomplished by assigning numerical values to the five Likert response choices: Strongly Agree = 1; Agree = 2; Undecided = 3; Disagree = 4; and Strongly Disagree = 5. With the exception of **Responsibilities Desired**, the higher the response average, the higher the expressed support for policewomen.

Table 21.

Mean Scores of Attitudes by Sex

Variable	Male	Female
Disallow Policewomen	3.87	4.62
Responsibilities Desired	3.03	2.76
Partner Preference	2.09	2.38
Preferred Protection	2.01	3.09
Perceived Safety	2.36	2.76
Different Duties	1.98	1.86
Perceived Effectiveness	3.26	4.09
Pay Equity	2.46	3.24

Note: 1 = Strongly Agree
 2 = Agree
 3 = Undecided
 4 = Disagree
 5 = Strongly Disagree

While overall support for women in law enforcement is prevalent, female respondents reveal a higher degree of support. The only exception is the **Different Duties** variable where female respondents feel, more so than male respondents, that women police officers should not perform identical work as their male coworkers. Hypothesis 10

appears to be supported by this data.

Concerning Table 21, it should be noted that the calibration between the five Likert response options may not be consistent throughout the spectrum. That is to say, there may exist a vast attitudinal difference between an Undecided response (3), and an Agree response (2), while other one increment response differences may prove to be equally viable to the respondent. Given this, these comparisons serve as a general reference tool allowing one to better conceptualize findings in a relative manner.

V. DISCUSSION

A. Summary

The perceived support for women as police officers is indeed high (**Disallow Policewomen**). Yet, with further inquiry, it is found that this acceptance of the female police officer is in a capacity different than that of her male counterpart; this conclusion is primarily drawn from the **Different Duties** variable. Because women police officers are viewed in this context, the fact that they may possess less physical ability than their male colleagues is not significant in accessing effectiveness (**Perceived Effectiveness**).

Just as policewomen in the West were strictly regarded as specialists, now too, so are the Taiwanese policewomen. The acceptance, and even embracement of this role by female

police officers allows for their entry into this male-dominated field with minimal friction. As anticipated, the evolution of the Taiwanese policewoman is not yet to the point to where generalists duties are recognized as being immediately essential to the status of their struggle.

The interpretation of findings is not so simple an endeavor as originally thought. Are female respondents who feel that policewomen should have different duties than policemen not being supportive of women in this vocation? It is important to remember that at one time, American policewomen wanted, and fought for specialized roles.

So interpreting this response as purely non-supportive of policewomen may be inaccurate in the whole scheme of things. Other variables can determine the distribution of the dependent variable. Indications of support must be judged so relatively.

Although respondents express some degree of support for female police officers, this may not accurately reflect actual sentiment. The male respondents, in particular, may feel compelled to be "politically correct" in their expression on this touchy topic. To the contrary, some may be inclined to further the masculine image of policing.

Likewise, the female response may have been influenced through a struggle between true beliefs, and internal yearnings of self-interest. The potential significance of

these factors should not be taken lightly; this reading between-the-lines may allow one to sense what is not so readily evident.

With this in mind, the perceived abilities of policewomen to protect and save lives (**Partner Preference, Preferred Protection, and Perceived Safety**) is crucial. The male response pattern to these variables was consistent: 75 percent would prefer a male partner; 79 percent would want a male police officer in a life- threatening situation; and 62 percent would feel less safe if policewomen were assigned to their neighborhood. These sentiments serve as another indication that women police officers are not viewed as adequate in a full-service capacity.

Female respondents reflect less continuity regarding these variables: 72 percent reveal that they would want a male partner, as opposed to a female partner; only 28 percent would prefer a male police officer in a life- threatening situation; yet 57 percent would feel less safe if policewomen were assigned to their neighborhood.

Quite possibly the strong desire for a male partner is not so much a measure of a need for his safety, or her physical inadequacy, but a belief, through training, that they (male/female partners) would compliment each other to form a better team. If this was a consideration, not only does this change how one interprets the response, but it

also indirectly indicates, once again, that women police officers are viewed as different than male police officers.

