

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

THE EFFECT OF DISCLOSURE ON THE PROFESSIONAL LIFE
OF LESBIAN POLICE OFFICERS

by

KATHLEEN CASEY JORDAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Criminal
Justice in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
York.

1997

UMI Number: 9732934

**Copyright 1997 by
Jordan, Kathleen Casey**

All rights reserved.

**UMI Microform 9732934
Copyright 1997, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

© 1997

KATHLEEN CASEY JORDAN

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2/18/97

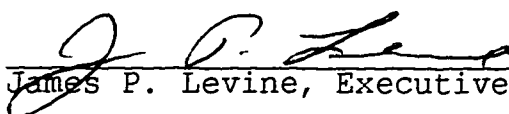
Date



James P. Levine, Chair of Examining Committee

2/18/97

Date

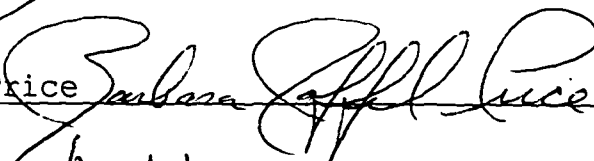


James P. Levine, Executive Officer

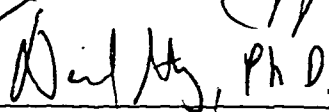
James P. Levine



Barbara Raffel Price



David Sternberg


Ph.D.

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank all of the friends, faculty, and colleagues who provided me with the encouragement and support needed to finish this project.

Special thanks goes to the members of my dissertation advisory committee, James Levine, Barbara Raffel Price, and David Sternberg, for their constant support and advise. The dedicated teamwork of Drs. Levine and Price through endless revisions of the proposal provided the impetus that made this study possible. I am also very grateful to other faculty who assisted me in the initial stages of the study: Lindsey Churchill, Bernard Cohen, Natalie Sokoloff, and Deborah Baskin Sommers. Fellow student Farrukh Hakeem also provided much-needed support and encouragement; thank you.

My colleagues at Western Connecticut State University are perhaps my greatest supporters, knowing when to asking about my dissertation progress, and knowing when to just smile knowingly. To David Machell, Harold Schramm, Charles Mullaney, and my ABD partners in commiseration George Kain and Michael Foley: my heart-felt appreciation. To my unofficial colleague-mentors and genuine friends, Harriet Tax and Patti Ivry: I couldn't have done it without you.

A final note of thanks to my best friend and partner in life, G.E.N., for the years of love, understanding, and hope that got us through the best of times and worst of times.

Dedication:

To those who suffer in silence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two: The Context of the Lesbian Officer	5
Social-Psychological Context.....	5
Lesbian Officers and the NYPD.....	7
Distribution of NYPD Officers by Rank and Gender.....	8
Workplace Context of the Lesbian Officer.....	11
Police Subculture and the Lesbian Officer.....	15
Overview of Dissertation.....	24
Chapter Three: Survey of the Literature	27
Overview of Literature Review.....	27
Scholarly Literature: Women in Policing.....	28
Scholarly Literature: Homosexuality and Policing....	31
Legal Case Review.....	43
Media Coverage.....	51
Summary of the Literature.....	59
Chapter Four: Research Questions and Methods.....	62
Research Questions: Quantitative.....	62
Independent Variable.....	64
Dependent Variable.....	65
Research Foci: Qualitative.....	68
Research Design and Process.....	70
Participants: Access.....	71
Participants as Subjects.....	74
Participant Confidentiality.....	75
Data Collection: Instrument Design.....	77
Interview Setting.....	78
Interview Process.....	79
Interpreting the Interview Narratives.....	80
Reporting the Findings.....	81
Chapter Five: Survey Findings: Qualitative Analysis.....	82
Demographic Summary of Respondents.....	83
Likert Scale Analyses.....	84
Disclosure Inside and Outside the Workplace.....	84
Disclosure and Job Satisfaction.....	86
Disclosure at Work and Conservatism.....	86
Discussion.....	86

Chapter Six: Interview Findings: Qualitative Data.....	88
The Coding Process.....	88
The Before Life.....	92
The Police Life.....	101
Level of Disclosure.....	105
Relationships with Coworkers.....	112
Support and Role Models.....	118
Trust and Loyalty.....	124
Machismo and Authority.....	128
Harassment and Discrimination.....	134
Fear and Stress.....	146
Job Performance and Job Satisfaction.....	153
The Other Life.....	163
Organizational and Recreational Activities.....	164
The After Life.....	174
Interpreting the Qualitative Findings.....	180
 Chapter Seven: Story Line, Summary, and Conclusions.....	181
Central Categories: The Story Line.....	182
Lesbian Officers as Police Officers.....	183
Lesbian Officers as Women.....	187
Lesbian Officers as Minorities.....	192
Lesbian Officers as Homosexuals.....	195
"The Limbus".....	200
Summary and Conclusions.....	204
 Epilogue.....	208
 Appendix A: Consent Form.....	217
Appendix B: Survey Form.....	218
Appendix C: Interview Schedule.....	220
Appendix D: Preliminary Codes	224
Appendix E: Code Categories (Axial).....	229
Appendix F: Central Categories.....	235
 Bibliography.....	236

TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1: Racial Background of Lesbian Officers.....	213
Table 2: Educational Background.....	214
Table 3: Residence.....	215
Table 4: Rank/Assignment.....	216

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Much has been written about the world of policing and the complex condition of being a police officer. It is only in the last few decades, however, that scholars have turned their attention to the changing composition of our police force, which increasingly reflects a country of diverse and multi-cultural populations. While the stereotype of the middle-aged, middle-class, conservative, white, male police officer might still prevail in the literature, the reality is that large urban police departments have experienced an steady influx of female and minority officers in recent years.

What is known about this new influx of officers is relatively little compared to what is known about the traditional police officer. This study seeks to explore the world of the lesbian police officer, determining what role her gender, sexual identity, and level of disclosure play in her work-related problems.

This research considers the work-related problems known to be experienced by various police groups. The specific policing problems of female officers, gay officers, and minority officers are all explored in an effort to gain insight into those problems which might be experienced by

lesbian officers. By virtue of the fact that lesbian officers inherently occupy two of the three above statuses, it is expected that the problems of these officers will be unique to their specific status. It is further anticipated that existing literature and theory may be insufficient in considering the disclosure issues of lesbian officers who, already discounted by their female status, might seek to manage their work-related problems by controlling their level of sexual identity disclosure ("outness").

Comparatively few female officers move up the policing ranks, a reality of policing which has been explained by various "personal" and "system" reasons. Whereas the "personal" reasons focus on shiftwork, family, and childcare obligations, it is possible that these problems are less experienced by the lesbian officer. Police "system" reasons will therefore receive focus as a major factor in lesbian officer's work-related problems, with the level of disclosure anticipated as the most important determinant to the nature and quality of those problems.

Minority status will also be considered in examining the work-related problems of lesbian officers. Marginality, as experienced by officers of color, will be explored for possible parallel to those experiences of lesbian officers.

Studies of homosexual police officers have invariably focused on the experiences of gay male officers, considering

issues of deviance, self-image, and identity management. While certain findings from these studies will be prudently considered in analyzing the work-related problems of lesbian officers, it is important to note that the male-dominated history and nature of policing infers that the problems of lesbian officers might be quite distinct and separate from those of gay male officers.

This study, then, is important to the disciplines of criminal justice and police science. The web of work-related problems shown to be specific to female officers, minority officers, and gay officers indicates that police organizations must anticipate policing problems among their growing ranks. An examination of lesbian police officers on the basis of their gender, sexual orientation, degree of disclosure, and possible minority status will thus serve to discern existing problems among this population, as well as identify important issues the work-related problems and consider feasible solutions.

With the number of women in policing growing, the rights of gay and minority officers more widely acknowledge, and the visibility of homosexuals in the workplace increasing each year, it is certain that the work-related problems of lesbian officers directly impact our police organizations and criminal justice system. This study will seek to add to the wealth of knowledge on policing by

considering a population of officers which has been too long ignored.

CHAPTER TWO

The Context of the Lesbian Police Officer

The Social-Psychological Context of the Lesbian Police Officer

To understand the police-related problems of lesbian officers, it is necessary to first consider the officer as both women and homosexuals in order to give context to the problems. Because lesbianism can be perceived as a concept in constant process of creation and evolution within the person who is self-identifying herself as such (Rich, 1978), it is logical to apply a naturalistic approach to constructing the context of the subjects.

Naturalistic inquiry (discussed in detail in the "Methodology" chapter) requires collection and interpretation of perceptions and meanings, as indicated by the language and actions of a study's subjects. The mode of inquiry that will be used to elicit the data for interpretation and analysis will be a demographic survey combined with a semi-structured interview. Both qualitative and quantitative data will be analyzed for variables and relationships.

For the purposes of this study, the term "lesbian" is used to define only those subjects who self-identify themselves as such. For the purposes of this study, then, the term "lesbian" will indicate a biological woman (subjects will all be females above the age of 21) who has self-identified herself as having a sexual orientation of homosexuality (lesbianism) determined by her indicating a 4 or 5 (with 5 being lesbian) on a five-point Likert Scale of sexual orientation. A study of lesbian nuns (Curb & Mahan, 1985) indicates that there are many women who consider themselves lesbian, although they have never had a sexual experience with another woman.

In addressing the experiences of lesbians in policing from a naturalistic perspective, it is imperative that the self-defined sexuality of the subjects not be pigeon-holed into any particular framework. Indeed, it is the question of how lesbian police officers perceive their sexual orientation or identity in conjunction with their police environment that is the crux of the investigation. To avoid preconceptions, a methodology based in grounded theory will be utilized. This approach allows theory to be generated initially from the data, or, if existing (grounded) theories seem appropriate to the area of investigation, then these may be elaborated and modified as incoming data are compared in that context (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Lesbians in the Police Department of the City of New York
(NYPD)

The New York City Police Department (NYPD) was formed in the mid 1800s and was modeled after the London Metropolitan Police; after a series of mergers during the 19th century, the NYPD has grown to a force of approximately 37,000 sworn officers--the largest municipal police department in the world (Schmallegger, 1995).

In September 30, 1996, the NYPD had 5,641 sworn female officers out of a total of 37,346 total sworn officers. This means that approximately 6.6% of its force is now composed of female officers--a figure approximately half of what it was five years ago. While the actual number of female officers has increased greatly since 1990 (by about 2,000 female officers), the increase in the number of male officers added to the department has clearly outpaced that of women (NYPD Department of Human Resources data). A breakdown of the gender distribution by rank reveals even more striking disparity:

Distribution of NYPD Officers by Rank and Gender as of
9/30/96

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
P.O./Detective	25,918	5,143	31,061
Sergeant	3,878	391	4,269
Lieutenant	1,291	86	1,377
Captain	396	12	408
Above Captain	216	9	225
Total:	31,699	5,641	37,340

(source: NYPD Human Resources Department)

Overall, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) indicates that the proportion of women in state and local police agencies had risen to 9.6% (4.8% of all state, 8.1 percent of all municipal, and 15.4 percent of sheriff's employees) (BJS, 1992, pp. 5,11) indicating that the NYPD's percentage of female officers is currently below the national average. While the idea of equitable recognition and treatment of women has come slowly in the NYPD, the past 30 years have witnessed some progress--though most progress appears to have come from female officers filing and winning sex-discrimination suits (Schultz, 1994).

Gay and lesbian officers, however, have just begun to gain recognition in the NYPD, but most of that recognition has been negative and unwelcome (Leinen, 1993). In 1986 New York City Mayor Koch signed into law a bill that made it unlawful to discriminate against anyone in the area of employment on the basis of sexual orientation, and in 1987

the NYPD made its first attempt to seek candidates from the City's gay communities. As of 1992, New York was one of only 10 cities in the United States that had made any direct attempt to recruit gay and lesbian officers (Leinen, 1993, p. 13).

In that same year, the NYPD took its first steps to actively recruit designated gay and lesbian officers to the precincts located in gay communities of the West Village (Manhattan) and Park Slope (Brooklyn). This mandate was pursued primarily because of the rising numbers of anti-gay violent crimes in these neighborhoods and pressure from the gay communities (Kim: Park Slope Courier, 1992, p. 1). The obvious catch was that the designated gay or lesbian officer had to be "out of the closet" to receive the assignment, thus raising the questions of tokenism and equity among gay and lesbian officers.

While there are no official statistics or data available on the number of homosexual officers in the NYPD, Leinen (1993) estimates from his research that the number may range from "10 percent to upwards of 30 percent of the NYPD" (p. 14). Leinen's research on gay NYPD cops does, however, focus almost exclusively on gay male officers, leaving the question of the exact numbers of lesbian officers.

The problems of lesbian officers have come to the attention of the Human Resources Department of the NYPD. In 1990, a Human Resources representative of the Department, Officer Lillian Braxton, revealed issues of concern warranting enquiry. There had been harassment and discrimination complaints by lesbian officers, but most of these complaints were neither formalized nor filed according to proper procedure. There was a perception that lesbian officers understood that they were legally protected, but felt socially vulnerable by "coming out" through the official complaint process. Further, there were complaints by heterosexual female officers against lesbians officers, primarily concerning public displays of affection in the locker rooms and unwelcome comments and conversations by lesbians which the heterosexual officers found offensive (though the comments were never directed at them).

With the subsequent publication of another study of gay officers within the NYPD (Leinen, 1993), the need for a study of only lesbian officers became more evident. It became clear that there was an evolving need for a study of those lesbian officers whose sexual identities are not disclosed on the job. This group of nondisclosed, or "closeted" lesbian officers, became increasingly important to a full understanding of the world of lesbian officers.

The Workplace Context of the Lesbian Officer

The small amount of data on lesbians in the workplace indicates that lesbians anticipate and encounter significant employment discrimination. Most lesbians fear losing their jobs: Two-thirds of one sample indicated that their jobs would be in jeopardy if it became known that they were lesbians (Chafetz, 1974). Those who did not feel this threat were either self-employed or working "in a small number of occupations, such as the arts or hairstyling, in which homosexuality is tolerated" (Chafetz, 1974, p. 718). In another study, two-thirds of the respondents "could not state with any certainty that they would not lose their jobs if their sociosexual orientation were known" (Brooks, 1981, p. 63). Likewise, about three-quarters of another sample felt that disclosure of their sexual preference would cost them their jobs or income (Schneider, 1981, table 4). A significant percentage of lesbians believed that their sexual orientation had hurt their careers by making them vulnerable to discrimination, with many restricting their choice or work or job advancement in the belief that lesbianism had a negative impact on their careers (Bell & Weinberg, 1978).

Lesbians often use coping strategies to deal with this strain, the most common being to hide their sexual identity

(i.e., being "closeted") on the job. The vast majority hide their lesbianism from employers, and almost half conceal it from co-workers (Bell & Weinberg, 1978). Closeted women report being extremely uncomfortable with this closeted behavior: in one study, 84 percent felt that their only choice was to be closeted; 62 percent felt ill at ease about being secretive; and 42 percent found the anxiety about being discovered paralyzing. More than one-third of the closeted women put significant energy into maintaining a heterosexual facade (Schneider, 1981).

Other coping tactics of lesbians include self-employment and "job tracking," (that is, working in fields that accept lesbianism). Virtually all of the data on lesbians in the workplace support the contention that lesbians are racked by fear of discrimination and use coping strategies such as job-tracking or self-employment (Bell & Weinberg, 1978). This raises the question of whether lesbians might be more inclined than heterosexual women to pursue policing, given the masculine stereotypes of both police officers and lesbians. If lesbians perceive policing, particularly in a city such as New York where policies exist to protect them from discrimination, to be more accepting of them, then it is possible that police work in New York would be considered job-tracking by lesbians.

Aside from "job-tracking," staying closeted is by far the most common strategy used to avoid conflict in the workplace (Levine & Leonard, 1984). The vast majority of women who are closeted in the workplace are dissatisfied with passing as heterosexual and displeased with the entire situation. The mental anguish associated with living a double life is the root of this dissatisfaction (Levine & Leonard, 1984). Even if policing were perceived by lesbians as a desirable occupation, the realities of the workplace environment might very well force them to stay closeted once on the job.

Although the fear, mental anguish, and energy-sapping coping tactics of lesbians in a workplace can compound the problems faced by lesbians in policing, the nature of the work setting does make a difference. Levine & Leonard's (1984) analysis of their data revealed several trends. First, women who worked in New York City suburbs were far more likely to expect and encounter discrimination than those who worked in the city itself. In addition, lesbians working in public institutions were far more apt to anticipate discrimination than those in private setting, although the latter in fact experienced discrimination more frequently. Levine & Leonard (1984) also discovered a high perception of workplace discrimination by those lesbians employed in large public institutions.

Levine & Leonard's study is important because it shows that perceptions don't always correlate with reality. While perception of discrimination was rife among lesbians employed in large public institutions and those employed in New York City, the research revealed that discrimination was actually more likely to occur in private and suburban institutions.

It is possible, then, that the reality for lesbian officers in the NYPD differs from lesbians in other workplace environments; clearly, the factors involved in this construct are both erratic and complex. It is also clear that themes arising from the exploration of policing as a workplace and lesbians in a workplace may be incompatible or contradictory. Obviously, a male-dominated workplace that emphasizes roles of masculinity, male-superiority, traditional sex roles, and stereotyping can be at odds with the priorities of lesbians in a workplace, *unless lesbian officers are more able, via their perceived stereotype, to gain entree to the traditional police world of male officers.* To understand those workplace themes which apply to lesbian police officers, it is first necessary to explore the factors specific to each group: police officers in general, female officers, and gay officers. An examination of each group and its interactions

with other groups or individuals can determine what characteristics, if any, belong to each group's subculture.

Police Subculture and the Lesbian Officer

A subculture may be defined as the meanings, values, and behavior patterns that are unique to a particular group in society (Radelet and Reed, 1973, p. 56). When placed in an occupational or workplace framework, however, subculture refers to the distinctive beliefs, values, and behavior patterns of a particular group of workers. Skolnick (1966) refers to the distinctive cognitive and behavioral responses of workers to their environment as a "working personality".

How one views and behaves in the world as affected by his or her occupational environment, role, and expectations, is generally regarded as an occupational subculture. It is not unique to police; it can be attributed to other occupations as well. But as an occupational subculture, police subcultures are prone to very specific characteristics (Radelet & Reed, 1973). For the purposes of this study, it is most noteworthy that police subculture often includes subgroups, that officers are often classified or grouped by their obvious characteristics such as sex or status, that the public often holds police to

certain stereotypes, and that police subculture has its own distinctive language or "shoptalk" (Radelet & Reed, 1973).

