

POLICEWOMAN:
THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF HER ROLE IN THE
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By

Patricia F. Harris

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

POLICEWOMAN: THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF HER ROLE IN THE UNITED STATES

by Patricia F. Harris

This study was undertaken to test the hypothesis that there has been a basic change in the role of policewomen over the years, her work which was once mainly preventive - protective, has expanded to include all phases of law enforcement.

In order to test the hypothesis, a Model was developed. This was based on several factors deemed important in determining her role. The factors chosen included: Function and Duties, Organization, Promotional Opportunity, Numbers, Training and Entrance Requirements. The Model served as an ideal - type against which the historical and modern concepts might be measured. These concepts are based on the policewoman's role as presented and reflected in the literature.

Finally, several case studies were undertaken, in order to compare the Model with existing reality. These consisted in personal interviews with ranking officers in several large city police departments, undertaken with the aid of a cover story.

The study verified the hypothesis insofar as it revealed definite trends in the employment of policewomen, however, it failed to determine conclusively if this was a basic change or merely a shift in emphasis. The case studies revealed wide diversity and suggested that existing practice often strays far from the ideal.

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The results of the study are inconclusive because of the limited sample and because of the complexity of subject matter involved. However, it did emphasize the necessity for further study and research in these and related areas. There is a definite need for more intensive acquisition of knowledge regarding the use of the policewoman in order that the full potential of her contribution will be realized.

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A THESIS

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. James
Brennan.

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I would like to thank Professor Raymond T. Galvin for his kind direction and advice, and my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Philip H. Harris for their patient encouragement. Sincere appreciation also, to those generous friends whose support and assistance helped make the completion of this project a reality.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

In view of the rising crime rate in the United States, the greater complexity of our society in general, the intricate and far reaching Supreme Court decisions, and last but not any less influential--the increasing, if often unfounded criticism of police, it becomes obligatory for police administrators to be alert to all new developments in science, technology or other fields, which might aid them in their most difficult job. In addition, it is equally important that they constantly review and re-evaluate the resources already at their disposal in order that they may make most effective use of them. They cannot afford to waste or underestimate any of the potential which already exists in their organizations.

It is especially in consideration of the latter point that the writing of this paper is undertaken, because the "resource" or "potential" we wish to discuss already exists in many departments, and in almost all of the larger departments. Yet, the degree to which this resource is understood or fully utilized is open to question.

The "resource" to which we refer, and upon which we will focus is--the policewoman. Despite the fact of her existence for more than fifty years, standardization or general agreement as to her utilization seems to elude us. It is in the hopes of clarifying or re-clarifying some of the areas of accord and dissension, and gathering together widely scattered bits of information concerning her use that we proceed.

The philosophy and purpose in employing people to guarantee security to the individual and the community should include every available human resource. The evolution of the social and legal problems of today provoke serious consideration and invite, if not outright demand, the services of policewomen. The police woman [sic] is no stranger to law enforcement or police work, and historically her role has enjoyed a wide acceptance and growth in certain progressive departments. The future holds even greater promise, evidenced by the expanded use of policewomen in some geographical locations. [sic] Not only in the traditional assignments but in practically all police activities.¹

I. BASIC BACKGROUND

Since gaining ^e emancipation, women have entered into almost every field imaginable. They have left few horizons uncrossed and there are few occupations which have not found their special talents an invaluable asset when utilized properly. To the surprise of many, one of the first --if seemingly unlikely--all male fields entered by women was that of law enforcement.

Their first entrance into this field came as a result of the realization that women prisoners could be most adequately and properly cared for by other women. Many women's and child protective organizations worked for this goal, one of the most active being the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Thus, women first entered the field of law enforcement in the auxiliary position of police matron. The earliest appointments apparently occurred as early as 1845 in New York City. More appointments were made in the 1870's and 1880's. By 1890 most of the major cities in the United States, including Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, St. Louis, Detroit and Cleveland, to name a few, had entered

¹"The Role of Policewomen in Law Enforcement" (unpublished report in preparation for a workshop on Policewomen, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1965), p. 1.

the movement.²

It was not long before the idea of giving a woman regular police powers and the special assignment of the protection of women and children was conceived. Although the first officially recognized or "regularly rated" position was not established until 1910 when Alice Stebbins Wells was appointed to the Los Angeles Police Department, there are on record several instances of women holding similar positions before this time. The earliest record of such an event dates to 1893 when Mrs. Marie Owen, a Chicago patrolman's widow was employed by the police department and was carried on department roles as a "patrolman". The policewoman movement began then, in the early 1900's and has continued to the present.³

One more thing should be noted before the problem is presented. There is sometimes confusion as to the duties of policewomen and police matrons. At various times, even to the present, policewomen have been called upon to perform the function of matrons, and sometimes matrons have been enlisted in jobs that rightfully should be undertaken by policewomen.

II. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. In spite of the early entrance women made into law enforcement, and in spite of the general lack of surprise with which such a career is accepted today--many questions lie unanswered.

²Chloe Owings, Women Police: A Study of the Development and Status of the Women Police Movement (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1925), pp. 98-99.

³Ibid., pp. 99-102.

For instance: How well and consistently has woman's role within this predominantly masculine field actually been defined? Has there been any change in the concept of her role over the years? Was the policewoman of earlier days able but unlikely to be called upon to perform certain duties that are now accepted as routine assignments? If any changes have occurred, are they generally accepted, ignored, or rejected by police administrators?

Hypothesis. The specific hypothesis being proposed is that the concept of the policewoman in municipal law enforcement in the United States has undergone some changes from her initial appointment and pioneer period to the present. In short, her role has expanded or become more flexible.

To clarify this further, the writer contends:

1. That the policewoman's place in law enforcement, which was once seen as almost exclusively protective-preventive work with women and children, has expanded. It now includes almost all phases of law enforcement activity, where she may be used to complement, but not to replace, men.

2. That the concept of her role has shifted gradually from one of a social worker in an authoritarian setting to one of a law enforcement officer who is cognizant of the social work point of view, but not completely dominated by it.

3. In addition, several case studies will be made. Through these, an attempt will be made to ascertain the degree to which police administrators have accepted the modern concept.

Methods. Approaches used in attempting to test the validity of the hypothesis include the following: development of a generally acceptable model construct of the policewoman's role as it exists or

should exist today; a detailed consideration of the initial concept as set forth by early writings; comparison of the two concepts and exploration of any changes that may have occurred over the years; and finally, a limited study to indicate trends in the acceptance of the model construct in reality. In assessing any changes which may have occurred, an attempt will be made to further ascertain whether these are substantial and basic, as our hypothesis indicates, or whether they are superficial, merely changes in focus rather than in actual function or service.

In making the comparisons, it will be necessary to define the elements to be included in the idea of basic concepts. The major elements to be embodied in the basic concept are: 1) function and duties of policewomen, 2) organization patterns found in the employment of policewomen, and 3) promotional opportunities available to policewomen. Supporting elements which will also be considered are: 1) numbers of policewomen employed, 2) recruit and in-service training received, and 3) entrance requirements--with emphasis on education and age.

Limitations. The literature in print regarding policewomen is not especially extensive.

Of the six major books on policewomen, three can be classified as personal memoirs, one is a historical survey of the beginnings of the policewoman's movement, and the other two center mainly on practical methods and procedures to be used by policewomen.

The few articles in law enforcement periodicals are of narrower focus and deal almost exclusively with a limited problem area or a specific aspect of the work. Articles in popular magazines face a similar problem of limited focus and superficiality due to their brevity and to the fact that they are written mainly for laymen.

Very little of any of this literature deals with the subject

from the focus proposed here. This is a limitation in that there is no readily available or proven framework from which to work, leaving the present undertaking to be judged as it is presented. Realizing that little can be validated in a single study, the present effort shall be confined to indicating trends and possible solutions but will make no pretense at rendering final, fully proven answers.

In trying to get an overall view of the policewoman's role in law enforcement, it is impossible to go into great depth on individual factors. For instance, lengthy dissertations could be written on such aspects as entrance requirements or training alone. Thus, while from a comprehensive viewpoint, a picture of greater depth emerges, from other standpoints the presentation is superficial.

One of the greatest hinderances to any study of this type is the lack of standardization which exists. One evidence of this which has already been alluded to is the confusion which occurs in many areas regarding utilization and duties of police matrons and policewomen. The complicating factors introduced by the fact that various cities have adopted the use of policewomen at different times, have used them differently, and have often changed their organizational patterns over the years, is self evident. Some of these hinderances may be lessening slightly today due to the increased communication within the police field as evidenced by the existence of professional organizations such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), International Association of Women Police, National Police Officers Association, and others. Still, in view of the fact that policewomen are probably less discussed than other topics considered more pressing, even this improvement loses impact.

Due to limited financial resources, and in order to simplify data evaluation, the case studies will be confined to several large municipalities.

In addition to providing a basic unit of comparison, it was felt that this emphasis would yield the most up-to-date and progressive data. The large city is usually most versatile in its use of manpower due to the wide range of behavior found in such areas, furthermore, it will be easier to scale this information downward for applicability to the small department than it would be to do the reverse. Again, it should be emphasized that the function of the study under such conditions will necessarily be limited to indicating current trends rather than to poll complete information on all categories of cities.

III. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY AND JUSTIFICATION

The present problem is based on the relative absence of an in-depth^P probe of the role of the policewoman. The lack of what could be termed a solid philisophical^O or theoretical understanding of this role is a contributing factor in the failure to analyse or pinpoint any changes that may have taken place. Furthermore, it encourages confusion and prevents formation of any generally acceptable administrative policy.

None of the existing literature seems to fulfill the need the writer has presented. Since women are already firmly established in the field of law enforcement, it cannot be less than valuable to come to a better understanding of their roles, so as to utilize available resources most productively.

The study should have several important benefits, among them, the correlation of existing information in the light of the present problem, and clarification (to some degree) of administrative thinking regarding the use of policewomen. Better understanding of the role of the policewoman can contribute to wiser decisions as to the need for her services in a particular jurisdiction and more effective decision-making

as to how she will be utilized.

Perhaps the most important benefit will be the encouragement of further thought about, and inquiry into, this topic, ultimately leading to fresh contributions to the field.

IV. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Policewomen. A term used here to refer to sworn female employees of a police department, (especially a municipal department, i.e. city, town, or village), who have the same general law enforcement duties and responsibilities as policemen. This then, excludes female employees of such departments who perform exclusively as "meter maids," "crossing guards" or matrons, or who serve the department in the capacity of switchboard operators or office help.

The definition may apply, where specified, to women employed by state police agencies. It will not, because of the diversified aims, historical origins and growth patterns involved, refer to women serving on county, federal, or other types of state law enforcement agencies.

Matron. As used here, this term refers to a female employee of a police department whose main duties are to search, guard, escort, and attend to the general needs of female prisoners.

In general, policewoman and matron are seen as two distinct positions. However, as the reader has already been alerted, due to historical intermingling of the positions and lack of administrative acuity, the difference is not consistently clear cut even today.

Model. An abstraction or ideal; a reflection of reality. A model may have predictive aspects, it is an aid to decision making when it performs properly in making one see problems and possible solutions

more clearly. As one author has described it:

A model is an abstraction. It helps to describe the situation under investigation, and in some sense duplicates it. Models help in picking out those parts of a situation which seem to be most important to the analyses. In a sense, the model is an extension and formalization of the hypothesis.⁴

Basic Concepts. As could be expected, this refers to those ideas chosen to underly and give unity to the model.

Initial or historical concept. Used synonymously to refer to the compendium of ideas that existed between 1900 and 1925 as to what the policewoman was or should do.

Present day or modern concept. Terms used interchangeably to refer to the overall impression of what policewomen are or should be today, may or may not conform to model construct presented. Chronologically this will cover period from 1926-1967.

V. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THESIS

The remainder of the thesis includes five chapters.

Chapter II consists of the development and presentation of a model construct. Validation of the hypothesis will depend upon validation of this model.

Chapter III is a review of the literature. Chronological subdivisions are utilized in order to more carefully trace evolvement of the policewoman's role over the years. The historical and modern concepts emerging as a result of this review provide one method of testing the

⁴Edward H. Bowman and Robert B. Fetter, Analysis for Production Management (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1961), p. 29.

model.

Chapter VI contains additional analysis of the findings, summary of this research suggestions for further study and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER II

A MODEL

It has already been established that a model is an abstraction or a simplification of some phenomenon of the real world. The model to be developed here will be a representation of the role of the policewoman in the United States. Before going further into discussion of this specific model, it is best to consider in a little more detail the functions and qualities of models in general.

I. SOME FUNCTIONS AND QUALITIES OF MODELS

"Models cannot replace the real world; at best they reduce a complex system to manageable proportions or serve to ~~ch~~crystalize our thoughts."¹ A model should reflect reality; it may also be predictive. Insofar as it aids in obtaining a keener insight into, or better grasp of, a problem, it is an invaluable asset to the decision-making process. However, if not seen in proper perspective, a model may lead to oversimplification, either of the problem or of its solutions.

Some of the qualities of a model construct that should be recognized and appreciated are noted here. Since a model is an abstraction, it is more easily manipulated and studied than the real world; on the other hand, because the abstraction must focus on major

¹Claude McMillan and Richard F. Gonzalez, Systems Analysis: A Computer Approach to Decision Models (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1965), pp. 9-10.

points, a model is rigid in comparison with its real counterpart. The flexibility of the real world here implied, is that which occurs as a result of the infinite variations which occur in reality, but which cannot be fully accounted for, or noted, in a model. For instance, being a generalization, it cannot focus on the individualistic human factors which effect each situation differently. It can and should be pointed out in the development of the model that such factors exist, but they are too intangible, changeable and particularistic to become a part of the model itself.

The value of a model has been said to depend on its ability to generalize and on its validity. "Models are neither true or [sic] false; their value is judged by the contribution they make to our understanding of the system they represent."²

The several purposes for which models may be used and for which the present model is intended then may be summarized as: 1) Obtaining understanding and insight, 2) predicting behavior of an organization, and 3) prescribing managerial decisions.³

There are various types of models. The one to be presented here is what many authors refer to as a schematic model⁴--that is a model consisting of charts or diagrams of the phenomenon under consideration. To assure proper interpretation, these will be supplemented by narrative

²Ibid., p. 7.

³Max D. Richards and Paul S. Greenlaw, Management Decision Making (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1966), p. 68.

⁴Edward H. Bowman and Robert B. Fetter, Analysis for Production Management (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1961), p. 29.

explanation and description.

One last thought before continuing. The aforementioned rigidity of the model in comparison with the real world is a more serious limitation than it would normally be because of the diversity of organizational structure with which we are dealing. This construct is not confined to one, large, centralized organization--rather, it relates to a variety of similar, but somewhat individualistic organizations. The writer will try to alleviate this problem area by noting alternatives where these seem necessary or practical, and when it is felt that they will not compromise the integrity of the model as a whole.

In the final analysis, the practical applicability of this model, if valid, depends upon the individual police administrator. It would be up to him to adapt the ideas presented to his particular organization. In other words, the ideal type offered here indicates where and how policewomen can best be used--provided you have an imaginative and capable administrator, exemplary policewomen, and an organization with well-known, well-defined goals, where a variety of efficient ways are utilized to meet these goals.

II. MODEL: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AND EXPLANATION

The basic elements which have been chosen to aid in interpretation of the policewoman's role, their importance and some of their inter-relationships will now be discussed briefly. (See Figure 1, p. 14)

The division into major and minor or collateral spheres of influence is based on the assumption that several of these elements--namely functions and duties, promotional opportunities, and organizational structure, are more readily indicative of the role pattern. The collateral elements vitally effect and contribute to role pattern, but do so in a



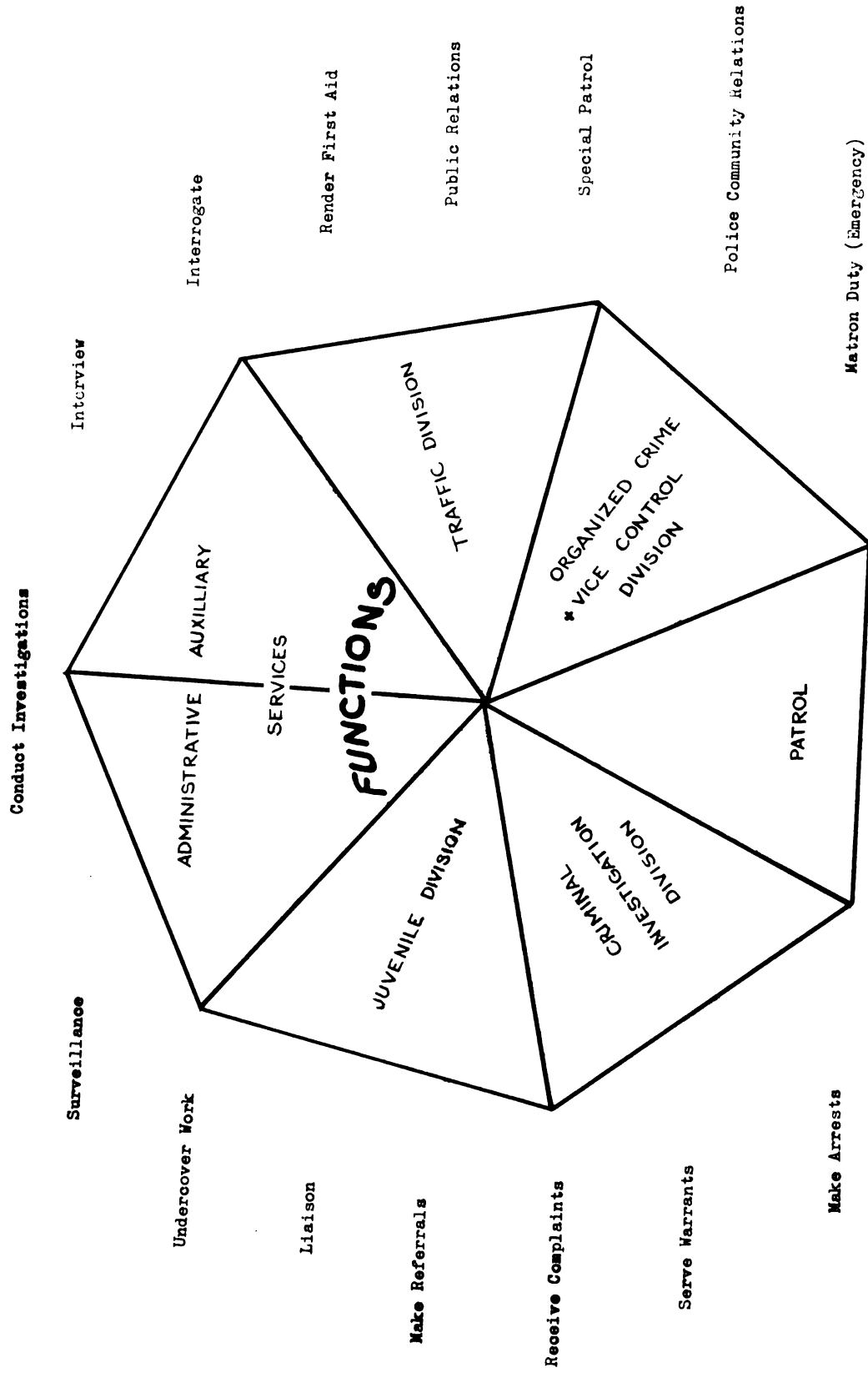
less conspicuous manner. A discussion of these basic elements will form the basis for the presentation of the Model Construct, the modern and the historical concepts.

