# RACE/ETHNICITY AND THE ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD WOMEN IN POLICING 

by

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# ABSTRACT <br> RACE/ETHNICITY AND THE ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD WOMEN IN POLICING 

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The attitudes toward women in policing were compared among college students from the three racial/ethnic groups of African American, Hispanic, and White. Because of the limited literature available, this research explored Hispanic students' attitudes toward women in policing. With the influx of the Hispanic population within the United States, it is important to focus on the attitudes of this race/ethnicity toward women in policing. The findings revealed that the respondents generally supported women in policing, however males were less supportive than females. This analysis
also indicates that African American, Hispanic, and White college students are all generally supportive of women in policing.

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## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This research is interested in how the conceptualization of race affects one's opinion of women in policing. Valian (1999, p. 2-3) writes "that our implicit ideas about men and women as a whole condition our reactions to men and women as individuals". Each of us, since our infancy and childhood, have had ideas about the proper behavior designated for each sex (Valian, 1999). We have been socialized to believe that women and men have separate, distinct gender roles. When these gender roles are violated, this deviant behavior is often ostracized by our society. According to Robinson and Leigh (2000, p. 256), "gender roles consist of specific conglomerates of attitudes and behaviors that a given culture defines as appropriate for a particular sex". Harris and Firestone (1998, p. 239) add that gender role attitudes "typically range along a continuum from traditional to nontraditional. 'Nontraditional' roles are those that do not reinforce or conform to 'expected' differences in roles for men and women", whereas traditional roles do conform to these "expected" difference among men and women. Ransford and Miller (1983, p. 46) state that "the study of sex-role outlooks represents one important way of gauging the overall degree of sexual inequality in a society. Conflict between the sexes is more likely to occur when traditional sex-roles are challenged". According to Garland (1990, p. 202), women are punished within the
"traditional cultural framework of femininity: Cultural understandings of what women are like, and how they ought to behave, operate to define the appropriate response to their misconduct and to structure the punishment of women".

This research became of particular interest for this researcher after reading an article by Tarrant. Tarrant (2004) asks whether one can name any other soldier accused in the Abu Ghraib prison scandal in Iraq other than Lynndie England. She hypothesizes that the overwhelming response of "no" to her question is due to Lynndie England being a female in the military. Following this line of inquiry, it is the intent of the author of this current research to take this theory of gender discrimination one step further and analyze women in policing. Because of Lynndie's sex, she was the scapegoat for the abuse that took place at Abu Ghraib. This research is not attempting to explain why the American public vilified Lynndie England, instead this study is simply using Lynndie as a present illustration of the current discrimination that is faced by women in policing. According to Leger (1997, p. 235), because of her sex, a female police officer "carries the burden of overcoming her predecessor's failures". Further, women entering the military or policing and those currently in the field must now overcome the shortcomings which stem from the prosecution of Lynddie England.

This research will measure the attitudes of African American, Hispanic American, and White college students toward women in policing. Because research regarding Hispanic Americans' attitudes toward women in policing is limited, this research intends to explore Hispanic Americans' attitudes toward women in policing
and then compare and contrast to the gender role attitudes exhibited by Whites and African Americans.

## CHAPTER 2

## LITEATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Race, sex and attitudes toward women

Ransford and Miller (1983) hypothesized that White females would be less feminist in outlook when it came to sex roles than African American females. They contributed this to African American women being a double minority in American society. From the time of slavery to now living in ghettos, African American women have acquired a sense of independence and self-reliance from carrying the brunt of providing for the family. These roles of independence and self-reliance are idealized by the feminist movement (Ransford \& Miller, 1983). Wilcox (1990, p. 113) explains that "the logic of these analyses was that because black women regularly encountered role expectations of strength, independence, and labor force participation, they could be expected to be more supportive of feminism". Wilcox points out that findings have been mixed as to the support of feminism among African Americans. Ladner (1972) describes the same traits of independence, self-reliance, and providing for the family, as qualities strikingly in opposition to the traditional stereotypes of femininity. Hershey (1978) explains that many other studies have concluded that African American women identify more so with masculine qualities simply because African American women tend to dominant the household when compared to White women. Hershey (1978)
further expands on the dissimilar findings of sex-role identity among African American women by offering the idea that African American women may instead hold more androgynous sex-role outlooks. However, Hershey (1978) found African American women to be only slightly more feminine than White women. Despite the theories set forth by Ransford and Miller (1983), they did not find African American women to be more feminist than White women. Wilcox (1990) poses the question: "How can we reconcile the studies that showed more support for feminism among Black women with these research results that show no significant difference?". Wilcox (1990, p. 114) theorized that it may be possible that "Black women are not more likely to support a greater equality for women in gender roles, but are more likely to favor collective and government action to prevent gender discrimination". On the other hand, Ransford and Miller (1983, p. 48) theorized that "a multidimensional view of sex-role traditionalism may help to resolve these contradictory findings. Black women may be more independent and self-reliant than White women on some aspects of sex-role outlooks and just as traditional as White women on others".

Ransford and Miller (1983) hypothesized the Black men would be more sexrole traditional in outlook than White males due to both race and class discrimination. They go on to explain that Black men have not been able to achieve the status of breadwinner, for various reasons, thus causing a ghetto-specific masculinity, whereby sexual exploitation and dominance over females is used to gain dignity and self-respect, thus harvesting more sex-role traditional values than White males. Hershey (1978, p. 594) uses the example of an "unemployed or poorly paid father who may feel the need
to compensate for his failure to be a 'good provider' by demanding deference from his wife." Hershey (1978, p. 584) also offers the idea that "black men may hold fewer sex stereotypes as a result of having more contact with women in nontraditional roles than white men do", however in her study, she found that Black men were more sex-typed masculine, thus holding more traditional stereotypes, than White men. Ransford and Miller (1983) found that White males were significantly less traditional in their sex-role outlooks than Black males, thus supporting their hypothesis.

Relevant to this research, Ransford and Miller (1983, p. 49) did point out, however, that because they studied college students who most likely came from middleclass backgrounds, this could lead to "the difference between black males and white males on feminist outlook to be smaller (decline of the ghetto-specific masculinity)".

Comparing the two ethnic groups of White and African American, research has revealed that among Whites there is a small gender gap on gender-role attitudes (Wilcox, 1992), whereas no gender gap could be found among African Americans (Welch and Sigelman, 1989). Ransford and Miller (1983) observed White males as more supportive of gender equality than Black males. Research conducted in the early 1970's reported "greater support for feminist positions and organizations among Blacks than among their White counterparts", however now this difference is only marginal (Wilcox, 1990, p. 113).

Faith (1993) argues that women are often chastised because of cultural beliefs of what is feminine. When women violate this code of appropriate behavior, they are punished for their deviant act and also for being unwomanly. Herbert (1994, p. 25)
states that "feminism is the strongest predictor of attitudes toward gender integration", however in her study she found that men only exhibited slightly lower levels of feminism than women. Hershey (1978, p. 589) found that among the college students in her study, "the tendency for women to identify more strongly with 'feminine' qualities crosses racial lines, as does the tendency for men to see themselves in more traditionally masculine terms". Cook (1989) points out that only when "women believe that they deserve equal treatment but have been denied opportunities because of sex discrimination, have a feminist consciousness" (p. 72). Further, Cook (1989) adds that feminist consciousness and ideology are most prevalent among young, well educated women.

Wilcox (1990) divided feminism into three groups. In his study, those labeled as feminist were defined as "those who believed that women had too little power and felt that collective action was the best way to remedy this situation" (Wilcox, 1990, p. 115). Cook (1989, p. 73) defines this collective orientation as "the belief that group members should work together for change rather than working separately as individuals for their own achievement". A second group, labeled as "potential feminists", were defined as "those who felt that women had too little power but did not support collective action, or who supported collective action but did not feel power discontent" (Wilcox, 1990, p. 115). Cook (1989, p. 73) defines power discontent as "the belief that one's group has less power than it should". The third group was labeled as non-feminist and defined as "those women who neither felt power discontent nor supported collective action" (Wilcox, 1990, p. 115). Noteworthy, according to Leger (1997), masculinity is
often associated with control over females. Wilcox (1990) found that Black women scored higher on his feminist consciousness scale than White women. He explained that while both Black and White women support gender equality, Blacks favor a collective group effort and governmental action to solve sex discrimination, while Whites favor individualized action (Wilcox, 1990). It is important to note that group consciousness is "generally defined as a politicized identification with a group of which one is an objective member and implies an orientation toward collective action to achieve the group's goals" (Cook, 1989, p. 71). According to Herbert (1994) there are four types of feminism: Marxist, socialist, radical, and liberal (Herbert, 1994). Marxist feminism opposes capitalism. This feminism argues that "women are not oppressed so much by men as they are by capitalism, therefore if capitalism, the means by which men are able to subordinate women, no longer exists, neither will such gender-based subordination exist" (Herbert, 1994, p. 27). Socialist feminism "questions the way in which the Marxist conception of the mode of production fails to include the 'personal sphere,' such as sexuality, nurturance, and reproduction" (Herbert, 1994, p. 27). According the Herbert (1994), radical feminism "sees the oppression of women as fundamental to the existing social order and focuses on 'women's relation to men as politically problematic'" (p.27). Feminism or, as how this study will use the term, liberal feminism is the idea that parity must include women (Herbert, 1994). Noteworthy, radical feminism rejects the "liberal strategies of gaining more justice for women within the existing social order" (Herbert, 1994, p. 27).

Montoya (1996) researched attitudes toward women's social roles among Latinos. She points out that the majority of the research on gender role attitudes has been conducted on Anglo sample populations and that only recently have researchers focused their attention on the gender role attitudes held by other racial and ethnic groups. Noteworthy, Montoya (1996) stresses the importance of controlling for national origin when researching Latinos. Differences between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans derive from the various cultural, social, economic, and political upbringings which are distinct for each national origin (Montoya, 1996). In addition, according to Welch \& Sigelman (1992, p. 182, 196), the term "Hispanic" does not represent a race and "such usage does not make it a meaningful social construct". Further, there are over twenty different Hispanic ethnicities covering three continents (Welch \& Sigelman, 1992). Welch \& Sigelman (1992, p. 183) also state that "in light of the enormous diversity within the Hispanic population, such geographic restrictions impose obvious limits on the generalizability of findings". Therefore, since this study will be conducted in the state of Texas, this review will only include research examining individuals of Mexican decent.