Although both male and female respondents convincingly feel that policewomen "should have" different duties than policemen, they are unsure as to what responsibilities policewomen "want." The expressed ambivalence of policewomen does not appear to be unique to the West. For **Responsibilities Desired**, the respondents in this study also sense such an ambivalence in Taiwanese female police officers as to their role, or function in law enforcement.

Agreement between the sexes is not so apparent regarding the issue of compensation (**Pay Equity**). While 60 percent of the male respondents feel that a corresponding difference in pay is appropriate for policewomen with less demanding duties, 52 percent of female respondents disagree with this logic. The assertion is that although the work performed may be different, the value of those responsibilities is comparable, and thus deserving of equal pay.

Of particular note, while none of the female respondents thought policewomen should have the same duties as policemen (**Different Duties**), 11 percent of the male respondents felt otherwise. The likelihood exists that this male response serves as a indicator to the potential backlash women face upon entry into this field.

The argumentative rationale adopted here purports that if women want to this job, and receive equal pay, then they should be made to do the same work. This "anti-female" expression to have policewomen perform generalist duties is perhaps, ironically, what female police officers will ultimately want for themselves if they desire equal status with men in law enforcement.

B. Conclusion

The concept of "separate but equal" has a poor track record with regard to democratic principles. However, it is not appropriate to impose the lessons learned from the experiences of one people to that of another. For this reason, it is not right to force Western feminism into a unique situation. To criticize and judge without such an awareness is ignorant and possibly foolish.

To simply compare the findings in one country to that of another can be superficial if taken only at face value. The aim of this inquiry was to see if similarities will surface between the United States and Taiwan (a Chinese province with substantial Western/American influence). Correlations were sought to expose common trends and patterns in these not so different societies. A present day comparison of the American policewoman with that of her Taiwanese counterpart must take into account the issue of time, relative to the status of each progression.

It appears that Taiwanese policewomen are already starting to realize that they must be generalist in order to reap the full rewards offered by a career in law enforcement. This realization, and the ensuing struggle that follows, if they choose to strive for such, makes for an appreciation, and a level of acceptance that cannot be had by other means. Righteous intervention, although with good intentions, can be immediately devastating to this fragile situation by creating a male backlash.

C. Recommendations

Protectionism - Genuine Concern or Self-Interest?

As discussed at the outset, attitudes are important for they relate to behavior. Although formal policy may prescribe a particular procedure, prevailing attitudes invariably give rise to informal practices that can more accurately reflect reality.

It is important to remember that attitudes are not exactly cast in stone; they can be changed because behaviors are motivated by feelings, which are affected by beliefs. The best way to alter attitudes toward an object is to change feelings and beliefs about that object (Tzeng, 1987).

This seemingly simple rationale becomes disturbingly complex when applied to the dynamics of women in law enforcement. Why are attitudes of policemen toward policewomen generally negative?

Many male police officers believe that women are not able to perform all facets of police work. Although findings reveal otherwise, the pampering of policewomen lends very little credence within the ranks of the validity of such research; it is seen as tainted. Quite possibly the protective measures employed are genuine in origin, and necessary; or at least sincerely perceived as such.

Maybe this protectionism is a facade. Are policemen protecting policewomen from imminent danger, or are they protecting themselves, and their policing culture from policewomen?

Police solidarity is forged through masculine notions of professional competence emphasizing the physical strength and drama often depicted by the mass media (Jones, 1986). This cherished image is challenged as more women enter the field. The mere presence of policewomen seems to indicate that police work is actually routine, unexciting, and requiring of interpersonal skills more so than physical ones (Brown and Fielding, 1993).

Men who have been socialized with a sense of male superiority over women, particularly in the workplace, encounter anxiety when contemplating the competence of women. The male police officer can alleviate this anxiety by simply altering reality in such a manner as to support female inferiority. Male colleagues, supervisors, and

administrators may very well partake in this approach (Brown, 1994). So, perhaps the actual "protecting" of policewomen is a conscious, and deliberate scheme to deny female police officers the opportunity to prove their merit, and with that gain full-acceptance.