Skolnick's (1966) concept of the police officer's "working personality" has become a fundamental construct in police science. He maintains that the variables of danger and authority are fundamental to the development of an officer's working personality. The preoccupation with potential violence fosters the development of a "symbolic assailant" which, according to Skolnick, increases the officer's suspicion toward people in general and results in increased isolation from the general public and police solidarity. This suspicion of others is a key element: Westley (1951) has empirically supported the contention that the norm of secrecy (emerging from common occupational needs) is considered so important that officers will often break the law rather than to break the subculture's code of secrecy.

While there are some indications that officers generally develop attitudes of friendliness (Tifft, 1974), Neiderhoffer's "working personality" remains the most widely-accepted perspective. In addition to the kinship and solidarity brought on by the dangers of the occupation, Neiderhoffer's profile of the police subculture includes factors of loyalty, secrecy, cynicism, suspiciousness, social isolation, pressure to produce, and a sense of

minority group status (Neiderhoffer, 1967). These factors become particularly useful when making comparisons to other subcultures or subgroups within the police subculture. It is also important to note that the police subculture trait of cynicism emerges from the power of policing and the potential to be corrupted by it.

Muir (1970) conceptualized the integration of power (the ability to enforce the law) with personality factors leading to high levels of strain in those exercising that power. For example, in many jurisdictions, homosexuality is against the law. Could the strain which a homosexual officer might experience in arresting a violator of such statutes (or the fear caused by simply being homosexual) be avoided by simply removing such laws from the books? Such questions reflect the political dimension of police subculture.

Finally, the social dimension of police subculture builds upon the themes of political dilemmas by raising the issues of role conflict, group behavior, and the socialization process. As established, the police role demands a strong sense of loyalty, comradeship, solidarity, and secrecy. The perceptions of this occupational group will obviously influence how the existing subculture will interact with, socialize, and accept new members.

Again the theme of secrecy emerges. Bittner (1974) and Westley (1956) discuss the "code of secrecy" as a social construct, emphasizing how a "one for all, and all for one" attitude that permeates the subculture. Stoddard (1968) extends this to a "code of deviancy" using a hypothesis that illegal practices are socially prescribed and patterned through the informal "code" rather than individual inadequacies.

According to Harris (1973) the most significant consequence of police training is the cultivation of solidarity. This raises the question, however, of how those members perceived as belonging to an outgroup (such as women, racial minorities, or homosexuals) will be accepted and socialized, and whether solidarity is even a possibility for those outgroups when facing a hostile police environment.

A study by Fortier (1972) focused on secrecy, individual isolationism, group coalescence (i.e., solidarity), and defensiveness, as well as the less acknowledged problem of role conflict. He does, however, build on the themes of isolationism and hostility by pointing out that in the officer's mind, identity becomes defined by "them" versus "us," with "them" being the citizenry at large. As the officer becomes even more entrenched in police subculture through secrecy and group

coalescence, stereotyping of "them" becomes easy. Prejudice is a common result and is more common among police officers than the average citizen (Rafley, 1975).

Unlike policing, lesbianism cannot have an occupational subculture. Unlike the political context of police officers, lesbians have historically had very little political power or influence (Krieger, 1982) and thus have had little to fear from political entities. Lesbian subculture is much more social and psychological in context, with virtually all the scholarly findings on lesbian subculture relying on the terms "lesbian community" and "lesbian identity" to define the components of a lesbian subculture (Krieger, 1982). It is the social context of both the police and lesbian subcultures, which should be examined for similarities and differences.

As in the analysis of the policing subculture, it is the social aspect of lesbian subculture which is most relevant to the issue of lesbians in policing. In the social context, the terms "subculture" and "community," are defined very broadly, with "subculture" referring to the "set of understandings, behaviors, and artifacts used by particular groups and diffused through interlocking group networks" (Fine & Kleinman, 1979, p. 18). The lesbian subculture, one of four features of the lesbian "community" (the others being social networks, shared group identity,

and an institutional base), refers to the range of social groups in which the lesbian individual may feel a sense of camaraderie with other lesbians, a sense of support, shared understanding, shared vision, shared sense of self vis-a-vis the rest of the world (Lockard, 1985; Krieger, 1982).

Perhaps the most important sociological work on lesbian community and subculture focuses on the social construction of self in determining a five step "gay trajectory" in which lesbians assume a lesbian identity and adopt the values of a lesbian subculture (Ponse, 1978). While the steps are inconsequential, the important point Ponse makes is that the coming out process within the lesbian community is what validates the lesbian's identity. Once having come out within the community, the individual may then receive the protection and validation of that community and adopt the values and norms of the lesbian subculture.

Ponse finds that secretiveness to the existence and cohesiveness of the lesbian community are crucial aspects of the lesbian subculture. Her findings also indicate that in this subculture, lesbian identity is the "essential" identity, rather than a "role identity." Far more than sexual orientation, the identity is what the lesbian is, not what the lesbian does. Furthermore, there is a "pervasiveness of the assumption that persons who are in the community are most probably of it" (Ponse, 1978, p. 17).

Ponse further points to the tendency of lesbian communities to encourage a high degree of conformity and, often, a high degree of commitment on the part of their members.

Other researchers indicate that the lesbian subculture "includes a language and an ideology which provide each individual lesbian with already developed attitudes that help her resist the societal claim that she is diseased, depraved, or shameful (Simon & Gagnon, 1967, p. 247). Again, the theme of outgroup identity is reinforced by the statement that lesbian subculture can "reinforce lesbian commitments at the expense of greater alienation from conventional society" (Simon & Gagnon, 1967, p. 262).

The themes of police and lesbian subculture are thus rich with parallels. There is much commonality between Ponse's "gay trajectory", in which lesbians assume a lesbian identity and become part of the subculture, and Neiderhoffer's police officer's "working personality", in which police officers adopt specific cognitive and behavioral responses to their environment and become part of the subculture. The lesbian identity and the police "working personality" share common issues of stereotyping, role conflict, secrecy, and isolation.

Further thematic parallels are revealed in the context of institutional framework, as both police and lesbian subcultures are subsets of a community, and can include

subgroups within the subculture. Both subcultures develop their own ideology and "language" for exclusive use by members. The police occupational characteristics of loyalty, solidarity, secrecy, suspiciousness, and social isolation are quite comparable to the social-psychological characteristics of lesbians.

Socially, the constructs of secrecy and solidarity, as well as strain and social role conflict, are very similar in both subcultures. Psychologically, members of both groups appear to have common traits of aggressiveness, dominance, and self-confidence, suggesting attributes which are often used to describe the police personality trait of "machismo." Such instrumental personality characteristics, considered to be more masculine, are revealed as common to both male police officers and lesbians, suggesting that lesbians might have traits which make them more suitable than heterosexual women for policing.

In an ethnographic study of the lesbian community, it was found that "understandings, behaviors, and artifacts used by a particular group and diffused through interlocking group networks" (Fine & Kleinman, 1979:18) certainly did exist among members of the lesbian community. This description of community clearly summarizes those characteristics of lesbian subculture which directly correspond to those characteristics and processes identified

as intrinsic to the police subculture (Radelet & Reed, 1973).

Of further interest in considering subculture parallels is a study which focuses on stress caused by minority group status. The study by Brooks (1981) not only finds that lesbians identify themselves as a minority group, but also indicates that lesbian subculture emphasizes "stress mediating responses" which include "positive group identification" (p. 136). Brooks notes a recurrent conflict between "personal" identity and "lesbian" identity among members of the lesbian minority: "Just as a black person may seem to communicate simultaneous 'I'm proud to be black' and 'Can you stop describing me as black?' so lesbian women today may be caught between expressing positive self-identity as lesbian and the desire to be considered uncategorically" (Brooks, 1981: 136).

This concept raises the question of whether the marginality experienced by other minority officers, particularly black officers (Alex, 1969; Campbell, 1980), applies to lesbian officers as well. Because police officers have been seen as symbols of oppression, and because they have been charged with using excessive brutality (e.g., the Watts riots and the Stonewall Rebellion), they are perceived by minority groups as an army of occupation (Alex, 1969). Minority officers are often

perceived by their own race as having "sold out", thus contributing to the so-called "double marginality" where black officers feel accepted by neither their own minority group nor the white officers (Alex, 1969; Campbell, 1980; Martin, 1990).

It is possible that the lesbian community, as a historically oppressed minority, might similarly reject or stigmatize lesbian officers based on their occupational status, thus causing a marginality (Alex, 1969) experienced by other groups of minority officers. Exploration of workplace issues for all women has revealed common themes of perceived minority status and potential discrimination. By considering the similarities between the perceived minority status of both police officers of color and lesbian police officers, experiences of "marginality" and "double-bind" reveal parallels for both groups with requires further exploration.

An Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter One served as an introduction to the issue which is the subject of this study and identified the major research questions.

Chapter Two contextualized the study, introducing key concepts which increase understanding of the world of policing and the world of lesbian women.

Chapter Three contains a survey of the academic, legal, and popular literature. While consideration of non-scholarly literature is unusual, the legal decisions of recent court cases, as well as information found only in periodical articles and video, are important to this study.

Chapter Four is a presentation of the methods and procedures employed throughout the study. As indicated in the introduction, this study utilizes a modification of grounded theory as presented by Glaser and Strauss (1967) by combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies for a constructive approach to discovering the world of the subjects. This chapter describes the specifics regarding data collection, participants, interviewing procedures, data analysis, coding, and reporting.

Chapter Five, Quantitative Findings, presents the qualitative findings of the data as collected and analyzed. These findings are based on the one-page written survey of subjects' personal data and Likert scale indications of self-identity and disclosure.

Chapter Six, Qualitative Findings, provides a summary of the qualitative findings of the subjects' interviews after transcription, extensive coding procedures, and

processing through the HyperRESEARCH software program. The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with the world of the lesbian officer as it is perceived by the subjects' themselves. It is this section, the true heart of the enquiry, which offers the most clear description of the population under study.

Chapter Seven, in keeping with the tenets of grounded theory, presents the Story Line (in which the central categories defined by the collective findings are reviewed), Summary, and Conclusions.

It is the final chapter which presents the reader with broader findings of the study as well as a reiteration of inquiry findings and concluding thoughts. The description of the discovered phenomenon, as described by the central categories, provides for study findings above and beyond the initial research questions. A theoretical proposal of a construct coined "The Limbus" is also offered for consideration.

CHAPTER THREE

Survey of the Literature on Lesbians in Policing

Overview of Literature Review

Because most research on homosexuals has tended to focus upon male homosexuals and upon clinical populations, there is comparatively little data about the origins and characteristics of lesbians. Studies of homosexuality advocating a biological cause (LeVay, 1992) or psychoanalytic explanation (Bailey & Pillard, 1990) have been based almost exclusively on the study of male homosexuals, thus supporting the contention that just as women and men differ, so do lesbians and gay men differ. It is very likely, then, that workplace-related issues of lesbian officers will differ from those of gay male officers, thus limiting the applicability of existing data on gay male officers.

When exploring the literature for information on lesbian officers, it is thus necessary to consider separately the literature on women in policing and homosexuals in policing.

Because the primary motives for women seeking employment in policing are the pay and job security (Schultz, 1995), implications for lesbian officers, as both women and homosexuals, can be predicted. Logically, most lesbians do not hope or plan to depend on a husband or male partner for economic support. The motives of good pay, opportunities for promotion, and job security in particular might well appeal to the lesbian--even more so than to a heterosexual woman--seeking employment in policing. The most often cited reasons for women leaving policing, namely shiftwork requirements which interfered with family and childcare obligations, would obviously be less of a concern to a lesbian as she is less likely to have children (Trippet & Bain, 1993). It is possible that policing is an occupation which lesbians might find more attractive than heterosexual women due to the decreased likelihood of traditional family and childcare obligations.

Scholarly Literature

The Challenge of Women in Policing

It is within the workplace context that issues most affecting women, primarily discrimination and harassment, thrive. To understand the environment which houses--and

perhaps even nourishes--work-related problems, policing as an institutional workplace must first be considered.

Williams (1989) investigated two institutional occupations typed by gender, populated accordingly, and gender-centric to the extreme: the United States Marine Corp and the profession of nursing. In examining how people of the minority gender fared in their respective "masculine" and "feminine" workplaces, Williams found a great deal of variation among female marines and male nurses. Her overall finding, however, was this: at the level of conscious comfort or discomfort in their lives, female marines seem to fare better than do male nurses, despite the fact that the former are subjected to all kinds of discrimination and abuse of their female identity, whereas men are not and apparently enjoy a certain number of objective advantages over female nurses. Williams' conclusion is that "adult men are more concerned than women with establishing and defending their gender identity."

The key to Williams' study and the parallel to the present study is this: There were no effects of "official" or even law-induced integration on the actual sexual segregation of soldiers and nurses, because no challenge was ever issued to the "gendered" definitions of nursing as "women's work" and soldiering as "men's work."

Studies indicate that gender stereotypes prevail in policing. Martin (1980) observed that the integration of women in policing "threatens to compromise the work [of patrol officers], the way of life, the social status, and the self-image of the men in one of the most stereotypically masculine occupations in society" (p. 12). A related study found that male officers exaggerate women officer's errors, frequently refer to physical differences and their impact on effectiveness, and insist that women receive favored treatment over men (Swerlow, 1987).

A later study by Martin (1990) utilized interviews with more than 70 male officers of various ranks which indicated that these men cling to traditional sex role stereotypes, emphasize male physical domination, and assert that women cannot be feminine and adequate officers at the same time. The interviews suggested that male officers now take the presence of women co-workers for granted, but continue to maintain a belief in male superiority. Martin concluded her study by noting that men's resistance to the incursion of women has included overt discrimination in selection, assignment, and evaluations; exclusion from the informal culture; different standards on evaluations; sexualization and sexual harassment, and encapsulation into stereotypical roles (Martin, 1990).

Martin broadens her consideration of the woman officer's plight in the male-dominated workplace to include the variable of race. Her findings indicate a double burden for black female officers based on both sexism and racism, which Martin refers to as a "double-bind" experience. Martin's research raises the question of whether a similar "double-bind" effect is also to be found among lesbian officers who face a double burden of sexism and homophobia. If Martin's race variable were considered in the preceding question, could there be a "triple-bind" work-related problem for minority lesbians? In consideration of the parallels between police and lesbian subcultures established in Chapter Two, this study seeks to discover whether a new or altered version of the "double-bind" experience is perceived by lesbian officers.

Homosexuality and Policing

The preceding review of literature regarding women and the occupation of policing serves as consideration of only one aspect of the lesbian officer. To date, there are no scholarly sources which deal exclusively with the subject of lesbian police officers. There are, however, several noteworthy studies on the subject of homosexual officers in policing, federal law enforcement, and the military, which merit review.

To date, the most comprehensive scholarly study of homosexual police officers is Leinen's *Gay Cops* (1993), in which findings are based on interviews with 41 gay and lesbian officers. The majority (28) of the subjects were male, with only 13 lesbian officer subjects. All subjects were accessed through GOAL (Gay Officers Action League) in New York City, but were not exclusively employed by the NYPD, and included corrections officers as well as police officers, and retirees as well as active officers.

Leinen's work is valuable in that it offers a comprehensive overview of the recruiting of gay police officers and includes important background information on the history of gay officers in the NYPD. He delves into subjects such as "Taking on a Doubly Deviant Identity " (Chapter 3) and "What it Means to Be Gay and a Cop" (Chapter Four). More than half of his findings, however, focus exclusively on the subject of "coming out"--tentatively, publicly, at work, with family, and so on. While certainly relevant to the proposed study, the findings are of limited value because they are based primarily on the experiences of gay male officers, not lesbian officers. Throughout his book, Leinen supports his findings with quotes from his subjects, the overwhelming majority of which are male.

Leinen does make some relevant points which clearly extend to lesbian and gay male officers alike. For example,

he concludes that the job of policing intensifies the homosexual officer's sense of inferiority and social exclusion, and that many gay officers feel betrayed and rejected by their colleagues who convey the message that gays cannot uphold the moral standards and work role expectations of policing. Many of his subjects indicated that they are pitied or at best tolerated by colleagues who do not understand their differences and make it clear that they feel uncomfortable around them. Leinen writes that relatively few of his subjects feel they have come to be known as loyal members of the police family and are accepted for who they are.

Leinen also makes the important point that the gay officer's situation parallels that of other minority newcomers to policing; homosexual officers have chosen to enter a profession that historically has been dominated by white, male heterosexuals. This point obviously holds more significant implications for lesbian officers than for gay male officers, regardless of race or ethnicity.

A final contribution from Leinen is his description of how gay officers manage a perceived deviant sexual identity at work and a problematic occupational identity in their social lives. He identifies common perceptions, problems, and management strategies that people with negatively perceived traits, such as homosexuals, are likely to

experience. Again, because his subjects were mostly male, it would be unwise to apply Leinen's findings to lesbian officers or draw parallels from those findings.

The most important limitation of Leinan's work in relation to this study is the fact that his sample was based exclusively on officers who were members of GOAL. These officers, apart from being joiners, are essentially "out" by virtue of their affiliation with the gay organization. As a sample of convenience, it does not focus on the problems of lesbian or "closeted" gay officers.

An important observation of Leinen's work is that there is role conflict in having a status (gay) perceived socially deviant in an occupation (police officer) perceived as the ultimate advocacy of social norms. That being a gay officer is not illegal in the NYPD is, according to Leinen, almost irrelevant in the social reality of officer subculture. The subjects emphasized that the overwhelming attitudes of police officers is to favor traditional sex roles, with special focus on the masculinity of male officers. Subjects' recounts of conversations among officers often reflect blatant prejudice and animosity toward homosexuals; hence, the common choice of gay officers is to stay closeted in the workplace.

The concept of 'deviant as law enforcer' was explored in an important journal article by Burke (1994). Like

Leinen, Burke used interview data from 36 gay, lesbian, or bisexual police officers. Burke's focus is more sociological than Leinen's in that he considers the deviance value of gay and bisexual officers within the police organization, and attempts an assessment of its impact on those individual officers. His frame of reference, although in a British context, reflects the same basic premises covered in the discussion of the context of the lesbian officer: the incongruous status of homosexuality in law, the machismo subculture of the police, and the role of the police as regulators of deviance. According to Burke, all of these factors make it difficult for a gay officer to adopt or accept a non-conformist orientation. Unlike Leinen, however, Burke makes some very important observations regarding lesbian officers in the police subculture, indicating that the experiences of these officers as "deviant" may not be analogous to those of their male colleagues.