Functions And Duties of Policewomen. This is necessarily one of the major elements which must be defined, understood and studied in order to get an idea how broad or narrow the policewoman's role is. It is two-faceted. The term function will refer to the policewoman's role insofar as it is defined, determined or described by the division, squad, or bureau to which she may be assigned. This will reflect possible specializations of her role and the fact that different bureaus may have slightly different focus or philosophy.

The term duty will refer to general tasks as performed by all members of the department, regardless of what unit or division they are in. These cut across functional organizational lines and apply in a basic sense to all officers.

For example, all officers, regardless of division, perform basic tasks of arrest, interviewing, interrogating, and public relations. As duties, these cut across the framework of the entire department, however, functionally, certain of these may be more emphasized according to division or unit. When placed in a public relations unit, public relations becomes the area of emphasis; in detective divisions the emphasis is more on arrest; in juvenile divisions, prevention is stressed; in specialized detective units, particular portions of the criminal law are most vigorously enforced; the patrol force is concerned with enforcement of the penal law in general. (See Figure 2, p. 16)

This leads to the inevitable question of generalist versus specialist which will be dealt with in the Model Construct. A generalist

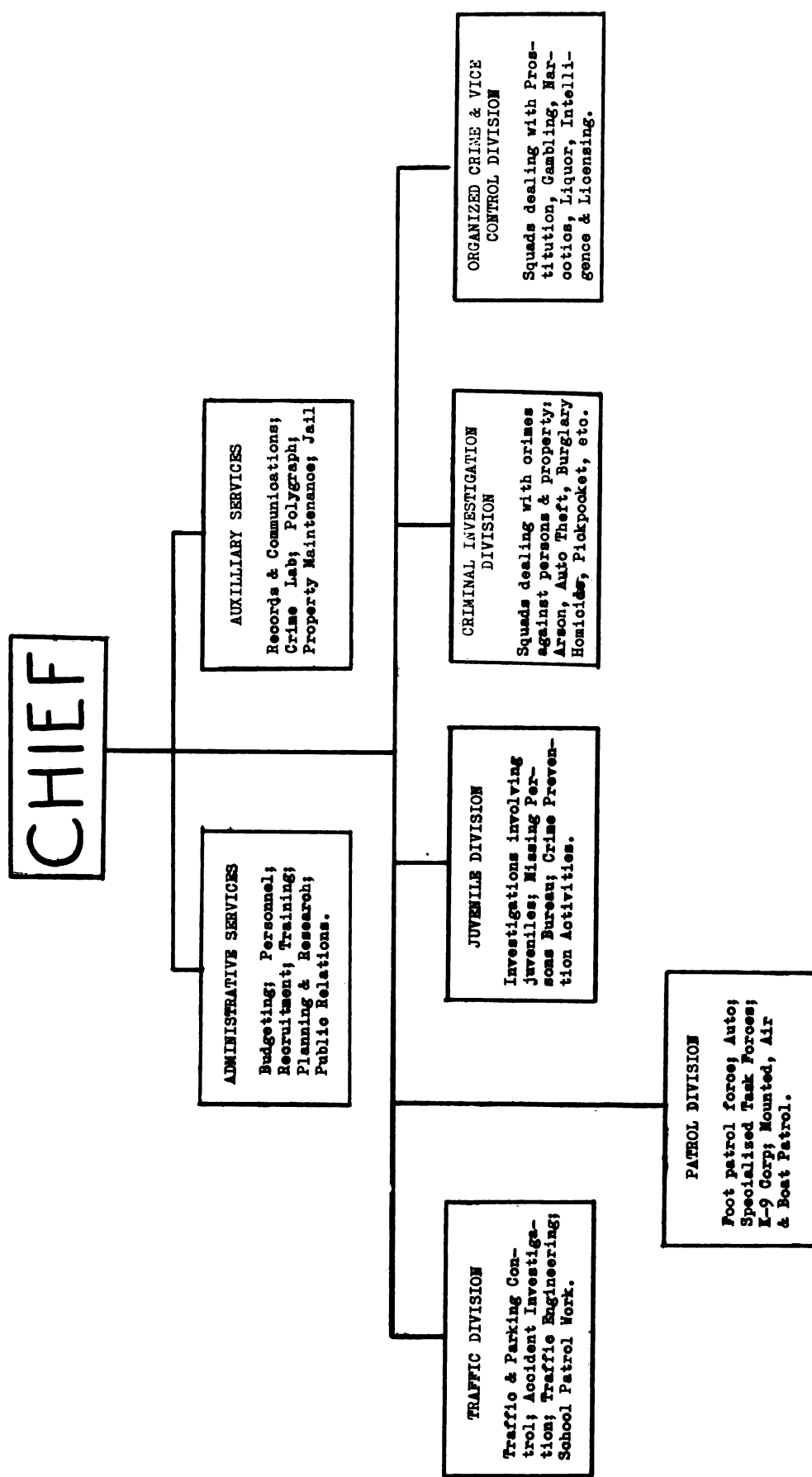


2. FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

refers to one trained to do almost all aspects of the job, a specialist is one who concentrates on one particular aspect of the job.

Organizational Structure. The second element which influences the policewoman's role is the organizational structure by which she is incorporated into the individual department. In order to take into account the fact that various departments are structured similarly, but are different in detail, similarities will be extracted and emphasized when speaking of organization. (Figure 3, p. 18, gives the main functional divisions of a large police department which will be utilized for the remainder of this paper.)

In speaking of the study and understanding of organizational structure, both the basic functional organization of the police department and the organizational structure of policewomen are included. The latter refers to how policewomen, in particular, are incorporated into the department as a whole. They may be incorporated in a centralized or a decentralized fashion. True centralization refers to a situation where all the policewomen are assigned to a Women's Division. Another type of complete centralization occurs when all the women are assigned to the Juvenile Division. Both types of organizational structure may have a definite and individualistic influence on the extent of use of policewomen by the various specialist divisions. Just as an example, a detective unit might have more qualms about asking for an assist from someone in a Juvenile Unit than they might in asking for an assist from a Women's Division. Of course, ideally this should not occur. Furthermore, in a different department, because of individual differences, the opposite might occur. This is merely offered as a possible influence of a particular type of centralization.



3. MODIFIED FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION CHART

Complete decentralization would be characterized by the assignment of women to the various functional Divisions and subdivisions of the department. There could also be a combination of centralized and decentralized incorporation. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each form of organization?

Better knowledge of organization will continue clarifying the functional role of the policewoman by giving a clearer picture of the extent of her acceptance and utilization.

Promotional Opportunity. The availability of promotional opportunity is also an indicator of the degree of acceptance which policewomen are given. In this category, we will consider both civil-service and non-civil service positions. Rank is the term used to refer to civil service positions, assignment will refer to non-civil service positions such as detective. Where a high position is not civil service it will be referred to as an appointive position.

Promotional opportunity should be based on merit and capability. The existence of such opportunity aids in attracting career oriented persons to the service and encourages those within the department to put forth their best efforts in attempting to achieve such positions.

Numbers, Training, and Education. These elements effect the policewoman's role pattern because they effect her ability, availability and preparedness to perform various duties and functions within the department. They may also affect her chances for promotion.

The numbers of policewomen utilized or hired seem to have about the same effect on all three of the major elements.

Training is a term referring to technical police training, both recruit and on-going or in-service training. Amount of training received

may effect how the policewoman is used and her promotional opportunity. Women not trained in specific areas, usually will not perform well in those areas, even though they may have the innate capability to do so.

Education refers to pre-employment courses in high school or college, or any post-employment courses taken in an accredited college. Education is most often spoken of in terms of being an entrance requirement, but should also be considered for its implications in on-going "training" or education.

Both age, which is self-explanatory, and education, are considered here mainly as entrance requirements.

The importance of these collateral elements is more readily seen when it is realized that the lack of any of the three could severely limit the exploration of the policewoman's versatility in a department.

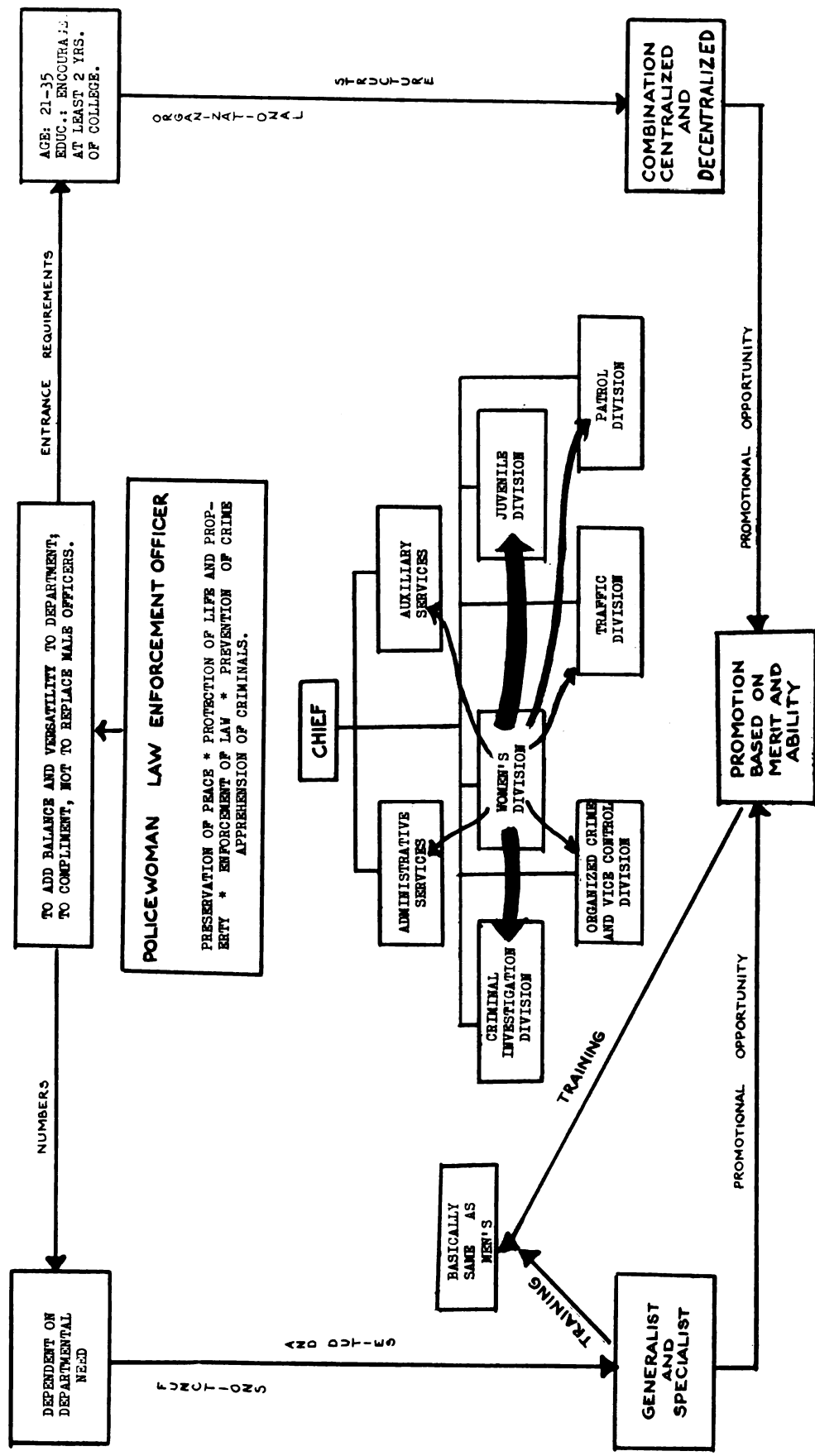
III. THE POLICEWOMAN: A MODEL CONSTRUCT

1. THE POLICEWOMAN IS A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER.

The policewoman is primarily a law enforcement officer, she has the same powers, duties, and responsibilities as her male counterpart. She must preserve the peace, protect life and property, enforce the law, prevent crime and arrest violators of the law. She can, and in most instances does, bring a social work viewpoint to law enforcement, but social work is not and should not be considered a primary function. This viewpoint can, however, result in a better understanding and relationship between social workers and police. (See Figure 4, p. 21)

2. THE POLICEWOMAN IS EMPLOYED TO ADD VERSATILITY TO THE POLICE DEPARTMENT, TO COMPLEMENT NOT TO REPLACE MEN.

Policewomen, properly utilized, should add versatility and balance to the police force. "Properly used" means that she should



4. A MODEL CONSTRUCT

complement, not replace men. On the other hand, she should not be excluded from investigations merely because she is a woman. If there is a job she could accomplish more easily or less conspicuously than a man, she should be employed.

One of her valuable contributions ~~is~~ the fact that her presence in investigations involving women protects male members of the force from false accusations of molestation or improper advances.

Dedicated women, as well as men, have great potential for continuing to improve the police image to the public and for aiding professionalism within the service.

3. POLICEWOMEN MAY AND SHOULD BE USED IN ANY OF THE FUNCTIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT ON AN AS NEEDED BASIS.

There should be no hesitation in using policewomen in any of the divisions or in investigating any type of crime when it is seen that her talents are needed. There are many instances when her use would perhaps be more productive in a certain phase of an investigation, or when her inquiries would be less conspicuous.

There should be no reluctance to experiment with her in areas in which she has traditionally not been used extensively. For instance, there should be further consideration of women in patrol work--one woman patrol, two women patrol, and various types of special patrol.

Women should be able to and should be encouraged to serve in areas of administration, traffic and auxiliary services as well as in the juvenile division.

4. POLICEWOMEN SHOULD BE TRAINED PRIMARILY AS GENERALISTS, BUT THEY SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SPECIALIZE ON AN AS NEEDED BASIS AND AS THEIR INDIVIDUAL TALENTS OR APPETITUDES BECOME APPARENT.

Because of their smaller numbers and the importance of their

being available for many types of investigations, their basic training should be as generalists. However, their special interests, talents, and abilities should be encouraged as they become apparent. Specialization should be especially encouraged in those areas where it becomes apparent a woman could be used on a more constant basis.

5. POLICEWOMEN SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO DEPARTMENTAL STRUCTURE ON A COMBINATION CENTRALIZED-DECENTRALIZED BASIS WHERE POSSIBLE.

This is in accordance with the previous principle which indicated policewomen should be generalists. Centralization encourages and assists in generalist training and experience. True centralization, in a Women's Bureau, is recommended as it keeps the policewomen under more direct supervision of the Commissioner, and allows greater possibility for promotion. Special assignments are more likely to be requested from a Woman's Division, than if the policewomen were centralized in some other division or subdivision.

Decentralization to some degree is necessary to allow for fuller use of policewomen in some divisions, and to allow for specialization. More permanent assignments should include those to Juvenile Division, and other divisions as needed.

6. POLICEWOMEN SHOULD BE PROMOTED ON THE BASIS OF ABILITY AND MERIT.

There should be no hesitation to promote policewomen when ability and merit show they are worthy of such promotion. Further, such promotion need not be confined to command positions over women only. "Promotions" includes assignment, rank, or appointive positions within the department, civil-service and non-civil service. Such promotions should include authority and pay increments as with male personnel.

7. ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS FOR POLICEWOMEN SHOULD BE NO LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL, BUT SHOULD ENCOURAGE AT LEAST TWO YEARS OF COLLEGE; AGE LIMITS SHOULD BE 21 AND 35.

Entrance requirements should be kept flexible so as not to exclude those who were not able to continue school after graduating from high school. If such people qualify in character, background and other areas--including sincere interest in the work, they could be encouraged to continue their education after they are in the service. However, completion of two years of more of college should be recommended as an entrance requirement where possible.