If men within law enforcement actually believe that women are unable to perform the full-range of policing duties, why would they not respond to such negative criticism by letting female police officers take the more difficult and challenging assignments? If they are correct in their assessment, the women will fail to perform to standard, and their point will be made. Perhaps this scenario has crossed the minds of many men in law enforcement; but is proving a point worth a life?

Policemen are first and foremost men, who see policewomen as women in a situation that is potentially dangerous beyond their control. If police officers, and superiors truly feel that a policewoman's (or policeman's, for that matter) well-being is in danger, necessary precautions will be taken, regardless of what others may say or think.

The actual explanation for the existence of these informal practices that circumvent formal legislation is not certain. Whether these protectionist ways are inspired by downright concern, or ulteriorly motivated by self-serving

interests is deserving of further inquiry. To assume the complete exclusion of one for another may be faulty, as their duality is not exactly contradictory. For now, speculation prevails.

Policemen will never fully accept their female counterparts until they perceive intrinsic rewards of having women on the force (Jones, 1986). The current situation does not allow for this possibility. The opportunity to change long-standing feelings and beliefs is being denied.

The future of women in law enforcement as generalists is contingent upon this factor. Whether these informal practices are needed or not, this enigma can only be solved by not allowing for any preferential treatment based upon sex. Given the sentiment of many in law enforcement, it would be prudent to err on the side of precaution in case such exposure is indeed overwhelming.

The Evolution of Law Enforcement - Further Hope

Aiding in this struggle is the changing perception of the role of law enforcement in society. The "new" trend in policing employs preventative and proactive measures, as opposed to purely reactionary ones.

The traditional law enforcement paradigm emphasizes the deterrence rationale where relations with clients (citizens) are based upon respect and authority. Coercion is the operational method that characterizes the officer as a

professional. The social work paradigm, which operates within a rehabilitation rationale, utilizes conviction, not coercion. The goal of rehabilitation is dependent upon the client's trust. Cooperation is the method of choice in dealing with clients (Fairchild, 1987).

Traditionally, police do not want to be known for doing social work. They want to be considered "enforcers". Even though visions of physical prowess dominate the image of policing, the reality is that such force is seldom needed. Policemen, who do not deny this, stress that the existence and presence of such authority acts as a deterrence. However, some may argue that such an approach actually instigates, or provokes confrontation.

The attributes of agility, dexterity, coolness, and the tact to verbally diffuse a situation may prove to be more valuable assets than physical strength. Women, who tend to be more negotiating, can pacify a potentially violent individual (Balkin, 1988). A unique policing style utilizing more peaceful means may be the outcome of letting policewomen perform in an unrestricted manner. Femininity has a civilizing affect desperately sought by today's police service (Jones, 1986).

However, if policewomen are used exclusively for these purposes, an unfortunate dichotomy arises as male police officers remain "enforcers", and female officers become

"friends and helpers." This would ensure that policewomen, by virtue of doing different work, would not follow the same traditional career path as policemen (Fairchild, 1987). Women in law enforcement who wish to gain complete acceptance, and equality with their male colleagues, must perform the full-range of policing duties. Their femininity can either be an asset to enhance their work, or an excuse to limit it.

Police Recruitment - A Good Starting Point

Law enforcement agencies need to recognize that social welfare work is an integral part of not only their mission, general operations, and training, but also in their recruitment of quality personnel (Bittner, 1980). The selection criteria employed in the hiring of police officers is absolutely critical. A screening process that emphasizes aggressive traits over compassionate ones is doomed to produce a force that is unreceptive to society's needs and detrimental to the department's image.

Law is what makes for civilization. It is an entity that is alive and dynamic; it exists in order to respond to the ever-changing needs of its citizenry. Its sanctity must not be compromised. Anyone who works directly, or indirectly with the law, or who has any kind of influence upon it, must be of the highest moral character. Police are entrusted with the enforcement of law. It is absolutely

imperative that they lead by example; especially since they are constantly within the public eye.

Law enforcement must initiate this commitment with its recruitment of exceptional individuals. A recent high school graduate with little to no social skills, and an eagerness to fight bad guys is not a good starting point. The maturation and worldly experience that often accompanies an undergraduate education is highly desirable. Through enlightenment in the classroom, and the diversity of campus life, a multi-cultural awareness and sensitivity is instilled.