Burke's discussion of British lesbian officers offers some new and valuable insights for further exploration. He claims that the lesbian officers are divided on the question of whether they are perceived as more or less deviant than gay male officers. Burke proposes the possibility that lesbian officers are less likely to encounter difficulties because of their sexual orientation. One of his subjects

said "...the stereotype of the male gay is effeminacy, which the police doesn't want, whereas the stereotype of the dyke is masculinity and the police need women who aren't afraid to get stuck in there and do the job." (Burke, 1994, p. 195).

Burke's interviews suggest that the machismo and masculinity factor of policing is indeed relevant to women, and that (unlike gay male officers) lesbian officers are perceived as more likely to live up to the expectation of masculinity. He observes:

Some of the women among the sample felt so strongly about the issue of police lesbianism that they declined to be interviewed for fear of 'rocking the boat.' The principal concern amongst these officers would appear to be the perceived threat to the existence of a well developed but informal police lesbian network which has no male equivalent. This network is very protective of its affiliates, most of whom seem quite content with an effective yet largely invisible arrangement and are concerned that an analysis of homosexual issues within the police service will only draw attention to their existence. Others, however, dislike this unassertive tendency, preferring a more independent stance where they can mix comfortably with gay male colleagues when they find them. (p. 195)

Burke's report of divergent stances by lesbians, as well as his assessment of the networking of lesbian officers, are topics worthy of further exploration. Burke admits that while there is disagreement over the status of lesbian police officers, his study revealed that the

concerns of lesbian officers are often distinct from those of men, because for male police officers there is no gender stigma. He proposes that it "seems likely that there may be a significant experiential difference which separates gay men and lesbians within the police structure" (Burke, 1994, p. 196).

Caution must be exercised in applying Burke's study, in that it was conducted with British police officer subjects, both serving and retired, whose perceptions are based solely on their experiences in the British police milieu. While the American, and particularly NYPD, system of policing is based historically almost entirely on the British Model (Critchley, 1967), the culture and history of Great Britain is obviously quite different from that in the United States. Furthermore, it is perhaps relevant that homosexuality is generally perceived as more deviant in British culture than in it is in the large cities of the U.S. (Andrews & Cook, 1994). This aside, the continuity between Burke's findings and the previously discussed parallels offer further evidence that the experience of lesbian officers is unique.

A first-person account which illustrates the "deviant law enforcer" conflict can be found in Frank Buttino's autobiography in which he recounts his experiences as a gay FBI agent, indicating that after 20 years of service his security clearance was revoked and his job terminated

because he is gay. In addition to his story, Buttino also offers commentary on the controversial issues of lesbians and gays in law enforcement and the military and explains the basis for his pending lawsuit against the FBI.

Because Buttino's account deals only with his particular case in federal, not municipal, law enforcement, it is of limited use in considering the plight of gay police officers. Still, the Buttino case offers an insider's perspective of the emotional and psychological costs of staying closeted in the law enforcement environment. A former FBI Director is quoted as saying "Homosexuality is a factor in whether an agent can properly carry out his or her role as an FBI agent," (Buttino & Buttino, 1993, p. 270). Buttino maintains that his sexual orientation never interfered with his job performance, but that the energy expended in hiding his homosexuality was greatly detrimental to his personal, social, and family life.

The issues raised in Buttino's book focus on the FBI policy against homosexuality as it apparently applies to conduct, not identity. Aspects of the controversy of homosexuals in the military, as reported in Randy Shilts' (1993) report on gays and lesbians in the U.S. military, can be indirectly applied to the problems of gay police officers.

Shilts' work is of interest because he offers insight into the general problem of lesbians in the military environment, which are applicable to the situation of the lesbian police officer:

Until proven otherwise, women in the military are often suspected of being lesbian. Why else, the logic goes, would they want to join a man's world? Many of these women take jobs that have traditionally been held by men. If they are successful, they are suspect for not being womanly enough; if they fail, they are harassed for not being man enough to do the job.

We are a nation in transition when it comes to attitudes toward gender roles and sexuality in general, and homosexuality in particular...In different ways, the presence of women and gays in the ranks challenges the traditional concept of manhood in the military, just as the emergence of women and gays in other fields has done in society at large.

The profound victimization of lesbians in the military has less to do with homophobia than with sexual discrimination and harassment, the kind faced by women breaking into occupations once reserved for men.
(p. 5)

Shilts' research and findings about gays in the military does corroborate much of the discussion regarding women in any male-dominated and machismo-oriented workplace; clearly, the words "the military" could be replaced with "policing" in the above passages, and still hold true. The common issues facing lesbian members of the military and lesbian police officers are thus going to be similar in a social, psychological, cultural, and workplace context. In those jurisdictions where homosexual acts are outlawed, where being a lesbian is thus an acceptable basis for job

termination or discharge, the legal context of the lesbian military member and lesbian police officer might also be similar.

The most cited reasons for banning gays in the military center on themes of decreased morale, privacy infringement caused by close-quarters living, and even a public health hazard caused by the potential spread of AIDS by soldiers (Shilts, 1993, p. 738). Shilts methodically addresses each of these arguments, but the situation of gay police officers cannot always be interchanged with that of the gay military person because the structure of the two organizations (particularly the close-quarters argument) is not the same. Still, with certain parallels between lesbians in the military and lesbians in policing established, it is important to realize that by Shilts' estimate, lesbians constituted up to 35% of women in the military during the 1980s. Shilts' book thus raises the question of whether lesbians might also be disproportionately over-represented in policing and other male-dominated professions, such as policing.

Together, the work of Leinen, Burke, Buttino, and Shilts offer a foundation for studying the unique problems of lesbian police officers. There are other studies which are tangentially related to the topic, but these contain dated findings. One such study is a doctoral dissertation

by Swerling (1977). Swerling's study examines the relationship between Los Angeles police officers' attitudes toward gay officers, their ratings of Rokeach values, and selected demographic factors. Her focus is on police personality traits and, by using psychological testing instruments, she determines that officers have some typical psychological characteristics which are fostered by police roles and relationships.

Most noteworthy is Swerling's conclusion that most attitude responses toward overt homosexual officers were highly negative. She found that divorced officers, black officers, higher ranking officers, lower ranking officers, and officers in high black and high homosexual population divisions, were less negative in their attitudes toward overt homosexual officers than were the other officers.

Her work is limited in its relevance to the proposed study, however, because of its design and demographic context. The 643 LAPD officers in her study were not differentiated by sex in the survey of their demographic variables. In the mid-70s, there were very few female officers in the LAPD, and because this Department has historically had an overtly discriminatory policy toward gay officers, it is likely that Swerling's sample was almost exclusively male and that the responses were directed toward gay male officers. While Swerling expresses her data in

gender-neutral terms, it is clear that the attitudes expressed can only be applied in the context of the demographic make-up and time frame of her sample. The progress made by females and homosexuals in law enforcement (Martin, 1990; Leinen, 1993), as well as the progress of the gay rights movement and reality of the AIDS related stigma attached to homosexuals in the last two decades, render Swerling's research less valuable for the purposes of the proposed study.

A cross-cultural perspective is offered in a journal article by Bayley (1974). This study describes the various types of encounters which take place between homosexuals and law enforcement in Britain. Again, the study is of limited value in that it deals exclusively with both male officers and male homosexuals, but it does offer some insight into the history of conflict between the two groups.

The value of Bayley's study lies in its assessment of the two ways in which militant homosexuals view police: as either 1) members of a group which must be won over to adjust the thinking of the larger society, or 2) enemies to ignore, harass, and struggle against as representatives of a value system that is inequitable to the gay person. This, along with the indication that police attitudes generally tend toward less latitude before arrest of a gay person no matter what his actual activity or offense, offers some

carry-over implications for gay officers, male or female. Bayley's conclusion indicates that, of all gay people, the hidden "closet queen" suffers the most from his inner fears of arrest and guilt. Thus, despite 20 years of legal progress in gay rights, fears of "coming out" and the resulting alienation are a continuing reality for homosexuals.

Legal Cases

There have been dozens of important civil suits and administrative complaints filed by homosexual police officers across the United States, virtually all during the past 20 years (Leinen, 1993; Buttino, 1992). Most of these cases have been filed by gay male officers against their departments based on wrongful discharge and harassment, but there are several noteworthy cases filed by women which offer insight into the specific problems faced by lesbian officers and women perceived to be lesbians.

One of the earliest publicized cases of discrimination based on lesbian sexual orientation occurred in Boise, Idaho. During the spring of 1977 seven female employees of the Boise Police Department (BPD) were fired as the result of an investigation which alleged that there was an

"internal lesbian problem" within the department. Three separate suits against police and city officials resulted, seeking more than ten million dollars in damages. The women were denied requests for hearings prior to their termination, and reasons for their firings included "conducting yourself in a manner offensive to the public" and "activities relating to a crime of moral turpitude, i.e., crimes against nature" (Boise Police Turn Against Their Own. Ms., November 1977, Vol VI, No. 5, p. 20).

The police admitted collecting wiretap tapes of phone conversation, without any warrants, on which they based the terminations (Women Cops Get the Ax in Boise. Mother Jones, Vol. II, No. 7, August 1977). While each termination was eventually resolved separately, this incident is indicative of the extreme measures that one police force was willing to take in an effort to expunge certain women from its department.

In 1979, lesbian police officer Denise Kreps set the groundwork for discrimination complaints in filing suit against Contra Costa County (California) Sheriff Richard Rainey. Kreps alleged that Rainey denied her an appointment as a deputy sheriff because she was an admitted lesbian. Rainey filed a writ in Superior Court, contending that because the deputy sheriff position requires close contact with prisoners, the hiring of a gay deputy would result in a

"likelihood of harm to prisoners, and a possibility of harm to other deputies" (Lesbian Wins Battle For Deputy Sheriff Post. The Sentinel, August 22, 1980, p. 9).

The case was resolved in 1981, when Rainey agreed to allow Kreps to resume interviewing for the job. Kreps' attorney, Donna Hitchens, said "They made a big issue out of strip searches, but in a strip search the deputy doesn't touch the prisoner in any way." She added "...the research is pretty conclusive that women, whether homosexual or heterosexual, do not impose themselves sexually on other people. There just wasn't any reason she [Kreps] would act inappropriately to her position" (Lesbian Wins Battle For Job. San Francisco Chronicle, January 31, 1981, p. 6).

Another early case of alleged discrimination against a lesbian police officer involved Officer Sandy Austin. In March of 1980 Austin filed a discrimination complaint with the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Police Department's (DCMPD) Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) offices. She alleged that she was removed from detail as an undercover officer in vice squad because she was an admitted lesbian. A week later, and several hours after a Washington Post reporter began making inquiries about her complaint, Austin was reinstated, to "keep down any bad press" according to a DCMPD Deputy Chief (Lesbian Police Officer Charges Discrimination. The Washington Post, March 28, 1980, p. B1).

While the Austin case did not end in a civil suit, her complaints are highly indicative of the institutional harassment experienced by lesbian officers:

"From now on, every step I take is going to be carefully monitored. They're going to get on my back and try to get me upset and watch for me to make a mistake so they can come down on me. I love my job, but I don't know if it will be good for me to go back to vice or not. I just don't know." (Lesbian Police Officer Charges Discrimination. [1980, March 28] The Washington Post, p. B5)

Regarding past work-related problems, Austin said:

"When I first came to the force a lot of the guys, because they wanted to go to bed with me, wanted to know about my private life. They'd ask who my boyfriend was and I'd just make up a name. It's like I'd get up in the morning and decide who my boyfriend would be that day. I had a fake diamond engagement ring that I wore for a while, and pictures of my 'boyfriends' in my wallet. I had places made up that I'd been and things that I'd done." (Lesbian Police Officer Charges Discrimination. [1980, March 28] The Washington Post, p. B5)

Austin said there were others like her in the department, but they remained closeted because they were afraid of losing their jobs and friends. Her comments, though relatively dated, mirror the same problems of fear, harassment, and discrimination exposed in recent literature.

In 1986 a Miami Beach (Florida) police officer, Sunday Sanchez, filed suit against the Miami Beach Police Department (MBPD) claiming harassment. Sanchez testified in court that fellow officers scrawled her name over photos of lesbian sex acts and posted the pictures on station-house walls. She said fellow officers stashed vibrators, sanitary napkins and used condoms in her office mailbox. The MBPD claimed the incidents were just "horseplay." The Miami Beach Mayor said during a speech at an awards ceremony "The key to the city would be fine, but I'd like to give her a key to my apartment" (Cops: Miami Beach is Talking... Newsweek, August 14, 1989, p. 4). In August 1989 a federal court ruled against the MBPD and barred future harassment. While it is unclear whether Sanchez is actually a lesbian, it is clear that negative lesbian connotations were used to harass her, reinforcing the notion that lesbians are undesirable and unwelcome in law enforcement.

Perhaps the most famous legal case is that of Mica England, an Oklahoma woman who filed suit against the state of Texas, the City of Dallas, and the chief of the Dallas Police Department (DPD) in 1989 when she was denied employment as a police officer in Dallas solely because of her sexual orientation. The suit also challenged the constitutionality of Texas law which criminalizes "homosexual conduct", the basis for that Department's policy

against hiring admitted homosexuals (Dallas' police policy guns down lesbian's dream. Houston Chronicle, June 15, 1990, p. 1E).

In March 1989, a Dallas police recruiter visited England's home in Tulsa, Oklahoma and told her that being a lesbian would not hinder her employment prospects. When England went to Texas in July for further interviews, she was not allowed to complete the application process after stating that she was a lesbian. England then addressed her complaint to the Dallas City Council, which upheld the DPD ban on the hiring of gay officers (Gay recruit is reject by police. Dallas Morning News, July 15, 1989, p. 21A).

England enlisted the help of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., an organization which assisted her in filing suit and eventually winning a 1992 decision which declared unconstitutional Section 21.06 of the Texas State Penal Code, which criminalized certain "homosexual conduct." A Travis County District Court Judge ordered the change to take effect immediately, so that neither the state nor the city of Dallas could enforce the "sodomy" law in any way, whether in citizens' bedrooms or as a pretext for denial of employment (LLDEF News Release, February 4, 1992).

England said that she hoped the ruling would spur the city to settle her lawsuit by formally removing questions relating to sexual history from the application, and

indicated that she was still planning to join the DPD. She admitted, however, that she expected to encounter hostility from her fellow officers, saying "I'm thinking of taking in my own can of spray paint and painting FAG on my locker, so they'll know I'm over it." (Judge Overturns Dallas's Policy On Police Hiring. The Advocate. February 10, 1992, p. 15).

England's case was finally resolved in February 1993, when an appellate court in Texas affirmed a ruling by a lower court striking down the Texas "sodomy" law and thus barring the City of Dallas and the DPD from using the law as a basis for rejecting lesbian and gay applicants (LLDF Press Release, February 11, 1993). According to England's attorney, England once again reapplied to the DPD, but was then rejected on new grounds stemming from her arrest for shoplifting as a teenager (an incident which had been expunged from her record). To date, she has not found employment as a police officer (interview with Evan Wolfson, Esq. of LLDEF, August 21, 1996).

This decision came on the heels of a suit filed in January 1992 against the Sheriff's Academy of San Diego County by Laura Shands, a Deputy Marshal employed by the County of San Diego. Shands, a lesbian, found the environment of the Academy to be so hostile that she considered terminating her 15-year career in law enforcement. The purpose of her suit was to have the San

Diego Sheriff's Department adopt the same policy for lesbians and gay men as they have for all other minority groups, that is "that everyone is treated fairly and impartially." Her case was settled out of court, however, with the Sheriff's Department issuing a statement in which the agency agreed to comply with existing ordinances (interview with Rhonda Rivera, Esq., June 19, 1996).

The problem of discrimination based on being perceived as lesbian has recently been used as the basis for a \$2 million Federal lawsuit filed by two NYPD female detectives claiming sexual harassment by male co-workers (Detectives File Lawsuit on Transfers. The New York Times, September 1, 1995, p. L2).

The lawsuit charges that both women were transferred by a police chief who, they allege, used rumors of a lesbian relationship to justify their transfers. The harassment that followed, according to the lawsuit, included false rumors that the women had danced together at a police officers' party and that they were dating. The plaintiffs' attorney says that the women are not lesbians (Detectives File Lawsuit on Transfers. The New York Times, September 1, 1995, p. L2), but it can be inferred that being a lesbian officer carries with it such a negative stigma to these women that it provides grounds for a claim of harassment.

Media Coverage

In addition to the preceding review of pertinent literature and legal cases, there are several general reports found in periodical and television news magazine format which are directly related to the issue of lesbians in policing.

Perhaps the most recent and relevant piece of news media coverage related to this topic is a front-page newspaper story representing one of the few positive reports of lesbian officers work experience (Gay Officers Find Acceptance on New York's Police Force. The New York Times, February 21, 1993, p. A1). The story begins by featuring the situation of two female officers who were partnered together in Manhattan's Greenwich Village district:

Before agreeing to "partner up" in Manhattan's Sixth Precinct, Police officer Emma Llaurodo took her fellow officer Debra Martinez aside.

"Look, Debbie," she warned, "I came here as an open lesbian; you may get labeled."

Officer Martinez was practically insulted. She knew homosexuality was not catching, she said. And besides, she was a black woman with a Hispanic surname. "I collect labels," she said. (Gay Officers Find Acceptance on New York's Police Force) The New York Times, February 21, 1993 p. A1)

The story continues by claiming that barriers to women and racial minorities have fallen: Interviews with a dozen gay and lesbian NYPD officers indicate a growing receptivity to homosexuals in the Department. Officer Emma Llauro is mentioned in the story as being the mother of a two year old son fathered by an anonymous sperm donor. She is raising him with her "companion of nine years, Frances DeBenedictis, an officer who trains instructors at the Police Academy" (p. 30 L). Llauro says her partnership with Martinez is linked more by confidence in each other's police instincts than separated by "what you do in the privacy of your bedroom" (p. 30 L).

That this was a front-page story and that a lesbian officer was willing to make public such details about her personal life--particularly that her lesbian companion is also an NYPD officer--is more indicative of progress for gay officers within the NYPD than is the actual story itself. The story minimizes the history of Departmental hostility and discrimination against gays and lesbians, emphasizing instead the Department's "new receptivity to gay members" (p. 30 L). However, the story features only openly gay and lesbian officers, most being active members of GOAL, and is filled with quotes from the Chief of Department's special liaison officer to gay men and lesbians, Detective Vanessa Ferro.