Age requirements should not go below 21, except in a police cadet position, because of the nature of the work and the responsibility involved. Thirty-five should be the upper age limit because of the extensive variety of specialized knowledge involved and because of the physical requirements of the job.

8. POLICEWOMEN SHOULD RECEIVE BASICALLY THE SAME TRAINING AS MEN.

In recruit training, policewomen should have all the same subjects as the men. Any difference in training should only be in a very few areas, and should involve only an increase or decrease in the hours of training received in the particular subjects involved.

In-service training should be based on ability and need, when it involves a specialization, otherwise, again, they should receive the same training as the men.

Opportunities to specialize should be available to policewomen, as suggested before. This includes possibilities of obtaining scholarships, attending seminars, conferences and the like.

9. POLICEWOMEN SHOULD BE EMPLOYED IN LARGE ENOUGH NUMBERS TO INSURE VERSATILITY AND FULL USE OF THEIR TALENTS IN THE INDIVIDUAL DEPARTMENT.

The number of policewomen to be hired must be determined by the individual police administrator and by his budgetary limitations. However, final decision on this should be made only after carefully considering and studying the benefits, and versatility policewomen can provide if properly employed. If this Model is valid, most departments should substantially increase their numbers of policewomen.

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The relative scarcity of material written on the subject of policewomen necessitates a more intensive look at the literature that is available. The review has been divided into chronological segments which reflect the policewoman's role as it is portrayed in the literature during various periods of her history. This allows for a careful consideration of the historical concept of policewoman in comparison with modern day policewoman. It also facilitates the highlighting of the main "author-contributors" and "moving forces" of each period or era.

The literature naturally divides itself into three main segments: 1) books, 2) magazine articles, and 3) other sources such as--pamphlets, booklets, proceedings and special reports. All of these may be subdivided according to whether they are directly or indirectly concerned with the policewoman's existence.

Books have the advantages of recording, in one place, highlights of events which occurred over a period of time; or, of recording a particular facet of a subject in depth. Reliance on one author's recordings however, at times may lead to the unintentional reliance on the bias of that author.

Magazine articles are therefore important in that they provide a greater variety of authors. Thus, while individually more superficial, taken together they may provide a more balanced view. Or, again, they may give more insight into trends or conflicts in thought as these

developed. Magazine articles as used here include both those written for professional periodicals and those written for general interest publications.

The miscellaneous sources mentioned above may give special insights into times when interest in this subject matter was particularly high.

To allow for the most meaningful review, the remainder of this Chapter has been divided chronologically. The Historical Era, consisting of the Entrance Period (1845-1909) and the Pioneer Period (1910-1925), will cover the development of the policewoman's role from the early beginnings. The Modern Era, including the Transitional Period (1926-1949) and the Modern Period (1950-1967), will study developments as they have occurred over more recent years. In addition to aiding the discussion of the policewoman's role, the limits thus set enable pinpointing and highlighting of the major "moving forces" and author contributors to the field in each era.

I. HISTORICAL ERA

Entrance Period (1845-1909). This period begins with the first known recorded hiring of matrons and ends just before the first regularly rated policewoman was hired. During this time several cities did make use of women with some degree of police power, but the women were not officially designated as policewomen.

The first appointment of matrons was one manifestation of the social movement taking place in the last half of the Nineteenth Century. People were just becoming aware of the grave lack of humanitarian treatment which existed in many of the country's major institutions and were

beginning to try to do something about these conditions. Many women's organizations and social agencies became active in this work. They encouraged and initiated the hiring of matrons so that women taken into custody would be properly treated and cared for.

There at first appears to be some discrepancy as to when the first appointments were made. Mary A. Jenks, M.D., is described in the Preface to her autobiographical book as having "the distinction of being the first woman in the world that ever wore the silver badge of 'Police Matron'".¹ However, this proves to be a misleading statement because even as she took on her official duties in 1893, a book which recorded the experiences of another police matron--Louisa Harris who had been appointed in St. Louis, Missouri in 1884, was being published.²

Upon further research it is found that the first matron appointments were made in New York City in 1845, and the first police matron was appointed in the late 1870's. This is recorded by Chloe Owings, who made the only complete and thorough historical study of policewomen,³ but is most clearly and succinctly stated by Louis Brownlow in an article written for the "Policewoman's International Bulletin":

¹Mary A. Jenks, M.D., Behind the Bars; Or, Ten Years in the Life of a Police Matron (Pawtucket, R.I.: Mary A. Jenks, 1902), p. viii.

²Louisa Harris, Behind the Scenes; Or, Nine Years at the Four Courts of St. Louis (St. Louis Mo.: A.R. Fleming & Co., Book and Job Printers, 1893), p. 13.

³Chloe Owings, Women Police: A Study of the Development and Status of the Women Police Movement (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1925), p. 98.

. . . in 1845, the American Female Reform Society . . . had persuaded the New York city government to appoint six matrons, two for the Tombs and four for Blackwell's Island, the first woman prison matrons in the United States. The first police matron, dealing with women arrested and detained for trial rather than with those imprisoned after conviction, was appointed in Portland, Maine in 1879, having served for two years before that as a volunteer visitor.

One of the most active organizations in seeking the appointment of police matrons was the Women's Christian Temperance Union. They were active in securing the appointment of the first police matron in Portland Maine, and in many other cities. Mary Jenks and Louisa Harris, the two police matrons previously mentioned were both appointed through the efforts of this organization, and in fact, Mary Jenks was president of the Pawtucket Women's Christian Temperance Union. The great influence of the organization may be noted in their philosophy "Push the matter of police matrons in every city; commence at once and continue until successful"⁵, and in the zeal with which their appointees took office:⁶

Police Matron work is indeed missionary work; not only debauchery and crime, but cruelty, want, misery, insanity, destitution, abandonment and helplessness appeal to our sympathies. Heart-rending incidents are daily brought to notice, and experience convinces me that but for the influences of those licensed hotbeds of crime--the saloons, --there would be no need of barred doors, prison cells or Police Matrons.

Matron work as described by Jenks and Harris in their memoirs includes ministering to and counseling their charges, caring for lost and

⁴Louis Brownlow, "How Women Got Into Police Work," Policewoman's International Bulletin, IV (February, 1928), p. 8.

⁵Owings, Op. cit., p. 99.

⁶Jenks, Op. cit., pp. 23-24.

neglected children or those whose mothers are imprisoned, and in general bringing social service techniques to bear on the unfortunates with whom they come in contact:⁷

Not only those who are criminals, but the unfortunates of all classes of women and girls are brought to our attention. The inebriate, lewd, wanton, deserted, neglected and abandoned, homeless, friendless, penniless and abused appeal to our sympathies and in various ways receive our attention.

According to the impressions given by these memoirs, the matrons tried to apply social work techniques within the confines of the jail contacts they had.

Thus, the matron movement began in the East and by the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century most of the major cities in the country had employed or were making plans to employ such civilian personnel to supervise women held in custody. Owings lists sixty-five cities as having made such appointments by 1904.⁸

During this time several other movements began and should at least be briefly noted because of their significance in relating the material presented to the entire social context of the times. In 1878, the first statute legally establishing the practice of probation was passed in Massachusetts, and in 1899 the first Juvenile Court in the United States was established in Cook County, Illinois.⁹

In spite of all these advances, no one gave any real consideration

⁷Harris, Op. cit., p. 17.

⁸Owings, Op. cit., pp. 283-4.

⁹Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn, Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today (New York: Random House), pp. 310-11.

to giving women full police powers until 1910. However, there are on record at least two instances where women were given some degree of police power before that date. In 1893, the widow of a Chicago Police officer was given an appointment in the Detective Bureau of the Police Department. The extent of her police power is unrecorded, but it is known that she assisted detective officers in cases involving women and children. She was carried on the police roll as a "patrolman".¹⁰ Chloe Owings further elaborates that:¹¹

The first recorded instance on which information is available of a woman receiving police powers in order to deal effectively and directly with social conditions threatening the moral safety of young girls and women was in 1905 during the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon . . . Mrs. Lola Baldwin, a Travelers' Aid Society Secretary, was given police powers and put in charge of this work.

And finally, in Grand Forks, North Dakota, the Florence Crittendon Circle obtained the appointment of a woman with police powers, but her title was that of "police matron." This was advocated in 1909, but achieved in May, 1910.¹¹

Pioneer Period (1910-1925). This period begins with the first appointment of a regularly rated policewoman and ends in the year in which Chloe Owings published her book which contained the first major survey of the policewoman's movement. During this time also, the policewomen received their first official recognition from the International Association of Chief's of Police.

In Los Angeles, California, in September of 1910, Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells became the first woman in the country to obtain an appointment which gave her both full police authority and the official title of

¹⁰Owings, Op. cit., p. 99.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 99-100.

"policewoman". Mrs. Wells, a graduate theological student and social worker, actively sought this appointment and later worked tirelessly in behalf of the appointment of other policewomen throughout the country. Mrs. Wells sought and won this position as the result of her conviction that the protective-preventive work being attempted by private social organizations could best be achieved by public officers invested with police powers. The position was placed under Civil Service in 1911, and by 1912 there were three women officers.¹²

A magazine article written about her in 1911 gives this description:¹³

She wears no uniform, carries no weapon, and as often as possible keeps her star in her handbag. Measuring not much over five feet, she has no idea of using physical force in the discharge of her duties, which are no less varied than those of her brother officers, and often identical with them. She goes about her work quietly and unostentatiously, with the hope of applying preventive rather than punitive measures. . .

Her duties consisted mainly in supervising and inspecting various places of public recreation including parks, dance halls and shows. She was also charged with suppressing unwholesome billboard displays, and searching for missing persons.¹⁴ This was the beginning. Within a few short years there were enough women officers to form the International Association of Policewomen.

In surveying the development of the policewoman movement and its growth over these early years between 1910 and 1925, several notable facts about the literature emerge. In the early part of the period, magazine

¹²Ibid., pp. 101-2.

¹³Bertha H. Smith, "The Policewoman," Good Housekeeping, 52 (March, 1911), p. 296

¹⁴Owings, Op. cit., p. 102.

articles and the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, or the National Conference of Social Work as it was later called, are the main sources of information about the movement. The several individuals who appear to be most influential include A.S. Wells from Los Angeles; Mina Van Winkle, Director of the Washington D.C. Women's Bureau; and Mary Hamilton, Assistant to the Police Commissioner of New York City and in charge of that city's Women's Bureau. Other policewomen active during this time include Ellen O'Grady of New York City, Fifth Deputy Commissioner and predecessor to Hamilton; and Virginia Murray, Director of Detroit's Women's Bureau.

Only two books dealing exclusively with the topic of policewomen were written during this period and they were published more than a decade after the first policewoman was appointed. The first, The Policewoman, Her Service and Ideals, was authored by Mary Hamilton and is mainly a personal account of the author's experiences and views on policewomen. The second book, Women Police, by Chloe Owings, was published a year later, in 1925, under the auspices of the Bureau of Social Hygiene. It is the most important literary contribution of this period, and in fact probably the most important literary contribution of any period because of the extensive historical data it contains. It contains a compilation of most of the available data on policewomen at that time and also the results of the first surveys conducted on the extent of the use of policewomen and police matrons in this country.

Having pointed out some of the literary highlights of the period, consideration will now be given to the concept of policewoman as it began and developed during this pioneer period, as reflected in this literature.

Growth of the movement between 1910 and 1925 was steady, with the

greatest increase occuring after World War I. In the text of Women Police, Owings reports that at least sixteen cities had appointed women to their police forces by 1915.¹⁵ The results of the survey conducted by the Bureau of Social Hygiene in 1924 for this book and recorded in Appendix I of that work indicates that thirty-two cities had made such appointments by 1915 and that in nine of the cities the person appointed performed both as policewoman and as police matron.¹⁶ It was in May of this year, at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections that a number of police-women attending the conference decided to band together into an organization of their own so that they might better cooperate and further the development of the movement. Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells was elected president.¹⁷

In Chapter VIII of her book, Owings records the results of two surveys the one connected with the book and conducted by the Bureau of Social Hygiene in 1924, to which 268 cities replied; and an earlier survey conducted by Lieutenant Mina Van Winkle, Director of Women's Bureau of Washington D.C., while she was president of the International Association of Policewomen. The latter was conducted in 1919 and 1920 and 146 cities replied.

In the 1919 survey, 56 of the 146 cities responding reported that they employed a total of 175 women in their departments. However, it was not known what proportion were police and what proportion were matrons. In the 1924 survey it was reported that "145 cities employ women police, in 22 of which the women police also act as matrons . . ." she later

¹⁵Ibid., p. 104

¹⁶Ibid., p. 285

¹⁷Ibid., p. 191

concludes that "at least 417 women in the United States are . . . executing the preventive functions of the police."¹⁸

Today in at least 145 cities women are performing preventive police functions and before the war this fact obtained in 73 cities only--an increase of 72 cities.¹⁹

Fifty-eight cities who answered the 1924 survey employed no women in their departments, of these 8 previously had women police, but had discontinued their services.

Unfortunately only the results of these surveys are available. Details such as what cities were polled, what type of survey instrument was used and how the studies were conducted are not given.

The influence of social work was felt throughout this early period. Many social service agencies, especially juvenile protective associations and social hygiene associations were active in securing police appointments for women.

Furthermore, in spite of the fact that there were no set requirements for policewomen in the very early stages of the movement, many of the early appointments has social work backgrounds.²⁰

In New York City, the first policewoman was a volunteer worker who had been trained at a school of social science.

And Owings also notes that many of the early women police were drawn largely from private social agencies. Because of the duties involved, early literature stressed the importance of this social service background as being ideal. An important milestone occurred in the policewoman's movement in 1922 when the International Association of Chiefs

¹⁸Ibid., p. 121-2.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰Mary E. Hamilton, "Woman's Place in the Police Department," American City, 32 (February, 1925), p. 195.

of Police officially endorsed the movement and made the following recommendations for standardizing minimum requirements:²¹

Requirements: The minimum standard below which educational qualifications may not fall should be as follows: (a) Graduation from a four years' course of a standard high school or the completion of at least fourteen college-entrance units of study, and not less than two years' experience, recent and responsible, in systematic social service or educational work; or (b) Graduation from a recognized school for trained nurses requiring a residence of at least two years in a hospital giving thorough practical and theoretical training; or (c) The completion of at least seven college-entrance units of study or of two-years' work in a standard high school, and not less than two years' responsible commercial work involving public contact and responsibilities tending to qualify the applicant to perform the duties of the position, with the equivalent of the college education through experience, such as secretarial work.

However, in spite of this recommendation, the indication in previous literature that many early appointments were of such backgrounds, at least one author points to the fact that as time went on the theory was not universally put into practice. In 1924, only two years after this recommendation was made, Mrs. Van Winkle, in a speech before the National Conference of Social Work stated:²²

Up to the present day, club women have clamored for the appointment of policewomen, and are only now beginning to realize that it is not enough to appoint them but that such women should have special training and qualifications, and that they must follow their demands through to see that the right kind of women are appointed. Otherwise they may find that unfortunate appointments have been made of women in no way qualified to fill positions. It has frequently occurred that in lieu of pensions, widows of policemen with no training were appointed, or matrons of the jails and police departments secured legislation giving them the positions of police-women with no prerequisites of education, social training, or experience. Social workers did not enter this field until very recently, but the movement for their appointment gained impetus

²¹Mina Van Winkle, "The Policewoman," National Conference of Social Work: 1924, p. 190.

²²Ibid., pp. 187-8.

during the war, when trained social workers were employed to put into practice preventive measures . . .

This statement acts as a reminder that the literature is often more reflective of ideal and philosophical concepts of those most influential in the movement than it is of the reality of the overall existing situation.

Little information as to age qualifications is given in this early literature. But, one other qualification that should be noted is that of civil service. Owings' report of the 1920 survey indicates that at that time 30 cities required civil service examinations before appointment could be made, 26 did not.²³

Early training of the policewoman consisted in "on-the-job" training as Mrs. Wells points out:²⁴

Municipalities at present adjust themselves to the lack of training by placing women in the department under civil service, to learn their work after appointment, just as the men have always done.

She goes on to note however, that progress is being made in police training, and cites the New York and Chicago police schools as being excellent examples of this progress. She also points to the increasing interest of universities in helping to fulfill the existing need for better training and education. She is enthusiastic over all these developments but quite realistically states:²⁵

. . . the main dependence must be placed upon the practical training which can be given in the departments of policewomen

²³Owings, Op. cit., p. 119.

²⁴Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, "The Policewomen Movement, Present Status and Future Needs," National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1916, p. 550.

²⁵Ibid., p. 551

now existing in numerous cities. Every well-trained policewoman should have some studies in sociology as part of her training. Fortunately every city progressive enough to have policewomen and to train them has also some educational institution which can or will direct their studies.

Because of the lack of trained, experienced women which many cities were seeking, separate training was advocated for women again four years later:²⁶

We must . . . train policewomen in special schools. For this purpose, two years ago, the Boston School of Public Service, affiliated with Simmons College, was established. Last year George Washington University offered a training course, and the New York School of Social Work trained qualified social workers for positions as police executives.

Thus, while special training was advocated for policewomen, most of the opportunities that became available were for those seeking Director's or Executive positions as head of a Women's Division. It should be noted that both Mrs. Wells and Mrs. Van Winkle were themselves active in initiating such programs as the University of California and George Washington University, respectively.