Montoya (1996) found the variable sex to be an important predictor of public opinion on the roles that women hold in our society. According to Kranau, Green, \& Valencia-Weber (1982), it is assumed that a tradition of male dominance is prevalent among Mexican Americans. It is generally agreed that Mexicans come from much more of a traditional culture than Anglos (Leaper and Valin, 1996). In addition, "as a single group, what little evidence is available points toward more traditional gender-role
attitudes among Hispanic Americans than among African Americans or whites" (Kane, p. 424). Valentine and Elias (2000) found that Hispanic women support traditional sex roles in American society. Valentine and Elias (2000, p. 379) further add that "in general, Hispanics favor traditional sex roles over more liberal, nontraditional ideologies that reflect the dynamic demographic changes in the workplace". However, Leaper and Valin (1996) state that some researchers have criticized the view that a largely patriarchal society is found within the Mexican culture. Valentine \& Mosley (2000) explain the small number of Hispanic women in the workforce by the fact that many Hispanic females lack the educational background and have not attained the vocational training required to survive in the labor force. According to Leaper and Valin (1996), some researchers argue that Mexican Americans hold more egalitarian gender roles. Welch \& Sigelman (1992) provide research indicating that women of a Hispanic origin do not correspond to their traditional stereotype label. Welch \& Sigleman (1992) reference the statistics provided by the United States Department of Labor which indicated that just as many Hispanic as Anglo women participate in the workforce, which contradicts the idea that Hispanic women fit into traditional sex roles. Vazquez-Nuttall, Romero-Garcia, and De Leon (1987) provide three explanations which are commonly found among the relevant research to interpret the changing sex role ideologies among Hispanic men and women. Vazquez-Nuttall et al., (1987, p. 411) list "(a) the acculturation process resulting from increased exposure to the host culture, (b) increased level of women's education, and (c) the increased participation of Hispanic women in the labor force".

Montoya (1996) found that both Mexican men and women support women's involvement in the work force. Further, de la Garza, DeSipio, Garcia, Garcia, \& Falcon (1992) found that Mexican women support the idea that men should participate in domestic chores. Research conducted by Leaper \& Valin (1996) found no gender gap in attitudes toward gender equality between Mexican-American mothers and fathers. Vazquez-Nuttall, Romero-Garcia, and De Leon (1987, p. 412) state that women's employment in the labor force has been associated with the changing of marital roles among Mexican Americans.

Valentine \& Mosley (2000) examined whether Mexican Americans either integrate or assimilate with regard to their sex role ideology. They explain the complexity of the acculturation process whereby in one situation, Mexican Americans may chose to assimilate but in another instance may choose to integrate (Valentine \& Mosley, 2000). For example, many researchers report that Mexican Americans tend to integrate when it comes to traditional sex roles, whereby women are expected to stay in the home. In other areas, Mexican Americans tend to assimilate with the dominant culture, such as with consumer habits (Valentine \& Mosley, 2000). Valentine \& Mosley (2000, p. 107-108) did find support for their hypothesis that "Mexican Americans tend to assimilate rather than integrate with regard to their gender roles. That is, as time passes, the attitudes of Mexican Americans regarding gender roles and their aversion to women who work will more closely approximate those of the United States' as a whole". Research conducted by Kranau, Green, and Valencia-Weber (1982, p. 21) found that greater "acculturation was both positively correlated with more liberal
attitudes toward women and negatively correlated with more feminine household behaviors". Thus, the less assimilated the individual, the more traditional sex role attitudes they hold (Kranau, et. al, 1982). Vazquez-Nuttall, Romero-Garcia, and De Leon (1987, p. 422) define acculturation as "the process involving changes in attitudes, behaviors, personality and values which take place when two cultures come into direct contact and that through the acculturation process the immigrant incorporates new values, attitudes and behaviors into his/her cultural background". Vazquez-Nuttall et. al. (1987) reported that even though Mexican-American women often describe themselves as having masculine traits, they reported their archetypical women as being feminine. However, Kranau et al. (1982) reported that those women who were found to be more acculturated tended to perceive themselves as more feminine.

Further, Kranau et al. (1982) found that increased education among Hispanic women increased the likelihood of acculturation into the American culture, thus educational level and acculturation were positively correlated. Leaper and Valin (1996, p. 351) state that "education is a form of acculturation, thus those Mexican American women and men who have had more education are more likely to have been exposed to the gender egalitarian ideals prevalent in modern, middle-class U.S. society". Unfortunately, few Mexican Americans are enrolled in college (Valentine \& Mosley, 2000). Leaper and Valin (1996, p. 349) found that Mexican American mothers who were born in the United States and who have more education hold more gender egalitarian attitudes. Further, Leaper and Valin (1996) found that Mexican American fathers who have more education also hold more gender egalitarian attitudes. Leaper
and Valin (1996) concluded that as Mexican American parents become more acculturate, they begin to hold more egalitarian sex role attitudes. According to Harris \& Firestone (1998), research has shown that as one's educational attainment increases, the likelihood of a traditional gender role orientation is decreased. Valentine \& Mosley (2000, p. 111) also proposed that "the change in sex role attitudes that were found in their research could have been further augmented by increasing the number of educational opportunities provided to Mexican Americans in the United States".

Kranau et al. (1982) also found that the variable age was negatively correlated with level of acculturation, indicating that the younger respondents in their research were found to be more assimilated into the Anglo culture and thus more liberal in their attitudes toward women's roles than were older respondents. This could possibly be explained by the fact that an increasing amount of Hispanics are now attaining a postsecondary education, whereas for the past generations, a post-secondary education was not feasible. The increased opportunity to attend college is especially true in the state of Texas (Harris \& Firestone, 1998). It is also possible that Kranau's findings could be explained by the fact that younger generations may be more acculturated because they have been in the United States much longer than their parents and grandparents who may have immigrated to this country. Further, Welch \& Sigelman (1992, p. 184) add that "sex role attitudes are least traditional in second- and third-generation Hispanic populations". The second- and third-generation Hispanics will be younger than the first-generation Hispanics, thus further explaining the liberal ideology held amongst younger Hispanics. Valentine \& Mosley (2000, p. 111) concluded that "age was
significantly and negatively associated with aversion to women who work". Valentine \& Mosley (2000, p. 108) explain that "both over time and over generation aversion to employed women tends to decrease". Research performed by Zeff (1982) researched the two age groups of 19 years old and younger and those aged 20 years old and older among Mexican American, African American, and Caucasian American female college students. The only significant relationship that Zeff (1982) found among each race was that the Caucasian American females who were aged 20 years old and older were more masculine that those Caucasian American females age 19 years old and younger. Zeff (1982) did not find a relationship between age and femininity among the races. Between the races, Zeff (1982) found that the Caucasian females who were aged 20 years old and older tended to be more masculine than the Mexican American females aged 20 years old and older. Caucasian females of both age groups were significantly more masculine than the African American females in those same age groups (Zeff, 1982). Further, Zeff (1982) found that the Mexican American females were significantly more masculine than the African American females in the age group of 19 years or younger.

Research performed by Harris\& Firestone (1998, p. 241) hypothesized that "Black women would be found to be more egalitarian than both Hispanics and Whites in their gender role attitudes, with Hispanic women being less egalitarian than White women". They further hypothesized that as the level of education increased for the Hispanic women in their study, the less traditional gender role attitudes would be held (Harris \& Firestone, 1988). Harris \& Firestone (1998, p. 245) did find that Hispanic
women were "statistically significantly more likely to hold traditional gender role views than whites, while blacks were significantly more likely to hold egalitarian views than the whites". However, they did conclude that the women of all three races in their study are beginning to share similar liberal attitudes about the appropriate roles for women in society (Harris \& Firestone, 1988). Harris and Firestone (1998, p. 250) also found that "the younger the respondent, the more education one has attained, and the achievement of advanced degrees were all associated with a more egalitarian gender role ideology among the women in their study". Zeff (1982) compared the masculinity and femininity scores of female African American, Caucasian, and Mexican American college students during their freshman year. Zeff (1982) found that most of the women were androgynous when it came to their sex role ideology. However, Zeff (1982) did find that the Mexican American women in the study did score higher in the masculinity index than the African American women, but lower than the Caucasian women. Interestingly, Zeff (1982) found no significant relationship between level of femininity and race. Zeff (1982, p. 258) concluded that "as people move upward in social class, they tend to become more homogeneous".

### 2.2 Attitudes toward women in policing

The belief that women do not belong in law enforcement or any other professions that are deemed masculine is characteristic of the American culture. According to Leger (1997), society has been socialized to expect that males perform the job of police officer, not females. Leger (1997) explains that when society has been socialized to accept specific gender roles, any deviance from these roles tend to be
rejected by the populace. Leger (1997, p. 234) further adds that "a lack of openness and the perceived threat to cultural normality create prejudice and, subsequently, discrimination...such attitudes and treatment result from the socialized acceptance of perceived cultural norms based on male dominance and the stereotypical characteristics attributed to women". Simon and Landis (1989, p. 268) state that "there is a perception that women have not achieved an optimal status; presumably one equal to that of men".

Johns (1979, p. 39) "speculates that even though women may become structurally integrated into police departments, they still, because of prevailing attitudes of males, are not culturally integrated". Leger (1997, p. 234) explains that "socialized cultural norms have created a low female sex status and female sex role stereotypes that are antithetical to traditional law enforcement characteristics".

Johns (1979) states that since women were granted the status of patrol officer, the use of women in police work became a sensitive issue in our society. However, Koenig (1978, p. 267) adds that "since women first entered the police force in 1845, public attitudes have been changing generally toward greater acceptance of the policewoman as more of an equal participant in the policing system". The perception of traditional gender roles, within American society, is the ground by which women are discriminated against in policing. Leger (1997) states that research has yet to thoroughly measure the public's attitudes toward women in policing. Steffensmeier (1979, p. 39) adds, that "few programs in the field of law enforcement and police administration have been more controversial than those which attempt to recruit and integrate women in police work, and particularly those involving the use of female
officers on patrol duty". According to Zimmer (1987), even after a decade long presence in the military, policing, and prisons, women's ability to perform the required tasks are still debated, simply because these jobs denote a masculine identification. Steffensmeier (1979, p. 39) argues "that resistance to the hiring and promotion of policewomen is largely due to traditional role conceptions of appropriate female behaviors". In addition, Steffensmeier (1979, p. 39) adds that "a traditional sex role orientation serves to reduce the probabilities of women entering police work as well as confining career mobility to relatively specific areas of law enforcement". Zimmer (1987) writes that the exercise of both power and authority by women in policing contribute to the disdain of women by our society. The use of both power and authority by women comes in direct contrast to the traditional expectations of women's proper role.