It is important to note that this story was printed less than a year after this researcher met with Officers Ferro and Braxton and was informed that a thorough study was needed to determine work-related problems of lesbian officers. Because no such study was immediately conducted , it is possible that this newspaper article serves more as a smoke screen for the problems of closeted gay and lesbian officers than a genuine statement of progress for all gay officers in the NYPD. Assuming that The New York Times article is an accurate portrayal of progress for those gay officers featured in the story, it is important to realize that the experience of those few NYPD officers does not ensure comfort or improvements for other gay and lesbian NYPD officers, nor does it indicate progress for gay and lesbian officers elsewhere.

Several months prior to The New York Times article, the controversy surrounding gays in the military was playing a large role in the 1992 presidential elections. This, as well as the Frank Buttino case against the FBI, presumably spurred CBS' *60 Minutes* to air a feature story entitled "Gay Cops" (CBS: September 13, 1992). According to this news feature, 25 states and the District of Columbia still have statutes making sodomy and "crimes against nature" against the law, thus contributing to gay police officers' fear of being discovered.

The *60 Minutes* news feature focused on the stories of three gay male officers--no lesbian officers--and Frank Buttino, the former FBI agent. One of these officers, Joe Bannon, is a former NYPD officer who left the NYPD to join the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD). He recounted how when visiting old police friends in New York they would ask in total awe, "How do you deal with all those fags!? How can you work with those gay cops?", thus illustrating the hostile work environment he left as a closeted cop. Another featured officer, the first openly gay officer of the SFPD, told of how after coming out on the job he received a telegram which read "This is the darkest day in law enforcement" and was signed "LAPD."

60 Minutes focused on the famous case of former LAPD officer Mitch Grobeson, and the extremely anti-gay climate of the LAPD under former Chief Daryl Gates. Prior to his resignation in 1992, Gates was quoted as saying that "homosexuals do evil and are evil." The most remarkable part of this news story was Gates actually saying on camera that he admires the upper body strength of his lesbian officers: "They bring with them that upper body strength; they have developed that in childhood and are further developed in that regard." While a ruling later that year banned any discrimination against gay officers in the LAPD, Gates' comment about lesbian officers reflects the

stereotyping and ignorance which leads to hostility and discrimination against gay and lesbian officers.

The quote most relevant to this study came from an African American lesbian officer on the SFPD: "I am a gay person--and for me to be a gay black person is double trouble. Plus a woman...that's triple trouble" (*60 Minutes*, September 13, 1992). The quote reflects the concept of double-bind (Martin, 1989) as applied to racial minorities in policing, which the lesbian officer is extending (from gender and race) to include her sexual orientation, while directly inferring workplace "trouble."

Of final noteworthiness was the story's investigation of the Buttino case, in which the FBI stated that there were no active gay agents within its Bureau. An active gay agent, interviewed in disguise, said that he believed that 1 in 10 agents is gay, thus meaning that up to 1,000 active FBI agents might be gay and lesbian.

Just after the airing of the *60 Minutes* segment, media attention focused on the Portland, Oregon Ballot Measure 9. This amendment to the state constitution would, among other things, prohibit gay teachers and police officers. A New Yorker article (November 9, 1992) on Measure 9 is noteworthy because it offers a candid illustration of how divided people can be on the issue of gay police officers:

I [the article's author] talked to an ardent Measure 9 supporter, a member of the city police department. This officer...was concerned that opponents of the measure--particularly undercover lesbians--would accost a supporter or vandalize a supporter's new car, and further believed that Tom Potter, the police chief, who had...marched in Portland's gay-pride parade with his lesbian daughter [also a police officer], might go as far as to fire a person voting yes on Election Day. (The New Yorker, November 9, 1992 p. 70)

The article goes on to directly quote the anti-Measure 9 police officer, further illustrating that support from department administrators does not mean a safe or welcoming work environment:

Here is what the officer said: "I think there are a lot of people who are sick and tired of having this homosexual-agenda stuff shoved down their throats. I mean, for example, I don't know anybody in my immediate department who doesn't agree with Measure 9. I mean, a lot of people say that what people do in the confines of their own bedroom is their business, but it is and it isn't. We all have consciences, we all know what's wrong. I myself have a friend now who is leading a homosexual life style, which we're trying to get her out of, and, let me tell you, she is just miserable. And of course, Portland is a real mecca for homosexuals, and this is part of the reason as to why the crime rate doesn't go down, and for AIDS and some of the rampant homosexuality here. Let's face it, homosexuals are militant and they are violent. And they don't reproduce, so they have to go into the schools to recruit." (The New Yorker, November 9, 1992 p. 70)

That Measure 9 was defeated is important, but almost irrelevant, in the context of attitudes such as that revealed in this police officer's contentions. While The New York Times article about the NYPD indicated that the work environment of the NYPD is becoming more receptive for gay and lesbian officers, The New Yorker article points out that it can be the homophobic and prejudiced heterosexual officer, silenced by anti-discrimination legislation and administrative policy, who can be a more insidious danger to gay officers.

Finally, while there have been several articles on gay police officers featured in the national gay publication The Advocate over the past two decades, most have served as synopses of the legal cases addressed previously. Though none has focused directly on the problems of lesbian officers, one of first articles about gay officers in The Advocate (May 14, 1981) offers an interesting comment in light of recent news articles on the topic:

"Some of the gays," says one lesbian on the [SFPD] force, "say they're not used to dealing with people who [discriminate and harass], and that it's only a matter of time until they quit. They don't know if they can wait five or ten years for the department to change to an adequately civilized level." (*The Advocate*, May 14, 1981 p. 24)

This assertion is important in that the SFPD is regarded as having the most gay-friendly and anti-discriminatory municipal police department in the United States today (Leinen, 1993). It thus indicates that either improvement and progress can be made in the work-related problems of gay and lesbian officers, or --less optimistically-- that the work-related problems of gay and lesbian officers (particularly closeted officers) have become even more buried and tamped down by institutional rhetoric in recent years.

This article also offers one of the few early observations about the differences between gay male officers and lesbian officers:

The attrition rate--the number of gay officers leaving the department--is indeed a concern. So far, the lesbian attrition rate has been extremely low. White gay men, however, have an attrition rate more than four times that of their straight counterparts (although lower than that of some racial and ethnic subgroups).

Morgan [a gay SFPD officer] believes antigay harassment has not been the primary reason gay officers have been resigning; those who've experienced the worst harassment seem the most determined to hang tough. (The Advocate, May 14, 1981 p. 24)

Summary of the Literature

The clearest observation from the reviewed literature is the lack of information regarding the work-related problems of lesbian officers. Even the legal cases, which offer some insight into the plight of lesbian officers, are far fewer in number and limited in success than the dozens of cases filed by gay male officers.

A review of available literature on the subject of lesbian police officers reveals a pattern of oversight, afterthought, and secondary prioritization which most likely parallels the reality of their police workplace environment. When quoted or featured, lesbian officers are most often used to support contentions already made by gay male officers, and are rarely scrutinized for their own separate and unique problems as homosexual women.

It is possible that this deficit, or low prioritization, of information regarding lesbian officers in the literature is indicative of their lack of problems in the workplace. As Burke's (1994) study, Gates' (1992) quote, and observations in The Advocate article (1981) on attrition indicate, it is even possible that lesbian officers do not experience the level of harassment and discrimination that gay male officers suffer.

Alternatively, it is also possible--and far more likely--that the lack of information available is simply representative of the lack of attention historically given to women's issues. It is this possibility--that lesbian officers have taken a "back seat" to both female officers and gay male officer in both literature and litigation--which provides the rationale for this study. Without a comprehensive exploration of the world of lesbian police officers, it is impossible to know if the scant findings of existing literature can be applied to this population.

A review of related media coverage indicates a new surge of interest in homosexuals in society, and even gays and lesbians in policing. In 1992 alone, the media presented us with a plethora of human interest stories, such as the *60 Minutes* segment, The New York Times article, and general reporting on proposed anti-gay legislation in both Portland, Oregon and the state of Colorado. In 1993, a media trend appeared to emerge as cover stories and feature articles about lesbians and bisexuals appeared in Newsweek, Time, and New York magazine, as well as several television news magazines.

But the media focus on gays and lesbians does not necessarily signify an increased understanding or tolerance of homosexuality. Indeed, many of the stories about lesbians revolved around the fascination, even

fashionableness, associated with the status. A New York magazine cover story, entitled "Lesbian Chic", asked Tori Osborne, Director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, what the big lesbian issues are. "'Invisibility,' says Osborne. 'Period. End of sentence.'" (New York, May 10, 1993, p. 35).

That closeted lesbians are ignored in media coverage is not surprising given their chosen lifestyle, but this reality only serves to remind researchers that there is an unknown population of lesbians officers whose issues have not been explored in literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Questions and Methods

This inquiry is primarily a qualitative inquiry that also incorporates quantitative data in an attempt to accurately describe, at a relatively complex level (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the experience of being a lesbian police officer in the NYPD. The research questions directed and "steered" the study in an attempt to identify specific variables that influence the officer's perceptions of police-related problems.

Research Questions (Quantitative)

The main research questions of the present inquiry are:

1. What are the police-related concerns and issues of lesbian police officers?
2. What is the relationship between a lesbian officer's level of disclosure ("outness") and her perceived issues in policing?

As indicated previously, a grounded theory framework was utilized in an attempt to first determine what attracts

lesbians to policing and then assess how, and in what ways, these officers' sexual orientation affects their perceived job-related problems, performance, and level of satisfaction. Because grounded theory is a naturalistic form of inquiry utilizing both qualitative and quantitative data, it was anticipated that the initial themes and concepts envisioned in the research instrument would be open to some revision as the interview process revealed identifiable themes. The ongoing interpretation of qualitative data and construction of theory and paradigms allows for the emergence of themes not yet foreseen from analysis of existing literature.

Because the nature of the semi-structured interview allows the interviewer to interpret emphasis and meaning throughout the process, and because the open-ended questions allow for expansion and digression on themes as they emerge, no revision of the interview schedule was needed during the interview process. Where themes emerged or gained emphasis based on the growing number of completed interviews, interview style simply accommodated the flow of the incoming information.

The challenge of grounded theory and naturalistic inquiry is one of construing categories from themes, pursuing questions to enlighten those themes, and then exercising insight in the course of inquiry to the extent

that new themes are allowed to develop and gain category status. This course of interpretation, however, cannot be constructed unless some variables are specified, and research questions are posed and put forth.

Independent Variable

What differentiates comparisons of lesbian officers with other groups of officers (especially women officers and black officers) is that lesbian officers have the option of concealing their sexual identity on the job, whereas women and black officers do not have the option of hiding their (gender and racial) identities. Because levels of identity disclosure and concealment by a lesbian officer can be controlled to a great degree by the officer, and because it is possible that interaction with other officers may be affected by a perceived deviant status, it is logical that lesbian officers' experience with police-related issues will be influenced by her level of "outness". Therefore, the independent variable in determining the work-related issues of a lesbian officer will be her level of disclosure of sexual identity (or "outness") as a lesbian.

The following research questions were subjected to quantitative analysis:

1. What is the relationship between the independent variable, (level of disclosure) and the dependent variable (police-related issues)?

2. How does the independent variable (i.e., level of disclosure) relate to level of job satisfaction in general?

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable consists of a number of police-related attitudes, based upon the literature on police working personalities and culture (Skolnick, 1967; Neiderhoffer, 1967). These variables include:

a) solidarity (a unique sense of identity that one develops as part of a group of colleagues in a work situation: the commonality of interests, problems, and concerns);

b) loyalty (the sense of identity, belonging, and cohesion that is often precipitated by a sense of danger and isolation);

c) danger (the realistic and ever-present risks associated with policing: the threat to safety and life to which officers are exposed in the course of their work);

d) secrecy (a code of silence that is maintained among officers due to distrust of bureaucracy and official

inquiry: often the adhesive factor that enables loyalty and solidarity);

e) social isolation (an occupationally-imposed set of constraints on the usual network of social relationships: immersion in police culture often results in alienation from non-police others);

f) minority group status (a hyper-sensitivity, defensive attitude, or perception of persecution by officers, often caused by a polarization of organizational expectations and realistic policing goals);

f) suspiciousness (police doctrine of wariness and vigilance for any persons or behaviors which warrant mistrust, scrutiny, or investigation);

g) authority (the amount of "clout" or "muscle" police work awards to officers by virtue of the privileges and immunities which are politically inherent to law enforcement);

h) conservatism (a function of occupational socialization which stresses order, discipline, and respect for authority, often stemming from pessimism about the erosion of "law and order" coupled with moralism about the depravity of others);

i) cynicism (a contempt for people and processes often stemming from frustration with police-related dualities and

conflicts and caused by perceptions of ineffectiveness and futility);

j) stereotyping (a tendency to attach presupposed or trite characteristics of a group of people to individuals based upon past or assumed information: a narrow or unsubstantiated presumption of a person or group of people); and

k) machismo (a strong identification with or exhibition of traditionally masculine traits such as physical strength, pride, power, and aggression).

While these issues, which focus primarily on subculture and actual day-to-day job performance concerns, certainly apply to all officers, the literature of women in policing (Martin, 1990; Sokoloff & Price, 1992; and Jordan, 1996) suggests that issues of female officers will additionally focus on a broader spectrum of problems including:

- g) reasons for attrition and retention
- h) job assignment and promotion
- i) discrimination and harassment
- j) family and childcare issues
- k) men's views and acceptance of women officers
- l) organizational double standards and double messages

Research Foci (Qualitative)

In examining the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, research foci are identified in order to organize and guide the inquiry process:

1. Which policing issues from the literature, specific to the study's participants, can be identified in the narratives of the lesbian officers?
2. What is the lesbian officer's experience with police solidarity in policing; what factors influence her police-related and social interaction with other officers?
3. What is the lesbian officer's experience with danger on the job; are issues of trust, partnership, and back-up influenced by her sexual identity?
4. What is the lesbian officer's experience with suspiciousness on the job; how does her police experience with fellow officers and civilians relate to her level of disclosure?
5. What is the lesbian officer's experience with social isolation in policing; how is her interaction with supervisors, partners, fellow officers and friends, as well as her job assignment and activities, influenced by her sexual identity?

6. What is the lesbian officer's experience with conservatism and hypocrisy in policing; does the preponderance of these factors influence her level of disclosure?

7. What were factors influencing the lesbian officer's interest in policing; how does her perceived mission in policing relate to her sexual identity and level of disclosure?

8. What is the lesbian officer's experience with machismo and stereotyping in policing; do either variables relate to her sexual identity or level of disclosure?

9. What are the lesbian officer's reasons for being a police officer, for staying a police officer, or for wanting to leave policing; what variables influence her attitude toward job compatibility and satisfaction?

10. What is the lesbian officer's experience with policing assignments and promotions; what is her perception of how her sexual identity and level of disclosure influences those decisions?

11. What is the lesbian officer's experience with discrimination and harassment; how have incidents of discrimination and harassment been influenced her sexual identity and level of disclosure?

12. What is the lesbian officer's experience with pregnancy and maternity leaves; how does her sexual

identity or level of disclosure influence this female policing issue?

13. What is the lesbian officer's experience with male colleagues on the job; how does her sexual identity influence her interaction and rapport with various groups of officers?

14. What is the lesbian officer's experience with organizational double-standards in policing; does she perceive that the existing protective legal and departmental policy has any affect on lesbian officers' policing choices, decision, or job satisfaction?

Research Design and Process

A one-page survey form was completed by participants preceding the interview process. The information on this form reflected demographic and personal data as well as self-reported personal data regarding sexual identity and job satisfaction as indicated on a Likert-scale (Appendix II). Surveys were administered in person, prior to the interview process, and information indicated on that survey was utilized to drive and direct the interview process. Information from this survey makes up the first component of the study.

Statistical analyses are confined to assessing relationships among variables and ascertaining the statistical significance of the data analyzed. Chi-square data analyses are used to determine the statistical significance of the differences. It is used to identify relationships among variables, not to ascertain causality.

Participants

Access to Participants

Through a variety of networks consisting of academic colleagues and professional colleagues, former students, and personal friends, contact was made with nine initial subjects. Because of the precarious nature of sexual identity and disclosure issues, it was anticipated that interviews would begin with several "out" lesbian officers, who in turn would be asked to refer to the researcher any other lesbian officers they knew.

In initial pilot interviews conducted to test the research instrument, this method worked extremely well; participants were asked to tell colleagues about the research project and provide interested parties with the researcher's work telephone number. No attempt was made to solicit names or phone numbers of potential participants, and it was assured that no mention would be made of a

subject's participation in the study to potential participants (in other words, confidentiality was assured even if they referred friends and lovers; the researcher never asks how they came to hear of the study).

It was conceivable, however, that extremely closeted lesbian officers who have not disclosed their sexual orientation to anyone would not be accessed by the snowballing technique. To reach these subjects, an advertisement seeking lesbian officers' participation in the study (and emphasizing the anonymous and confidential nature of it) was placed in The Village Voice, a local newspaper commonly read by members of the lesbian community.

This snowballing technique did work relatively well, and was complemented by a number of fortuitous non-subject contacts who referred friends of theirs, often the more closeted lesbian officers, to the researcher. At times the snowballing technique would become frustratingly slow because the ethical considerations of initiating contact with officers who (an interim contact would insist) would be interested in participating in the study. Because of the provisions for anonymity and complete confidentiality, potential participants could not be, and never were, directly contacted by the researcher. All subjects were found by indirect means: either someone with knowledge of the study (including subjects) would inform a potential

subject of the study and encourage her to call me directly, or a possible subject (any female NYPD officer) was made aware of the existence of the study, without an attempt to solicit participation, and asked to refer anyone whom she believed might be interested in participating. A surprising number of these "possible subjects" did call and indicate interest in being participants.

A number of phone calls did result from The Village Voice ad, along with a number of prank calls and fraudulent referrals; none resulted in an interview. It is perhaps relevant that two of the potential subjects who responded to the ad, discerned by the researcher to be genuine, refused to be interviewed in person. Both indicated that they were very closeted at work and were afraid to meet at John Jay College for fear of being revealed. Both callers were willing to be interviewed by phone, but obvious problems in administering the survey, coupled with consistency issues of comparing phone interview contents to face-to-face interview content, required exclusion of those two potential subjects. One potential subject who responded to the ad did make an appointment for an interview, but did not show.

Within a six month period, 35 subjects completed surveys and participated in the interview. Of these, 33 were eventually included in the methodological analyses. Of the two excluded, one was disallowed because of

inconsistency in the interview setting, and the other was excluded due to mechanical failure of the audio recording equipment.