The form of organization stressed during the pioneer period was the centralization of all women into a Woman's Division, though this was not the only form of organization practiced. The forms of organization which had been tried in the United States included:²⁷

The creation in the police department . . . of a definite Woman's Division whose work is supervised by one woman director, responsible to the head of the Department . . . The placing of all women police in an already existing division, such as that of the detective or special service division, and where their work is supervised by a man officer. The assignment of women

²⁶Van Winkle, Op. cit. p. 188.

²⁷Owings, Op. cit. pp. 251-2.

police by some directing officer of the department to the different precincts, districts or departmental bureaus, and where their work is directed by the officer in command.

In 1919, the International Association of Policewomen endorsed formally the establishment of Women's Bureaus in all departments.²⁸ They had always been in favor of this type of organization, but had advocated the practice only informally up to this time. A similar resolution was passed during the 1922 convention of the International Chiefs of Police.²⁹ In 1924, 92 of the 100 largest cities reported they employed policewomen, but only 6 employed them in a centralized Women's Bureau, or under the direction of one woman. Thus, in spite of the encouragement of that type of organization by those knowledgeable in the field--no standardization along such lines had yet occurred.³⁰

The reason for the lack of enthusiasm for more decentralized types of organization for policewomen was the fear of being stifled under the command of a male officer who did not understand or appreciate the service policewomen could render.³¹

Usually he places her in a clerical position and nine times out of ten concludes before he sees the woman that she is unable to render any service in the police department.

Advancement was also a consideration.³²

The women should be organized as a unit, with provision for advancement within their own group. They should not be scattered through different departments and under the direction of different persons. A competent woman supervisor should be appointed to direct the work.

²⁸Ibid., p. 194.

²⁹Ibid., p. 258.

³⁰Ibid., p. 256.

³¹Lieutenant Mina C. Van Winkle, "Municipal Policewomen--Their Duties and Opportunities," American City, 25 (August, 1921), p. 93.

³²Maude E. Miner, "The Policewoman and the Girl Problem," National Conference of Social Work, 1919, p. 137.

Speaking of promotional opportunity, it should be noted that during these early years, the main ranking positions opened to women were those of the Director of Women's Divisions. One of the reasons for this was the newness of the movement. As Mrs. Wells noted in 1915, there had not yet been any chance for women to rise through the ranks since in most cities under civil service rules there must be at least five years service before any officer is even eligible to take the test for sergeant. The movement itself was not quite five years old at this time.³³

The following year, at the meeting of the International Association of Policewomen, it was noted that there was at least one woman supervisor of women police, one superintendent of women police, one inspector and one woman chief of police.³⁴ By 1924, the promise became a reality as it was noted that "In some departments women rank as sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and there is one deputy commissioner."³⁵ Thus, while the opportunities were not extensive in comparison to the overall growth of the movement, they did exist in some places.

But the best indication of the policewoman's importance, how necessary or unnecessary her presence, and the extent of her use, is consideration of the functions and duties she performed. This provides an index by which we can better visualize her place in the police department.

Here again, the early influence of social work and social workers is noted. In a number of early instances it is recorded that social

³³Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, "Policewomen," National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1915, p. 415-6.

³⁴Owings, Op. cit., p. 105.

³⁵Van Winkle, "The Policewoman," Op. cit., p. 189.

workers, particularly those of the Travelers' Aid Society and the Associated Charities, worked for the police department on a sort of co-operative basis--that is, they were paid in part by the police department, but still retained their positions with the social agencies.

Most of the literature during this early period indicates that policewomen were hired and used mostly as protective-preventive agents. Their duties were mainly to guard the welfare of the youth, to investigate offenses in which women or children were involved either as victims or as offenders. Another function to which the women were often assigned was that of tracing missing persons.

Actually the work varied considerably according to the jurisdiction and administration under which the policewoman worked, so that while the above generalization is ~~not~~ applicable to the larger cities, even here a goodly number of variations existed. Mrs. Wells summed it up rather well when she stated:³⁶

They answer suspicious advertisements, help secure evidence against illegal fortune-telling or people who otherwise are preying upon a credulous public; and in many other ways they increase the efficiency of the department in its effort to preserve the peace and safety of the community . . . There are policewomen at this conference who in their round of duty have done almost every form of social service acceptable.

Several years later, in 1919, another writer notes the difference in how Seattle, Los Angeles and Chicago used their policewomen. Seattle and Los Angeles stressed the protective-preventive function, while Chicago stressed law enforcement. The writer continues:³⁷

The protective function of policewomen has been disregarded at times according to the reports of actual work accomplished. Women

³⁶Wells, Op. cit., p. 413.

³⁷Miner, Op. cit., p. 136

are sent out occasionally to help in discovering thieves and even murderers and to get evidence against criminals. Others are assigned only to patrol work on a definite "beat." . . . In justification of assigning women to detective and usual patrol work, it is explained that if they are to be a part of the police force, they must do any kind of work given to them by their superior officers.

A brief review of the work of policewomen reveals one important fact--that there is a great need for standardization of the work . . . It is most important that a definite program of work should be approved and that the protective work should be emphasized.

In this and other later references it is strongly suggested that the division of work between a policewomen and probation officers should be distinct and should not overlap. They suggest the policewoman should not have follow-up or supervisory work after sentencing.³⁸ The idea of using women in detective positions is generally discouraged.

The general impression one gets is that the policewomen were police officers with a special mission, and anything which equated them with the function of a male officer was to be avoided. They shunned carrying guns, wearing uniforms, or making arrests except where necessary. However, the decision of a particular department to follow such guidelines depended on the administrator and as pointed out before, in many instances policewomen were hired with no idea of how to use them. For this reason many departments utilized them as matrons or as clerical help.

The importance of the administrator and the person in direct command of the policewomen can easily be seen when one takes a look at a few individual departments.

In Detroit and New York, where there were Women's Divisions under the supervision of women, the above theory was put into practice.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 136; Van Winkle, "Standardization of the Aims and Methods of Policewomen," National Conference of Social Work, 1920, p. 153.

In Detroit, for instance it was reported:³⁹

The unit by which policewomen measure their success should not be the number of arrests made, but the number of arrests prevented.

The article then goes on to discuss the administrative set up of the Detroit Women's Division which was to include four departments--Protective, Under-Cover, Patrol and Office. The under-cover work was described as securing confidential information without the identity of the policewoman becoming known. But, the main function remains prevention and protection. A similar situation existed in New York where Mrs. Mary Hamilton set up a separate Women's Precinct--her philosophy was:⁴⁰

Effective service depends largely upon the extent to which the women cooperate with the men, for after all, policewomen have taken up policewomanship, not with the idea of replacing men in this work, but for the purpose of aiding and assisting them by seeking in a quiet, unassuming way to prevent crime.

However, in St. Louis, where the policewomen were placed under the Chief of Detectives, the policewomen's aims, while being the same insofar as they dealt with young women and girls, was different in that more stress seemed to be placed on investigation and arrest.³⁹

In short, there was a wide variety of standards in existence. Efforts were being made to bring about some consensus as to effective use of policewomen. Those most influential in the field stressed protective-preventive functions and saw the future policewoman being most effectively used in this way. They often saw the future of policewomen being in the hands of social workers:

³⁹Virginia M. Murray, "Policewomen in Detroit," American City, 25 (September 1921), p. 209.

⁴⁰Mary E. Hamilton, The Policewoman, Her Service and Ideals (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1924), p. 7. ✓

We must look to social workers to become the policewomen of tomorrow. In police work will be found not only the greatest opportunity for behalf of the potential delinquent and the prevention of delinquency, but also the opportunity to assist in socializing this largest of all agencies.⁴¹

II. MODERN ERA

The Modern Era includes the entire interval from 1926 to the present. It is during this time that the Modern Concept emerges. For convenience the era has been divided into two periods the Transitional and the Modern (referring to the most recent stage of development).

Transitional Period (1926-1949). During this period the shift to a stronger law enforcement emphasis is noted, though the protective preventive function under which policewomen entered the field is not forgotten nor completely overshadowed. The literature again is limited. The most outstanding contributions are made by police officers from Detroit and New York City, and there is the continuing influence of Lieutenant Van Winkle through the leadership she gave the International Association of Policewomen during part of this period.

Eleonore Hutzell, Deputy Commissioner and Director of the Women's Bureau of Detroit authored a practical and useful manual entitled The Policewoman's Handbook. This is mainly a compilation of methods, procedures, and illustrative case studies, but gives some insights into the period. The other book written during this time is the autobiographical My Double Life: The Story of a New York Policewoman, by Mary Sullivan. This too, while not dealing exclusively with the subject matter as we

⁴¹Van Winkle, "The Policewoman," op. cit., p. 92.

have defined it, reveals some interesting facts.

Another major source of information for the period is what has become known as the Carol Williams Study, a survey conducted in 1946 by a member of the Detroit Women's Division. These, plus several magazine articles and some copies of the International Policewoman's Bulletin form the bulk of the literature of the Transitional Period.

The fact of the ready acceptance of the practice of appointing matrons in contrast to the more reluctant use of policewomen is noted by Hutzel in 1929. In spite of the indorsement of International Association of Chiefs of Police, many individual police chiefs were apparently not caught up by the movement. She notes:⁴²

The interest which eventually resulted in the appointment of women police officers was first expressed by certain groups of women who felt the need for protective work with girls in their communities . . . The continued efforts of these women's organizations are largely responsible for the rapid increase in the number of cities employing women officers. Police officials have questioned the wisdom of such a change in their organizations and there is still no general agreement among them in favor of the idea.

She and other writers note that this reluctance is often due to knowledge on the part of the administrator of some situation where policewomen were hired but, because of lack of training, poor selection, or other reasons failed to meet expectations. Louis Brownlow, who was active in promoting the use of policewomen notes that much of this is also due to preconceived prejudice without real basis in fact. He admits that there have been instances of policewomen who have been incompetent, political or stupid, but goes on to point out that just as the entire police force should not be condemned because of the incompetence of a few

⁴²Eleanore L. Hutzel, "The Policewoman," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 146 (November, 1929), p. 104.

policemen who are wrong, neither should the entire policewomen's movement be condemned because of a few.⁴³

Several surveys were conducted during this period, the main one, of course, being the one by Carol Williams. Unfortunately, all appear to confirm Hutzel's observation on the failure of police executives to embrace the movement wholeheartedly.

Police Commissioner Rutledge of Detroit made a survey in March of 1929. Of 202 cities replying to his questionnaire, a total of 125 reported employing policewomen. The most interesting part of the data is that dealing with the number of cities with large populations who reported employing only one policewoman. Nineteen such cities were in the 50,000 to 500,000 population range.⁴⁴

By 1934, the situation had not changed much as evidenced by the remarks of Chief Richard W. Morris of Geneva, New York. Regarding the necessity of policewomen he stated: "Every police department that arrests women should have a policewoman, even if only on part time."⁴⁵ He goes on to observe that: ". . . some cities in every class, even the largest, are without a policewoman. This is one of the many respects in which police departments are behind the best practice."⁴⁶

Finally, in the 1946 survey conducted by Carol Williams, it was

⁴³Louis Brownlow, "The City and the Citizen," Policewoman's International Bulletin, III (August-September 1927), p. 12.

⁴⁴Hutzel, op. cit., pp. 105-6.

⁴⁵Chief Richard W. Morris, Organization and Administration of a Municipal Police Department, Publication No. 30, New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials, (Albany: Bureau of Training and Research, 1934), p. 15.

⁴⁶Ibid.

ascertained that:⁴⁷

Of the 296 cities replying, 131, or 44%, stated that they do not employ policewomen, while 141, or 48%, do employ women as police officers . . .

Her questionnaires, and thus the above results are from cities having populations of over 25,000. It is interesting to note that from statistical breakdown and computation, she figured out what she called "population load per policewoman." She worked out such population load averages for the various states and sections of the country on the basis of her study and the 1940 census. Here are some of the results she computed which are worth noting:⁴⁸

✓ By this method of analysis, it was found that the average for the entire country was one policewoman per 41,896 population. The national average population load per policewoman, according to the reports submitted by the 141 cities used in this study, was found to be 40,848.

Further references to the findings of this study will be noted below as the discussion turns to other aspects of the concept as developed during this period.

It should be noted here that lack of detail sharply curtails the value of the various surveys cited. The failure to record completely the methods and procedures used prevents proper evaluation of the results of the individual surveys, and eliminates the possibility of meaningful comparison between them. References are generally made merely to results, only the Williams' study gives some information on the questionnaire used, and population surveyed. While available data allows a general tracing of

⁴⁷Carol M. Williams, The Organization and Practices of Policewomen's Divisions in the United States (Detroit, Michigan, 1946) p. 9.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 18.

trends, it fails to provide a serviceable basis for future research.

✓ The strong social work influence is still apparent in this period. In referring to the first meeting of Pacific Coast Policewomen, Mrs. Elizabeth Lossing makes the following comments:⁴⁹

When Miss Helen D. Pigeon, executive secretary of the International Association of Policewomen, came from Washington, D.C., to open the policewomen's meeting . . . she found thirty-two people assembled, all eager to hear the latest developments in this comparatively new field of social work.

She goes on to note the strong trend toward requiring that policewomen be well equipped to do high grade social work and continues:

One glance at the exhibit material of face sheets, graphs of organization, photographs and bibliographies was conclusive proof that policewomen will not be found wanting in that strategic position which they hold on social work lines.

These remarks plus the continued practice of the International Association of Policewomen to hold its meetings in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work reinforce the close connection noted in the Historical Era.

This close connection also continued to be reflected in the type of entrance requirements set for policewomen--at least in the more progressive jurisdictions. In 1930, August Vollmer, one of America's most progressive Police Chiefs asserted:⁵⁰

The present tendency is toward a standard requiring a college degree and social work experience before appointment.

J In Berkeley, our rules and regulations specify that no woman police officer shall be appointed who is not a trained social worker,

⁴⁹ Mrs. Elizabeth Lossing, "First Kindred Group Meeting of Policewomen of the Pacific Coast," Policewoman's International Bulletin, IV (August, 1928), p. 2.

⁵⁰ August Vollmer, "Meet the Lady Cop," The Survey, 63 (March 15, 1930), p. 702.

preferably with the stress laid on psychiatric training, as evidenced by a certificate of graduation from a recognized school of social work or the equivalent from a college of the first class and some practical experience in work with individual delinquents. I think we can confidently look forward to the time when all policewomen will be very highly qualified; the top-notchers today are unsurpassed by any group in social work. ✓

Vollmer stresses the importance of the policewoman as a link between the police and social work and sees her mainly as a preventive agent. It is his feeling that until such time as the police department can attract men of similar training and background, the main burden of preventive work is hers. ✓

Hutzel, in the Introduction to her book touches briefly on the importance of educational background for the policewoman. She points out that formal training in a school of social work is desirable because of the close relation between much of the policewomen's job with work of social agencies. Not that the policewoman does the same case work, but much of what she investigates will be preliminary to treatment by other social workers, and her work should compare favorably to theirs in quality. She notes Detroit's minimum requirements include an age requirement of 25-35 and the following:⁵¹ ✓

Educational: a) A degree from an accredited college or university.
 b) Satisfactory completion of one year in an approved school of social work.
 c) An educational and cultural background that seems to warrant expectation of success and progress in the field of protective police work.

Experience: a) One year of satisfactory work under supervision in a social organization of recognized standing.
 b) Two or more years of experience in a closely related profession.

⁵¹ Eleonore L. Hutzel, The Policewoman's Handbook (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), p. 5,6.

Detroit also put prospective applicants through a series of psychiatric and intelligence tests to screen out the incapable or those with undesirable qualities.

Hutzel also records that though no actual statistics are available, the best estimates as of 1929 are that about ~~one~~ half of the cities of the United States have civil service examinations for their police officers, and that in some of these, the women are given the same examination as the men. She notes that in spite of the minimum standards adopted by the chiefs of police, appointments are not generally made in accordance with them.⁵²

In 1946, the Carol Williams Study gave the following results to questions regarding educational requirements:⁵³

The number of cities replying which had no educational requirements was 24, or 16%; 1 city, or 1%, required elementary school training; 1, or 1%, required 9th grade; 1, or 1%, required two years of high school; 74, or 52%, required completion of high school training; 2, or 1%, required two years of college work; 1 or 1%, required two years of teaching experience; 7, or 5% required college graduation; and 30, or 21%, did not reply . . .

Of the 111 replies received on this question, 27 cities, or approximately 19%, may accept women police with educational training below the completed high school level. Although 75, or 53%, of the cities required high school graduation, only 10 cities, or 7%, required educational training beyond that of high school work . . . The educational level of women police as a whole, remains low.

Regarding age, her study only reveals that one hundred and one cities did have age limits, but did not pinpoint what the age limits were.⁵⁴

⁵²Hutzel, "The Policewoman," op. cit., p. 110.

⁵³Williams, op. cit., pp. 10-11

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 10.

Thus, again, it is vividly revealed how far the reality continues to stray from the ideals expressed by those most articulate in the movement.

Changes in training began taking place during this period. In New York City as of 1927 they began receiving training in the Police Academy and by 1934 pistol practice was required. Sullivan notes however that: "Outside of pistol practice, there is no special training in self-defense. Courses in jiu-jitsu were given for a time, but as we failed to find this overrated Japanese art very practical, the classes were discontinued."⁵⁵

Eleonore Hutzel suggests that where a police school exists policewomen should attend just as men officers must. Only one question on Carol Williams' survey covers training. The results showed that of the cities replying "59, or 42% had a police training school . . . 14, or 10% did have such a school, but policewomen did not attend it."⁵⁶ As can be seen, much of the lack of standardization of training at this time was still due to the lack of adequate police training facilities. But, it was becoming more or less accepted practice for policewomen to attend recruit training with the men in most cities that did have such facilities.