Golden (1981, p. 31-33) recognized the importance to "examine and explore the attitudes which a female officer must face as she enters the male-dominated law enforcement area". Further, Golden (1981, p. 29) argued that it was important to examine "the possible effects that the educational experience may have on the modification of student attitudes toward women in policing". The major area studied by women police while in college was " 40.8 percent law enforcement or criminal justice followed second by 17 percent social science (sociology, psychology, or political science)" (Martin, 1979, p. 223). Austin and Hummer (1999) theorized that the current trend of police departments requiring a college education before entering the police academy causes male college students, with aspirations of a future career in policing, to
be more accepting of their female classmates with these same aspirations. They attribute this, in part, to a "liberalizing effect" that a post-secondary education has on exposing male college students towards their female counterparts in the classroom. This, in effect, provides males with the opportunity to "debunk long-held erroneous beliefs, and to become exposed to a multitude of differing ideas and perspectives on an issue" (Austin \& Hummer, 1999, p. 2-3). Austin and Hummer (1994 p. 230) state that "because most people receive their education when they are forming and/or reevaluating their attitudes it would not be unreasonable to expect today's young males to have different perceptions from men a decade older when a college education was less abundant, and to be more supportive towards female police officers". Austin and Hummer (1999) add that as women increasingly enter the field of policing and seek an education in law enforcement beforehand, college males are given no choice but to work with their females cohorts while in school. According to Golden (1981, p. 29), "the impetus towards educating police officers and setting minimal educational requirements for the position was at least partially based on the assumption that the higher educational experience would provide a 'liberalizing influence', making the potential officer less authoritarian, more adaptable and open to innovation and improvement". It was also hoped that the outcome would result in liberal gender role attitudes as it applied to women in policing by their male colleagues.

Unfortunately, such a "liberalizing effect" does not consume all male criminal justice students. An earlier study performed by Johns (1979), found that the negative attitudes of males are not changing in regard to women in policing given the increased
contact between males and females in the classroom and in police work. Johns (1979) even goes as far as to offer the paradigm that reversing the negative attitudes toward women in policing held by men may be more difficult than once thought. Johns (1979, p. 34) further states that "it was always assumed in the field of policing that after an initial period of resistance, females would become accepted members of the police force. This assumption was based primarily on the theory that increased exposure of personnel to women in a patrol function would over a period of time, produce an increased tolerance of them". In fact, according to Leger (1997, p. 233), the under representation of women in law enforcement is "a result of socialized cultural and perceptual barriers hindering women's movement into the field of law enforcement that cannot be fully eradicated even by legislation". Steffensmeier (1979) found that sex role conceptions are the source of women's inability to become accepted members of the police department. In addition, Steffensmeier (1979, p. 41) concludes that "traditional conceptions of the role of women in our society are strongly rooted and are likely to continue to preclude objective appraisal of the true capabilities of policewomen in the law enforcement field".

Kerber, Andes, and Mittler (1977) found that the higher the education of the citizen respondents the more likely they were to rate male and female officers as equally competent when carrying out the duties of a police officer. Kerber et al. (1977) found that both professionals and students were more supportive of women in potentially violent police roles, those deemed masculine, than were retired persons, housewives, and persons in business. Johns (1979), however, found that a gap still exists between
male's and female's attitudes toward women in policing. Leger (1997) hypothesized that the citizen respondents in her study with a low level of education would show more disapproval of women in policing. In fact, Leger (1997, p. 247) found that the respondents "with no more than a high school/GED education were significantly less likely than respondents with higher educational levels to strongly disagree with the statement that police work is an appropriate occupation for women, while respondents with post-baccalaureate educations were significantly more likely to strongly agree with that statement". Steffensmeier (1979, p. 41) realized that male law enforcement personnel, as well as the male general population, are "likely to be more rigidly traditional in their sex-role views than the 'liberal' college student". Despite these findings, it is believed that student opinion may be used as a barometer of the evolving acceptance of women within police departments due to the increase in educational requirements for police officers.

Leger (1997) found that significant differences existed between male and female citizens in attitudes toward women in policing. However, according to Leger (1997), overall both sexes supported women in policing. Leger (1997) found that there is growing support of women in policing with $78 \%$ of her respondents agreeing that police work is an appropriate occupation for women. Leger (1997) adds, that this growing acceptance of women is "a requisite development for the overall objective of attaining equality and equity for women in police work" (p. 231) and "that their support of women in a very 'masculine' occupation such as police work reflects a deterioration of
traditional gender role barriers" (p. 248). An earlier study performed by Bloch \& Anderson (1974) also found that citizens are generally supportive of women in policing. Johns (1979) examined male and female undergraduate criminal justice students' attitudes toward women in policing. Her study was "designed to explore the degree to which people, who were studying to become criminal justice professionals, had accepted the idea of women in policing" (Johns, 1979 p. 34). Johns (1979, p. 33) asked the students to "indicate the extent of their agreement or lack thereof, with statements on a questionnaire taken from an in-depth interview with male and female police officers about the proper role of women in policing". Her study revealed "four attitudinal sets regarding students' attitudes of women in policing: Limited Role- the role of females in patrol should be limited; Equality- women should be treated just like men; Trait Advantage- women possess certain traits which especially suit them for policing; and Anti-female- women have no place in policing" (Johns, 1979, p. 33). Johns (1979) found the male and female student's attitudes toward the proper function of women in policing significantly contrasted. Specifically, Johns (1979) found that the male undergraduate students in her study overwhelmingly agreed with the attitudinal sets of the Limited Role, Equality, and Anti-Female. The female undergraduate students supported the remaining attitudinal set: Trait Advantage. Johns (1979, p. 33) concluded that the "males agreed most with the idea that policing was essentially a male occupation and that women were more suited for handling juveniles and office work, whereas the females believed that they possessed certain traits which especially suited them for patrol work".

Hershey (1978, p. 584) explains that "it is often argued that sex is a 'dominant' status, in that it can determine the other statuses people will acquire, as well as their views of themselves (sex-role identities) and others (sex stereotyping)". Koenig (1978, p. 273) stressed that "when researching public attitudes toward policewomen, and perhaps women in general, it is necessary to separate statistically the findings according to the sex of the respondents. Of practical importance is the finding that attitudes toward female officers are a function, to a marked degree, of the sex of the respondent". Austin and Hummer (1999) cited three studies performed during the late 1970's and early 1980's which found that both male police officers and male college students with aspirations of becoming police officers similarly exhibited negative attitudes toward women in policing. Austin and Hummer (1999) found a significant relationship exists between sex and student attitudes toward women in policing. In fact, gender was "the most consistent indicator of student attitude, clearly indicating that males are less supportive of policewomen than are their female counterparts" (Austin \& Hummer, 1999, p. 20). However, Koenig (1978) cited a study which measured the attitudes of college students toward policewomen, finding that most students possessed favorable attitudes toward policewomen, with female students expressing more support than males. In addition, attitudes toward women in policing were found to be consistent with attitudes toward women in general.

Research performed by Austin and Hummer (1999) surveyed the attitudes of both criminal justice and non-criminal justice undergraduate college students toward women in policing. Austin and Hummer (1999, p.12) found "that male students in
general, and male criminal justice majors in particular, are far less likely than female students to voice their support of women in policing". Yet, in their study, they found favorable results compared to an earlier study by Steffensmeier (1979), which they replicated. In Steffensmeier's research (1979), he found that 67 percent of female criminal justice students indicated support for female officers compared with only 44 percent of male students, whereas Austin and Hummer (1999) found that 90 percent of the female criminal justice students supported female police officers compared with a 65 percent approval rating among the male students. Noteworthy is that, earlier, Austin and Hummer (1994) found results that remained consistent with a previous study by Golden (1981), which found that male criminal justice students’ attitudes toward women in law enforcement were generally non-supportive. Comparing the average for the eight items on each of their questionnaires, "does not reveal a great shift in level of support between Golden's sample and ours; 29 percent in 1981 compared with 55 percent today" (Austin and Hummer, 1994, p. 233). Golden (1981, p. 30) found that "an overwhelming $85 \%$ of the college males in the study felt that women should be given an equal opportunity to be selected for and to perform police patrol work and that $71 \%$ felt that women should not be limited to 'female' type positions in policing". Golden (1981) also found that among those students pursuing a career in law enforcement, they generally expressed more favorable attitudes toward women in policing than compared to current officers. However, when student attitudes regarding women's physical capabilities were examined, "the attitudes of this male student group
were far more similar to the negative attitudes of current officers" (Golden, 1981, p. 31).

Austin and Hummer (1999) also point out that their later findings are not as encouraging when compared to Golden's 1981 study of male student attitudes towards women in law enforcement. They further state that, "to further cloud matters, while Johns (1979) most definitely found female students to be more supportive of police women utilizing a variety of questionnaire items similar to Golden's (1981), Steffensmeier's (1979), and the present study, she did not report levels of support" (Austin \& Hummer, 1999, p. 19). They point out that because of differing methodologies, their results are not comparable with the research of Johns (1979) in the way they are able to compare with Steffensmeier's (1979) and Golden's (1981) results (Austin \& Hummer, 1999). In addition, Austin and Hummer (1999, p. 19) add that if their results are compared to Golden's (1981) findings, "then one could easily conclude that attitudes of college men have not changed significantly since her work was published, but have remained at an overall approval rating". Austin and Hummer (1999, p. 19) point out that if their findings are compared to Steffensmeier's (1979), then the attitudes of both male and female students toward women in policing are very encouraging, almost an increase in approval rating of twenty percent".

Austin and Hummer (1999) concluded that instead of holding more of a traditional sex-role ideology, as Steffensmeier (1979) believed, that college students today are now more likely to have "contemporary" sex role orientations, possibly brought about due to the "liberalizing effect" that college induces upon students, thus
explaining the increase in support for women in policing. Steffensmeier (1979) found, as he had hypothesized, respondents with a traditional sex role ideology were less favorable toward women in policing than those respondents with a contemporary sex role ideology. Steffensmeier (1979, p. 41) found that "the proportion of males espousing a contemporary sex role orientation to be decidedly small... and that a contemporary sex role orientation leads to more favorable attitudes toward females doing police work". Steffensmeier (1979, p. 39) defined the contemporary view of policewomen as one who "holds that women are able to do police work as well as men and, therefore, equal numbers of male and female police officers are needed". The relationship between sex role ideology and attitudes toward women in policing was moderately strong similar to the moderately strong relationship found between sex of the respondent and attitudes toward in policing (Steffensmeier, 1979).

Even though the attitudinal gap between males and females may be slowly closing with time, the majority of the literature, that has been reviewed, emphasizes this trend of polarization between men and women, whether college students or the general public, in regard to the support for women in law enforcement. An exception is when Kerber et al. (1977, p. 340) found that there was not a relationship between the sex of the citizen respondent and attitude toward women's competency in policing. They did not find support for their hypotheses that "female police officers would be viewed as more competent in police work by female citizens than by male citizens" (Kerber et al., 1977, p. 339). However, Kerber et al. (1977) did find that the citizen respondents generally supported women in policing. It is possible that Kerber's (1977) results be
explained by women being content with the traditional roles of society. Similarly, Carol (1979, p. 222) states that "many women officers who are content with the traditional roles also are likely to resent women officers who seek equality with men".