Participants as Subjects

Participants in this study were limited to self-identified lesbians obtained through contact referrals and the snowballing technique. As established in the background overview and exploration of theoretical framework, the characteristic of sexual orientation and preference is more easily conceptualized along a continuum than by empirical definition. Because the constructivist perspective relies on interpretation of the subjects' realities, it is necessary to rely on the subjects' own self-identification. To assure proper representation of the study's purpose, a question was featured in the demographic survey in which subjects were asked to indicate sexual orientation on a Likert Scale rated 1 through 5, with 1 being exclusively heterosexual and 5 being exclusively homosexual.

All participants were employed as sworn officers of the NYPD at the time of interview, with no exclusions based on rank or duty assignment. All subjects are older than 21 years of age, as this is the minimum age requirement for NYPD officers. Subjects were not limited to street patrol

officers in that they could occupy any rank or assignment within the NYPD. Retirees and recruits who had not completed Police Academy training or commenced their rookie year were not included in this study, as it was considered imperative that subjects' accounts be both current and based on actual work experience.

Protecting Confidentiality of Participants

Of paramount importance to this study, as well as the researcher's academic integrity, was the issue of confidentiality and anonymity. While it was impossible to guarantee anonymity in its purest sense because some potential subjects were already known to the researcher, all participants had the option of selecting and using a pseudonym for identification purposes in the interview and survey process. Because contact from potential subjects was directed only to the researcher's faculty office phone at John Jay College (with private voicemail), subjects were free to use whatever name they wished during their participation in the study. Whether subjects selected to use real names or pseudonyms, all names were changed or omitted in the final report of the findings.

In addition to anonymity, the issue of confidentiality was perceived as critical. To address subjects' concerns of being exposed via their participation in the study, the

interview process commenced with the researcher assuring the participant that never, under any circumstances, would names or identities be divulged to anyone (including the NYPD, researcher's colleagues, friends, family, etc.). It was emphasized that to break this confidence would invariably mean the end of the research project, jeopardization of the researcher's doctoral candidacy, and loss of either of two faculty positions. It was further reiterated that the researcher is committed to ethical standards of research, and that to break research confidentiality would most likely spell the end of any career in academia.

Prior to commencement of interview questions, participants were given a brief verbal and written description of the study which included a consent line to read and sign (Appendix A). Participant questions or concerns about the study were to be addressed throughout the study, but none arose. Participants were told that their interview will be tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher, and permission was asked and granted to do so in all cases. Participants were also told that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time, and that if this occurred, the tape recordings and transcriptions will be destroyed. No participants indicated a wish to withdraw at any time during the six months of interview process.

Data Collection

Instrument Design

The qualitative portion of this study, the process of inquiry, consisted of collection, coding, and categorization of semi-structured interviews conducted with subjects following their completion of the survey form. Semi-structured interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) are the primary method of obtaining here-and-now constructions, reconstructions, and projections from the respondents.

The research instrument consists of an interview schedule made up of questions and areas of inquiry organized according to themes revealed in the literature and the pilot interview. While naturalistic inquiry allows for pursuit of lines of questioning beyond those outlined in the instrument, the interview schedule was the primary tool utilized in organizing and expounding on the interview questions and responses.

The initial themes and questions included in the interview schedule, primarily those on the work world and employment environment of participants, are to some extent patterned after the interview tool utilized by Leinen (1993) in his research on gay cops. The formulated questions, however, also included interview categories utilized by

Martin (1989) in her studies of women in policing, and Jordan (1996) in her analysis of the work-related problems of women in the NYPD.

Upon establishing the interview themes and categories, the interview schedule built upon those themes and questions anticipated in "Purpose of the Study"--namely, background of participant, workplace environment, relationships with coworkers, experiences with discrimination and harassment, formation and existence of community and/or subculture, and personal goals/future plans. This instrument varies greatly from Leinen's in that it is not as concerned with the non-work related world of gay officers, but rather seeks to identify and encourage exploration of those work-related problems reported by women in policing, as perceived by lesbian officers specifically.

Interview Setting

The meeting place for all interviews was John Jay College of Criminal Justice in midtown Manhattan, New York. A large, quiet, comfortable conference room was used, with participant and research situated around a round table. One initial interview did take place outside of this setting (at the participant's office) but was later excluded due to constant interruptions and lack of controls.

The John Jay College site was regarded as ideal, because it is centrally located within the city and well-known to NYPD officers. It is a very neutral territory in that it does not represent a workplace setting, artificially controlled environment, or known "gay space" (Lockard, 1985:92). Furthermore, because the setting is in an institution of higher learning specializing in criminal justice education, it is quite common to see NYPD officers frequenting the halls and classrooms. Because the interviewer was a faculty member and doctoral student in this institution, it was not likely that there would be any connection made between office visitors and doctoral dissertation research. Subjects had no apparent reason to fear being identified as lesbian officers participating in a study were they to be seen or recognized by their colleagues in this setting.

The setting was also ideal in that it is consistent, quiet, private, and easily accessible. It provides a relaxed and informal environment for both the researcher and subject.

The Interview Process

All interviews were structured in the same manner. Upon meeting the participant and establishing the purpose of the study and confidentiality of information, subjects were

asked to complete the demographic survey form (Appendix B) for the interviewer's reference during the interview, as well as computation in the first phase of the study.

After some ice-breaker conversation, the consent form (Appendix A) and the demographic survey form (Appendix B) was administered. Interviews then followed the thematic questions of the interview schedule (Appendix C), with room allowed for elaboration of answers or exploration of themes at the interviewer's discretion. Each interview was allocated four hours for completion, with actual interviews lasting from 90 minutes to three and a half hours. The average interview time was two hours.

Interpreting the Interview Narratives

All interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed by the researcher, and later analyzed using the coding paradigm as offered by Strauss (1987) and Strauss & Corbin (1990). Transcribed records were then converted to text files and imported into HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative research software package. Initial coding progressed from open coding to axial coding to selective coding, as indicated by the on-going collection of interview data. The third level of coding, selective coding, was conducted to establish descriptive central categories; it is this process which is intended to generate new theory about the phenomena observed

and categorized. It is that process which can reveal additional unanticipated concerns of the respondents. Provision is thus made for all findings to be reported via the use of a storyline.

Reporting the Findings

The grounded theory framework proved be most instrumental in determining the presentation of the findings. Because applicable theories could not be predetermined, the actual context(s) in which the findings would be realized were not known at the beginning of the interview process.

It is now clear, however, that themes indicated in the literature did emerge in a collective reality perceived by the lesbian officers, and that these subjects' perceptions of and experiences with those themes is unique to their particular identities. The extent to which participants' work-related issues and problems are shaped by their sexual identities is explored in the narratives.

CHAPTER FIVE

Survey Findings: The Quantitative Analysis

The anonymous survey form (Appendix B), administered to each subject just prior to the interview, requested demographic data and elicited the participant's self-reported responses to several Likert scaled questions regarding disclosure, job satisfaction and personal views. The demographic data included the respondent's age, race/ethnicity, current rank/assignment in the NYPD, education, marital status and borough of residence.

The first section of the quantitative findings contains the demographic data which provides a statistical summary of the respondents. The second section contains an analysis of the officer's responses to the Likert scaled questions.

Demographic Summary of Respondents

As shown in Table 1, approximately half of the 33 respondents were White, about one-quarter were Black, and another quarter were Hispanic. Only one of the officers was Chinese (see Table 1).

Table 2 shows that approximately one-third of the participants held only a high school diploma, and another third had some college credits without completing the bachelor's degree. Slightly more than one-fifth of the respondents had a bachelor's degree. The remaining one-fifth had attended graduate school, including some who received a Master's Degree.

Table 3 indicates that 73% of the respondents lived in New York City, divided unequally among the five boroughs of Manhattan, Queens, Brooklyn, Staten Island and the Bronx. The remainder lived in suburban Westchester County and Long Island.

Table 4 shows the ranks of respondents within the NYPD. The job assignments of the 33 female officers who formed the sample for this inquiry were so diverse (i.e., recruitment, patrol, administration, teaching, investigation, etc.) and variables regarding duties so descriptive, that categorizing jobs by assignment or duties, without the benefit of qualifying data, was futile.

Disclosure, Job Satisfaction and Conservatism:

Likert Scale Analyses

Upon completing the demographic items, the participants were asked to respond to several Likert scaled items, directed at measuring the participant's disclosure, job satisfaction and conservatism. Included within the group of Likert scaled items was a question directed at verifying the participant's sexual identity. Of the 33 respondents, 32 unambiguously reported having a lesbian sexual identity (a score of 4 or 5 on the 5-point Likert scale) and only one participant checked having a "neutral" (a score of "3") sexual identity. The officer with the "neutral" sexual identity was included in the sample after the researcher clarified that the respondent's identity was also "lesbian." This issue is further addressed in the qualitative summary presented in Chapter 5.

Disclosure in the Workplace and Outside the Workplace

Both disclosure statements were evaluated with the same 5 point Likert scale, in which higher scores denoted more disclosure regarding the officer's sexual orientation. When the data for all 32 officers was considered, it was relevant that disclosure at work was significantly associated with disclosure outside of work, $\chi^2 = 90.00$, $p < .00001$. Thus,

the greater disclosure outside of the workplace, the more likely the officer disclosed her sexual orientation in the workplace.

The data were subjected to Kappa analysis, which measures the percent of agreement between two ratings. This revealed a 67.27% agreement between the participant's disclosure at work and her disclosure socially, $p < .00001$.

The relationship between the two types of disclosure was examined for the officers grouped by rank/assignment within the NYPD. For the 21 police officers, there was a significant level of agreement between disclosure at work and disclosure socially. In fact, the percent of agreement was nearly 3 times greater than chance alone (28.12%), [Kappa = .47, $p < .00001$]. Likewise, a Pearson correlation reaffirmed the significant relationship between the two disclosure ratings, [$r(19) = .70$, $p < .0002$].

Likewise, the disclosure ratings for the 8 sergeants revealed another significant level of agreement, [Kappa = .81, $p = .0006$]. This time, the percent of agreement increased to 87.50%, also approximately 3 times beyond the level of agreement indicated by chance alone (34.18%). Also, the Pearson correlation reaffirmed the significant relationship between the two disclosure ratings, [$r(6) = .96$, $p = .0001$].

Disclosure and Job Satisfaction

In addition to responding to questions regarding their level of disclosure both in the workplace and outside the workplace, the officers were also asked to indicate their level of job satisfaction using a 5 point Likert scale, in which higher values indicated greater satisfaction. Data from all 33 participants failed to show a statistically significant correlation [$r = .25$, $p > .05$].

Disclosure at Work and Conservatism

The final survey question required the participant to indicate her level of conservatism in personal views using a 5 point Likert scale, in which higher values implied more Liberal views. The data for the 33 officers showed a significant and positive relationship between disclosure at work and tendency toward "Liberal", [$r = .48$, $p = .002$]. Hence, the greater the participant's level of disclosure at work, the more "liberal" were the officer's personal views.

Discussion

In general, the analysis of demographic data and Likert Scale indices failed to reveal consistent levels of significance. The only significant finding related to the research questions was the relationship between subject rank and level of disclosure; specifically, participants with the

rank of Sergeant were significantly more likely to be disclosed.

Because Kappa and Pearson tests confirmed a very high level of significance between rank and disclosure, the indication of a high level of disclosure among Sergeants is considered in the final analysis of qualitative data findings.

CHAPTER SIX

Findings from the Interviews:

The Qualitative Data

Though the analysis of quantitative survey data revealed one significant relationship between variables (that of Rank and Level of Disclosure), the nature of quantitative relationships fails to offer insight into the explanation, or "why?", of the correlation. It is the analysis of qualitative data collected in the interview process which strives to explain such relationships, while exploring and revealing additional data which quantitative analysis cannot by its nature address.

The Coding Process

At the outset of the study, it was necessary to devise a preliminary code and to categorize the data. This "open coding" process (Strauss, 1990) conceptually labels discrete happenings, events, and other instances of phenomena as discovered by reviews of literature, media, cases, and pilot interviews. Preliminary codes were thus developed at the time of the subject interviews to provide a framework for

sample questions. Two initial categories, police-related issues and female officer issues, were utilized to organize interview questioning.

As the initial interviews took place, early codes and categories began to evolve from the interview contents, survey (quantitative) data, and field notes. The fourteen original qualitative research foci drove the initial interviews, but certain questions soon revealed issues of thematic importance, while others revealed a less tangential, even spurious, relationship to the research questions. Eventually the codes which provided the basis for each research foci were broken down, interpreted, reorganized, and reassessed, until the newly constructed categories bore little resemblance to the original fourteen foci. A reflective journal was kept throughout the interview process in which seemingly unrelated events, such as responses to the advertisement for subjects, or inadvertently discovered relationships between subjects, were noted and later reevaluated for their worth. This process of open coding continued until the actual categorization process began using the HyerRESEARCH software package to analyze the semi-structured interviews.

The initial coding process is likened to a process of brainstorming, where virtually any related concept to the phenomena being studied should be included so that there is

a large pool of concepts from which to analyze and develop categories. More than two hundred initial codes were collapsed into separate and relatively distinct categories. A complete listing of the open codes and axial codes is found in Appendices D and E, respectively.

Whereas open coding "fractures the data and allows one to identify some categories" (Strauss, 1990: 97), axial coding is the process by which the data are put back together in new ways "to make connections between a category and its subcategories" (Strauss, 1990: 97). Although significant relationship will exist among the new categories, the properties and dimensions of each category support the derived construct. It is the process of axial coding which allows the researcher to define the conditions, thematic issues, strategies, and consequences unique to that category. Sexual Harassment, for example, was identified as a category separate from Sexual Discrimination based upon consistent differences in subjects' perceptions of and experiences with each concept. Sexual Harassment involved conditions of sexual joking, flirting, unwanted attention, or sexual overtures. Sexual discrimination, on the other hand, was related to a hostile environment and perceived as a strategy for oppressing or alienating unwanted people.

To further illustrate, disclosure on the job (in the category of Police Life), although related to disclosure off

the job (in the category of Other Life) offered a set of definitions, conditions, contexts, and consequences that differed significantly from the experience of self-disclosure outside the job. Thus, Disclosure became a separate code within two categories (Police Life and Other Life) which emerged as a result of subjects' emphasis between those two worlds, and not the concept of disclosure itself.

The following descriptions of categories derived from the axial coding process are offered not only to illustrate the constructs being described, but also to provide the reader with reality-based examples of those derived factors. Each category represents a veritable "building block" in the constructed reality of the world the subjects, often representing a reorganization of many open-coding themes into constructs determined by the interviews. Though the central focus of this study is on the category which emerged as Police Life, the other emergent categories (Before-Life, Other Life, and After-Life) must be considered in context to give meaning and provide the full picture of the themes realized in Police Life.

The Before-Life

While interview questions made provision for exploration of the subjects' background before policing, as well as for reasons for entering the profession, it was not predicted from the outset that subjects would so clearly delineate life prior to policing (Before-Life) from a current life in policing (Police Life). Conditions related to the Before-Life were often cited as the impetus for entering policing, and linkage was made to the much anticipated After-Life and less emphasized Other Life. These constructs, as will be explained below, are very different.

Though the factors and issues involved in the Before-Life would often surface again in categories of Stress, Job Performance, and Support, subjects' responses clearly indicated that the Before Life was related to Identity, Job Satisfaction, and Social Life.

The term "Before-Life" was coined by the researcher to describe what respondents often referred to as "before the PD," "before coming on the job," or "when I was a civilian," (inferring that the officer does not consider herself a civilian out of uniform). The term may seem extreme, but to describe the subjects' life prior to being a police officer as "Before-Policing" would be to mislead and incorrectly

emphasize the complete metamorphosis that occurs in the police experience, as indicated in the interviews.

"Before-Life" intentionally reflects the reality, as revealed in the interviews, that most subjects defined their lives in terms of their occupation, and that becoming a police officer irreversibly separated them from their life before becoming an officer. This finding is consistent with existing literature, which indicates an attitude of "once a cop, always a cop" among police officers (Neiderhoffer, 1967; p. 86).

Descriptions of life before policing usually provided an understanding of the individual situations and specific impetus that caused subjects to enter policing, as well as the personal and sexual identity of the subject prior to becoming an officer. Thus, three separate codes were utilized to produce the category of Before-Life: situational conditions, impetus for becoming an officer, and self-identity.

Many subjects indicated that they simply "fell into" the job of policing or ended up in it by luck or happenstance. Surprisingly few knew that they wanted to be a police officer from a young age, even those from police-families:

KCJ¹: And what attracted you to the job of policing?

S16: It was simply the test I took. There was no deep thought behind it.

KCJ: And why the NYPD instead of another police department?

S16: Because I didn't wake up the day of the Suffolk County test. I took all the prep classes and never made it to the test.

Most subjects reported that they were attracted to the civil service position because of its salary, benefits, and job security, thus supporting the findings of recent literature (Martin, 1990; Jordan, 1996):

KCJ: What was it that attracted you to policing then?

S13: It was the benefits. Because I was working for the City, but for another agency. I didn't have the same benefits. I wasn't necessarily civil service, there's another status but I don't remember what it is. But you're not entitled to all the benefits that someone else would be entitled to if they were full-fledged civil service. So, I just needed that medical coverage and all that good stuff that comes with this [sarcastic] wonderful job.

Another subject combined the benefits of civil service, family influence, and happenstance to explain why she left her Before-Life:

KCJ: How did you come to have a career in law enforcement?

¹Throughout the text, "KCJ" refers to the author, Kathleen Casey Jordan, in the interviews and writing of the dissertation. The use of "S" followed by a number refers to the specific subject who is responding.

S04: I used to work in accounting, prior to being a police officer, and I hated that end of the work. It was always just very boring. I always liked working with numbers but I wanted to do something different. I was 20 years old at the time, probably 19, and my father said to me civil service is the way to go. Take the tests. Take all the tests.

So I did. I took the Transit police tests, I took the Court Officer test, Correction Officer, and Transit called me. I went through the whole process of the investigation and all that, and I don't know why but my heart was kind of set on Transit. Even though now, looking back, I don't think I would have liked it, being a transit cop. And it turned out that even though I was investigated for Transit, and I was on the Transit list, [another police agency] took a part of that list and hired off of it.

KCJ: So what attracted you to the job of policing, rather than, say Court Officer?

S04: They were the first ones that called me. I really wanted Court Officer I think!

Situational factors combined with personal traits associated with the Before-Life also contributed to subjects' interest in policing:

KCJ: Why did you want to be a police officer?