Organizationally, Hutzel mentions three forms most often followed --they correspond closely to those mentioned by Owings earlier. She does indicate some variations which are slightly different--i.e. having a Central Women's Bureau, but having some of the officers assigned to the precinct, similar to the way in which detectives in some cities work.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Mary Sullivan, My Double Life: The Story of a New York Policewoman, (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938), p. 287.

⁵⁶Williams, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵⁷Hutzel, op. cit., pp. 109-10.

Later, in her book, she elaborates on this, and is the first to suggest that this or other alternatives may prove the best way to incorporate the policewoman into the department of the future.⁵⁸

What is of basic importance is that the organization of policewomen's activities in any city be fitted carefully to the existing pattern of police organization. Unless a policewoman's bureau, unit, or division is harmoniously integrated with the larger plan of organization of which it is a functioning part, danger of isolation will be encountered and opportunities for needed cooperation between policewomen on the one hand and the patrol force, detective bureau, and special police units will be thwarted. Granted that, initially, it is better to organize policewomen's work into a separate unit and that there will always be need for a central planning and directing office which will rank high in a police department's scheme of organization, it, nevertheless, seems probable that, for the future well-being of the work, women should find a place in the long established divisional police commands. The aim should be to infuse the work of policewomen into most of the primary units of police organization.

She contends that the prevailing type of detective decentralization suggests the type of organization that ultimately should be followed, but that such decentralization cannot take place properly until policewomen are fully accepted and not looked upon as intruders by the male members of the force.

Mary Sullivan's memoirs indicate that in New York City a certain amount of functional decentralization had been practiced for some time-- though she does not give exact dates. She claims the distinction of being the only woman to be assigned regularly to the Homicide Squad and notes that she was with them for two years. She was also assigned to cases with various other headquarter's bureaus, but gives no indication of being regularly assigned to any of them. She notes later that policewoman Kathryn Schneider was given a special assignment with the Narcotic Squad

⁵⁸Hutzel, The Policewoman's Manual, op. cit., p. 2.

and did such a good job that she continued with them; from that time on there was always at least one woman with the Narcotic Squad.⁵⁹

Carol Williams found a variety of divisions through which policewomen were incorporated into departments, but her study fails to distinguish clearly the differences in organizational structure. Her results are stated in such a way as to cause confusion in the reader's mind. Rather than try to clarify or interpret this situation, it will merely be noted that in 76 cities which reported that policewomen were attached to various units within the department, the greatest number had them attached to juvenile or detective divisions. But in all, there were some who had their policewomen detached to such divisions as narcotics, vice, traffic, missing persons, inspection, or public affairs. Three departments reported using policewomen in connection with all divisions.⁶⁰

Promotional opportunity still appears to be quite limited during this period. At times, policewomen are shown to have less rank even on the entrance level. Twenty-five per cent of the cities replying to a question regarding rank in the Carol Williams Study admitted that the policewomen did not hold equal rank with the men, a slightly higher number reported that their policewomen did not receive equal pay with the men.⁶¹

In May 1929, Helen Pigeon, then Executive Secretary of the International Association of Policewomen cited the ranks of several

⁵⁹Sullivan, op. cit., pp. 107, 214, 219.

⁶⁰Williams, op. cit., pp. 12-13

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 9,13.

directors of Women's Bureaus and noted that: "Recently, several cities have given the rank of sergeant to other policewomen, within the bureaus, who have charge of certain phases of the work."⁶² But even in the large New York City Department, chances for advancement did not exist. Mary Sullivan states:⁶³ x

I am very proud of the New York City policewomen. They show great courage in handling dangerous and difficult assignments, . . . Yet the city hasn't shown its appreciation by giving them the opportunities for promotion that are offered to the men. Policewomen must pass a civil service examination in order to be appointed, and in Washington, Cleveland, Detroit, and several other cities they have competitive examinations for higher rank within the women's division. New York, however, as far as opportunities for women are concerned, is still in the red flannel stage. An ambitious patrolman can take an examination for promotion to the rank of sergeant, but no policewoman, regardless of her ability, is eligible to take this test.

She goes on to observe that even the director of the Women's Bureau in New York City has no rank. She had been made a first grade detective, but notes that this is not a rank but a designation and is out-ranked by any sergeant. :

Carol Williams reports in 1946 that only 21 cities or 14%, of those replying to her questionnaire indicated they had positions of higher rank open to policewomen. She further stated that where a higher rank is given, it is equivalent to the corresponding rank held by male officers, though she does not make clear on what she bases this latter conclusion.⁶⁴ Thus, while opportunities for advancement were poor and not widespread, they increased somewhat during this period.

It remains to take a brief look at functions and duties performed

⁶²Helen D. Pigeon, "Women's Era in the Police Department," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 143 (May 1929), p. 251.

⁶³Sullivan, op. cit., p. 296.

⁶⁴Williams, op. cit., p. 9.

by policewomen during this period in order to round out discussion. As can be seen by some of the organizational comments noted above, the work was expanding, though the emphasis still was strongest in prevention and protection.

Eleonore Hutzel appears to be one of the first leaders of the movement who recognized the expanding possibilities of the field. As early as 1929 she noted:⁶⁵

Recently there has been some experimentation in assigning women officers to work which has to do with women but which is not protective in its nature. I refer to the assignment of women officers to work in the detective bureau, the narcotic squad, the homicide squad and other crime detection divisions. These efforts are still very experimental. There is little doubt that in the future women officers will be placed at work in many squads of the crime detection divisions of the Police department, but at present the few efforts that have been made do not justify any general conclusions as to their usefulness or as to the peculiar qualifications for success in such work.

Later, in her book she states:⁶⁶

One notable development in the Detroit Policewomen's Bureau has been a gradual change from the more purely social service point of view to the police point of view. At first, the Bureau was like a social service agency which happened to be housed in the police department. Now it has become unmistakable a police unit with a social welfare point of view.

Carol Williams asked several questions in her study about the work load or duties of policewomen, but none of them indicate to any substantial degree the entire scope of duties undertaken by policewomen. A government publication of 1945, published to serve a manual for policewomen, deals mainly with her function in social protection, but it recognizes

⁶⁵Hutzel, "The Policewoman," op. cit., p. 108.

⁶⁶Hutzel, The Policewoman's Manual, op. cit., p. 8.

too, the fact that this is not the entire scope of her work.⁶⁷

The literature of this period, while not being extensive enough to give a full picture of the period begins to indicate some changes taking place in the movement. While still emphasizing most strongly the preventive protection function of policewomen, there begins to be a greater recognition of the contributions she may make to the investigative phase of law enforcement. Further, the necessity of her law enforcement function and of greater integration into the police department are noted.

The Modern Period (1950-1967). The literature available over this period shows a marked increase over that available from the other periods. Most of this increase is noted in the realm of magazine articles written for professional magazines. There is also the addition of one noteworthy book, Policewoman's Manual, by Lois Lundell Higgins, President of the International Association of Women Police. This book is mainly a technical manual, as was Hutzell's, but also contains some interesting information on a survey conducted by the author, and on current trends. Another small scale survey which nonetheless revealed some important information was found in a study done by the Cleveland League of Women Voters. Perhaps the most stimulating piece of literature, and most recent is the Proceedings of a Workshop for Policewomen held at Indiana University and sponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Several thought provoking policewomen authors of the period are from New York City--Evabel Tenny, Felicia Shpritzer, and Theresa Melchionne.

⁶⁷Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Use of Policewomen with Special Reference of Social Protection, National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency (Washington D.C.: 1945) p. 3.

They confine their writing to magazine articles at the present. These and others are attempting fervently to bring about fuller understanding of the policewoman of today, her triumphs and her problems. This period is also marked by an increasing recognition of policewomen in books dealing with general police administration and selection.

As of 1958, one source states:⁶⁸

The latest survey made of the 100 largest city police departments in the country show 82 departments have 1,040 women with the badge of authority, and their number is steadily increasing, especially in the smaller departments where even one woman can make a big difference.

The most recent survey on the employment of policewomen was conducted by the Research and Development Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in preparation for the 1966 Workshop of Policewomen. One hundred and sixty-one of the 166 questionnaires sent out, were returned. The returns showed 1,792 women with powers to arrest are employed by these 161 cities.⁶⁹

Lois Higgins, in commenting on the surveys she had conducted noted that there was no consistency between the size of the city and the number of policewomen employed. In spite of the fact that larger cities tended generally to employ larger numbers of policewomen, it is not true that the largest city employs the most policewomen, the second largest employs the second largest number of policewomen, and so forth, down the line. She sees

⁶⁸James M. Owens, "Policewomen in the Line," Police 3 (September-October, 1958) p. 21.

⁶⁹Nelson A. Watson and Robert N. Walker (eds.), "Proceedings of Workshop for Policewomen" (Indiana University, January 31-February 4, 1966) pp. 158-159.

this lack of consistency as a reinforcement of the disagreement among police administrators as to the proper role and use of policewomen.⁷⁰

An interesting fact is brought out in the seven city survey conducted by the Cleveland League of Women Voters in 1954. Because of the wide variation they found in the size of bureaus, they felt that the fairest comparison in size would be to determine what percentage the actual strength was of the potential strength for policewomen in each city. Their tabulation at this time shows that only two of the eight cities included (seven cities plus Cleveland), were up to full strength. Unfortunately it is impossible to draw any real conclusions from this fact since it is impossible to determine from the data available, just why the cities were not up to full strength. If it was just because they were waiting for civil service lists, no administrative aversion to policewomen could be imputed, however, if there were no such valid reasons, further inquiry into why this condition existed might be very revealing.⁷¹

The increase in numbers thus continues, and is reported in the literature. However, lack of general agreement or full acceptance of the movement is still reflected in the growth during this period.

Training, while becoming more standardized, also continues to show some variation. As late as 1954 Cleveland at least, did not have a training program for its policewomen. Instruction for the new appointee

⁷⁰Lois Lundell Higgins, Policewoman's Manual (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1961), p. 91.

⁷¹Cleveland Policewoman's Bureau, A Report Prepared by Cleveland's League of Women Voters (Cleveland, Ohio: 1954), p. 2.

was limited to that given by the commanding officer of the Women's Division. Up to only a short time before the study by the Cleveland League of Women Voters, policewomen were not sent to the Police Training Academy. The study reports that:⁷²

The other cities had training periods of from four weeks to three months. The actual time spent in school did not vary much in these cities, for some combined class work and accompanying an experienced officer on an assignment.

Lois Higgins indicates in her survey that:⁷³

✓ About two-thirds of the cities surveyed had in-service training for women police. In some cases, this training is similar to that taken by male officers, supplemented by special on-the-job training. Several cities provided specialized training in local universities. Others had high pre-service educational requirements in social work or related fields.

She notes that there does not seem to be as much variation in training as in some other areas, but stresses the importance of standardizing such programs. Other parts of her study bring to attention the fact that the greatest development in police training has come about since World War II and infers that the trend toward policewomen being trained with men and in a more highly specialized manner should be seen in this light.⁷⁴

The recommendation of the Workshop initiated by International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1966 is as follows:⁷⁵

As an integral member of the police team, it is essential that the policewoman receive the same basic recruit training as provided the policeman, including instruction in the care and use of firearms.

In addition, a policewoman should receive instruction in the

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Higgins, op. cit., p. 97.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 113.

⁷⁵Watson, op. cit., p. 3.

✓ laws, procedures and practices designed to prevent delinquency and provide increased moral protection for women and minors.

This is a reinforcement of the trend noted in the Transitional Period.

Higgins' survey shows a marked decrease in average age at entrance required by police departments. About 40% of the departments have a minimum age of 21, only 11% have 25 as the minimum age for applicants. She reports entrance requirements of High School to be required by 37% of the cities, 16% required College, and 47% did not specify a minimum requirement.⁷⁶

Current recommendations for education and age as expressed at the Workshop:⁷⁷

As a group, policewomen work with other professional people more than any other officials in the police structure. College training is always an asset. It is highly desirable, therefore, that the educational standard for this position be as high as recruitment will permit in any given community. However, the minimum standard should be a high school diploma. There are reasons for accenting youth . . . the arduous nature of the duties . . . Moreover, competition for youth is keen among all specialized fields of endeavor; law enforcement agencies must seek to obtain their fair share of the best human resources available. For these reasons, it is recommended that the age requirements for policewomen conform with those of the policemen, with the minimum age established at 21 years.

Organizational structure continues to be a mixture, but there is more acceptance of women in various divisions of the department besides the Women's Division. In fact such flexibility is openly advocated. This is not to say that differences of opinion no longer occur. A New York City Police Officer discussing Vice and Gambling investigations states:⁷⁸

⁷⁶Higgins, op. cit., p. 92.

⁷⁷Watson, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

⁷⁸

Capt. Frederick W. Egen, Plainclothesman: A Handbook of Vice and Gambling Investigation (New York: Arco Publishing Co., Inc., 1952), p. 124.

Policewomen should be included in these units. Chief Inspector August W. Flath of New York City's Police Department inaugurated a pilot program that succeeded in determining the true worth of policewomen in this field. They can not only make their own arrests, but they materially assist plainclothes men in effecting arrests.

He rates such "undercover" work highly because of its value in eliminating the need for paid informers. O. W. Wilson, one of the leading police administrators in the country, on the other hand expresses this view:⁷⁹

There does not seem to be justification for regular assignment of policewomen to the vice division. Their services should be available, however, so that they may be called on in cases involving young girls and inexperienced women. λ

Typical of the new philosophy is the way the New York City Police Department deploys its policewomen. In 1960, Theresa M. Melchionne, then Director of the Bureau of Policewomen, reported that two-thirds of the 253 women employed were dealing directly with detection and investigation of crime. These policewomen are assigned to the Bureau of Policewomen, and to various specialized detective squads; the remaining policewomen are assigned to work in Youth Bureau. She explains:⁸⁰

The investigative skills developed in the Bureau of Policewomen serve the entire Department, for the Bureau acts as a "pool" for all units having an occasional need for policewomen's services. Policewomen are available for short-term assignments; these may include relatively simple tasks, such as acting as a companion to male officers in order to allay suspicion; or tasks requiring more skill, such as "tailing," or such arduous and dangerous assignments as trafficking with known and hardened criminals and racketeers in an assumed role to obtain vitally needed information . . . λ

Many units in the Department require the services, of policewomen

⁷⁹O. W. Wilson, Police Planning (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1957), p. 123.

⁸⁰Theresa M. Melchionne, "The Role of Policewomen in the Investigative Function," The Police Yearbook, 1960, pp. 166, 169.

on a year-round basis; for example, the Narcotics Bureau, the Pickpocket and Confidence Squad, and the Missing Persons Bureau. Policewomen are detailed from the Bureau of Policewomen, made an integral part of these units, and designated as detectives. These women may win advanced detective ratings in recognition of demonstrated effectiveness.

Though not all departments subscribe to the newer theory, it is much more acceptable now than it was in earlier periods.

In 1961, the number of cities having separate divisions for policewomen, according to the survey by Higgins, amounted to only 27% of the responding cities. No answer was received from 5% and 68% reported not having a separate division.⁸¹

The Workshop reviewed the various types of organizational structure used to incorporate policewomen into a department and suggested that that the individual department had to decide which would be best, recommending only that "the police executive take measures to insure the availability of her services to every unit of the department, as the need arises".⁸² They stated in summary:⁸³

There are merits and liabilities in both centralization and decentralization, as organizational patterns. Under each structure, of critical concern is the degree to which deployment flexibility is responsive to the exigencies of the service, and the degree to which standards of performance are maintained uniformly throughout the agency.

Promotional Opportunity has always been one of the greatest areas of deficiency, and according to current literature, while the the situation continues to improve, it is still an area of great

⁸¹Higgins, op. cit., p. 93.

⁸²Watson, op. cit., p. 3.

⁸³Ibid., p. 4.

limitations. In 1955 one writer stated:⁸⁴

The worst aspect of working conditions for women in law enforcement is the generally poor advancement, or promotion outlook . . . True, in the larger departments where there are sizable female units there are some higher equivalent ranks and pay assigned to the women. In other departments, a woman will receive the higher pay of a sergeant or lieutenant, when she is supervisor of the female unit, but will not be awarded the higher rank. Again, many departments do not keep their women officers together as a unit for general administration, but disperse them throughout the various units of the department. When this happens there is practically no opportunity for a woman to receive advancement of any kind.

By 1961 Higgins was only able to report 21% of the cities in her survey as offering opportunity for advancement.⁸⁵

Felicia Shpritzer, a policewoman in the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the New York City Police Department began stating the case for better promotional opportunities for women in that Department in the late 1950's. She pointed out that New York, unlike other large cities, provided no promotional opportunities for women, even within the Women's Division. She notes they provide for the designation of four first grade detectives, 10 second grade detectives and 36 third grade detectives among the women, but she further notes that even this much advancement is not possible for those assigned to the Juvenile Aid Bureau. She contends that "According to the City Administrative Code, patrolmen and policewomen have equal status." In practice, this equality applies in all matters except for promotion to sergeant."⁸⁶

⁸⁴John J. O'Connor, Jr., Opportunities in Law Enforcement (New York: Vocational Guidance Manuals, 1955) pp. 86-7.

⁸⁵Higgins, loc. cit.

⁸⁶Felicia Shpritzer, "A Case for the Promotion of Policewomen in the City of New York," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 50 (November-December 1959), p. 416.