Austin \& Hummer (1999, p. 5-6) theorized "that age influences the attitudes of college students whereby, older students, due to their experience, maturity and exposure, are subject to what is termed the 'liberalizing effect'". Austin and Hummer (1999, p. 6) add that this "liberalizing effect" that college induces on its older students causes them to be more likely to have a "broader perspective regarding the role of women in law enforcement than their younger counterparts, and thus be more supportive". Austin and Hummer (1999) included age as one of their demographic items when researching college student's attitudes toward women in policing. They divided the ages of the college students whom they had surveyed into those 21 years of age and older from those 20 years of age and younger. Austin and Hummer (1999) found just the opposite from which they had hypothesized in that those 20 years of age and younger were more supportive of women in policing than those aged 21 and older. However, there was not a significant difference between the two age groups.

In researching citizen attitudes of women in policing, Leger (1997) hypothesized that respondents who are 50 years old and older will be less supportive of women in policing than those respondents aged younger. Leger (1997) found that citizens aged 50 and older were, indeed, less supportive than the younger respondents of women in policing. Kerber et al. (1977) found that the age of the citizen respondents were related to the attitudes of female competency on patrol. According to Kerber et al.
(1977, p. 342), "the percentage of respondents in the different age categories who stated that male and female officers are equally competent on patrol are as follows: 18-25, 48 percent; 26-35, 42 percent; 36-45, 28 percent; 46-55, 54 percent; $56-65,55$ percent; and over 65, 17 percent". Therefore, Kerber et al. (1977, p. 342) concluded that "the respondents aged 36 to 45 and those aged over 65 years are the least favorable toward women on patrol". In addition, Kerber et al. (1977) found that age was correlated to attitudes of proficiency when answering calls for assistance. Kerber (1977, p. 342) found the following "percentages among the age sets who stated that male and female officers are equally competent when answering calls for assistance: $18-25,56$ percent; 26-35, 50 percent; $36-45$, 60 percent; 46-55, 46 percent; $56-65$, 50 percent; and over 65 , 17 percent". Again, Kerber (1977) found that those respondents aged 65 years and older were the least supportive of having a female officer respond to their calls for service. Ransford and Miller (1983) add that age was one of the strongest predictors of feminist outlook for both males and females, however they did not provide any further information or datum.

Austin and Hummer (1999) found a positive correlation between 'age' and 'class standing', thus they were able to classify those students aged 20 and younger as 'underclassmen' and those students aged 21 and older as 'upperclassmen'. Austin and Hummer (1999) found that underclassmen were more supportive than upperclassmen toward women in policing, but this was not a significant difference. These results come into direct contrast with the findings from a similar study conducted in 1994 by Austin and Hummer. Austin and Hummer in 1999 found that underclassmen were more
supportive than upperclassmen of women in policing, whereas in 1994 they found that upperclassmen more supportive of female officers than underclassmen. It is possible that this disparity be explained by the fact that in the 1994 study, only males were sampled, whereas in the 1999 study, both male and females were sampled.

Golden (1981) found that the senior males in her study were more supportive of women in policing than the freshmen students. Golden (1981, p. 33) further adds that "the analysis of these attitude data across university class level does offer some limited support for the possibility that progress through a university program may mean a 'liberalization' of attitudes on the part of the male students". If it could be shown that the age of the respondent correlates to the amount of years in college, the older the student the more years in college and the younger the student the less years in college, then age could be shown to relate to the liberalizing effect that college induces. The older the student, thus the more years in college, would provide more contact between males and females in the classroom. If those older students were shown to indicate more support for women in policing than the younger students, then this may partially be explained by the "liberalizing effect". Because the population from which this research is drawing its sample is relatively young compared to the citizen population, the two age groups of those 20 years of age and younger and those aged 21 and older must be used.

## CHAPTER 3

## METHODS

The primary reason for conducting this study is to explore the impact of the variables of race, sex, and feminist ideology on one's opinion of women in policing.

### 3.1 Sample selection

This thesis explores college student's attitudes toward women in policing. Therefore, the unit of analysis and the sample elements in this study will be individual male and female students. The target population is college students who are taking courses within the Department of Criminology \& Criminal Justice, Mexican American Studies (MAS) program, and those courses which are cross-listed with the MAS program at the University of Texas at Arlington. Those students taking courses within the department of Criminology \& Criminal Justice were targeted because it has been shown that the major area studied by female police officers while in college was criminal justice (Martin, 1979). Students enrolled within the Mexican American Studies (MAS) program were selected so as to gather enough data on Hispanic student's attitudes toward women in policing. According to Montoya (1996), the majority of the research on gender role attitudes has been conducted on Anglo sample populations and that only recently have researchers focused their attention on other racial/ethnic groups such as Hispanics. Students enrolled in the Ethnic and Gender Issues in Criminal

Justice course (CRCJ 3380) were excluded from this study, because, Jones \& Jacklin (1988, p. 620) found "strong evidence that the experience of a gender studies course leads to a reduction of sexist attitudes toward women". In addition, all students who were not taking either Criminology \& Criminal Justice courses, courses within the Mexican American Studies (MAS) department, or cross-listed courses were excluded.

The study was undertaken at The University of Texas at Arlington during the fall semester 2006. This research is a deductive, cross-sectional study. Datum was collected through self-administered surveys. The survey packet contained a cover letter informing the students of the purpose of the research and assured confidentiality of their responses. In addition, the cover letter stressed the importance of voluntary participation to the respondent. Each student was asked to sign, with a check mark, the survey to demonstrate their consent to participate.

A purposeful sample was used to select the classes to be surveyed. Two introductory courses and two upper level courses were selected within the department of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Two courses within the Mexican American Studies (MAS) program were selected due to the course descriptions which concerned Hispanics. Only after permission was granted, from the professor for each class, were the students in those classes surveyed. Once the classes were chosen, a convenience sample of students was utilized to collect datum. The four Criminology \& Criminal Justice classes and the two Mexican American Studies (MAS) classes that were surveyed for this study are found in table 3.1. The final sample consisted of 178 students.

Table 3.1 Selection of classes

| Class |
| :--- |
| CRCJ 2334-Introduction to the criminal justice system |
| CRCJ 2334-Introduction to the criminal justice system |
| CRCJ 3300-Theoretical criminology |
| CRCJ 4333-Institutional corrections |
| MAS 2300-Introduction to Mexican American studies |
| MAS 3312-Latin American culture and civilization |

Table 3.2 provides the descriptive statistics for the sample. Of the 178 students who participated in this study, $18.5 \%$ were African American, $26.4 \%$ were Hispanic, $42.7 \%$ were White, and $12.4 \%$ were respondents who are either Asian American or who identified with a race/ethnicity other than those listed. Over half (53.4\%) of the respondents were female, while $45.5 \%$ were male. Further, $33.1 \%$ of the respondents indicated that they were aged 20 and younger and $65.7 \%$ indicated that they were 21 and over. Among the students, $30.3 \%$ indicated that they were under-classmen and $68.5 \%$ indicated that they were upper-classmen. Of the student respondents, $52.2 \%$ had a declared major of criminology \& criminal justice and $46.1 \%$ had either declared their major as other than criminology \& criminal justice or had indicated that they were undecided.

Table 3.2 Descriptive statistics for the sample

| Variable | Frequency | Percent |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Race |  |  |
| African American | 33 | $18.5 \%$ |
| Hispanic | 47 | $26.4 \%$ |
| White | 76 | $42.7 \%$ |
| Other | 22 | $12.4 \%$ |
| Sex | 95 | $53.4 \%$ |
| Female | 81 | $45.5 \%$ |
| Male | 2 | $1.1 \%$ |
| Missing (no data) |  |  |
| Age |  |  |

## Table 3.2-continued

| 20 and younger | 59 | $33.1 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 21 and over | 117 | $65.7 \%$ |
| Missing (no data) | 2 | $1.1 \%$ |
| Class Rank |  |  |
| Under-Classmen | 54 | $30.3 \%$ |
| Upper-Classmen | 122 | $68.5 \%$ |
| Missing (no data) | 2 | $1.1 \%$ |
| Maior |  |  |
|  <br> Criminal Justice | 93 | $52.2 \%$ |
| Other | 82 | $46.1 \%$ |
| Missing (no data) | 3 | $1.7 \%$ |

### 3.2 Measurement instrument

The self administered questionnaire was divided into four sections (See Appendix A for a complete copy of the survey). The first section consisted of attitudinal items measuring the student's level of feminism. Research has shown that a significant relationship exists between level of feminism and gender role attitudes. According to Herbert (1994, p. 25), level of feminism is "the strongest predictor of attitudes toward gender integration". The second section consisted of attitudes toward police officers in general. According to Kerber et. al. (1977, p. 338) "a negative evaluation of policewomen could be due in part to a negative attitude toward the police rather than to a negative attitude toward women as police. Therefore, a questionnaire about policewomen should tap the community's overall evaluation of the police". The third section consisted of measures of the dependent variable, attitudes toward women in policing. The fourth section contained demographic questions. Race, sex, age, and various control variables were included in this section.

There is a substantial body of literature examining the attitudes toward women in non-traditional roles. This study replicated many survey questions that previous researchers have used in their studies. The majority of the questions in this study came from either the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey (GSS) or previous, relevant literature in this area of study, therefore reducing reliability concerns. The questionnaire attempted to ask several questions of each variable to capture the many dimensions of each; therefore it is believed that the content validity is high. Lastly, with replicating previous questions from both the GSS and previous research studies, there should be little or no problem with the issue of face validity.

The first research question guiding this study is how sex relates to attitudes towards women in policing? It is hypothesized that male college students will be less supportive than female college students of women in policing. Sex is a nominal level variable, which was measured by simply asking if the respondent is male or female. Sex is an important variable in this research because, a strong relationship has been found that exists between sex of the respondent and attitudes toward women in policing.

The second research question is what role do feminist ideals play in the support for women in policing? Four dimensions regarding feminist ideals were measured in this study. They are as follows: attitudes toward job promotion and opportunities for women, attitudes towards traditional household arrangements, attitudes toward women's rights (e.g. concern about women's civil liberties), and identification as a feminist. Support for feminism is an ordinal level variable, which was measured by having the respondents answer eleven attitudinal questions concerning the four
dimensions listed above. It is hypothesized that people who exhibit higher levels of support for feminist ideals will be more supportive of women in policing.