S32: I would have to say with hindsight that it was a bit of naivete, idealism, and also ...mercenary. There was a conflict of interest. I was intending to be a teacher and became very disenchanted with that area. Especially at the time. The City schools were in a bad way. And parochial Schools, you really don't make a salary that you can live on. So I was in graduate school, trying to find myself, and thinking, I took all the wrong courses, and now I have to start over again. I took all these English courses and found out I wanted to be a math teacher, so I was really in a bind.

Many subjects mentioned their idealism and interest in the challenge of policing and concepts of helping and protecting others, traits commonly associated with all fledgling officers (Skolnick, 1966; Meagher and Yentes, 1986) :

KCJ: So what attracted you to it was salary?

S11: Salary, yes, but I also think..I think because I'd always grown up with the idea of, you know, women in a certain role. And I'm challenged by these roles, like police women, military, there's a certain attractiveness there. When I grew up I was a tomboy, so I know that it was attractive to me to see other women in the role in the poster made it much more acceptable and accessible. I do think there is a time for most people in policing, an idealism, that you want to help people. And that appeals to you. The cops and robbers aspect doesn't. And it didn't. I didn't want to catch criminals, but I did want to help people, and protect people. So it's an idealism that way.

There was a great deal of overlap between the situational inducements, such as salary and benefits, to becoming a police officer and the actual impetus, or circumstances, which caused subjects to join the NYPD. Eleven subjects reported that seeing a recruitment poster featuring women, or having a female recruiter, actually prompted them to join the NYPD:

S14: So I saw this poster for the transit police, and there were women on the poster. And I guess I was at a low point, I was out of college, I had all this education, not making a dime, don't know where now to put this education where I can make a viable living, and it flashes at me: there are women there, you can help, and guess what? Starting salary was \$18,900 which

15 years ago was a lot, considering I came from a background where my father was a minister but he didn't make a lot of money. So that looked to me like a great salary, and you can help people.

Another subject described that in her Before-Life, police were considered the enemy; the intervention of an attractive female recruiter provided the impetus for her to apply to the NYPD:

S25: I was walking through City Hall once day and this very, very, very attractive woman...now, this was 10 years ago...she was absolutely gorgeous. She saw me, right? And I was coming from work because I used to work in the area. And she saw me and she stopped me, and she gave me an application and she told me that the Police Department needs people like me.

KCJ: Was she a recruiter?

S25: Yes, she was an officer, and she was working in the recruitment unit. And I just thought she was so beautiful! As silly as that is.

KCJ: If no one had reached out to you and asked you to apply, might your life have gone a bit differently?

S25: Absolutely.

KCJ: You can actually pin it down to that moment?

S25: Without question. Because I didn't like police officers.

KCJ: Why not?

S25: I grew up in a housing project, which wasn't really that dangerous per se, but the police were...every time I saw the police they were unfriendly, not nice.

KCJ: So you grew up with a negative stereotype of police?

S25: Yes. From me being a little girl I thought the police were supposed to be friendly. So, I didn't really care for them too much.

All but three subjects self-identified as lesbians (indicating either a 4 or 5 on the survey) prior to becoming police officers. Most, however, indicated that their sexual identity had little, if any, bearing on their choice to join the NYPD. Some subjects reported knowing they were lesbian from a very young age, but most indicated that they became aware of their sexual identity in their late teens or during college. Subjects reported a wide variety of experiences in coming to know their sexual identity.

KCJ: Did you self-identify as a lesbian when you first came on to the force?

S17: Well, I had a whole big problem with it to begin with, so the police department actually didn't...well, actually made it worse. Like coming to grips with it made it even harder. Because you didn't fit in. And the fear. I guess I did, I mean, I was in that lifestyle already.

Another subject described conflict between her emerging sexual identity and the religious tenets of her upbringing:

S13: I grew up one of six children, number five. And Pentecostal. I had to go to church three or four times a week. And Fire and Brimstone. And homosexuality is a sin, and things like that. And I just had to...I don't know if it was suppress those feelings, at such an early age...I guess I did. Not necessarily suppress them, I didn't let anyone know.

KCJ: Can you tell me a bit about the process, that coming of age...

S13: Well, not to say that the whole Pentecostal thing back then was abusive, but it was very powerful. All I can say is Fire and Brimstone: I think you understand. And the feelings I was having as a young teenager growing up, was towards women or girls, as I should say. And I had to go to church so much, and that religion, back then, they were just so insistent on letting you know what is going to send you straight to hell, what's ungodly: and homosexuality and stealing and all those other things. So I just couldn't let anyone know that I had those feelings.

Subjects who had indicated a high level of disclosure on the job (a 4 or 5 on the Likert scale) also reported knowing their sexual identity from a young age, and cited personal traits--not sexual identity--as having an important influence on their career decisions:

S04: Sure. I knew that I was gay since I was ten or eleven. In fact I was with someone and we owned a house together when I was 20 years old, so it wasn't even an issue.

KCJ: It wasn't an issue because you had faith in the department that it wouldn't matter? Or perhaps faith in yourself?

S04: Maybe both. Maybe being gay was never...I never identified my identity, or categorized myself as gay first. I am me: talented, confident individual, and that is just a very small part of my life. That's just who I like to be intimate with.

For some subjects who indicated less disclosure (1,2, or 3 on the Likert scale for disclosure on the job), sexual identity played a very large role in their assessment of a police career:

S17: Before I came on the job, I called the Lambda Defense Fund, because something came up and I was wondering if they could keep me off the job if they found out that I was a lesbian. Or could they prosecute me if they found out? But to be honest with you, I lied. I lied on the psychological. And I have to say that. And then I got caught lying. Being that I'm a very honest person, one of the last questions on the psychological, that and other things, they ask you "did you tell all the truth?" And I put "No," because I did lie, and at some point, it is almost like I wanted to admit it.

I got called down for a follow-up interview, and I kind of philosophically danced around it. I said "I meant this..." and I lied again: "sometimes you say things and you believe that it's true but a part of you doesn't, so that's why I put it." I copped out at the last minute. But I never thought they'd call me down either.

Several subjects indicated that other identity issues, such as gender, age, and race--and not sexual orientation--were far more prevalent in their consideration of a career in policing:

S2: Well, first of all, my sexual identity is very private to me. And prior to me taking that job with the police, I had to deal with a whole lot of other issues, such as being a woman, being African-American, and those were the things that I had to deal with firstly and most importantly, and I can't really change those things. And that's the first thing that people see when they see me, is that. And the way I carry myself. So the only thing that I can control is my sexuality and who I sleep with, which shouldn't be an issue. But it is, sometimes to some people.

The Police Life

In exploring the current world of the subjects, it was not anticipated that they would draw such a severe line between their work life and their personal life. Whereas literature on police subculture indicates that most [albeit male] police officers form subcultures in which they only trust and socialize with other officers, subjects in this study largely reported exclusion from such groups and the solidarity that often stems from socializing with colleagues. Social and personal issues, as well as recreational or organizational activities outside the job, were considered in the category of "Other Life." The category had initially been coined the "Personal Life" but as analysis continued, it became clear that the expectation of privacy inferred in "Personal Life" was either absent or extremely protected by subjects. Thus, the life which subjects conducted outside their policing was not truly personal, it was a new construct, more at odds than parallel with the Police Life.

It became clear early on that the level of on-the-job disclosure was the link which determined whether a subject's police life overlapped, or was in any way related to, her personal/social (other) life. Those who indicated a higher level of self-disclosure (10 of 33 subjects indicated a 4 or

5 on the job-disclosure scale) also reported more correspondence between their work and personal lives.

Even among these more "out" subjects, however, there was a very guarded attitude toward socializing with other police officers. In many cases, the most cited link between Police Life and Other Life was sports, and the common after-game socializing (usually at a bar) that accompanied the sporting activity. A number of subjects who indicated that they had been romantically involved with other lesbian officers indicated that they often met these officers while playing team sports, either police-organized or community-organized.

A few subjects indicated that their personal and police lives merged when formal policing events required them to bring a date; most indicated that they simply avoided these occasions and all others where bringing a date was encouraged. Some, however, indicated that they would bring male dates (often a cousin or gay male friend) in order to maintain concealment on the job.

It was the perpetual avoidance, the selective silence, the self-mandated secrecy, and the fence-straddling stance of those semi- and non-disclosed subjects (indicating a 1,2, or 3 on the job-disclosure scale), as well as their diligence in separating personal life from police life, that eventually led to a completely new construct. This

phenomena, labeled "The Limbus," will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Subjects' level of disclosure was clearly related to the quality of several work-related issues, namely relationship with coworkers, work-related attitudes, isolation, stress, fear, trust, and job satisfaction. Still, other unanticipated factors, such as the existence of role models or advancement opportunities, appeared to have a greater impact on the work related issues of attitudes and job satisfaction.

Some issues, such as authority and conservatism, revealed no clear relationship with the level of disclosure; some very "out" officers reported that their authority was heightened because of their openness on the job, whereas others reported they had been disparaged because of their identity.

In contrast, or perhaps in addition, to the quantitative data which indicated that the level of outness was positively related to personally liberal views, interview data was quite mixed. Several "out" subjects indicated being personally liberal on social and political issues, but very conservative on policing and criminal justice issues. Again, the overwhelming majority of subjects consistency drew a line between Police Life and Personal Life, indicating that perhaps the survey question

on conservatism was interpreted differently by different subjects.

Little, if any, relationship was found between disclosure and the work-related issues of harassment and discrimination. When such experiences occurred or were noted, the perceived basis for was almost always gender or race.

Many components that contribute to the officers' working personality--danger, solidarity, authoritarianism, prejudice, hypocrisy, conservatism, and machismo--not only failed to be linked to the level of disclosure, but also failed to be identified by the subjects as relevant at all. When such issues were raised, it was usually in the context of other (usually male) officers suffering from such problems.

However, several other issues from the literature--mission, pragmatism, dogmatism, stereotyping, secrecy, loyalty, suspiciousness, isolation, and trust--appeared to be related to level of disclosure to varying degrees. Trust proved to be one of the biggest issues for semi- and non-disclosed officers, with the issue of fear emerging as an unforeseen, but very important, component of many subjects' work worlds.

Coding for the Police Life required far more analysis and interpretation than any of the other categories,

primarily because the research questions focussed on the work-related problems of the subjects. In addition to the rich quality of interview content relating to policing issues, the actual *quantity* of words (as realized in the transcribed pages) devoted to discussing work related problems indicated that such issues are very central to the world of the lesbian officers. Though the number of police-related interview questions was not initially obvious to subjects, the subjects were far more inclined to discuss at length, and return to, policing issues than questions about background, personal life, social life, or future.

The following discussion describes themes which emerged during the axial coding process with excerpts from subject interviews provided to illustrate each construct.

Level of Disclosure

The five subjects who reported full disclosure of their sexual identity in the workplace (5 on the Likert scale) indicated in a variety of ways that they enjoyed a high level of comfort on the job, and that any work-related problems were endemic to policing, or perhaps caused by generic sexism, misogyny, or racism. Because the relationship between position and disclosure (as revealed in the quantitative analyses) was not known at the time of the interviews, questions seeking further information in this

vein were not prompted. However, it is perhaps relevant that the content of interviews revealed that job assignment and duties appeared to be more important to disclosure issues than actual rank.

Most of those who indicated a high level of disclosure (4 or 5 on the Likert scale) did emphasize that although they are "out" on the job, they make a point not to "advertise" their sexual identity or "shove it in people's faces." Higher ranking officers appeared to have more comfort with their disclosure. One such officer indicated:

S04: I try not to conceal anything personal about myself. especially in this position now. When I was a police officer, or even a [ranking officer on special assignment], it was a little different. I think I could be a little bit more...vulnerable? Business and my career were very different then. Once I became a [ranking officer] and am now in charge of things, I really don't have to worry about it.

This observation indicates that the coming out process is perhaps a metamorphosis that parallels the increased responsibilities, job opportunities, and career advancement that comes with years on the job. This mirrors the quantitative evidence that sergeants are more disclosed on the job and have a higher job satisfaction. One sergeant said:

S11: Oh, I used to be...ugh! I'm telling you. Me today, as compared to me a year ago: you would have had a much different interview. A year ago, if you

were gay I wouldn't talk to you. People are looking! People would then think I was gay and then they would think...whatever.

KCJ: So what changed?

S11: Well, when I made supervisor I had all these new responsibilities. And I just got tired. I had a friend of mine who was wearing me down. She was very out. After a while, I'm thinking: I'm hanging out with her, and everyone knows she's gay. They don't care. And you know what? This is a lot easier than pretending that I'm not. So I'm a little more comfortable. Like before, I was afraid that they would know. I was paranoid. Ten years of paranoia! Now I don't care as much. What are they going to do to me?

Only one subject indicated that she was "totally out" and refused to compromise her commitment to full disclosure of her lesbianism in all aspects of her life. Yet she indicated that her level of disclosure did invite work-related problems.

S12: See I don't give a shit what people think. I mean, they see me with this buzz cut, and most of them think I'm a guy anyway. I have never played that evasive game that other dykes play on the job.

I wore my pink triangle and my red AIDs ribbon on my jacket, just like they wear their Emerald Society pins and their PBA pins and whatnot. I did this from the git-go, in the Academy, just to let people know not to fuck with me on this issue. And nobody did. In fact, a lot of people, women especially, stayed clear of me all together. Which was fine with me. But I paid for it too. Whenever I got passed over for the good assignments, or partnered with a totally homophobic asshole, or got my E-days denied for no reason, I realized I was paying for it. I just couldn't prove it. But at least I never sold out.

The higher ranking subjects, however, hinted that the road to promotion included a balancing act of semi-disclosure and professionalism that left them in a balancing act of non-disclosure and non-concealment. This balancing phenomenon, which several subjects described with the phrase "in limbo," was often described by subjects that it became the basis for the concept labeled "The Limbus" which is fully explored in Chapter Seven.

S20: I think because the higher I've climbed, the more vulnerable I've become, because people are jealous. It becomes a natural thing, with these people and their lives, in this mediocre environment, I find that police are miserable people. Instead of being constructive and positive, there's a lot of negativism. It's got to go somewhere, and usually it goes up. And then who does it go to? It goes to the people you can most afford to attack. And I guess female lesbians are highly attackable, and it's okay to attack them. A male attacking another male might be suspect, but "we can attack her, everyone knows she doesn't belong there."

KCJ: So it's to your detriment to self-identify?

S20: My whole thing is that through the years, they hone in on it. When I was a cop, it was rumored that I was a lesbian, because people are nasty. And I think that people are perceptive, so if you don't make a pretense...

One think I've admired in myself that I haven't done is pretend. And I've seen other women do this, the wedding band and the engagement ring, and lying about men they go out with. I just never talked about my business! I've seen women do this, make a history that's false. I couldn't do that. I mean, there are levels of betrayal, and to me that would be such a self-betrayal. I couldn't live with lying like that constantly. Not being true to myself, even if I'm not out there with everyone else, at least try to be true

to yourself. I just find it's a very alien environment.

A highly ranking officer indicated that her rank had a definite impact on her disclosure decisions:

S01: Right away, when a [ranking officer] affiliates with other female officers, right away it's like they're all in bed together. And I've had that happen so many times.

KCJ: As if you couldn't possibly be interested in having friendships with a subordinate?

S01: No. Because you're a [rank], and you're with those police officer women, so you must be doing something that is, according to them, totally perverted or illicit or whatever. Where I think if we were all police officers they might weigh it but it wouldn't be big news. But my rank actually makes this a big event. Each time and every time.

Two-thirds of the subjects indicated that they were semi- or non-disclosed, but they were more likely to comment on their reaction to those who were "out" than on their own reasons for nondisclosure:

S26: I think the out ones are probably the safest. Because there's no secret, there's nothing to hide, there's no game to play. There's no weapon they can use against you! You've taken away their weapon, which is the FEAR. Once you take away that weapon, they have to just deal with you because you're just you, and they can't change it; they can't do anything about it. And it's okay. But I think that the PD is just so anti-gay...

KCJ: Why do you think other women come out on the job?

S03: I don't think it's so much the job. I don't think the job is the problem that they don't come out. Maybe it is for some. But I think that it's a very tough lifestyle anyway. And that fear is in every part of your life, and it's not because you're a cop or because the police department is going to be mean to you. The police department would probably be the safest place for you.

For me, I can't...because once it's out there, then it gets out every where else. Maybe the wrong person, or someone that you're not comfortable being out...or like you're out in your private life, but you're not out at work. I don't know what the deal would be. I don't want to know.

The most closeted officers (indicating a 1 on the job disclosure Likert scale) indicated that their nondisclosure was a personal issue that carried over into their personal lives. Some of these officers were young and had only recently discovered their sexual identity; another had been working "in the closet" for more than eight years:

S24: It wasn't the police department, it's that I couldn't accept it. I wasn't okay with me if they all knew, I thought they wouldn't like me. It's all that psycho bullshit. I think that it's more a society thing that I do, more than the police department, in not coming out. You know, you come out to your friends and you come out to your family, but who else do you really come out to? You don't put a sign on your front lawn. You don't tell the neighbors, you don't tell the people in the supermarket. So why are you going to tell the police department?

S31: Once I got in the mode of denial, it became a way of life. All the invented boyfriends, the flirting with the cute guys. Christ, I even slept with a lot of them just to keep my cover. I accept it more now,

personally, but I have no interest in sharing that with the job. They'll think I'm mental.

Most subjects, however, indicated that they were quasi- or semi-disclosed (2 or 3 on the Likert scale for disclosure on the job). These officers took the hard-line approach that their sexual identity was in no way related to their police work, and that they anticipated discrimination and other discomfiture should their sexual identity be known:

S15: It is just nobody's business. They are looking for anything on you, anything to use against you. The way they talk, I can't stand it. These two women, good cops, professional cops, in my squad were rumored to be involved. It wasn't true, I don't think...I don't even care. But my partner was going "Yeah, I'd like to get between the two of them, I could point her missiles in a different direction!" I don't want them talking about me that way. For a lot of them, you being a lesbian is like open season on you. They think it's the biggest challenge.

Another subject, a Police Officer with almost ten years on the job, discussed her thought process in undertaking identity management. She acknowledges that nondisclosure is an ongoing choice she makes on the job:

S10: I still don't know why I took this job where people hate homosexuality. They don't want to see you. They don't want to hear about it. They don't want to know about it. And if you're doing it, many times will just try to out-and-out persecute you. Other times they'll do that in subtle ways, or they'll treat you a certain way. Sometimes people might think you're gay, and they'll treat you that way, and you don't even have to be gay.

I knew it would probably be a problem, but not a major problem, because I had already been in the professional world. And I carried myself in a certain way. And I know that for my sake, I think the other issues are more important for me: being a woman and being [racial identity], I think those I have to deal with first.