An educated police officer has much to offer law enforcement. Police agencies need to adapt to changing environmental situations within the community. Traditionally, law enforcement organizations have been characterized as mechanistic in design. This inflexible organizational style has members focused on their own work as opposed to offering insight at the organizational level.

Interaction within this type of organization is dictated by status and rank, not by desire or need. Authority and power are not dispersed about the organization where such knowledge exists; it resides only at the top of the hierarchy. Member behavior is heavily rule-oriented leaving little responsibility to the member for his actions; the correct way of performing a job is deemed more important

than the product, or service itself. Accountability and achievement are directly related to strict adherence to guidelines and instructions (Kuykendall and Roberg, 1982).

This military-like operation is much too inflexible to deal with the needs of a dynamic society. The nightmares of the civil rights era serve as a reminder to the horrors a militia comprised of automatons can create. Police agencies must strive to be more organic by nature.

The recruitment of active and enterprising minds can help law enforcement organizations with constructive criticism. Most importantly, these individuals can recognize the essence, or the spirit of law. Rigid bureaucratic police organizations do not allow for this type of input. What blossoms from this collective concern is a form of checks-and-balances that policing desperately needs. The recruitment and hiring of such individuals is imperative.

Just as force, or the use of physical strength should be a last resort in a situation, its emphasis should be minimal in the screening process for police officers. Those with the aforementioned education, would qualify to take a written exam designed to emphasize social welfare issues.

This meritocratic process continues with a brief panel interview that may employ role-playing to assess the applicant's ability to communicate and resolve a situation

amicably. A psychological profile should weed-out those individuals who reveal such undesired traits as anger, animosity, paranoia, and resentment. A thorough background investigation will verify the integrity and character of the candidates.

Even though physical ability is not paramount in police work, it is, sometimes, a necessity. This aspect of policing must not be completely discarded. Some people argue that such attributes may only be required a handful of times in the career of a police officer. If required only once, is this not sufficient of a reason given the responsibility and danger that may be involved? There is no sound justification for having a lesser qualified person in such a position. Society deserves a police force of the highest character and competence.

The physical ability test should gauge one's agility, dexterity, speed, stamina, and strength against minimum acceptable standards that are deemed realistic and necessary in the police service. The creation of a professional standards committee that is cognizant of prevailing influential attitudes can assist law enforcement in this endeavor.

These standards must be set sufficiently high as to assure competence, yet not any more so, as to unnecessarily exclude qualified candidates. For practicality purposes,

the physical ability test should follow the written exam.

Just as there should be no preferential treatment within the police force, the process used to hire police officers should be blind to sex, and based solely upon realistic qualifications. Policing is a unique line of work that requires a special kind of person. This person can be either a man or a woman.

This approach may actually yield more women police officers. On the other hand, it may yield less. It will, however, have the aim of yielding the very best. The police officers recruited with this type of effort will be more compassionate and competent, not only with regard to their duties, but in their acceptance of each other.

Policewomen selected by this process will be as willing and able as any other police officer. They will not enter the field with doubt or reservations in their minds because they were "let-in" via a quota system. Nor will the competent female police officer have to deal with the stigma that she is a product of legislation. Their male peers will be more apt to accept them under these conditions; this will be particularly true of the younger policemen recruited by this process.

Training - Consistency Must Prevail

By no means does this effort end with the successful recruitment of fine individuals. These standards should not

be jettisoned upon employment. The police academy must further enhance and refine these abilities with regard to police work. Once on the force, training courses should be offered and required in order to refresh and supplement these skills. Ongoing training should be well-publicized and open to the public's input.

It is important that the citizenry see police as human beings who care, and for police to realize that they have support beyond the ranks. Training provisions regarding cultural awareness and sensitivity issues for supervisors and managers is necessary.

The maintenance of physical fitness should be monitored on an annual basis until advanced age brings-on a more sedentary position within the force. Ideally, the ongoing effort to be the best one can be should exist within the police officer as a person, and thus need not be compelled through sanctions.

The existence of gender specific assumptions, practices, and training must be avoided. It is not fair to assume that all policewomen inherently know how to deal with women and children matters by virtue of their sex. There should be appropriate training for all personnel with such exposure.