The next set of concepts that was explored was ethnicity and the support for women in policing. This lead to the third research question: how does race/ethnicity relate to the support for women in policing? The proposition is as follows: Race/ethnicity will be associated with support for women in the nontraditional gender roles of law enforcement. Specifically, it is hypothesized that African American college students will be less supportive than White college students, with Hispanics slightly less supportive of women in policing than African Americans. Race/ethnicity is a nominal level variable, which was measured by asking the respondent whether they are White (Caucasian American), Black (African American), Hispanic, or other.

### 3.3 Analysis

SPSS student version 11.0 was used in the analysis of the student surveys. The purpose was to perform a quantitative statistical analysis from the completed surveys. T-tests were used to analyze bivariate relationships between the variables and crosstabulations of variables were used to analyze multivariate relationships. Indexes were created by using reliability analysis in SPSS. Table 3.3 provides the items for the Level of Feminism index with mean scores for the index and for the individual items. As shown, there were eleven items included in this index.

Table 3.3 Items for level of feminism index

| Item | Mean | Standard deviation |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1. Women have enough influence in American <br> politics. | 3.21 | 1.25 |
| 2. Women should leave running the country up <br> to men. | 4.10 | 1.30 |
| 3. I consider myself to be a feminist. | 2.55 | 1.36 |
| 4. It is much better for everyone involved if the <br> man is the achiever outside the home and the <br> woman takes care of the home and family. | 3.90 | 1.28 |
| 5. There are some jobs and professions that are <br> more suitable for men than for women. | 2.54 | 1.35 |
| 6. There are some jobs and professions that are <br> more suitable for women than for men. | 2.43 | 1.21 |
| 7. Women should worry less about their rights <br> and more about becoming good wives and <br> mothers. | 4.39 | 1.12 |
| 8. If a husband and wife each have an equally <br> good career opportunity, but in different cities, <br> the husband should take the job and the wife <br> should follow. | 3.63 | 1.14 |
| 9. For a woman, marriage should be more <br> important than a career. | 3.84 | 1.32 |
| 10. Women's rights are important to me. | 4.26 | 1.09 |
| 11. I often pay attention to issues that <br> especially affect women when reading, <br> watching, or listening to the news. | 3.42 | 1.10 |
| Alpha= .8610 |  |  |

For all items, a score of 1 indicated strong agreement and a score of 5 indicated strong disagreement. The alpha for the scale was .8610 . Items $3,6,10$, and 11 were reverse coded so as to load better with the remaining questions from the survey. No items from the survey were omitted when creating the index. Table 3.4 provides the items for the attitudes toward police index with mean scores for the index and for the individual items.

Table 3.4 Items for attitudes toward police officers index

| Item |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1. The police are quite open to the opinions of <br> citizens. | 2.67 | 1.06 |
| 2. The police respond to citizen's call for <br> service in a timely manner. | 2.86 | 1.25 |
| 3. The police are effective on the street. | 3.18 | 1.19 |
| 4. The police reduce crime. | 3.47 | 1.09 |
| 5. I think that the police treat people fairly. | 2.70 | 1.18 |
| Alpha $=.7600$ |  |  |

As shown, there were five items included in this index. For all items, a score of 1 indicated strong disagreement and a score of 5 indicated strong agreement. The alpha for the scale was .7600 . No items were recoded and none were omitted in the creation of the index. Table 3.5 provides the items for the attitudes toward women in policing index with mean scores for the index and for the individual items.

Table 3.5 Items for attitudes toward women in policing index

| Item |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 1. Police work is an appropriate occupation for <br> women. | 2.10 | 1.11 |
| 2. I feel some women police officers are <br> capable of handling the duties of patrol work <br> because being a man or a woman does not <br> determine your skills for patrol work. | 1.80 | 1.17 |
| 3. A female can be just as good a police officer <br> as a male. | 1.63 | 1.16 |
| 4. Females have the physical skills to do patrol <br> work. | 2.01 | 1.18 |
| 5. More women need to be recruited as patrol <br> officers. | 2.24 | 1.24 |
| 6. Women are emotionally equipped to handle <br> the work of a patrol officer. | 2.23 | 1.23 |
| 7. Police work is too dangerous for a female. | 2.21 | 1.30 |
| 8. I would give a female police officer the <br> same degree of respect I would give to a male <br> police officer. | 1.51 | 1.09 |
| 9. Female police officers should be promoted | 1.44 | .97 |

Table 3.5-continued

| to supervisory positions if qualified |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 10. Women should be taken out of patrol <br> duties. | 1.80 | 1.13 |
| 11. Female police officers are effective on the <br> street as patrol officers. | 2.16 | 1.22 |
| Alpha=.9385 |  |  |

As shown, there were eleven items included in this index. For all items, a score of 1 indicated strong agreement and a score of 5 indicated strong disagreement. The alpha for the scale was .9385 . Items 7 and 10 were reverse coded so as to load better with the remaining questions from the survey. No items from the survey were omitted from the creation of the index.

### 3.4 Hypothesis

There are three primary hypotheses being tested in this study. These hypotheses are as follows:

- H1-Male college students will be less supportive than female college students of women in policing.
- H2-Those students who score low on the index measuring feminist ideology will be less supportive of women in policing than those students who score high on this index.
- H3-African American college students will be less supportive of women in policing than White college students, with Hispanics slightly less supportive of women in policing than African Americans.


## CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Table 4.1 Frequency of student attitudes

|  | Frequency | Percent |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward the police |  |  |
| Non-Supportive | 59 | $33.1 \%$ |
| Neutral | 55 | $30.9 \%$ |
| Supportive | 64 | $36.0 \%$ |
| Level of feminism | 61 | $34.3 \%$ |
| Low feminism | 54 | $30.3 \%$ |
| Moderate feminism | 63 | $35.4 \%$ |
| High feminism | 55 | $30.9 \%$ |
| Attitudes toward women as police | 65 | $36.5 \%$ |
| Non-Supportive | 58 | $32.6 \%$ |
| Neutral |  |  |
| Supportive |  |  |

Table 4.1 provides the frequency of attitudes toward the police among the student respondents. Overall, $36.0 \%$ supported the police, $30.9 \%$ were neutral, and $33.1 \%$ were non-supportive. Further, Table 4.1 provides the frequency of level of feminism among the student respondents. Overall, $34.3 \%$ indicated a low level of feminism, $30.3 \%$ indicated a moderate level of feminism, and $35.4 \%$ indicated a high level of feminism. Table 4.1 provides the frequency of attitudes toward women as police. Overall, $30.9 \%$ of the students indicated that they were non-supportive of women in policing, $36.5 \%$ indicated that they were neutral, and $32.6 \%$ indicated that they were supportive of women in policing.

Table 4.2 Mean attitudes toward the police by race/ethnicity (standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | African American | Hispanic | White | Other |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward the police | $\begin{aligned} & 13.36 \\ & (4.46) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 15.00 \\ & (4.45) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 16.00 \\ & (3.70) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{c\|} \hline 13.38 * * \\ (3.29) \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| Item |  |  |  |  |
| The police are quite open to the opinions of citizens | $\begin{gathered} 2.33 \\ (1.05) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.77 \\ (1.15) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.89 \\ (1.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.19^{*} * \\ (.81) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| The police respond to citizen's call for service in a timely manner | $\begin{gathered} 2.61 \\ (1.32) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.89 \\ (1.39) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.12 \\ (1.08) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.33 * * * \\ (1.15) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| The police are effective on the street | $\begin{array}{r} 2.85 \\ (1.25) \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.17 \\ (1.26) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.42 \\ (1.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.95 \\ (1.24) \end{gathered}$ |
| The police reduce crime | $\begin{gathered} 3.18 \\ (1.21) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.51 \\ (1.12) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.53 \\ (1.09) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3.62 \\ & (.80) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| I think that the police treat people fairly | $\begin{gathered} 2.39 \\ (1.17) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.62 \\ (1.29) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.01 \\ (1.08) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{c\|} \hline 2.29 * * * \\ (1.06) \\ \hline \end{array}$ |
| sig. @ p $<.001$ sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.01$ sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.05$ |  |  |  |  |

The results for mean attitudes toward the police by race/ethnicity for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.2. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates that the respondent is non-supportive of the police and a score of 5 indicates that the respondent is supportive. As shown in the table, African Americans and Hispanics were generally not supportive of the police, whereas Whites were somewhat supportive. The mean differences by race/ethnicity for the scale measuring attitudes toward the police are significant at $\mathrm{p}<.01$ level. The scale ranges from 5 to 25 , with a lower number indicating less support of the police. The African Americans in this study were less supportive of police than Hispanics who were less supportive than Whites. Of the individual items in the scale, three of the five questions were significant. When asked whether the respondent believed that police are open to the opinions of
citizens, African Americans and Hispanics more strongly disagreed than did the Whites, whose responses were more neutral. The same relationship was present when asked whether the police respond to citizen's call for service in a timely manner and whether or not the police treat people fairly. Whites were neutral on these questions, when African Americans and Hispanics were not supportive. In all three of these items, African Americans were less supportive than Hispanics of the police. Those who identified as a race/ethnicity other than African American, Hispanic, or White were the least supportive of the police. The remaining two questions, whether the police reduce crime and whether the police are effective on the street revealed no significant relationship among the four races.

Table 4.3 Mean level of feminism of the respondent by race/ethnicity
(standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | African American | Hispanic | White | Other |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Respondent's level of feminism | $\begin{aligned} & 41.00 \\ & (8.48) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 39.02 \\ & (9.44) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 36.55 \\ (8.45) \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 38.24 \\ (8.10) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Item |  |  |  |  |
| Women have enough influence in American politics | $\begin{gathered} 3.52 \\ (1.33) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.47 \\ (1.18) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.97 \\ (1.23) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.10 \\ (1.26) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Women should leave running the country up to men | $\begin{gathered} 4.67 \\ (1.02) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4.02 \\ (1.24) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 3.93 \\ (1.32) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 3.90 * * * \\ (1.55) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| I consider myself to be a feminist | $\begin{gathered} 2.76 \\ (1.71) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.68 \\ (1.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.37 \\ (1.27) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.57 \\ (1.29) \end{gathered}$ |
| It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home | $\begin{gathered} 4.21 \\ (1.24) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.81 \\ (1.42) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.78 \\ (1.21) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4.00 \\ (1.22) \end{gathered}$ |
| There are some jobs and professions that are more suitable for men than for women | $\begin{gathered} 2.76 \\ (1.15) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.79 \\ (1.41) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.24 \\ (1.37) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.71 \\ (1.31) \end{gathered}$ |
| There are some jobs and professions that are more suitable for women than for men | $\begin{gathered} 2.73 \\ (1.23) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.53 \\ (1.35) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.22 \\ (1.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.48 \\ (1.29) \end{gathered}$ |
| Women should worry less about | 4.55 | 4.51 | 4.33 | 4.05 |