KCJ: Well, as you said, you can control that other aspect of your life, your "outness", but by putting it on the same plane as your other identities, are you saying it is a strike against you as well?

S10: Oh, sure. In addition to. Based on society and how people treat you.

KCJ: So you conceal your lesbianism on the job.

S10: Yes. I try to for the most part. I guess I do. I would say yes.

Relationships with Co-Workers

Relationships with co-workers were broken down in the interview process to differentiate between rank (supervisors, partners, subordinates), gender (male and female) and sexual orientation (gay and straight), with variation on themes (e.g., relationships with gay males versus females) initialized when warranted.

While several officers, particularly more disclosed officers, indicated very positive relationships with partners, most subjects indicated very individualized experiences with co-worker relationship. Overall, however, subjects indicated a high level of isolation from coworkers, a position which would be revealed as very related to issues

of trust/loyalty and support/role models. A large number of subjects were vague on this subject matter, simply indicating that they got along well enough with coworkers, and that any work-related problems with specific officers (when acknowledged by gender, rank, or sexual orientation) were usually the result of a personality clash.

Relationships with partners did prove to be the only noteworthy theme that emerged from discussion of coworkers, and was directly linked to issues of trust and support, but there was no consistent finding with regard to the quality of partner relationships. Several officers insisted that their partners were the only people they could trust (both in general and with their sexual identity), while others insisted they would never tell a partner:

S19: You just can't spend 10 hours a day in a car with someone, a man telling you all his marital problems and you know the names and birthdays of his kids and everything. You can't do this for very long before he expects to know a little about you. I'd say that the failure to tell your partner about your personal life is probably the biggest clue that you're gay. In my case, my life revolved around stories of my "roommate." But I'd always downplay everything, always acting like she annoyed me and I didn't like her. One day, when I was talking about my "roommate" again, my partner just stopped and said "Roommate? Or girlfriend?". And I just stopped and took a breath and said "How do you know?" And he said "No one could hate their roommate and talk about her so much!" After that, we worked so much better together. We had the partner thing that had been missing before.

S08: You can't trust your partner.

KCJ: Your partner, or partners in general?

S08: Any partner. I've probably had six partners over the years and I've never told them anything about myself. You think they're your best friend, but they'll turn on you on a dime. Your partner is no more special than any other cop on the job; you just have to stay professional around all of them.

Questions about coworkers did reveal a theme of more compatibility with male coworkers than with female, mirroring the findings of the literature (Martin, 1990; Jordan, 1996). In general, subjects reported less compatibility with female officers:

S28: I know I'm like some of these other women who they call cold and bitchy. As long as the women are respectful to me, I'm going to treat people like people. But if a woman comes in my face with that "poor me, I'm just a girl" attitude I will absolutely act like she doesn't exist.

S15: Women are such game-players. They will smile and play solidarity with you one minute, and stab you in the back the next. You should see how they change when a man walks in the room. Male officers, at least, are more straight-forward. They will tell you what they think of you, no bones about it.

While attitudes toward female coworkers were highly negative, those subjects who cited the importance of a mentor or role model in their careers did indicate that the

mentor was always a ranking female (see Support/Role Models to follow).

Subjects offered diverse experiences with homosexual coworkers, but revealed no consistent theme based on the gender of other gay officers. Reaction to other lesbian officers was extremely mixed:

S06: See, with lesbian officers it depends. And it doesn't matter whether you're out or not, because lesbians have this idea that they have gay radar so they know if you are or aren't. I swear, they think any woman on the job with short hair and no lipstick, husband, or kids must be a dyke. Anyway, they're going to try to take advantage of the personal. And that can be sticky. You might think you can trust these women because of the lesbian thing, but they're probably just looking to out you, to be seen with you, so they catch less flack. I avoid other lesbian officers.

S13: Let's just say I don't look to make friends with them, but I also like to know they're out there. It's reassuring. Sometimes when you meet another woman cop on the job, and you just know, like when you look at each other and there's this understanding...I can't explain it. It's like you smile and catch her eye and suddenly you're completely comfortable with her, because you know she's like you. Sometimes that just makes my day.

Reaction to gay male coworkers was less rich in detail, but most subjects who reported knowing gay male officers indicated that they were highly compatible with them:

S20: It's kind of an easier relationship. There's not this need to fit. See, a lot of times with that male/female thing, male officers play this "you're so hot" thing and they want to have all this flirting back

and forth that you have to deal with. But with the gay cops I know, the men, there's none of that bullshit.

S09: When the gay male cops and I interact, and they know or guess that I'm gay, they know I can accept they're being gay. And in a way they understand that I'm glad, because it takes a lot of garbage out of the way. Because they're coming from a different place, so how can they treat me in the same way that the dominant male population does?

Several subjects (usually more disclosed on the job) indicated that they are more compatible with gay officer in general, irrespective of gender:

S12: I can be myself around them. You know why? It is absolutely different, because they're usually REAL. Real people. It's just different with gay people, more relaxed.

Subjects did report relatively negative relationships with supervisors, but for a variety of reasons. In most cases the problems were simply personality conflicts, or related to the supervisor's male status; several subjects indicated that the supervisor's role or assignment determined the working relationship:

S28: Well, he's a male, so what else? He's fairly easy-going, but it's just not an honest relationship on both our parts. Because he's a politician, he has to be. And I try to do what's right, and with integrity, and he does what's convenient for him, what's going to save his neck in any given situation. I think he's a smart enough politician not to give a damn about sexual identity. That's why I have to say I respect him in

that way more than others, because he's smart enough not to let that cloud his agenda.

S04: Never had a problem with a supervisor in my entire career. I just think I'm really good with them, unless they're really messed up kind of people, I've always gotten along.

S02: The police officers are nothing. It's usually the supervisors that I have a problem with. I address it. Then they try to undermine me in various ways. I have a lieutenant, a male lieutenant. He just dislikes me. I think he's just a racist, and a sexist. End of story. I don't think he's cute, and he wants that.

Responses to the open question of what group of officers the subject found herself most compatible with were mixed; many subjects couldn't answer the question specifically, and those who did usually indicated non-status criteria for compatibility:

KCJ: So who are you most compatible with on the job?

S14: People who WORK. I get along beautifully with anyone who will just do the work and keep all their personal stuff out of the job. You wouldn't believe how many people are on this job to get over. Do your work, and we'll have no problems.

S07: I get along with everyone who leaves me alone. People who mind they're own business and don't try to know mine. It's almost like we're in this secret club that knows the truth about the job, and no one else gets it.

S03: My best working relationship is with male officers. But I'm not sure it's because they're males, really, it's just me. See I grew up with three brothers so I'm comfortable with them. I'm not intimidated by them.

In summary, relationships with coworkers appeared to be very complex constructs, determined by a variety of variables that were usually unrelated to the sexual identity of the subject. Most interesting perhaps was the overlap of findings with the literature in terms of gender: where subjects had problems with other officers, it was usually the standard gender issues of competition or jealousy among women, and sexism and machismo among men. Positive relationships were usually substantiated by a particular status or incident which induced trust, or simply a compatible type of personality or working style.

Support and Role Models

The themes of coworker support and the existence of role models emerged as a related, but distinctly different, category from simple relationships with coworkers. In addition to not finding a high level of compatibility or solidarity between subjects and other lesbian officers as a group, subjects generally reported that they neither sought nor found support among other lesbian officers. There were, however, a number of reported exceptions to this, as some

subjects did indicate having a confidante in the form of a supportive coworker or mentor/role model.

The supportive coworker took a variety of forms, but was usually the subject's partner. Invariably, the partner was a heterosexual male, usually much older than the subject, with a paternal, protective, and sometimes mentoring attitude toward the subject. Even when the supportive coworker was not a partner, it was always a person with whom the subject shared a high level of trust and loyalty, a person who knew the subject's sexual identity and could keep personal information in confidence.

S18: My first partner was this big teddy-bear of a guy. Not really old enough to be my father, but so sweet, he really looked after me and wouldn't let anybody else hassle me. When the rumors started that I was gay he got really upset: he told me in the car that the guys were saying stuff about me, that I was a lesbian, and he thought I should know. He didn't ask if it was true, he just told me they were being vicious. Ironically, the rumors also included that me and him were sleeping together; the guys kept telling him he was wasting his time. I guess he got hassled just for defending me, telling them to shut up. I don't know. We just understood each other after that. We haven't worked together for 7 years, but he's still my best friend.

When the supportive coworker was not a current partner, he or she was often a former partner which the subject considered a "best friend." Those who were not partners or former partners were usually another officer of same rank

(but not always male) or, in one case, a subordinate civilian employee:

KCJ: What role did your partner have in you being able to deal with dangerous situations?

S04: We were very good together. We were always safety conscious. We always looked out for each other. He tried to look out a little more for me than I liked sometimes. He was very overprotective of me. We used to have constant battles over that. It wasn't a gender thing, I think it was an age thing. I mean, he was much older than me, old enough to be my father. He had 25 years on the job when I was partners with him.

KCJ: So how important is trust?

S04: Extremely.

KCJ: And who do you trust on the job?

S04: No one. Well, this one woman Dee, my assistant, and she's a civilian. She's a staff analyst. Have you seen *The Godfather*? She's my *concilietti*. We've known each other for almost ten years, and we've been working together for five at least.

KCJ: But you trusted your partner, right? So did Dee take his place when you left patrol?

S04: Yes, I think so. A confidante. I don't think that everybody has one. I think that some people go through many, some more superficial than others. I think it's very rare to find a good partner on patrol. And then a good assistant, or counselor, adviser. Dee is worth her weight in gold for just letting me vent to her, or bouncing ideas off of her, or whatever. She's not a secretary. She's not clerical at all. She's my *concilietti*.

KCJ: Do you think that these people, Jon and Dee, knowing about your personal life is what makes you able to consider them confidantes?

S04: Oh sure. I think that people who are very close to you need to know something about you. They need to know your personal life a little bit. When I said I didn't like anyone to know my personal business, I mean the staff. It's none of their business.

KCJ: But Joe and Dee know about your personal life?

S04. Everything. Almost everything.

KCJ: It is important to have someone on the job that you can talk to about these things?

S04: Yes. For me it's so important.

Those subjects who did indicate having a best friend or confidante on the job also reported a higher level of disclosure and were more likely to be a ranking officer (sergeant or lieutenant). Those who did not find support among coworkers consistently reported a much lower level of disclosure and job satisfaction.

Many subjects did cite the existence of a role model or mentor as highly instrumental in offering career guidance and advice, helping with promotion or transfers, and simply setting an admirable example that subjects hoped to achieve. All reported role models were female, and many were known to the subject to be lesbian; some role models simply offered inspiration to subjects, but other role models (often after the subject made her aware of her influential status) became mentors. The following passage indicates the scope of impact that a role model or mentor can have on a lesbian officer:

S03: You know, I had a lieutenant, and she was gay. And the guys loved her, they really did. I mean, she was married, she wore a wedding band, and they knew she

was gay. And no one ever said it. It was never an issue. You'd never hear them say any derogatory comments. They had a lot of respect for her. Just because she was a good boss. It wasn't an issue, and they didn't make it an issue. She didn't hide it. She'd bring her girlfriend to work, and to all the function, and everybody knows the deal. Nobody talks about it, they just know it. Which is fine.

But what is interesting about that is when I got there I was very intimidated by her. Very intimidated by her. I'd never had a female boss.

I had made her kind of like my mentor. I watched her, and how she minded her own business. And nothing was an issue. And she wasn't--not that she wasn't out-- but she was neither in or out. And I liked her style, and I like the way she handled herself. And I said "That's how I want to handle myself."

And maybe that's where I got the not coming out, and the not being in. I liked the way she operated and the respect that people had for her. And they had it for who she was, nothing else. And I said "That's how I want to be on this job."

So I went into her office and I sat down, and I said "I just wanted to tell you..." and I told her how I felt. I remembered her the first day that I was out on patrol and she was a sergeant and how much respect people had for her and how she did her job and I was always kind of like, respected her, and that's who I had decided I wanted to be like. And I said "Now I'm working for you and I feel like an idiot, and I don't want to screw up."

I think she changed a lot after that. I think what happened, was--well, she said "listen I have a lot of stuff at home that I can bring in and you can look through, and you can read about being a detective and doing investigations, and I'll bring in a packet for you. And thank you for speaking to me, and I never knew that before, this is very interesting..." And she went into this whole thing about how women don't have a lot of role models on this job, and "I never really looked at myself as one, but now that you're telling me that I am, that's kind of interesting."

But after that she got involved in [police organization] and she started preaching to women about

women taking care of women and bringing women up behind the ranks. It was a great change, because now it kind of clicked in her that now there's younger women coming up, going "hey--you were my role model!" She was like "whoa."

A few ranking officers reported similar stories, but indicated being on the receiving end of such attention; though they perhaps didn't realize in telling their stories that they were being perceived as role models, they indicated (usually in a different discussion) the existence of a role model in their own lives. This suggests that mentoring and role modeling is cyclical or generational, and that the existence of role models is extremely important to the career path of the subjects. One ranking subject who said that lesbian officers were always coming out to her, seeking her advice, or having crushes on her discussed the role of her own mentor in her career:

S23: Prior to my current assignment I worked for [a Deputy Commissioner]. We did a lot of [organizational work] together for about three years. And it was ever since I worked for her that I realized I kind of grew into my career, and grew into a being a manager.

KCJ: Why?

S23: Because she was a great role model. Yes. Fabulous. It changed my life, it really did. She taught me a lot about my career, about myself, about my writing abilities, about what to do. In fact, she kind of convinced me to continue with my graduate studies.

The most telling indication that supportive coworkers, role models, and mentors have an impact on the subjects'

lives is that subjects who indicated the existence of such support consistently indicated higher job satisfaction and less stress than those who did not trust or find support from others in the workplace.

Trust and Loyalty

Trust was the one factor of the police officer's working personality traits, based upon existing literature, which received consistent focus by subjects. Almost every subject indicated, when asked whom she trusted on the job, that she trusted no one.

Those who qualified their distrust usually cited that they trusted just one or two people on the job, and that the trusted person was, without fail, the confidante or role model they had indicated as a supportive coworker. However, more than half of all subjects indicated that they trusted no one and that this was highly significant in their lack of job satisfaction. Some subjects differentiated between their lack of trust (passive) and distrust (active), a difference usually determined by a negative experience of betrayal or disappointment.

Suspiciousness appeared to be linked to distrust, but was more a byproduct of work-related experiences than a trait associated with policing as an occupation. Many subjects actually used the word "paranoia" to describe their

level of distrust on the job, while others simply described experiences, often involving disclosure or fear of being "outed," in which trust was clearly an issue:

S26: I went out a few years ago. Someone talked me into going to this place, a nice place, a bar. Not the average, lower-class place. So I go in, and I swear I saw about seven officers in there!

KCJ: Oh, this is a gay club?

S26: Yes! A lesbian club. And they were like all...oh, it wasn't good, I felt uncomfortable. They were staring! Once they saw me go in there, I almost freaked out. When I went into this place and I saw these women...and the women were OUT women. And when I saw them, instead of saying hello...because my face looked just as familiar to them, because of the job, you know they started whispering to each other and stuff. I just left. If they had just come over and talked to me, or so much as smiled at me, I'd have known if I could trust them. But they didn't. Just because they're gay doesn't mean you can trust them; in fact, if they're out, you definitely can't trust them.

The most typical response from subjects is illustrated by the following subject's attitude about trust:

KCJ: So who do you trust?

S33: Nobody. I'm not a trust kind of person. Workwise, I've had partners that I trust. I mean, I trusted them even deeper than I trusted them that they knew my story, and I knew they didn't care, and I knew that they never asked, and I felt that it was a sign of respect that they didn't make it an issue.

KCJ: Are you suspicious of any particular person or group?

S33: Well, I'm not suspicious, but I have a fundamental flaw of no trust. I don't trust anybody,

which is a flaw, but it's a personal flaw, it has nothing to do with my lifestyle.

KCJ: What about on the job?

S33: In the PD I don't trust anybody. I mean, if I have a partner that I trust, that's great, but I don't trust them at all. There are groups that I like, I can hang out and get along with people. But I never, ever, ever, stop...I never doubt that I can't trust them. You don't know where they're going to be tomorrow, who they're going to..what's going to be going on... What could something I say or do, how could that help them better themselves, or make it a...I don't know. I just don't trust them. I've seen too much. I've seen too many games, I've seen too many people get hurt.

While most officers reported that they trusted no one, this problem was also cited by many subjects as their biggest job related problem. Distrust in policing could be aimed at particular people or groups, but was sometimes reported as a general distrust for the job, often revealing a link to cynicism:

KCJ: What do you think your biggest work-related problem is on the job?

S17: Biggest one? I think the thing I hate the most now is that I don't trust the job, I don't like the job. I've kind of grown to...I've surrendered. I did. And now I'm okay. But my heart's not in it anymore, my love for it is gone. My respect for it is gone.

KCJ: Anything specific that made this happen?

S17: I think the bureaucracy. The public hates you. The people on the job hate you. And it doesn't have anything to do with anything except that you're a police officer. They just look at you as a number. You're judged by the public, you're judged by the job. No matter what you do, you have to think "how is this

going to effect me?" You know, if I get in trouble, or get involved in something off-duty, I'm guilty until proven innocent. I have to worry about what other people are doing when I'm not working.

Loyalty was related to trust in that most subjects indicated loyalty only to the person or group they trusted. In contrast to concepts of loyalty and solidarity in the general literature on policing, subjects indicated no automatic loyalty to other police officers. Passive loyalty was indicated as a byproduct of fear: fear of reprisal for reporting incidents of harassment or discrimination, fear of taking a stand that was unpopular, fear of others' opinions and judgments, and fear of going against the grain of the status quo. There was no indication that loyalty (or its logical appendage "solidarity") existed among subjects and police officers, female officers, or lesbian officers as specific groups.

When subjects did mention loyalty, it was usually in response to *themselves*:

S09: There was this incident, it's a long story and I'm not going to tell it, but it made me realize that I couldn't even trust my partner. I was walking around, scared out of my mind, realizing that I'd trusted the wrong people. This "if we stick together, they can't get us" thing is bullshit, because someone always turns. So I just woke up one day and said "I am the only friend I have" and I decided to just trust my own judgments, be true to myself, stop being loyal to the department or the cops, just do what's best for me. It was the best thing I ever did: I never got jammed up after that.

Ranking officers, however, did indicate loyalty to the Department, though not to any particular group of officers.