A separate promotional track for policewomen after a career-break is an invitation for discrimination and

resentment. Service time and training lost, for whatever reason, should relate to a corresponding delay in career opportunities for the police officer. If such avenues do exist, they should not be gender specific.

Those who advocate specialized self-defense training for policewomen, and courses to help them be more assertive and effective, are essentially admitting that women are different. If such training is deemed necessary, then the hiring process should account for this need more thoroughly. Gender-based treatment is ultimately divisive, and provides further ammunition for the detractors of policewomen. Separate can never be equal.

Comparable Worth - A Side Note

Those who insist upon different, or separate duties, yet demand equal pay, assert that there is comparable worth. However, in the view of this author, it is not prudent to tamper with market economics. It would be detrimental to have someone, or some entity, intervene in such a manner as to prescribe what an employer must pay his employees.

A position that can be filled by many people is bound to pay less than one where a limited few possess the needed qualifications (attributes, skills, education/training, or desire). Those with rare and special abilities are more apt to command a higher wage. The rewards or compensation afforded by some occupations entails much more than monetary

considerations. Comparable worth must not be confused with the equal pay for equal work principle.

Discrimination is the culprit, not the market (Treiman and Hartman, 1981). The interjection of biases into the economy is not the answer to this societal problem. Basic market forces such as supply and demand operate within a sphere that is much more pristine than that of the surrounding society.

Back in 1947, long before Rosa Parks initiated the civil rights movement in 1955, Jackie Robinson, an African-American, broke America's color line in major league baseball. He did so not by virtue of legislation, nor even popular support. He, and the other "Negro players" that followed him, did so not because baseball owners were sympathetic to the plight of African-Americans.

He was able to do so because he had a talent for which the market had a demand. The color of his skin "took a back seat" to the abilities he exhibited in the separate Negro Leagues, and in Canada, where he first broke their color barrier. When the powers of supply and demand are allowed to flourish, a meritocracy is born.

Any intervention at this level to rectify a problem that originates elsewhere is not only superficial, but potentially very disruptive to relations, and operations.

A Direction for Change

As alluded to earlier, the essence of this issue goes much deeper than the tradition-laden operations within law enforcement. Many of the same arguments and concerns regarding female police officers are essentially no different than those voiced when women first entered the labor force.

Likewise, the struggles and protectionists responses encountered are not unique to this policing example. A discussion regarding the evolution of the female police officer serves as a microcosm of the evolution of women in the work place.

Contemporary society is now acclimated to the concept of the working woman. The days of grooming young girls into the primary roles of wife, mother, and homemaker is no longer emphasized. Many of these domestic expectations imposed upon women still exist, but to a lesser extent.

The idea of American individualism appears to some to be a myth. It is important to remember that many of the men that have "made it" in America (and elsewhere) have done so because they had women at home to iron shirts, press pants, cook, clean, raise children, and provide emotional support.

It is ludicrous to expect women to continue these traditional responsibilities while working for a wage. This is particularly so when discriminatory practices create

unreceptive work places, and unfair wages.

The answer is not state provided facilities for the care of children. This is a family problem, not one of the state. Within the family, there first needs to be recognition as to the importance, and value of domestic labor. An understanding of the demands of such work must be appreciated. As a team, the family must decide upon its operations. Whether domestic work is performed by one spouse, or shared equally or unequally by the whole family, the alleviation of such expectations upon women must continue.

The socialization and conditioning of impressionable minds contributes much to the current situation. While each individual possesses varying degrees of natural ability, the nurturing process should further refine such attributes for maximum optimization. One's ability, and the desire to act upon such, should be allowed to flourish. Ideally, environmental (family, friends, and society) encouragement should exist for all, and by no means should it be selective according to gender.

It is imperative that this support originate from a need to do what is just. A husband that finally agrees to allow his wife to work simply because her added income would make for an improved standard of living, is not offering genuine support. Likewise, a husband that supports his

wife's claim of unfair wage practices, for the same self-serving reasons, is missing the point. A family that supports their daughter's pursuit of advanced education merely because it reflects well upon the family name is similarly providing shallow support. Ideally, a genuine heartfelt concern to do the right thing is highly desirable.