Table 4.3-continued

| their rights and more about <br> becoming good wives and mothers | $(1.06)$ | $(.98)$ | $(1.15)$ | $(1.36)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| If a husband and wife each have an <br> equally good career opportunity, the <br> husband should take the job and the <br> wife should follow | 3.52 <br> $(1.18)$ | 3.70 <br> $(1.21)$ | 3.58 <br> $(1.11)$ | 3.81 <br> $(1.08)$ |
| For a woman, marriage should be <br> more important than a career | 4.12 | 3.57 | 3.92 | 3.67 |
| Women's rights are important to me | 4.45 | $(1.47)$ | $(1.14)$ | $(1.35)$ |
|  | $(1.20)$ | $(1.11)$ | 4.13 | 4.24 |
| $(1.02)$ | $(1.14)$ |  |  |  |
| I often pay attention to issues that <br> especially affect women when <br> reading, watching, or listening to the <br> news | 3.73 3.62 <br> 3.08 $3.71^{* * *}$ <br> $*$ sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.001$ $(1.13)$$(1.02)$ | $(1.01)$ |  |  |
| $* *$ sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.01$ |  |  |  |  |
| $* * *$ sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.05$ |  |  |  |  |

The results for mean attitudes toward women by race/ethnicity for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.3. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates a low level of feminism and a score of 5 indicates a high level of feminism. As shown in the table, African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites do not exhibit high levels of femininity. The mean differences by race/ethnicity for the scale measuring levels of femininity was not significant. The scale ranges from 5 to 55, with a lower number indicating a lower level of feminism. Of the individual items in the scale, two of the eleven questions were significant. When asked whether the respondent believed that women should leave running the country up to men, African Americans disagreed slightly more than did Hispanics and Whites, however all four races believe that women should be involved with running the country. The same relationship was present when asked whether the respondent pays attention to issues that especially
affect women. Whites indicated that they pay less attention to these issues than Hispanics and African Americans, however all four races indicated that they pay attention to issues that affect women. Those who identified as a race/ethnicity other than African American, Hispanic, or White indicated that they slightly pay more attention to issues that affect women than Hispanics. The remaining nine questions revealed no significant relationship among the four races.

Table 4.4 Mean attitudes toward women as police by race/ethnicity
(standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | African <br> American | Hispanic | White | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward women as police | 18.48 | 21.53 | 21.72 | 22.43 |
|  | $(8.55)$ | $(9.42)$ | $(9.31)$ | $(15.46)$ |
| Item | 2.00 | 2.34 | 2.07 | 1.86 |
| Police work is an appropriate | $(1.00)$ | $(1.32)$ | $(1.07)$ | $(.85)$ |
| occupation for women | 1.48 | 1.89 | 1.88 | 1.81 |
| I feel some women police officers are |  |  |  |  |
| capable of handling the duties of patrol |  |  |  |  |
| work because sex doesn't determine | $(.87)$ | $(1.22)$ | $(1.06)$ | $(1.75)$ |
| skills |  |  |  |  |
| A female can be just as good a police | 1.27 | 1.83 | 1.66 | 1.71 |
| officer as a male | $(.76)$ | $(1.26)$ | $(1.01)$ | $(1.76)$ |
| Females have the physical skills to do <br> patrol work | 1.64 | 2.02 | 2.18 | 1.95 |
| More women need to be recruited as <br> patrol officer | $(.90)$ | $(1.11)$ | $(1.10)$ | $(1.77)$ |
| Women are emotionally equipped to <br> handle the work of patrol officer | 2.00 | 2.15 | 2.39 | 2.38 |
| Police work is too dangerous for a | $(1.12)$ | 1.82 | $(1.28)$ | $(1.43$ |
| female | $(1.13)$ | $(1.25)$ | $(1.21)$ | $(1.80)$ |
| I would give a female police officer the | 1.48 | 1.30 | 1.57 | 1.86 |
| same degree of respect I would give to | $(1.00)$ | $(.69)$ | $(1.06)$ | $(1.80)$ |
| a male police officer |  |  |  | $(1.75)$ |
| Female police officers should be | 1.27 | 1.34 | 1.50 | 1.71 |
| promoted to supervisory positions if | $(.76)$ | $(.73)$ | $(.87)$ | $(1.79)$ |
| qualified |  |  |  |  |
| Women should be taken out of patrol <br> duties | 1.70 | 1.91 | 1.87 | 1.48 |

Table 4.4-continued

| Female police officers are effective on | 1.94 | 2.11 | 2.20 | 2.43 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| the street as patrol officers | $(1.03)$ | $(1.17)$ | $(1.08)$ | $(1.91)$ |

* sig. @ p<.001
** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 05
The results for mean attitudes toward women as police by race/ethnicity for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.4. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates that the respondent is supportive of women in policing and a score of 5 indicates that the respondent is non-supportive. As shown in the table, respondents of all four races were generally supportive of women in policing. The mean differences by race/ethnicity for the scale measuring attitudes toward women in policing was not significant. The scale ranges from 5 to 55 , with a lower number indicating more support of women in policing. Of the individual items in the scale, none of the eleven questions revealed any significant relationship among the four races.

Table 4.5 Crosstabulation of race/ethnicity by attitudes toward women as police within sex

| Female | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non-Supportive |
| Race | African American | $52.0 \%$ | $36.0 \%$ | $12.0 \%$ |
|  | Hispanic | $52.0 \%$ | $28.0 \%$ | $20.0 \%$ |
|  | White | $51.6 \%$ | $35.5 \%$ | $12.9 \%$ |
| Other | $30.8 \%$ | $38.5 \%$ | $30.8 \%$ |  |


| Male |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non-Supportive |
| Race | African American | $25.0 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ |
|  | Hispanic | $9.5 \%$ | $28.6 \%$ | $61.9 \%$ |
|  | White | $6.8 \%$ | $43.2 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ |
| Other | $25.0 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ |  |

* sig. @ p<. 05

As evidence in Table 4.5, there appears to be no significant relationship between race and attitudes toward women as police when controlling for sex. Among the African American females in the study, $52.0 \%$ were supportive of women in policing, $36.0 \%$ were neutral, and $12.0 \%$ were not supportive. Among the Hispanic females in the study, $52.0 \%$ were supportive of women in policing, $28.0 \%$ were neutral, and $20.0 \%$ were not supportive. Among the White females in the study, $51.6 \%$ were supportive of women in policing, $35.5 \%$ were neutral, and $12.9 \%$ were not supportive. African American, Hispanic, and White females equally supported women in policing. Those women who identified as a race/ethnicity other than African American, Hispanic, and White were the least supportive of women in policing and were also the most nonsupportive of women in policing.

Among the African American males in the study, $25.0 \%$ were supportive of women in policing, $37.5 \%$ were neutral, and $37.5 \%$ were not supportive. Among the Hispanic males in the study, $9.5 \%$ were supportive of women in policing, $28.6 \%$ were neutral, and $61.9 \%$ were not supportive. Among the White males in the study, $6.8 \%$ were supportive of women in policing, $43.2 \%$ were neutral, and $50.0 \%$ were not supportive. The males of all four races were not supportive of women in policing. Hispanic males were less supportive than Whites and African Americans, with Whites being less supportive than the African American students. Those men who identified as a race/ethnicity other than African American, Hispanic, and White were equally
supportive and non-supportive of women in policing as were the African American students.

Table 4.6 Crosstabulation of race/ethnicity by attitudes toward women as police within attitudes toward the police

| Non-Supportive of Police |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
|  |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |


| Neutral |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Race | African American | Hispanic | $27.3 \%$ | $36.4 \%$ |
|  | White | $29.4 \%$ | $29.4 \%$ | $41.2 \%$ |
|  | Other | $35.0 \%$ | $35.0 \%$ | $30.0 \%$ |
|  |  | $14.3 \%$ | $57.1 \%$ | $28.6 \%$ |


| Supportive of Police |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |  |  |

* sig. @ p<. 05
** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 001
As evidence in Table 4.6, there appears to be no significant relationship between race/ethnicity and attitudes toward women as police when controlling for attitudes toward the police in general. Of those who were non-supportive of the police, African Americans were generally more supportive of women in policing than the Hispanics,

Whites, and those respondents who identified with a different race/ethnicity. Of those who were supportive of the police, African Americans were generally more supportive of women as police than Hispanics and Whites. However, those respondents who identified as a race/ethnicity other than African American, Hispanic, or White were the most supportive of women in policing when controlling for attitudes toward the police in general. Interestingly, even among those students who were non-supportive of the police, Africans Americans remained more in support of women as police than both the Hispanic and White students, although this difference was not significant.

Table 4.7 Crosstabulation of race by attitudes toward women as police within level of feminism

| Non-Feminist | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Race | African American | $28.6 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $57.1 \%$ |
|  | $0.00 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $85.7 \%$ |  |
|  | White | $6.5 \%$ | $25.8 \%$ | $67.7 \%$ |
| Other | $11.1 \%$ | $44.4 \%$ | $44.4 \%$ |  |


| Neutral |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Race | African American | $41.7 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ | $8.3 \%$ |
|  | $15.4 \%$ | $38.5 \%$ | $46.2 \%$ |  |
|  | White | $19.2 \%$ | $65.4 \%$ | $15.4 \%$ |
| Other | $0.00 \%$ | $66.7 \%$ | $33.3 \%$ |  |

Table 4.7-continued

| Feminist | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Supportive | Neutral | NonSupportive |
| African American | 57.1\% | 35.7\% | 7.1\% |
| Race Hispanic | 65.0\% | 30.0\% | 5.0\% |
| Race White | 63.2\% | 31.6\% | 5.3\% |
| Other | 55.6\% | 22.2\% | 22.2\% |
| * sig. @ p<. 05 |  |  |  |
| ** sig. @ p<. 01 |  |  |  |
| *** sig. @ p<. 001 |  |  |  |

As evidence in Table 4.7, there appears to be no significant relationship between attitudes toward women as police and race when controlling for level of femininity. As the level of feminism increased, so did the support of women in policing. Likewise, as level of feminism fell, so did the support of women in policing. Of those who indicated a low level of feminism, more African Americans were supportive of women in policing than the Hispanics, Whites, and those respondents who identified as a different racial/ethnic group. Interestingly, none of the Hispanic respondents indicated that they supported women in policing while exhibiting a low level of feminism. Also, among those who were non-feminist, all four races indicated overall that they were nonsupportive of women in policing. Among those who were feminist, all four races were generally supportive of women in policing, although this relationship was not significant.