In spite of her efforts, and the logic of her position, it was not until 1964 that policewomen of that city were permitted to take the exam, and not until November 1965 that she and another woman were appointed to Sergeant. And, this was only done after a court struggle which went to the Court of Appeals. In January 1967 another landmark court decision was handed down when it was reported: "The petitioners argued successfully that if they had been permitted to participate in the Sergeant promotion examination when it was originally held, they would have been promoted in time to take the Lieutenant promotion examination."⁸⁷

Progress in this city anyway, is being made only through court litigation.

Function and duties are much wider today than in the past, as recognized in the expanding organizational decentralization noted above. The expansion of duties, while it exists, is sometimes hard to pin down, and is sometimes confusing. As Evabel Tenny observes:⁸⁸

There has been very little published in the way of standards of performance for policewomen, probably because the duties of women police vary so widely depending on the needs, and customs, of the departments to which they are assigned.

Perhaps one of the few efforts to officially standardize what policewomen can do was attempted at the Workshop at Indiana University. The resulting recommendations indicate that the policewoman can successfully be used in almost any type of investigation, depending upon the needs

⁸⁷William Goffen, "Civil Service Law and You: Promotion for Policewomen," The Leader New York State Civil Service Paper (January 3, 1967), p. 6.

⁸⁸Evabel Tenny, "Women's Work in Law Enforcement," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Sciences, 44 (July-August 1963) p. 240.

of the department, the skills and aptitude of the policewoman and the aptness of the administrator.⁸⁹ The report in its several sessions considered the role of the policewoman in its various aspects, and noted many areas where further development might well take place--civil rights, more extensive use of some policewomen in interrogation, and various other aspects of the job. Unfortunately there is not time here to fully discuss the aspects of the policewoman's job as touched on in the report.

The new trend as noted in the literature of this period would seem to be summed up clearly by the Philadelphia Police Administrators who have declared:⁹⁰

Philadelphia policewomen have disproved the theory that a policewoman should only be utilized in investigations of young children, teenage girls and old women. This is antiquated in modern society. The new concept of well-trained, alert young policewomen, successfully deployed in the area of police-community relations, narcotics, homicide, vice and felony investigations, as well as in the area of the enlarging juvenile delinquency field, has been tested and validated.

The use of the new modern Policewoman in all phases of law enforcement is rapidly becoming a necessary technique in all efficient police departments that give maximum police services to the public.

The evolvement of a modern concept, speaks for itself through the literature. Failure of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement to consider more closely this area of police functioning, which as can be seen in so much in need of further study, is disappointing. The Workshop sponsored by International Association of Chiefs of Police contains much stimulating material, and will be of much value in future developments

⁸⁹Watson, op. cit., pp. 9-13.

⁹⁰Philadelphia Police Department, The Philadelphia Policewoman, 1959, p. 16.

in the field, especially if followed through.

Again it is necessary to caution the reader that because of the diversity and lack of details concerning the various surveys cited, it is impossible to determine if the definition of policewoman as utilized in this paper was so utilized in these studies. Therefore, the reader should be aware that they are cited in order to give a general idea of the growth of the movement, but are not guaranteed to be exact and completely comparable.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The hypothesis and model form a framework to guide the present inquiry. The review of the literature provides a basic look into the historical aspects and the development of the policewoman's role. But, in order to more fully explore the credibility of the hypothesis, greater insight into the present reality of the use of policewomen today is necessary.

As is pointed out in Chapter III, earlier literature often deals with concrete organizational situations, probably much more so than current literature. Therefore, the literature, while being a good source of information, and perhaps the only source of much historical information, only acts as a springboard for inspiring further concrete inquiry into present actuality.

I. METHOD

Initially, a survey was considered the best way of obtaining current, pertinent information on the employment of policewomen. A questionnaire was designed along typical lines similar to those used in the Model. The questions were chosen for importance of content and were objective requiring only short answers. However, in spite of efforts to keep it simple, the survey instrument was lengthy and somewhat awkward. (See Appendix I.)

Realizing the reluctance with which such a survey instrument

might be met, it seemed that an alternative method should be considered. The only other alternative was the use of personal interviews. This solution would substantially reduce the number of cities that could be polled, but it would eliminate the problem of failure to respond. Furthermore, personal contact allows for more depth of observation than questionnaire.

With these things in mind, it was decided to combine the two ideas. Several personal interviews would be sought and the questions from the questionnaire would serve to guide the line of questioning--though at no time would the interviewee see or be asked directly to fill in the questionnaire. The interviewee was not informed of the real purpose for which the interview was being conducted or sought as such knowledge might inhibit candid answering.

II. PROCEDURE

In each instance except one, the interview was sought by means of written request. It should be noted that for the purpose of this paper "interviewer" will refer to the writer, and "interviewee" will be used to denote the police official in the particular jurisdiction where the interview was being conducted. In the written communication sent out about eight to ten days before the date sought, the writer expressed an interest in seeking a job in law enforcement, noted she was presently employed by the Erie County Department of Social Welfare, and also cited the fact she was a part-time police matron for the Town of Hamburg Police since 1964. (See Appendix II for an example of this letter.) Thus an attempt to set up a legitimate reason for the questions asked, and a personal connection with police work was cited in order to encourage

greater cooperation or rapport.

The cities selected were chosen because of easy accessibility and size. They are among the forty largest cities in the United States. If said forty cities were to be divided into groups of ten according to size, each of the cities cited in this paper would lie in a different group. Thus, basing representation on size alone, they are to be considered fairly representative.

With one exception, the interviews were conducted on three successive Friday afternoons in September of 1967. The fourth interview was arranged more informally, by personal contact and by telephone conversation. In this case, the interviewee might have suspected the information would be for thesis use because of previous contacts over a period of time. However, it was felt it could still be included because of the writer's greater knowledge of the department involved.

This then was the general set up for gaining the information used in the case studies presented in the following chapter. Any other significant difference which may have effected an interview or the findings will be noted in the individual profiles.

CHAPTER V

FOUR PROFILES

The main source of information for each of the profiles that follow was an interview with a ranking policewoman in the individual police department. Any variation from this main source is noted as necessary. The major portion of each profile consists of comparable factual data gathered during the interviews. This is presented under topical heading conforming to major points stressed in the Model. An additional "Miscellaneous" heading is used in order to include factual information which is inconsistent with the other headings.

In order to be as complete as possible, each profile is introduced with a short summary of available historical data on the particular department, and is followed by a section devoted to the interviewer's comments and reactions. It was decided that it would be best to place this latter, somewhat more subjective information, separately, so as to preserve the basic integrity of the profile proper. The profiles are presented in the order in which the interviews were administered.

I. PROFILE OF CITY "A"

Very little historical information is available on this city. However, a few dates of first appointments as noted in early surveys would indicate that they were among the first to employ both police matrons and police women. The first police matron appointment was recorded as being made in 1877, and as of 1925, they had four (4) matrons. The same source reports the first appointment of a policewoman as 1913,

and indicates that as of 1925 there was still only one (1) policewoman employed.¹ Another source indicates that this first policewoman in City A was appointed under civil service.²

Numbers. Currently, City A employs both police matrons and policewomen. The present complement of matrons includes one relief and three full-time employees. Eight (8) policewomen are presently employed, two of them holding the ranking positions of Sergeant and Lieutenant, respectively.

The total number of sworn personnel in the Department is approximately 550. Policewomen are under civil service and receive the same pay and benefits as the male officers.

It was noted during the interview that the Table of Organization for this Department actually provides for a total of twelve (12) policewomen, including a Sergeant and a Lieutenant. However, in recent years, four (4) women who either retired or resigned were replaced by men.

Entrance Requirements. These vary from exam to exam. The age requirement several years ago specified that one be over 21 and under 35. During the most recent exam, about two years ago, the upper age limit was extended to 39.

The educational requirement was the same for the women as it was for the men. However, this too was changed during the last exam; women were expected to have two years of college or the equivalent in experience.

¹Chloe Owings, Women Police: A Study of the Development and Status of the Women Police Movement (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1925), pp. 284, 285.

²Maude E. Miner, "The Policewoman and the Girl Problem", National Conference of Social Work: 1919, p. 134.

Training. Policewomen receive exactly the same recruit training as patrolmen. This included defensive tactics training. Policewomen are occasionally, at the discretion of the instructor, excused from a class dealing with a topic such as accident investigation, with which they are rarely involved. Policewomen do not, on the other hand, receive any specialized courses designed for them alone.

The policewomen also receive about the same amount of in-service training as the men. This city's policewomen have also had the opportunity to attend several seminars or short-courses. The Sergeant interviewed said she had attended a course on alcoholism at Rutgers University, and she noted that most of the women working with juveniles had had the opportunity to attend the summer course at St. Lawrence University. She did admit that sometimes a little "pushing" was needed in order to obtain these opportunities for the women.

Organization and Distribution. Until about three years ago the policewomen in this Department were organized in a separate Women's Bureau. However, at that time, a reorganization occurred and the policewomen were assigned to the Persons Unit of the Detective Division's Central Investigation Service. This Unit, which appears to be closely connected with the Juvenile Division, has a complement of a woman Lieutenant, a woman Sergeant and three policewomen. These women deal with juveniles and missing women. They also assist other detective units when called upon. The other three policewomen in the department are assigned to the Morals Squad, the Vice Squad and the Community Relations Unit, respectively.

A further reorganization is currently under way, in which the Lieutenant is to be in charge of all Missing Persons cases. The

Sergeant described herself as a line sergeant in charge of the policewomen in the Persons Unit. Thus, there will occur some shift of duties in accordance with this reorganization.

Promotional Opportunity. Promotional opportunity exists in this department, but it is obviously limited at the present time. The only promotions presently provided for exist among the women only, that is women are not placed in command over men.

It was noted that none of the policewomen have achieved the status of detective--even those who work in special detective bureau assignments.

Functions and Duties. As seen by the organizational structure previously described, this Department utilized policewomen in a variety of functional positions.

The duties of the policewomen vary according to their assignments. Those in the Persons Unit mainly investigate cases involving children. According to the new organizational set up the Lieutenant will be in charge of all cases involving missing persons. The women in the Persons Unit may be called upon to aid the various detective units and the Sergeant interviewed stated that the detectives did utilize their services. But there was no real indication of the frequency or extent to which this actually occurred.

The exact duties of the policewomen in the other detective units was not described, but it was indicated that the woman in the Morals Squad was primarily responsible for a unique records system, and it was noted that the woman in Community Relations did a great deal of public speaking.

All the policewomen engage in public speaking and they may be

called on for emergency matron duty at times when none of the matrons are available.

Very little patrol duty is done by the policewomen. Those in the Persons Unit do some store patrol to detect shoplifters. There is no scheduled patrol of juvenile hangouts or recreation areas though this was a regular part of their job a few years ago. Curtailment of this activity was primarily attributed to the current decrease in numbers.

Miscellaneous. Policewomen here work in plainclothes, except for special occasions when they don uniforms. The uniform is supplied by the Department; gloves, tie and shoes must be purchased by the individual officer. The women are equipped with a gun and handcuffs which are also provided by the department.

The investigations per policewoman in the Persons Unit was described as about five cases per day. It was also noted that because of lack of numbers, policewomen are not regularly scheduled for night shifts.

Comments and Reaction. Several points of interest emerged from this interview. The most significant to the interviewer was the acknowledgement that though there is an authorization for twelve policewomen, there are now only eight employed. There are no plans to hold civil service tests for policewomen in the near future, but the startling aspect was that they had "replaced" with men four policewomen who had left the Department. One's immediate reaction has to be the observation that for some reason the top administrators in the Department are not particularly impressed with the necessity or usefulness of policewomen.

It was freely admitted that the Younger officers seem to accept policewomen more objectively than do some of the older officers and administrators. Part of this resentment seems to center around the feel-

ing that if men were able to handle cases by themselves in the past, why are policewomen necessary? It was also indicated that administrators may feel concerned because of personnel problems that have occurred. However, it is felt that these problems have been exaggerated due to the small number and high visibility of women. No elaboration of specific problems was discussed.

None of the policewomen have attained the status of detective, even those working in specialized units. It was indicated that they would like blanket status as detectives since they work in plainclothes. There exists somewhat of an underlying conflict here, which can be a source of resentment for both policewomen and detectives.

Finally, the fact that much organizational change has occurred over recent years and may occur in the future should be noted. The interviewee indicated that changes favorable to the existence of the policewomen may occur since a new Police Commissioner has recently taken office.

The interviewer spoke to only the one officer in this Department, but was impressed by the informality and candidness of the interview.

II. PROFILE OF CITY "B"

The first matron was appointed here in 1886, and as of 1925 the city had four matrons. However, in contrast with City A, City B did not formally appoint its first policewoman until 1923. This appointment was made under civil service, and as of 1925 the Woman's Division consisted of four policewomen who received the same pay as patrolmen. A fifth woman who was appointed Director of the Bureau received the rank and pay of Captain.³

³ Owings, Ibid., pp. 283, 142-3.

Numbers. This Department presently employs a total of forty-six sworn female personnel. This includes a complement of five officers-- a Captain, a Lieutenant and three Sergeants--and thirty-five policewomen in the Women's Bureau, and six policewomen in addition to the five officers, but has never been actually up to full strength. Thus vacancies do exist, but the interviewee stated that there were no immediate plans for increasing the number authorized in the budget. There were hopes that provisions would be made for at least two more in the not too distant future. Even this though, would not bring them up to full strength.

Six matrons are employed by the department.

Entrance Requirements. High School or High School Equivalency diploma is the only educational requirement. In discussing this, the Lieutenant with whom the interview was conducted noted that college people do not seem to like the job. She gave possible reasons for this as the routineness of the job, the increasing lack of respect for law enforcement officers displayed by the public, and the lack of promotional opportunities.

Age qualifications are twenty-one to thirty-one. The upper limit was just extended last year; previously, it was twenty-nine. Residency is required after appointment.

Training. Policewomen here also, receive the same recruit training as the men, with somewhat less intensive self-defense. In-service training occurs on an as-needed basis, and was about the same for the women as for the men. As for other types of opportunities, the interviewer noted that the policewomen do go to some seminars and mentioned Michigan State University and Kent State as examples.

Organization and Distribution. Policewomen in this city are

assigned mainly to the Women's Bureau. In addition to this, there is one assigned to the Chief's Office, three are assigned to the Sex Crime Unit (newly established this year), and two are assigned to the Pandering Unit. The latter two units are in the Detective Bureau. Distribution in this city then is a combination of true centralization (in a Women's Bureau), and decentralization.

Promotional Opportunity. There are provisions for five women ranking officers--a Captain, a Lieutenant, and three Sergeants. Thus, promotional opportunity does exist within the Women's Bureau. The ranks are civil service.

There are also limited opportunities to obtain detective status. No one in the policewomen's centralized bureau can presently hold detective status, but those assigned to the two detective units automatically hold detective status for as long as they have that assignment.

Functions and Duties. This Department utilizes policewomen in a variety of functional positions. Unfortunately, the Lieutenant interviewed did not go into a great deal of detail as to the actual duties of the women who have assignments other than the Women's Bureau.

The women assigned to the Women's Bureau handle complaints against female juveniles, that is girls to the age of eighteen, and missing girls to the age of twenty-one. They also handle cases of neglected or abused children and school situations. They deal with boys to the age of nine, if abuse is involved--beyond this age the complaint is handled by a Juvenile Officer. The only exception is that the policewomen may interview all involved on a morals complaint. And, if the individuals involved in the latter are over eighteen, the case is taken by the Sex Crime Unit. There are no policewomen assigned to the Missing Persons

Bureau in this city.

Policewomen are always assigned in teams. This was justified because it was felt that two can handle emergency situations much more expediently than they are handled when an individual officer has to call for help, or arrange a rendezvous to obtain aid. Also, two witnesses are better than one when a case goes to court.

About four to six months ago, a new policy was started whereby policewomen patrol juvenile trouble spots. On the day shift patrol, the women wear uniforms; on afternoon shift, they do not. These special patrols are conducted in unmarked cars, and are suspended at times when the regular caseload becomes heavy. In general, the Lieutenant stated they try to have four teams or women, one of which takes the special patrol, on duty during the day shift; three teams on duty during the late afternoon shift; and an emergency team on duty during the midnight shift. She explained this does not always work out perfectly because of illness, days off, vacations and unforeseen events.

It was stated that policewomen were not asked to perform matron duty, but that one policewoman was assigned to jail to take the public intoxication cases to court. This assignment is made on a monthly basis.

In the Sex Crimes Unit, policewomen team up with male personnel in investigation of morals charges involving persons over eighteen years of age. The Pandering Unit deals with commercialized sex crimes such as prostitution. No details were given about the duties of the policewoman assigned to the Chief's Office.

Miscellaneous. Policewomen here generally work in plainclothes. Uniforms and equipment are furnished by the Department, a recurring clothing allowance is also given. The Women's Division is provided with five

cars--the better of the older unmarked detective cars, when the detectives get new ones.

Because of the fluctuating volume of complaints which come in to the Bureau, the Lieutenant refused to offer any estimate as to average number of cases handled per policewoman.

This Department does provide a pregnancy leave, which extends from the fourth month of pregnancy until the baby is six months old. Married policewomen have only been allowed on the Department since 1945.

Comments and Reaction. The Women's Bureau in this city is not housed at Headquarters, it is housed in a recently built District Headquarters building, along with the Juvenile Bureau. The interview itself was conducted in the "front office" portion of the Women's Bureau section of the building. After the interview, the interviewer was conducted for a very brief glance at the area where the policewomen do most of their work--a large cinderblock room with many desks and file cabinets. No attempt was made to introduce the interviewer to any of the women working there. Interviewer was encouraged to file for next exam.