Although there are innate differences in the sexes, it needs to be recognized that generalizations drawn from these differences are not without exception. Just because the male sex, on average, possesses more physical ability than the female sex, one should not automatically conclude that a female cannot perform. For many years, girls and young women have been deterred from participating in athletics.

Even though the vast majority of sports rely heavily upon physical prowess, females, like males, should be encouraged to explore their potential. The related benefits associated with sport are many, invaluable, and timeless. The attributes often associated with success in the work place are those very same intangibles so well-ingrained in sport: a competitive orientation, an assertive or aggressive tendency, a diligent work ethic, and an eagerness to cooperate with others to achieve a common goal.

While all of those who participate in sport invariably encounter these lessons, a select few come to realize that a career in athletics is possible. This is also so for women

athletes, in some sports. However, this author believes that the professional female athlete, as she currently exists, poses an interesting contradiction worthy of brief mention.

Professional male athletes earn their incredible salaries because their rare talents are in demand; they are the best in the world. Professional female athletes earn, in some sports (golf and tennis), equivalent salaries for talents that are only rare for their sex.

While male want-to-be athletes may be more skilled - they are the wrong sex for the position. If in a market economy there exists a such a demand, a supply will soon follow. A meritocracy, by gender, whether right or wrong, exists in the professional world of athletics. Apparently, to be "good for a woman" in this line of work is acceptable. Although this message may only exist at the subliminal level, it is nonetheless powerful and counterproductive to the essence of the feminist struggle and rationale.

Despite this reality, caution must be taken not to dissuade females from athletics. Early childhood involvement in organized sport should be afforded to all youth. Every effort must be made to level life's playing field, for all of its participants. Judging one's merit, and drawing conclusions without such equity is premature and unfair. Boys and girls should not be raised differently.

If equal opportunity does not exist in one's younger years,
it never fully exists.

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VII. APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Questionnaire

請針對下列問題，圈選出您真實的意見。再次感謝您的參與及合作。請注意：本問卷中所稱之「警察人員」或「警員」皆指基層員警。	非常同意	同意	不確定	不同意	非常不同意
1. 我認為女性不應該有機會成為警察人員。	1	2	3	4	5
2. 我認為女性警員也想擔任和男性警員相同的任務。	1	2	3	4	5
3. 假如我是警員，我會選擇男性警員搭擋。	1	2	3	4	5
4. 假如有生命危險時，我希望是男性警員來保護我。	1	2	3	4	5
5. 假如我的社區是由女性警員負責巡邏、守衛，我會較缺乏安全感。	1	2	3	4	5
6. 我認為女性警員的任務應和男性警員有所差別。	1	2	3	4	5
7. 我認為男女與生俱來的差異使得女性警員的辦事效率永遠比不上男性警員。	1	2	3	4	5
8. 假如女性警員的工作不如男性警員的困難，她們就該領取較低的薪水。	1	2	3	4	5

為分析以上的回答，請您務必完成下列問題，請放心，這是無計名的調查。
再次謝謝您的合作。

性別：____男 ____女

出生年：民國____年

Appendix 2

English Translation of Questionnaire

In responding to the statements, please circle the number that best corresponds to how you feel. Thank you again for your time and truthfulness. NOTICE: 'police officers' are those in law enforcement who patrol the community.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I believe that women should not be allowed to serve as police officers.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel that women police officers want the same responsibilities expected of male police officers.	1	2	3	4	5
3. If I were a police officer, I would prefer a male over a female partner.	1	2	3	4	5
4. With my life in danger, I would want the protection from a male police officer over that of a female police officer.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I would feel less safe if women police officers were assigned to my neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I believe that women police officers should have different duties than their male counterparts.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I believe that natural differences in the sexes will never allow women police officers to be effective as their male colleagues.	1	2	3	4	5
8. If women police officers have less demanding duties than their male counterparts, they should be paid less.	1	2	3	4	5

Completion of the following personal information is important in the analysis of the above responses. Please understand that your identity is not sought, nor will it be known. Thank you.

Gender: ___ Male ___ Female Year of Birth _____