Table 4.8 Mean attitudes toward the police by sex (standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | Female | Male |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward the police | 14.46 | 15.26 |
|  | $(3.96)$ | $(4.30)$ |
| Item |  |  |

Table 4.8-continued

| The police are quite open to the opinions of citizens | 2.60 <br> $(1.00)$ | 2.78 <br> $1.12)$ <br> The police respond to citizen's call for service in a <br> timely manner |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| The police are effective on the street | 3.00 |  |
|  | 3.07 | $(1.25)$ |
| The police reduce crime | $(1.16)$ | 3.28 |
|  | 3.39 | $3.22)$ |
| I think that the police treat people fairly | $(1.06)$ | $(1.12)$ |

* sig. @ p<. 001
** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 05
The results for mean attitudes toward the police by sex for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.8. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates that the respondent is non-supportive of the police and a score of 5 indicates that the respondent is supportive. As shown in the table, both females and males were generally neutral on their attitudes toward the police, with males slightly more supportive. The mean differences by sex for the scale measuring attitudes toward the police was not significant. The scale ranges from 5 to 25 , with a lower number indicating less support of the police. Of the individual items in the scale, none of the five questions revealed any significant relationship among females and males.

Table 4.9 Mean level of feminism of the respondent by sex
(standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | Female | Male |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Respondent's level of feminism | 43.14 | $32.64^{*}$ |
|  | $(6.61)$ | $(7.63)$ |
| Item |  |  |
| Women have enough influence in American politics | 3.48 | $2.90^{* *}$ |
|  | $(1.22)$ | $(1.23)$ |
| Women should leave running the country up to men | 4.71 | $3.41^{*}$ |
|  | $(.80)$ | $(1.42)$ |

Table 4.9-continued

| I consider myself to be a feminist | $\begin{gathered} 3.03 \\ (1.35) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 2.00^{*} \\ & (1.16) \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home | $\begin{aligned} & 4.44 \\ & (.94) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 3.25^{*} \\ & (1.33) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| There are some jobs and professions that are more suitable for men than for women | $\begin{gathered} 3.05 \\ (1.24) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.96^{*} \\ & (1.24) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| There are some jobs and professions that are more suitable for women than for men | $\begin{gathered} 2.86 \\ (1.23) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.95^{*} \\ & (.97) \end{aligned}$ |
| Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers | $\begin{aligned} & 4.80 \\ & (.74) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 3.89^{*} \\ & (1.28) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| If a husband and wife each have an equally good career opportunity, the husband should take the job and the wife should follow | $\begin{gathered} \hline 4.06 \\ (1.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 3.14 * \\ & (1.03) \end{aligned}$ |
| For a woman, marriage should be more important than a career | $\begin{gathered} \hline 4.31 \\ (1.13) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 3.31 * \\ 1.34 \end{gathered}$ |
| Women's rights are important to me | $\begin{array}{r} 4.52 \\ (.95) \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 3.95* } \\ & \text { (1.17) } \end{aligned}$ |
| I often pay attention to issues that especially affect women when reading, watching, or listening to the news | $\begin{gathered} 3.87 \\ (1.00) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.89^{*} \\ (.99) \end{gathered}$ |

* sig. @ p<.001
** sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.01$
*** sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.05$
The results for mean attitudes toward women by sex for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.9. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates a low level of feminism and a score of 5 indicates a high level of feminism. As shown in the table, the males were less supportive of women and women's roles in society, whereas the females were more supportive. The mean differences by sex for the scale measuring levels of femininity was significant at $\mathrm{p}<.001$ level. The scale ranges from 5 to 55 , with a lower number indicating a lower level of feminism. The males in this study exhibited lower levels of feminism, than females. For all individual items, women were significantly more supportive of women than were men. Of the individual items in the scale, ten out of the eleven questions were significant at $\mathrm{p}<.001$.

The remaining item, whether the respondent believed the women have enough influence in American politics was significant at $\mathrm{p}<.01$.

Table 4.10 Mean attitudes toward women as police by sex (standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | Female | Male |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward women as police | 17.13 | $25.81^{*}$ |
|  | $(5.94)$ | $(11.94)$ |
| Item |  |  |
| Police work is an appropriate occupation for women | 1.79 | $2.46^{*}$ |
|  | $(.93)$ | $(1.20)$ |
| I feel some women police officers are capable of | 1.44 | $2.23^{*}$ |
| handling the duties of patrol work because sex | $(.74)$ | $(1.43)$ |
| doesn't determine skills |  |  |
| A female can be just as good a police officer as a | 1.22 | $2.12^{*}$ |
| male | $(.51)$ | $(1.49)$ |
| Females have the physical skills to do patrol work | 1.58 | $2.48^{*}$ |
|  | $(.69)$ | $(1.42)$ |
| More women need to be recruited as patrol officer | 1.71 | $2.85^{*}$ |
|  | $(.89)$ | $(1.33)$ |
| Women are emotionally equipped to handle the work | 1.82 | $2.73^{*}$ |
| of a patrol officer | $(.95)$ | $(1.36)$ |
| Police work is too dangerous for a female | 1.87 | $2.60^{*}$ |
|  | $(1.07)$ | $(1.44)$ |
| I would give a female police officer the same degree | 1.31 | $1.77^{* *}$ |
| of respect I would give to a male police officer | $(.74)$ | $(1.35)$ |
| Female police officers should be promoted to | 1.15 | $1.79^{*}$ |
| supervisory positions if qualified | $(.41)$ | $(1.29)$ |
| Women should be taken out of patrol duties | 1.36 | $2.31^{*}$ |
|  | $(.70)$ | $(1.32)$ |
| Female police officers are effective on the street as | 1.88 | $2.47^{*}$ |
| patrol officer | $(1.02)$ | $(1.36)$ |

* sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.001$
** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 05
The results for mean attitudes toward women as police by sex for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.10. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates that the respondent is supportive of women in policing and
a score of 5 indicates that the respondent is non-supportive. As shown in the table, both males and females were supportive of women as police, with women being more strongly supportive than men. The mean differences by sex for the scale measuring attitudes toward women in policing was significant at $\mathrm{p}<.001$ level. The scale ranges from 5 to 55 , with a lower number indicating more support of women in policing. Of the individual items in the scale, ten out of the eleven questions were significant at $\mathrm{p}<.001$. The remaining item, whether the respondent would give a female officer the same degree of respect than a male police officer was significant at $\mathrm{p}<.01$. In all cases, both men and women were supportive, with women being more strongly supportive of women in policing.

Table 4.11 Crosstabulation of sex by attitudes toward women as police

|  |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Sex | Female | $48.4 \%$ | $34.7 \%$ | $16.8 \%^{* * *}$ |
|  | Male | $11.1 \%$ | $38.3 \%$ | $50.6 \%$ |

* sig. @ p<. 05
** sig. @ $\mathrm{p}<.01$
*** sig. @ p<. 001
As evidence in Table 4.11, there appears to be a significant relationship between attitudes toward women as police and sex. The crosstabulation of sex by attitudes toward women as police is significant at $\mathrm{p}<.001$. Males tended to be less supportive of women in policing, with females being more supportive. Further, $48.4 \%$ of women were supportive of women in policing, whereas $50.6 \%$ of men were not supportive.

Table 4.12 Crosstabulation of sex by attitudes toward women as police within race

| African American | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Sex | Female | $52.0 \%$ | $36.0 \%$ | $12.0 \%$ |
|  | Male | $25.0 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ |


| Hispanic |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
|  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |  |
| Sex | Female | $52.0 \%$ | $28.0 \%$ | $20.0 \%^{*}$ |
|  | Male | $9.5 \%$ | $28.6 \%$ | $61.9 \%$ |


| White |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Sex | Female | $51.6 \%$ | $35.5 \%$ | $12.9 \%^{* * *}$ |
|  | Male | $6.8 \%$ | $43.2 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ |


| Other |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Attitudes toward women as police |  |  |
|  |  | Supportive | Neutral | Non- <br> Supportive |
| Sex | Female | $30.8 \%$ | $38.5 \%$ | $30.8 \%$ |
|  | Male | $25.0 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ |

* sig. @ p<. 05
** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 001
The results for the crosstabulation of sex by attitudes toward women when controlling for race are reported in table 4.12. For African Americans, there were no significant difference between men and women in their attitudes towards women as police. African American female respondents were more supportive than males, however this difference was not significant. There were significant differences between

Hispanic males and females in their attitudes toward women as police. Hispanic women were significantly more supportive of women as police than Hispanic males. This same pattern was also true for Whites. For respondents of some other race/ethnicity, women were more supportive than men, but this difference was not statistically significant.

Table 4.13 Mean level of feminism by attitudes toward the police
(standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | Low <br> Feminism | Moderate <br> Feminism | High <br> Feminism |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward the police | 15.39 | 15.09 | 14.19 |
| $(4.34)$ | $(3.42)$ | $(4.44)$ |  |
| Item |  |  |  |
| The police are quite open to the | 2.69 | 2.78 | 2.57 |
| opinions of citizens | $(1.22)$ | $(.88)$ | $(1.04)$ |
| The police respond to citizen's | 3.10 | 2.80 | 2.68 |
| call for service in a timely manner | $(1.26)$ | $(1.09)$ | $(1.34)$ |
| The police are effective on the | 3.36 | 3.28 | 2.92 |
| street | $(1.18)$ | $(1.02)$ | $(1.30)$ |
| The police reduce crime | 3.48 | 3.52 | 3.41 |
|  | $(1.10)$ | $(1.08)$ | $(1.10)$ |
| I think that the police treat people | 2.77 | 2.72 | 2.60 |
| fairly | $(1.26)$ | $(1.09)$ | $(1.20)$ |

* sig. @ p<. 001
** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 05
The results for mean level of femininity by attitudes toward the police for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.13. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates that the respondent is non-supportive of the police and a score of 5 indicates that the respondent is supportive. The mean differences by attitudes toward the police for the scale measuring level of femininity was not significant. The scale ranges from 5 to 25 , with a lower number indicating less support of the police.

All three levels of femininity equally indicated that they were somewhat supportive of the police. Of the individual items in the scale, none of the eleven questions were significant.