The interviewer's query as to the possibility of seeing the Main Headquarters was quickly dismissed and discouraged. The fact that a policewoman could not be spared to conduct such a tour is understandable, but discouraging the idea completely puzzled the interviewer. The possible reasons behind this reaction were generally ascertained later when the interviewer appeared unannounced at Headquarters. It seems that most visitors, even police visitors, are given a planned guided tour by the Public Relations Unit. Furthermore, the Headquarters facilities seen on the short, "unauthorized" tour received, are not as up-to-date as the District Headquarters had been.

Prevention and youth work is stressed in the Women's Bureau of this Department. It was stated that the policewomen assist detective units upon request. However, substantiation of this claim was not apparent in the interview. In fact, the interviewer left with the impression that the main use of women is in raid situations--for the protection of the men from false charges.

III. PROFILE OF CITY "C"

This city did not appoint police matrons until 1894, but as of 1925, they had fourteen matrons in their employ. Their first policewoman appointment was made in 1914, and five policewomen were employed as of 1925.⁴ No other historical information is available.

Numbers. Both matrons and policewomen are employed at this time by City C, and the immediate commanding officer of both is the Captain with whom the interviewer spoke.

She indicated that there are fourteen policewomen directly under her command, and fifteen matrons. She noted that there was one policewoman in a unit not directly under her command. Thus, the total number of policewomen employed, including the Captain, is sixteen.

The policewomen here are civil service, but their pay scale is lower than that of male personnel. Furthermore, they do not receive the same pension plan as the men; they retire under a municipal pension plan which is substantially lower than the police pension plan under which the men retire.

⁴Op. Cit., pp. 284-5.

Entrance Requirements. The age limits in this city are twenty-one and thirty-five. A high school education is required. The Captain further elaborated that a background of experience in nursing or social work was preferred.

A minimum of two years residence within the city is required before a person is eligible to even file for the exam.

Training. Recruit training for the policewomen is the same as for men except that they receive no self-defense or firearms training. Firearms training is not needed because the women do not carry guns; however, the lack of self-defense training is not so easily justified. No particular reason was given for eliminating this subject for the women, but several of the women themselves admitted they felt such training should be given.

In-service training is about the same for both the men and the women--especially roll call training.

A clear answer was not received on the availability of other types of training for the policewomen. The Captain indicated that she had been sent to some seminars and conferences, but did not specify which ones. No indication was given as to whether this opportunity was ever given to the other policewomen.

Organization and Distribution. The policewomen are centrally organized and comprise the Missing Persons Bureau, a unit within the Detective Division. One policewoman is assigned to the Youth Bureau.

There are no assignments of relatively permanent type to any other bureaus or units within the Department at this time, and there are no plans along such lines for the future.

Promotional Opportunity. There is extremely limited promotional opportunity within this Department. At present, there is only one

ranking officer; it was not ascertained at this time whether this is a civil service position. Due to the generally lower status on which the women seem to be placed in this department, it would not be surprising to find that this is an appointment without civil service status.

Despite the fact that the Missing Persons Unit is a Bureau of the Detective Division, none of the policewomen have attained the status of detective. It seems that this status is not available to them at the present time.

Functions and Duties. These too seem to be quite limited in this Department. As seen by the organizational structure, there is not even an attempt to make them look somewhat functionally useful by making assignments outside the Missing Persons Bureau.

Contradictory statements were received in answer to inquiries as to how extensively the Detective Units make use of the policewomen on short term assignments. The Captain indicated that such use was quite frequent, but on talking with various people within the Detective Units during a tour of their facilities, just the opposite was indicated. One Unit head indicated the policewomen are not even generally used by this Unit when taking statements from females, unless the female would be quite young. The answers received may be accounted for to some extent by the fact of differing viewpoints. However, the suspicion that the other units do not make extensive use of policewomen seems confirmed when one recognizes that there is only one woman assigned to the Juvenile Bureau, though the total personnel there amounts to seventeen officers.

The policewomen work in uniforms on all occasions except on special assignments to the Detective Bureaus. Even the woman in the Juvenile Bureau works in uniform, though all other members of the unit,

whether of detective, patrolman or other rank, wear plainclothes. Up to about a year ago, the women always wore street clothes and, in fact, did not have uniforms even for special occasions. However, since about the beginning of this past year the new policy went into effect.

One of the policewomen indicated that since this policy has gone into effect their duties are much more limited. Present duties mainly include the tracing of missing persons, which is accomplished almost entirely through desk work. Generally speaking, there is no patrol, or any other type of work done through this office. Also, the policewomen are sometimes used to replace office personnel in other Detective units. It was suggested that the work was much more diversified, and enforcement oriented previous to the current practice. The new policy seems to be one of the changes brought about in a current reorganization resulting from IACP studies.

The amount of police work being done by the woman assigned to the Juvenile Bureau would appear to be small due to the fact she works in uniform. In a Unit where plainclothes and unmarked cars usually are the practice, it is questionable how often they utilize her. Further, if policewomen were considered valuable in juvenile investigations, it would seem that more policewomen would be assigned there.

Miscellaneous. Policewomen here wear uniforms but do not carry guns or handcuffs. The uniform is initially paid for by the women, then a yearly clothing allowance is given.

No approximations were hazarded as to the number of cases carried by each policewoman. It was merely stated that cases were assigned as they came in.

The women have no car assigned for their use. However, as of recent months they have been given the privilege of using public transportation free.

The physical facilities in which they are housed, the Headquarters Building, provided a very pleasant atmosphere. The general appraisal of the Department, after the tour received, would have to be one of approval. The Department has modern, up-to-date communications, IBM and identification systems.

Comments and Reaction. Most of the information gained in this city was not given by the Captain of the Women's Bureau, with whom the interview was originally scheduled, but was obtained through talking with several of the policewomen and others in the Department during a tour conducted by one of the policewomen. The public relations value of the tour cannot be denied, but unfortunately, it failed to conceal the rather obvious deficiencies regarding the employment and use of policewomen.

There is a definite lack of promotional opportunity, and it appears they are limited in type of duty performed. The fact of their working in uniform almost all of the time seems to confirm this impression. The Juvenile Unit is a prime example of the point that is being made. In that unit, personnel include both detectives and patrolmen, but all of them operate in plain clothes. The policewoman is the only uniformed person in the Unit. In view of her visibility, her use on investigations appears to be extremely limited and one wonders if she is not utilized more in a secretarial capacity.

The fact that many of these practices have come in the wake of an IACP suggested reorganization was quite puzzling. Several questions

arose in the interviewer's mind: Were the particular practices cited IACP suggested or backed? Did these practices arise from previous personnel problems? If the practices were backed by or suggested by IACP, what was the reasoning behind them. If the interviewer's impressions were not too far removed from reality, one questions why they were not replaced with secretaries or civilian personnel. Of course, the limitations of the present information must always be kept in mind before jumping to such conclusions. However, this city was particularly interesting in the overall picture it presented and most directly invited further research because of the many questions left unanswered.

Another seeming contradiction that should be noted was the Captain's stress on preference of a background of nursing or social work, in spite of the fact that only one of the policewomen works with juveniles.

IV. PROFILE OF CITY "D"

This city appointed its first police matrons in 1890, and its first women police in 1916. By 1925 there reportedly were five police matrons and five policewomen. No information on their civil service status at that time is available.

Numbers. This Department now employs a total of sixteen policewomen, including one holding the status of Detective sergeant. Six matrons are employed.

The policewomen are civil service employees and receive the same pay and benefits as the men of the Department. There are no plans at this time to increase the number of policewomen. However, the last civil service list expired recently, and another civil service exam

may be held next year. This list would provide a roster of names in case any vacancies occur.

Entrance Requirements. Minimum qualifications for the last eligible list included age requirements of twenty-five to thirty-nine.

A high school education is required, but a high school equivalency diploma is acceptable. This is the same as for patrolmen.

Training. Women here receive exactly the same recruit training as the men. This includes training in firearms and self-defense.

In-service training too, is the same. They report that they even receive the same riot-control training as male personnel.

Policewomen have been sent to various seminars and conferences, though probably not as frequently as the men. St. Lawrence University was cited as one of the extra training sessions attended, and it was noted that several of the women have attended various sessions held at local colleges and institutions.

Organization and Distribution. Policewomen here have a functionally centralized-decentralized organizational pattern. That is, the majority of women serve under the direct supervision of a woman Detective Sergeant. Six others are assigned to various units throughout the department.

The main contingent of policewomen, nine, are assigned to the Crime Prevention Bureau, which is headed by a Captain. However, these women have a separate office and are under the direct supervision of a woman Detective Sergeant. This Sergeant also supervises the matrons.

The other six policewomen are each detailed to a different unit-- Narcotics, Sex, Special Frauds, Court Detail, Commissioner's Office and Inspector's Office.

Promotional Opportunity. Very limited promotional opportunity

exists in this Department. The one supervisory position that exists in this Department. The one supervisory position that exists, that of Detective Sergeant, includes a pay increase, but is not a civil service position. This position has only existed since the early 1960's.

None of the other policewomen has been accorded detective status, even though some of them are serving in detective units.

Functions and Duties. The women here appear to be used mostly for juvenile cases and to take statements from women who are victims of sex offenses. It was also stated that they are used as decoys for purse snatchers, make narcotics "buys" and sometimes place bets in order to assist detectives in getting evidence. How extensively or how often they were called upon to make such assists was not ascertainable.

In dealing with juveniles, stress is placed on prevention and enforcement; no case work is done. The policewomen do act as liason in initial contacts between the individual and a social agency where possible.

At present, there is little or no regularly scheduled patrol activity, that is, patrol of stores or juvenile trouble spots. They do patrol the high school sporting events. This special patrol is done both in uniform and in street clothes.

A major portion of the policewoman's work is serving warrants on females. Also, they often have to serve tours of matron duty, when matrons become ill or are on vacation.

The policewomen in special units presumably have more opportunity to work with detectives on investigations; however, there is evidence that they are often used more in a secretarial role, or to assist in raids.

This would probably be especially true of those policewomen assigned to the Commissioner's Office and the Inspector's Office. The woman assigned to the Sex Unit indicated that her main function is keeping the records and files relating to sex crimes.

Work schedules for the policewomen in this city are set up on a round-the-clock, seven day week basis.

In addition to the above duties, the policewomen engage in public speaking and conduct tours of the Headquarters building when such are requested.

Miscellaneous. The policewomen here wear uniforms, but only on special occasions or particular assignments. The women must pay for their own uniforms and equipment.

The policewomen have the use of one car.

No information was readily available as to the amount of cases carried per woman.

The physical facilities set aside for the use of policewomen was quite limited. They are confined to several small rooms which contain a couple of desks. This is not necessarily a sign of discrimination against them as the physical facilities of the Department as a whole are quite limited and cramped. However, its effect on morale must be considered.

Comments and Reaction. The interview was conducted with the Detective Sergeant; also present was the woman assigned to the Sex Unit. Most of the information contained here is the result of this interview; a small part is the result of previous contacts with various other people within the Department.

While the women here are functionally organized for quite a

diversity of work, it is doubted that they are actually allowed to take advantage of it. It has been indicated on several occasions that they are not allowed to handle the full investigatory process as are the men, but are rather confined to jobs of assistance--in office work and in arrests or raids. If this is true, it may well be a major reason why there are no women who have achieved detective status.

A further problem which seems to exist, but which came to light only because of longer term contact, is the fact that certain personnel problems seem more prevalent among the women. That is, they apparently do not get along as well with one another, and are more prone to exhibit these feelings rather freely. While this was not really pinpointed here or in any of the other studies, it would be a point worthy of further study.

Finally, it should be again noted, that many of the facts cited above have only been in existence for about five years or so. Before that time, the policewomen in this city did not have uniforms, and had no promotional opportunity whatsoever. Furthermore, the number of policewomen hired by this city had remained static from 1925 until that time.

V. SUMMARY

The cities studied showed much more variation than expected. The lack of standardization referred to so often in the literature still exists. The four cities indicate that even in areas where it might be assumed there is some accord, such as use of policewomen in juvenile cases, there is disparity in practice.

The greatest shock was in finding a city where the women receive less pay than patrolmen. The impact of this is further intensified in light of the realization that this condition continues to exist after an IACP suggested reorganization.

A greater or lesser degree of functional decentralization found in the cities seems to confirm the hypothesis of more extensive use, but such organizational structure in many cases fails to bear full fruit in reality. Further study of this point is necessary.

CHAPTER VI.

ANALYSIS OF DATA, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. ANALYSIS OF DATA

We see in the Review of the Literature a definite change taking place over the years. There is a gradual and emphatic, though not complete, change in philosophy. Where at first, preventive-protective work was suggested almost to the exclusion of all else, later literature shows the policewoman being considered primarily in her law enforcement function, though youth work is still emphasized. Policewomen are not utilized effectively in investigations of all types of crime, and the literature lauds rather than condemns the practice. Standardization has still not yet been achieved, but again, the literature rather than stressing one phase of work for policewomen encourages experimentation which would broaden her use even more. The policewoman today is presented as a more integrated part of the police department, while in early literature, the complete emphasis of her aims seemed to somewhat separate her from her brother officers at times.

Historical Concept, Modern Concept and Model Construct. Hereafter is a brief analysis of the concepts of policewomen as reflected in the literature and the model construct. (See figure 5 for highlights of the two concepts.)

In early literature the policewoman was seen mainly as a protective-preventive agent with police powers, but the social service side of her work was emphasized to such a degree that using her for extensive law

HISTORICAL CONCEPT

**SOCIAL WORKER WITH POLICE
POWER**

Discourage use of uniforms, guns,
and handcuffs.

Arrest only if necessary.

Protective preventive function
stressed; almost exclusive em-
phasis on work with women and
children.

Use of policewomen for general
investigative work not general-
ly accepted.

Very limited.

Very few detective positions
open to women.

Advocate separate Women's Bur-
eau; generally do not favor
diversification of women into
detective bureau.

Encourage social work training
before and after acceptance in-
to police service.

No recruit training.

Minimums recommended:

Age: 25

Education: High School

MODERN CONCEPT

**LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER
RECOGNIZING SOCIAL WORK
VIEWPOINTS**

Uniform accepted—used for spe-
cial occasion; general acceptance
of guns, handcuffs, as standard
equipment.

Arrest an accepted duty.

Law enforcement function stres-
sed; general emphasis on work
with women and children.

Policewomen are utilized for
general investigations of all
types, even major crimes.

Limited, but expanding.

Detective positions available in
some large cities.

More readily accept some decen-
tralization in the use of po-
licewomen.

Encourage social work training
before entrance.

Receive same recruit and in-ser-
vice training as men.

Minimums recommended:

Age: 21

Education: Encourage at
least two years of College.

GENERAL

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

PROMOTIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

ORGANIZATION

TRAINING

ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

5. COMPARISON OF HIGHLIGHTS

enforcement work was looked upon unfavorably. Current literature shows that policewomen are used in all types of investigations. Again, this is seen in early de-emphasis of arrest, and the fact that it was generally advocated that women should not carry guns or handcuffs.

In this then, the modern concept is most closely in agreement with the Model of the policewoman as a law enforcement officer.

That the policewoman adds versatility to the force is noted in both concepts. The versatility is more emphatic in the historical concept because of the newness of policewomen, but it is more extensive in the modern concept.

The historical concept and early literature stress the policeman's use in a Woman's Division. Her use in various detective bureaus is generally discouraged because of the emphasis on the protective-preventive function. The modern concept is more flexible. While not strenuously advocating the use of policewomen in all functional divisions as necessary, it encourages and praises such efforts where successful, and suggest them where they are not in practice.

The training of women as generalists is much more apparent in modern concept than in the historical concept. Early literature stresses a background in social work. Later literature advocates more strongly the training of the policewoman in all phases of police work.

Incorporation of policewomen into a department on a centralized decentralized basis is much more characteristic of the modern concept than the historical concept. In early literature, recommendation of women being placed in a Woman's Division received the strongest support. The modern concept still emphasizes this form of organization, but is more accepting of some decentralization.

Promotion of policewomen on the basis of ability and merit is encouraged in both the historical concept and the modern concept, but is more prevalent in the latter. Early promotional opportunities were extremely limited, with one of the few available positions of rank being that of head of the Women's Division. In the later literature it is apparent that more positions of rank have opened up, even though some problems still exist in this area.

Entrance requirements are not discussed extensively in the early literature, but the general recommendations for lower age limit is twenty-five. Educationally, High School or its equivalent experience is recommended and two years of college is encouraged.

Later literature encourages four years of college, but still suggests a minimum of High School. The lower age limit is suggested in later literature as about twenty-one.

The training received during the historical era is spotty and not necessarily the same as the men. When training was received, it was often more related to social service than the male officer's training. In the modern era, it is generally accepted that the policewomen receive the same or almost the same training as the men.

The numbers of policewomen have been steadily increasing over the years, but even in the modern era do not show the increase in numbers one would expect in relation to their important contribution.

Thus, it can be seen that though the modern concept relates closely to the Model, and parallels it in some instances, it does not, in an over all analysis meet the standards of the Model fully. So that, even philosophically, full acceptance of the Model does not at present exist.

Highlights of the Profiles in Comparison with the Model. Below,

are some of the facts discovered in doing the case studies of what practices existed in reality. (See Figure 6).

Numbers:

In two cities, (A,B), policewomen were not up to full strength in numbers. In one of these cities, (A), policewomen were being replaced by the men.

None of the cities in the study were currently planning any increase in the number of policewomen hired.

Requirements:

Three of the four cities included in the study had educational requirements of High School or High School Equivalency. Only City A required two years of college or the equivalent of experience.