Table 4.14 Mean level of feminism by attitudes toward women as police (standard deviation in parentheses)

| Scale | Low Feminism | Moderate Feminism | High Feminism |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Attitudes toward women as police | $\begin{gathered} \hline 28.87 \\ (12.73) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 18.94 \\ & (5.14) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 15.49^{*} \\ & (4.00) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Item |  |  |  |
| Police work is an appropriate occupation for women | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.69 \\ (1.23) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 2.00 \\ & (.93) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.62^{*} \\ & (.85) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| I feel some women police officers are capable of handling the duties of patrol work because sex doesn't determine skills | $\begin{gathered} 2.49 \\ (1.52) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.59 \\ & (.74) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.30^{*} \\ & (.66) \end{aligned}$ |
| A female can be just as good a police officer as a male | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.33 \\ (1.57) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1.44 \\ & (.79) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1.13 * \\ & (.38) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Females have the physical skills to do patrol work | $\begin{gathered} 2.85 \\ (1.49) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 1.70 \\ (.66) \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.44^{*} \\ & (.56) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| More women need to be recruited as patrol officer | $\begin{gathered} 3.11 \\ (1.42) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.96 \\ & (.87) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.62^{*} \\ & (.79) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Women are emotionally equipped to handle the work of patrol officer | $\begin{gathered} 3.07 \\ (1.42) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.06 \\ & (.90) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.57 * \\ & (.73) \end{aligned}$ |
| Police work is too dangerous for a female | $\begin{gathered} 2.97 \\ (1.49) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 2.15 \\ & (.96) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 1.54^{*} \\ (.91) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| I would give a female police officer the same degree of respect I would give to a male police officer | $\begin{gathered} 2.10 \\ (1.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.20 \\ & (.56) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.21^{*} \\ & (.54) \end{aligned}$ |
| Female police officers should be promoted to supervisory positions if qualified | $\begin{gathered} \hline 2.00 \\ (1.43) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1.20 \\ & (.41) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1.10^{*} \\ & (.35) \end{aligned}$ |
| Women should be taken out of patrol duties | $\begin{gathered} 2.54 \\ (1.36) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.69 \\ & (.91) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.17 * \\ (.42) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Female police officers are effective on the street as patrol officers | $\begin{gathered} 2.72 \\ (1.47) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.94 \\ & (.83) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline 1.79^{*} \\ & (1.02) \end{aligned}$ |

[^0]** sig. @ p<. 01
*** sig. @ p<. 05
The results for level of femininity by attitudes toward women as police for the scale measure as well as for each individual item are reported in Table 4.14. Among the items, a score of 1 indicates that the respondent is supportive of women in policing and a score of 5 indicates that the respondent is non-supportive. As shown in the table, the higher the level of femininity, the more support of women in policing. Further, the lower the level of femininity, the less support of women in policing. The mean differences by attitudes toward women as police for the scale measuring level of femininity are significant at $\mathrm{p}<.01$ level. The scale ranges from 5 to 55 , with a lower number indicating more support of women in policing. Of the individual items in the scale, all eleven questions were significant at $\mathrm{p}<.01$ level.

## CHAPTER 5

## DISCUSSION \& CONCLUSION

The major conclusion to be drawn from this research is that college students' attitudes toward women in policing are generally supportive. The results reveal that both male and female college students express favorable attitudes toward women in policing. The hypothesis regarding sex and support for women in policing was supported. It was anticipated that male college students would be less supportive of women in policing. A significant relationship between the attitudes toward women in policing and sex was found. Both male and female college students were supportive of women as police, but women were more strongly supportive than men.

It was important to control for attitudes toward the police when exploring attitudes toward women in police, because Kerber (1977, p. 338) pointed out that a "negative evaluation of policewomen could be due in part to negative attitudes toward the police". It was found that both females and males were generally neutral on their attitudes toward the police, with males slightly more supportive. However, the mean differences by sex for the scale measuring attitudes toward the police was not significant. It was also found that both African Americans and Hispanics were generally non-supportive of the police, whereas Whites were somewhat supportive. Further, the mean differences by race/ethnicity for the scale measuring attitudes toward
the police was significant at $\mathrm{p}<.01$ level. In light of the overall lack of support exhibited by college students toward the police, support for women in police is promising.

Previous research has found that women who are both young and educated have a higher level of feminism. It was also expected that the female respondents would exhibit higher levels of feminism than the male respondents. Because the population, from which this research is sampling is both young and educated, the women were expected to exhibit a higher level of feminism than the male respondents. The hypothesis regarding level of feminism and support for women in policing was supported. It was found that the higher the level of feminism, the more supportive the respondent was of women in policing, whereas the lower the level of feminism, the less supportive the respondents were of women in policing. The mean differences by attitudes toward women police for the scale measuring level of femininity are significant. It was believed that those students who score low on the femininity index would be less supportive than those students who score high on the femininity index of women in policing. A significant relationship between sex and level of femininity existed. It was found that the male college students held a low level of feminism, while the female college students held a high level of feminism. Among all races, none exhibited high levels of feminism. No significant relationship between race and level of feminism existed. However, the African American students held higher levels of feminism than both the Hispanic and White students, with the Hispanic students having a higher level of feminism than the Whites.

The hypothesis for the variable race and the support for women in policing was not supported. It was anticipated that race would be associated with the support of women in nontraditional gender roles, in that African American college students would be less supportive than White college students, with Hispanics slightly less supportive of women in policing than African Americans. It is important to point out that previous literature has found that among Hispanics, education and acculturation are significantly related. Because this study is taking place in an educational institution, it was expected that the Hispanic women and men surveyed possibly may be more acculturated, thus more liberal, than Hispanics with less education. However, this analysis indicates that White, Hispanic, and African American college students are generally supportive of women in policing. The African American students were slightly more supportive of women in policing than the Hispanic and White students, who were equally supportive. However, no significant relationship between attitudes toward women as police and race was found. It is believed that no significant relationship between race and attitudes toward women as police existed because of the "liberalizing effect" that college induces upon students. It is suggested that future research in the area of racial/ethnic gender role attitudes utilize samples that are not restricted to college students. With the research not being restricted, would allow for the impact of culture, education, and generation to be further examined and understood.

It is believed that student attitudes toward women in policing may be used as a barometer of the attitudes toward women in policing within police departments. Due to the increased educational requirement for entering the policing profession, many of
today's Criminology \& Criminal Justice students will become tomorrow's police personnel. With the increase in the educational requirement before entering policing, police administrators must recognize the attitudes of college students toward women in policing. The number of student participants in this study who will go on to become police professionals is unknown. However, it is important to recognize that males continue to exhibit lower levels of support for women in policing than women. These attitudes held by the male college students may be the same attitudes which will be faced by women once in their law enforcement careers. Therefore, police academies must address these differing attitudes toward women in policing.

These results are limited to the sample used. Because this study took place in one university in the state of Texas, the findings are not generalizable to any other geographical area. Because of the influx in the Hispanic population in the United States, future research must focus on the attitudes of this race/ethnicity toward women in policing among the different states. Other possible related research that could be done in the future in regards to gender roles should also examine soldier's attitudes toward women in the military, particularly examining differences by race/ethnicity. It would also be interesting to control for generation among the Hispanic respondents.

## APPENDIX A

QUESTIONAIRE
$\qquad$

## Attitudes Toward Women in Policing

This is a survey examining attitudes toward women in policing. The survey is short and will take only approximately 5 minutes to complete. I hope you will be able to respond to each question. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you do not wish to participate or respond to a given question, please indicate this at any time. It is important that you understand that you are in no way obligated to respond to this questionnaire.

This is an anonymous survey and no information which could individually identify you will be recorded with your responses.

The findings resulting from this survey will be used for completion of a master's thesis and for publication in a scholarly journal.

There are no known risks to you if you choose to participate. You will receive no individual reward for completing the survey. This survey will potentially contribute to the academic literature regarding attitudes toward women in policing. Further, the results of this study may have relevance to police administrators regarding hiring and training practices.

I appreciate your willingness to cooperate in this research effort. If you have any questions pertaining to your decision not to participate in this survey or any other inquiries regarding your rights, please contact your UTA Human Resources Representative at (817)-272-3723. If you have questions pertaining to the design, implementation, or utility of this survey, please contact one of the following individuals:

Rhonda R. Dobbs, Ph.D.
University of Texas at Arlington Department
of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Phone: (817)-272-3499

Calvin Wesley Haba
Phone: (817)-272-5673
$\qquad$

## PLEASE CHECK ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH QUESTION.

1) Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

| Strongly | Somewhat <br> Agree | Neither Agree <br> nor Disagree | Somewhat <br> Disagree | Strongly <br> Disagree |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

a. Women have enough influence in American politics.
b. Women should leave running the country up to men.
c. I consider myself to be a feminist.
d. It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.
e. There are some jobs and professions that are more suitable for men than for women.
f. There are some jobs and professions that are more suitable for women than for men.
g. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.
h. If a husband and wife each have an equally good career opportunity, but in different cities, the husband should take the job and the wife should follow.
i. For a woman, marriage should be more important than a career.
j. Women's rights are important to me.
k. I often pay attention to issues that especially affect women when reading, watching, or listening to the news.

## PLEASE CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH QUESTION.

2) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

The police are quite open to the opinions of citizens.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree
3) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

The police respond to citizen's call for service in a timely manner.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree
4) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

The police are effective on the street.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree
5) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The police reduce crime.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree
6) Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

I think that the police treat people fairly.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree

## PLEASE CHECK ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH QUESTION.

7) Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

| Strongly | Somewhat <br> Agree | Agree | Neither Agree <br> nor Disagree | Somewhat <br> Disagree |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Strongly |
| :---: |
| Disagree |

a. Police work is an appropriate occupation for women.
b. I feel some women police officers are capable of handling the duties of patrol work because being a man or a woman does not determine your skills for patrol work.
c. A female can be just as good a police officer as a male.
d. Females have the physical skills to do patrol work.
e. More women need to be recruited as patrol officers.
f. Women are emotionally equipped to handle the work of a patrol officer.
g. Police work is too dangerous for a female.
h. I would give a female police officer the same degree of respect I would give to a male police officer.
i. Female police officers should be promoted to supervisory positions if qualified.
j. Women should be taken out of patrol duties.
k. Female police officers are effective on the street as patrol officers.

## THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PERTAIN TO DEMOGRAPHICS; PLEASE CIRCLE ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH QUESTION.

8) What was your age on your last birthday? $\qquad$ (please indicate in the space provided)
9) What is your sex?
1. Female
2. Male
10) What race do you consider yourself?
1. Asian-American
2. Black/African-American
3. Hispanic/Latino(a)
4. Native American/American Indian
5. White/Caucasian
6. Other $\qquad$ (please indicate in the space provided)
11) What is your class rank?
1. Freshman
2. Sophomore
3. Junior
4. Senior
5. Graduate
6. Other $\qquad$ (please indicate in the space provided)
12) What is your major? $\qquad$ (please indicate in the space provided)

## THIS CONCLUDES THE SURVEY.

I want to thank you for taking the time and effort to answer this questionnaire.
-Calvin Wesley Haba

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## BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Calvin Haba earned his Bachelors degree in Criminology \& Criminal Justice from the University of Texas at Arlington in 2005 and is a few steps away from completing his Masters degree in the same field of study. His research interest consists of gender role attitudes, law enforcement, and immigration law. Future plans include employment within the Department of Homeland Security and later becoming a professor at a community college.


[^0]:    * sig. @ p $<.001$