All the cities required a minimum age of twenty-one, with the exception of City D which required a minimum age of twenty-five. The upper age limit varied from city to city.

Training:

Recruit training was basically the same for men and for women in all four cities. City C did prove to be the exception because in that city women did not receive any training in firearms or self-defense.

Organization:

In all the cities there were centralized sections of policewomen, though the organization structure was under the title of Women's Bureau only in City B. In two cities (A,D), the women were under indirect command of the Juvenile Bureau, in the third (C) they comprised the Missing Persons Bureau.

In two cities (A,C), policewomen had exclusive charge of Missing Persons, in the other cities (B, D), there were no policewomen detailed to Missing Persons.

In three of the cities (A,B,D) where policewomen have assignments outside the centralized section, one such common assignment was to a Sex Unit.

None of the cities showed operational decentralization. (i.e. having policewomen detailed to precincts).

Promotional Opportunity:

In only one city (B) were women allowed detective status, and then it occurred automatically with a particular assignment and terminated when the assignment was terminated.

In two of the four cities (C,D), there was only one supervisory

	NUMBERS		ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS	TRAINING	ORGANIZATION	PROMOTIONAL OPPORTUNITY	FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES	MISCELLANEOUS
	DATES: 1st APPT.	1925 / 1967						
CITY A	1913	1	8	AGE: 21-39 EDUCATION: 2 years of College or Equivalent	SAME AS MEN* *Less self defense	Missing Persons -1 Persons Unit -4 Morals Squad -1 Vice Squad -1 Community Relations 1	SOME: 1 Lieutenant 1 Sergeant No Detectives	Youth Work Sex Crimes Police Community Relations Some Patrol- (Stores) Gun Handcuffs Car?
CITY B	1923	5	46	AGE: 21-31 EDUCATION: High School or Equivalent	SAME AS MEN	Women's Bureau -40 Sex Crime Unit -3 Pandering Unit -2 Chief's Office -1	GOOD: 1 Captain 1 Lieutenant 3 Sergeants 5 Detectives	Youth Work Sex Crimes Some Patrol- (Juvenile Spots) Gun Handcuffs 5 Cars
CITY C	1914	5	16	AGE: 21-35 EDUCATION: High School or Equivalent	SAME AS MEN* *except: no firearms or self defense	Missing Persons -15 Youth Bureau -1	LIMITED: 1 Captain No Detectives	Uniform except for Special Duty No Gun, Handcuffs, or Car
CITY D	1916	5	16	AGE: 25-39 EDUCATION: High School or Equivalent	SAME AS MEN	Crime Prevention -10 Sex Unit -1 Special Frauds -1 Narcotics -1 Chief's Office -1 Inspector's Office-1 Court Duty -1	LIMITED: 1 Detective Sergeant No Detectives	Uniform for Special Duty Gun Handcuffs 1 Car

6. CURRENT STATUS OF POLICEWOMEN IN FOUR CITIES

position open to policewomen, and in one instance this was known to be a non-civil service position.

None of the cities in this study showed any promotional opportunities except within the ranks of the policewomen.

Function and Duties:

Policewomen were involved in working with juveniles in all of the cities, though only to a very limited degree in City C.

The prevalence of social work philosophy was not apparent in such short interviews. Law enforcement seemed to be stressed in most instances, though City B had a strong preventive sense.

In two cities (A,D), policewomen were frequently called upon to perform matron duty. In Cities B and C they were not.

Patrol activity was not stressed particularly in any of the cities. Patrol of juvenile trouble spots was begun only recently in City B, other cities did not have such regularly scheduled patrol. City A reported doing some patrol work, mainly in the downtown shopping area. City D patrolled only on special occasions such as athletic events.

All the cities had some diversification of organization and duty, but this was extremely limited in City C.

Miscellaneous:

In two of the four cities policewomen had one or more cars at their disposal--City B, D. In one city (C), they had no cars but could use public transportation free when necessary. The situation in City A was undetermined.

Policewomen in all the cities of the study had uniforms. These were generally used for special occasions or special detail, except in City C where they were worn constantly.

Policewomen in all cities except C carry firearms, handcuffs, and receive some self defense training.

From the above it can be readily seen that a variety of practices exist in reality and that current practice, at least in these cities falls far short of the Model. To briefly summarize: The current practice is in agreement with the Model in considering the policewoman a law enforcement officer, but still does not use her as extensively as the Model suggests she could be used. There is an attempt in several departments to make

the policewoman more functionally useful, and her assignments are not limited to the Women's Division. However, this was not found as extensively as expected, and further it was impossible to ascertain how much clerical as opposed to investigative functioning was expected of the women. If not properly conceived or administered, such a decentralized program may become a sort of secretarial pool.

Though policewomen were found in various functional sections of the department studied, it should be noted none were found in administrative positions, except the heads of the Women's Sections. Only one city was found to be using policewomen for a regularly scheduled patrol, though the Model suggests further experimentation along these lines, and the literature throughout both the historical and modern era have stressed this function.

In agreement with the Model, it was found that most of the policewomen receive the same basic recruit training as the men, which would give them the suggested generalist background. However, it seems that in performing their duties they are confined primarily to juvenile and certain sex crime investigations and are seldom used by the various detective bureaus in the departments. Again, this is an impression gained only on the basis of a short interview, and would have to be studied more before it could be verified more completely.

This study shows extreme limitations in promotional opportunity. Only one of the four cities had detective positions open to women at this time, and this was based more on assignment than on individual merit.

Entrance requirements are low, and as relate to age, are quite varied. However, they are in general agreement with those suggested in the Model.

II. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study has some obvious limitations. Generalizations must be carefully defined because of the extremely small sample utilized. Furthermore, the method employed has several limitations that must be taken into consideration. Case studies are more subjective than other methods and this is especially significant when one realizes the data gathered was gathered on the basis of only one interview. Each interview was individual. Though the interviewer attempted to keep basic factors the same, each interview in the end was conducted somewhat differently as pointed out in the Profiles.

Each interview yielded its own data, most of which was comparable, but some of which was different insofar as detail was concerned. The inexperience of the interviewer must also be noted. This in addition to the shortness of time resulted in successive interviews including more questions, and also in individual interviews terminating without the answers to one or two questions.

Another weakness of the study is its lack of depth concerning the individual departments operations. This is again due to two factors. The inexperience of the interviewer failed to probe in depth on the basis of the one interview. Perhaps more important, on the basis of the cover story alone, there was little chance for depth probing into administrative practices.

Several weaknesses in line of questioning were also noted by interviewer as the study was conducted. The fact of women being replaced by men in one department brought up the question of how the women are attached to the individual department. Are their places established by charter, or are they merely included organizationally? It would be true

in most instances that their inclusion has some legal basis. A future study might include a question regarding this. Also, the carrying of handcuffs and weapons, taken for granted in the original survey instrument, should be questioned. Further inquiry pinpointing the exact scope of the women's work more accurately would also be advised in any further study.

However, in spite of the limitations mentioned, there were several advantages in the method used. Personal interview allowed clearer interpretation of the questions and prevented misinterpretation or confusion that might have resulted if a questionnaire were used alone. The personal contact allowed better understanding of the overall situation in which the policewomen were employed, including physical set up of offices and brought to the interviewer's attention several factors which would not have otherwise been noted. In several cases it enabled the interviewer to get more than one person's viewpoint and thus allowed greater insight into the existing situation.

Summary. The present study yielded an interesting array of facts even though it was a limited study. Through the literature and through several actual case studies it has been shown that the policewoman's role or the general concept of that role has expanded and has taken on more law enforcement emphasis. However, our endeavors have also uncovered or perhaps more clearly established the fact that this may be more true in theory than in actuality. As noted in the comparison between the case studies and the Model, agreement between theory and reality, where it does exist, may only be on a superficial level.

It is believed that the greatest contribution of this paper is that it brings to attention the lack of in depth research on this subject.

There is a need to make surveys to bring statistical data on the employment of policewomen up to date, but there is an even greater need to do some in depth studies which will endeavor to answer more fully the questions that arise due to the lack of standardization which exist even today. The present study just scratched the surface and brought to light some factors which need to be studied and investigated more thoroughly so that the employment of policewomen can achieve more effective results.

The Need for Further Research. Some of the questions that come to mind include: Should policewomen's duties be more rigidly defined, or should it be expanded? Are personnel problems of policewomen worse or are they blown out of proportion because of the smaller numbers and greater visibility of the women? Should the women be placed together in one unit or should they be more completely decentralized than they now are? Would such greater decentralization increase or decrease personnel problems? Why, if policewomen are as necessary as proposed, are they being eliminated in some places? Is the problem due to poor administration alone, or poor administration and other problems? Why has there not evolved more standardization in the employment of policewomen after all these years? What part of the problems arising from the employment of policewomen is due in reality to general police problems, and what part is due primarily to the fact of employing women in a primarily masculine field?

These and many other questions need study and understanding if policewomen are to fulfill the great potential that their movement has shown exists. It is hoped then, that the present effort will encourage others to take up the challenge of such further inquiry.

Conclusions. The hypothesis has been partially validated. A definite change in the concept of the policewoman's role has been traced

in the literature and is apparent in some of the administrative practices found in reality. However, the changes are not as complete as the Model suggests, that is, certain specific aspects are more generally accepted than others--both in theory and in practice. While this study is not conclusive, it does indicate and sometimes confirms certain trends set forth in the Model.

APPENDIX I

A SURVEY TO DETERMINE CURRENT PRACTICES AND TRENDS IN THE
USE OF POLICEWOMEN

Directions: Please read carefully and answer all questions.

Either check (x) the appropriate response or fill in your answer, as necessary.

(Note-- your comments, criticisms and reactions to the questionnaire are invited. They may be placed on the back of this survey or on a separate sheet of paper.)

Matron - refers to female employee who guards and tends to the needs of female prisoners.

Policewomen - sworn female employees of the department who have the same law enforcement duties and responsibilities as policemen; not included in this definition--women who function exclusively as "meter maids" or crossing guards.

I. Number of Policewomen (and Matrons) Employed.

1. Does your department employ police matrons? ☐ Yes ☐ No
a. If yes--How many are provided for in the current budget? _____.

2. Does your department employ policewomen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes--
a. How many are provided for in the current budget? _____.

If no--

- a. Please indicate what seem to be the significant factors in this continuing non-employment of policewomen: _____

_____.

The total sworn personnel in the department, including policewomen amounts to _____.

3. Are there presently any vacancies in your quota of policewomen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
a. If yes--How many? _____

4. Are there presently under consideration any plans to change the number of policewomen provided for in your budget? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes--

- a. Tentative plans are to seek an (☐ increase, ☐ decrease) in the present total by _____ (number of personnel).
- b. What seem to be the main factors causing consideration of this change? _____

 _____.

5. Are policewomen required to act as matrons?

☐ Yes, this is the general practice.
☐ Yes, but only occasionally, in an emergency.
☐ No, never.

II. Entrance and Educational Requirements.

1. What is the minimum recruiting age--a) for men? _____
 b) for women? _____
2. What is the minimum educational requirement for entrance into your department--
 a) for men _____
 b) for women _____
3. Does your department (☐ recommend or ☐ require) any specific pre-employment courses for women who wish to enter? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes--

What are these recommendations (or requirements)? _____

 _____.

4. Is the position of policewoman a civil-service position? ☐ Yes ☐ No.

5. Please indicate the number of policewomen in your department at each of the following educational levels:

☐ Doctorate	☐ 2 years of college (without degree)
☐ Master's Degree	☐ High School
☐ Bachelor's Degree	☐ High School Equivalency
☐ Associate Degree	☐ Less than the above.

III. Training: Recruit and In-Service

1. Under present recruit training in your department do the men and women receive exactly the same training? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not--

a. Do you have a completely separate training program for women?

___ Yes ___ No

b. Women receive less intensive training in the following subjects:

_____.

c. Women receive more intensive training in the following subjects:

_____.

d. Women receive no training in the following subjects: _____

_____.

e. Only the women receive training in the following subjects:

_____.

2. How long has this system of recruit training for policewomen been in effect? _____

3. What type of recruit training did policewomen receive previous to this?

_____.

4. Do you anticipate any changes in your recruit training for police-women in the near future? ___ Yes ___ No

If yes--explain briefly: _____

_____.

5. Check the statement that would best describe present in-service training opportunities for policewomen in your department:

___ a. The women receive the same amount of in-service training as men.

___ b. The women receive more extensive in-service training.

___ c. The women receive less extensive in-service training.

___ d. Policewomen receive almost no in-service training.

If you checked b) or c), please explain briefly, especially as to areas in which this occurs: _____

6. Are there other opportunities available to women to further their education or training, for example, through short-course institutes, conferences, seminars, etc.?

___ Yes ___ No

If yes--give examples: _____

IV. Organization, Distribution AND Rank

1. Below we have attempted to compile a fairly complete list of units or squads which are common to most large city police departments.
- 1) Please indicate by a check (x) those units or squads to which your policewomen are assigned (the reference here is to relatively permanent assignments not to short term or one case assignments).
- 2) Show the total number of women assigned to each unit. 3) Indicate ranks held by any of the policewomen within each unit.

For example, a completed entry might look like this:

Unit	Total number of Policewomen	Rank (if any)
<u>x</u> Policewoman's Bureau	<u>25</u>	<u>Sgt.(2), Lieut.(1), Capt.(1)</u>

In the above example, of twenty-five women assigned to the police-woman's bureau, 2 are sergeants, 1 is a lieutenant, and 1 is a captain.

Note: Should you feel that due to your individual departmental structure our list seems somewhat misleading in certain designations, or not specific enough in some areas, blanks are provided where you may fill in your own names.

Unit or Squad	Total number of Policewomen	Rank (if any)
<u> </u> Policewoman's Bureau	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Juvenile Unit	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Traffic Bureau	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Records & Communications	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Planning & Research	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Training Division	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Police Lab	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Public Relations	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Recruiting, Personnel	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Arson	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Burglary & Robbery	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Criminal Intelligence	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Auto Theft	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Homicide	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Missing Persons	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Pawnshop	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Shoplifting	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u> </u> Vice Squad	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

6. Prior to federal legislation, did policewomen receive the same starting salary as beginning patrolmen? Yes No

V. Functions and Duties of Policewomen

1. Below you will find a list of crimes (the F.B.I. classification, with some modifications), and one or two other categories of complaints handled by police. Please place before each the letter which best or most closely describes your department's policy as to the frequency of the use of policewomen in such investigations.

A - Always or almost always used (i.e. in about 75%-100% of cases)

F - Frequently used (i.e. about 50%-75% of cases)

O - Often (i.e. 25%-50% of time)

S - Seldom used (i.e. in less than 25% of cases)

N - Never used in this type of case.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <u> </u> Criminal homicide | <u> </u> Embezzlement & fraud |
| <u> </u> Forcible rape | <u> </u> Stolen property (buying, possessing...) |
| <u> </u> Robbery | <u> </u> Weapons (carrying, etc.) |
| <u> </u> Aggravated assault | <u> </u> Prostitution, commercialized vice |
| <u> </u> Burglary | <u> </u> Sex offenses (except those already mentioned) |
| <u> </u> Larceny-theft (misdemeanor) | <u> </u> Offenses against the family & children |
| <u> </u> Auto theft | <u> </u> Narcotic offenses |
| <u> </u> Other assaults | <u> </u> Liquor laws |
| <u> </u> Forgery, counterfeiting | <u> </u> Drunkenness or intoxication |
| <u> </u> Gambling | <u> </u> Disorderly conduct |
| <u> </u> Missing persons | <u> </u> State and local offenses |
| <u> </u> Larceny-theft (felony-except auto) | <u> </u> Vagrancy |
| | <u> </u> Driving while intoxicated |

2. Below are listed several types of service which policewomen might be used for in a police department. Using the same system of letters to indicate approximate frequency of use, try to give an estimate of the frequency with which your department uses policewomen in these various services:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| <u> </u> matron duty | <u> </u> undercover investigations (short term) |
| <u> </u> decoy | <u> </u> undercover investigation (long term) |
| <u> </u> surveillance | <u> </u> filing records |
| <u> </u> interrogation | <u> </u> typing reports (esp. other than her own) |

____ liaison person with other _____ court duty
 agencies

____ serve warrants

other(specify): _____

3. Again using the same system of letters to indicate frequency--

a. Indicate the general policy followed in your department in
 assigning policewomen to investigations:

____ Policewomen are assigned alone.

____ Policewomen are assigned in teams.

____ Policewomen work joint team investigations with male
 personnel.

VI. Miscellaneous

1. What is the average investigation load of policewomen in your
 department? _____

2. How many investigations do your policewomen handle over the space
 of a year? (please give estimates if exact figures are not available)

____ Handled by policewomen only

____ Handled primarily by policewomen

____ Handled primarily by policemen, but assisted
 by policewomen

____ TOTAL

____ This is a rough estimate.

____ This is a statistical compilation from
 our records.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION !

APPENDIX II

46 Sharon Avenue
Hamburg, New York 14075
September 3, 1967

Bureau of Policewomen
Bigtown
U.S.A.

Dear Sir:

I would like to request an appointment to talk with someone regarding the operation of your Policewoman's Bureau and the use of your policewomen. If it would be convenient for you, could this be arranged for - _ _ _ _ _ .

This request is prompted by the possibility of a future career in police work. My present employment is as caseworker with the Erie County Department of Social Services. Since 1964, I have also held the part-time position of Police Matron with the Town of Hamburg Police.

Thank you for your consideration of my request. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am--

Respectfully yours,

(Miss) Patricia Harris

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