One ranking officer said:

S15: My loyalty is to the Department, pure and simple. People say I live in a dreamworld, because I have faith in them to do the right thing. But that's just self-preservation. When in doubt, I just look at the policy and procedure and do exactly what it says. Then my ass is covered.

Machismo and Authority

All subjects indicated that they had witnessed macho attitudes on the job, and stories illustrating such macho attitudes were plentiful. None of the subjects indicated that she perceived herself as being macho, but many reported that they had been the target of macho attitudes, and that such attitudes often played a role in incidents of harassment, and that adopting machismo in a macho environment was common in policing.

The only mention of stereotyping, prejudice, and hypocrisy (other traits of the police officers' working personality from the literature) in the interviews surfaced during discussions of machismo and authority, usually as causes or products of macho attitudes. While it is not possible to discern the precise relationships between machismo, authority, and other common police personality

traits from the narratives, it is relevant that the key terms were linked by subjects.

Many subjects indicated that their authority was challenged on a daily basis, by both the public and other officers, but invariably by men. The questioning of the authority of a subject was linked, by the detail of their narratives, to the macho attitudes of the person (usually male) who challenged that authority. None of the subjects described herself as authoritarian; discussions of police authority always revolved around the challenging or questioning of that authority by others.

The following subject emphasized that the situation described was, in her perception, clearly an issue of disrespect for authority (based on her female status) and not an issue of sexual harassment:

S25: There was this one kid [a young male police officer], I have to give them a scratch, you know, sign their books. And there was like four of them standing on the corner and I was like "let me give you a scratch now, because it's going to get busy, they're letting the crowds out, so let's get it done now." They're all like "Yup, no problem." And this one kid was leaning against the subway stairs railing. He's just leaning, hanging out.

So he's hanging out like this, like he's on vacation. So I looked at him, and I said "Officer, can I see your book?" And he goes, "Yeah, Babe, no problem." I just didn't know what to do, I was so angry I was ready to explode. I just looked at him. I just remember, it was like being in the third-person. I looked at him, I looked at his name tag, I wrote down his shield number, and I knew that I was so angry that if I opened my mouth, I was going to cause an unbelievable scene.

And I went back the next day and I looked for him. Because I was calm. And I brought him into the office and I told him "Don't you ever, ever call me honey, babe, sweetheart. I don't know who you think you're talking to, but you're lucky you didn't get a complaint. You're lucky that I was so angry, that I just walked away, rather than to embarrass you in front of everyone."

Most subjects indicated that the problem of machismo resulted not from the challenging of authority, but from the over-exercise of authority. Narratives indicated that it is a common, if not ubiquitous, trait in policing:

KCJ: Have you ever experienced macho attitudes on the job?

S17: Towards the public, yes. Which is something that needs to be looked at, definitely. I don't see why macho people are attracted to this profession, because it is a service profession. And although it is law enforcement, it is mostly service oriented, so I don't understand that. I think that macho people carry with them a lot of their own prejudices and attitudes that are fine, but when they turn into behavior, they are not fine. So I have seen a lot of that, a lot of macho--both men and women--abusive behavior toward civilians. From women and men.

KCJ: What does macho mean to you?

S17: Macho means aggressive to me, the way that I understand the word. Bully. Bossy. Not sensitive, not compassionate.

KCJ: What kind of officer do you think becomes macho?

S17: All kinds. Too many. Men, women, gay men, gay women, straight, black, I've seen it all. I've seen it happen to me.

Most narratives, however, focused on the machismo of male officers, and the subjects' general view was that macho

attitudes were revealed in behavior that was aggressive, face-saving, proud, and overbearing, emphasizing the power (but not the authority) of the macho person.

KCJ: Have you ever experienced macho attitudes on the job?

S32: Oh yeah! I'll tell you as a supervisor I had a group of young guys, I just had to tell them straight out. They just didn't know when to let go of things, like they would get into it with a prisoner verbally, because they were angry. Or pissed at something that they said. And I was like "Do you realize that you're letting your pride...you're willing to sacrifice everything for your pride? You made the mistake, literally, so let it go because your pride is going to get you in trouble." I think that male officers have a big problem with that.

KCJ: So what does macho mean to you?

S32: Macho to me, is like a cartoon character, like a caveman saying "me man, you woman"...like "me Tarzan, you Jane." I mean, I don't think they all have it, I think a lot of them don't have it. There's been times when I've been helpless because of it, there's times when there's nothing I could do. There were times when I could like reason with them. There are times when it's already out of control, so you just, whatever. I mean, it really depends on the situation. As a cop, basically if they are that macho, I wouldn't want to work with them anyway.

The following excerpts from narratives illustrates situations of machismo as perceived by the subjects:

S16: I worked with a guy who was walking down the platforms going "Napalm sticks to kids!" He was from the Marines. We were on 135th Street and St. Nich and it's 3:00 in the morning and he's pulling out his gun and jumping into the things like this (subject does a dramatic ducking motion). There's nothing you can do, you just go "Okay, right. I hope I never need your help, Pal."

One subject offered insight on how her authority as a higher-ranking officer can be used to deal with machismo on the job:

S22: I was in a car, on my way to catch a bus or something. So I was parking the Department car, which they didn't know was a Department car. I was parking it at a precinct. So I was in a little bit of a rush, and there was a cab in front of me, and I'm antsy, I want to get by him. I was beeping my horn, and there was a Department van next to me, with a sergeant and a cop in it. And he rolled down his window and says to me: "Calm the fuck down!"

So I was in a rush and I didn't want to start in with him. So I didn't say a word, I waited for the cab, and when it pulled away, I zipped down the block. They came after me. I guess they didn't like the way I did that, or whatever. So lights and sirens, they pull me over. I'm annoyed. The sergeant doesn't even get out of the car, the cop gets out. Now that's not a safety thing at all, you know. But the cop gets out and he says to me: "What's your fucking problem?!" I'm a [higher rank]; this is just a few months ago. So took out my ID card and my shield and I said "what's your problem? And what's his problem? Because YOU have the problem now. I don't have a problem."

"Oh, Oh, Oh! SORRY! The sergeant made me pull you over!" I said "well you tell the sergeant to watch his language and you better watch your language, and this one is on me." And I pulled away and I thought the whole way home, what if it wasn't me, what if I was just any old body. What if it was my mother? My mother would have had to eat that. And that's macho. And that's the bad attitude that we don't want, that we need to get rid of.

An interesting facet of narratives about machismo, however, was the number of subjects who indicated that they had witnessed macho behavior and attitudes among females as well as males; there was a common perception that female

officers acclimated to the macho environment of the workplace, adopting such behaviors as a means of fitting in and being "one of the boys."

KCJ: Do you ever see women trying to act macho?

S27: All the time. It just embarrasses me. I cringe! Some do it to try to fit in, to try to compete with the guys, and some it's just their personality. They just are macho. I don't mean to be stereotypical...but they are. They are, they're not men, but they're just more masculine. They're macho!

KCJ: Does it help them on the job?

S27: I would say...I don't know. Because I think men and women in policing is a whole different way of dealing. So what they do is cross the line, and just deal with the public like a man does. They don't have that edge of the woman who can de-escalate a situation and calm it down. They're right into that "let's escalate it!" You know. I find them embarrassing.

But then I think I'm hypocritical some times because I think here I am judging...I don't want to be judged, but here I am judging other people. But I don't think that they help. I don't think that they hurt. Maybe it's unfair, but I do think that they hurt all women. Because they're like "well look at her, fucking dyke!" And then you're just like (cringe) "Oh, God."

That's exactly the language you're going to hear. You're going to hear it coming from somewhere.

KCJ: Whether she is or isn't?

S27: Well, they're usually right! (laughs). I'm not going to argue, they're usually right. It's a stereotype, but it's true. In my experience, it is the dykey lesbians who act macho. And I'm just like, "oh God!" But that's just them, too, so I don't know. They are, as far as the overall picture, they do make it harder for other women.

Harassment and Discrimination

It was anticipated that sexual and gender harassment, as well as sexual and gender discrimination, would be major themes of the narratives. This expectation, based primarily on the literature of Martin (1990) and Leinen (1993), was not realized to the extent projected.

Harassment and discrimination were perceived as two very separate problems by subjects, but the common theme between the two was that the specific cause or nature of either experience was open to speculation. In other words, harassing and discriminatory experiences could be attributed to the subjects' sexual identity, gender, race, ethnicity, appearance, age, and rank--even the simple ignorance of the harasser/discriminator--depending on the status and perceptions of the subject herself. It was therefore usually not possible to pinpoint the actual nature of the harassment and discrimination, a realization which was clearly frustrating to subjects who reported such experiences.

Most subjects who reported such experiences did, however, believe that the true nature of any harassment experienced was their status as women, requiring scrutiny between incidents of sexual harassment and gender harassment. The perception that harassment is gender-based

reflects similar findings in a study of female academy officers (Sokoloff & Price, 1992).

Discrimination, however, was equally attributed to the possibility of female status and racial status (for those who are racial minorities). Subjects either did not believe, or resisted the possibility, that harassment and discrimination was based on their sexual identity:

S11: The anger of the men at having women in the department has to go somewhere. Where does it go? To the people you can most afford to attack. And I guess female lesbians are highly attackable, and it's okay to attack them. A male attacking another male might be suspect, but they think "we can attack her, everyone knows she doesn't belong here."

KCJ: So you think the Department discriminates against lesbians?

S11: I think they discriminate against women. I go back to the larger issue. There's so much they can do against women that they don't have to pick on the lesbians. That's just icing on the cake.

Most subjects dismissed the idea that harassment and discrimination stemmed from their sexual identity because they were not formally disclosed on the job and had never advertised or confirmed their lesbianism in the workplace. This apparent self-delusion suggests that subjects engage in a certain amount of idealism, if not denial, in the realities of others' perceptions in the workplace: if their lesbianism isn't acknowledged (by themselves or their

coworkers) then it can't be the basis for harassment or discrimination.

Subjects did not indicate using discretionary disclosure, or "signals" of their lesbian status to avoid sexual advances. It was perceived by most that any active form of disclosure would only invite further harassment and discrimination:

KCJ: I heard an account of a straight female officer who told her male colleagues she was lesbian so they'd leave her alone.

S12: I can't believe that. It wouldn't work. It would only make things worse. Either she was lying or she was just one of those bunny-fucks that wants even more attention from the guys.

Discussions of harassment revealed glaring inconsistencies and ironies in subjects' perceptions and realities. All but three subjects initially declared that they had not been sexually harassed on the job, but most of these went on to describe situations which clearly fit the legal code of both quid pro quo and hostile environment harassment. When subjects were asked why they did not consider such incidents to constitute sexual (or any other form of) harassment, the overwhelming reply was that such incidents were just part of the job, an integral part of the police environment that was to be expected and tolerated.

It became clear that the subjects did not have a legalistic or accurate concept of how sexual harassment is defined. After reporting that they had not been sexually harassed, prompt questions were offered to clarify the response:

KCJ: Have you ever been harassed on the job?

S04: No.

KCJ: Has anyone ever made a sexual advance toward you?

S04: Yes. Men, women. See, I met this last one at a [conference]. I was a facilitator, I did a workshop on leadership and she came over to me at the end. We had known each other for a long time before that. But I've had people come on to me. I've had subordinates come on to me inappropriately.

KCJ: Any men make passes?

S04: Yeah, but that's easier for me to deal with. I take it as a compliment. I'm not insulted by it. It's not that...it hasn't become a problem. It's flirtatious stuff. I'm more uncomfortable when a woman is flirting with me. Sometimes I don't know how to handle that. Especially in the workplace; outside, it's no big deal, I can deal with that. But in the workplace I have a problem with it. But men flirting? I find it complimentary.

KCJ: How do you deal with it?

S04: I usually just say I'm busy. Or just laugh, and say "get out of here."

KCJ: Have you ever been sexually harassed?

S04: I don't consider that sexual harassment. No, sexual harassment is when I'm offended by it. It's in the eyes of the beholder.

Other subjects also told stories of unwelcome sexual advances, usually by men, some of which bordered on

attempted rape. Only one subject acknowledged that a sexual advance from her supervisor (among others) constituted quid pro quo sexual harassment:

KCJ: Have you ever been harassed on the job?

S32. I have been, by another male officer, and there was a supervisor who was trying really hard. But he kind of let me off the hook, but it was there. Well, the supervisor was always asking me to go out, to do things with him and this other person in a group, but I always begged off. But he was my supervising lieutenant, so it was a little bit difficult, when I was a police officer.

And then once this other police officer actually practically attacked me in a car. We'd gone upstate for a conference, and he'd wheedled that he'd go and I'd go through the boss, and then we were in the car, and he pulled over to the side of the road, and he professed his love for me, and proceeded to jump all over me. It was a very horrible experience.

KCJ: How did you handle those incidents of harassment?

S32: Well, the supervisor wasn't so bad, because at least he never did anything to me, because I turned him down.

KCJ: Could he have?

S32: I guess he could have. Because he was my direct supervisor, he could have given me a hard time, bad work assignments, bad evaluations, the whole nine yards. Yell at me, belittle me in front of others---all the things you can do to a person in that power situation. But he didn't, I have to say he did not.

The other man, I didn't tell anybody. He asked me not to, he begged me not to tell on him. I said fine, just stay away from me. I was so humiliated and embarrassed, and didn't tell anybody. And looking back, I probably should have, for any woman's sake...not for me, but for other women.

KCJ: Do you think that your being a lesbian made you handle it the way you did?

S32: Possibly. Maybe just the lack of confidence that if I made an issue out of this, the whole sexuality thing would have surfaced.

KCJ: Do you think he suspected or knew?

S32: He'd heard things, and he suspected, probably. But that wouldn't have deterred him. Maybe that's how he assuaged his ego, afterwards. Although, afterwards he always tried to be friendly. But really, I couldn't stomach him. Maybe that whole thing of not wanting to draw attention, period, because I was gay, prevented me from pursuing it.

All subjects reported some form of unwanted sexual attention or advances from male officers, but reported very different reactions and methods of handling such behavior. Again, most refused to categorize such behavior as "harassment", and thus the most common mode of reaction was to ignore the behavior entirely and accept it as normal. Other reactions to such behavior, apart from ignoring it, included side-stepping, avoiding, or distracting the harasser:

S28: See, some of these guys, they're all over you because they're fishing. They don't really like you, they just want to harass you to see if you really are gay. It's like this big challenge. If you don't go out with them, then you must be, right? So this one guy, every day, like clockwork, was begging me--in front of all his friends, mind you--to go out with him. "C'mon, baby" this and "Sweetheart" that.

He was in canine, he had this big shepherd with him all the time. So finally one day he said "So when are we going out?" and I just turned around and said sweet-sarcastic, but like no-nonsense: "I'd fuck your dog before I'd ever fuck you."

Everyone fell on the ground laughing. He turned beet red, and he never asked me out again, but it

pissed me off. He won, really. He reduced me to his own level just to make him go away.

Another subject dealt with a sexual harassment situation by shifting the attention from herself to her harasser:

S27: My partner swore he was in love with me, and I just couldn't deal with him after a while. I told him in no uncertain terms that I was not interested in him. I tried reasoning with him, told him to chill, whatever. He'd just broken up with his girlfriend, so I kept telling him he was on the rebound. I knew I should tell him I was gay, but he was so unstable I also knew that he couldn't deal with that information. He'd probably retaliate or something, being rejected like that. But he had a genuine alcohol problem, so I just focused on that. I told him I couldn't possibly get involved with an alcoholic, and that he needed help, and that the only reason he was obsessed with me was because he saw me as his shrink or something.

Anyway, I told him when he got sober, was like in AA for a year or more, then I might go out with him. I knew it wouldn't happen, and it didn't. But at least it got him off my back until I got transferred.

While most subjects did not immediately consider unwanted sexual advances to constitute sexual harassment, most did agree that they had experienced a hostile work environment. However, narratives revealed that this was usually based on gender harassment and sexism, reflecting a general hostility and disregard toward women in the policing workplace which corroborates the literature (Martin, 1990; Sokoloff & Price, 1992; Jordan, 1996):

KCJ: Have you ever encountered hostile working environment harassment?

S25: I think so. I think I have. In the [unit], I had a supervisor, say in front of me, called a woman a "cunt" in front of me in a supervisory meeting, with all male supervisors around, and then he said "Oh, I forgot you were there!" And I said (sarcastic), "Oh, that makes it okay. Because if I wasn't here, then it would be okay to say about a woman." Thinking back now, I think it was done on purpose. I think it was done to humiliate me in front of those men. I don't think people are stupid that way, especially at that level. Looking back, I think it was done for that reason.

Another subject insisted that the only harassment she had ever experienced came from the Gay Officers Action League (GOAL), which had sent a letter to her supervisor complaining that as police recruiter and lesbian, she had an obligation to include GOAL in her recruitment efforts of gay officers:

S04: Actually, the only time I felt a hostile work environment was when I received that letter from GOAL. And I was really considering going to EEO with that letter. Because it was sexual in nature, it was about my sexual orientation. And it was hostile, and it was in the work environment. So I knew I covered all the parameters of the EEO in having a complaint. But when the Chief wrote a letter back on my behalf, I thought that was enough, so I didn't pursue it.

Another subject discussed a hostile working environment based on her experience with a "racist and sexist" boss who harassed an African-American female subordinate:

S27: Well, it didn't happen to me, but it happened to another black woman in my office and I was there. She

had dreadlocks, which I knew my lieutenant couldn't stand. Anyway, we'd had the walls all repainted, and she'd been out on vacation or something. When she came back to the office, she stops and looks around. He happened to be in the office, and he said to her "so when are you going to put your tag on the wall?"

A tag means a graffiti signature. I don't remember his exact words, but what he meant was that now that the office had these clean white walls, she'd have a lot of places to put her "tag" up. That's not funny. I took severe offense to that. As a black woman, how could I not?

Not one subject, even those who admitted being sexually harassed, indicated that she had ever filed a sexual harassment complaint. However, a number of subjects indicated that they had experienced discrimination on the job. In most cases, it was perceived that the discrimination was gender-based, but some subjects admitted that their perceived sexual-orientation may have played a role in the discrimination.

One subject told a lengthy story of how she had a conflict with her sergeant because she had objected to his behavior with his girlfriend (also a police officer) in the office. The subject not only resented the girlfriend's territorial liberties (she sat at the sergeant's desk when he wasn't there and went through other's desks looking for supplies) but also cited a specific incident in which the sergeant and his girlfriend were behaving unprofessionally. The subject's informal complaint resulted in both a hostile environment and possible discrimination:

S24: So it got to the point where one day she was--the sergeant was checking her tattoo, because they went on a tatoo party, and they got tattoos, and she got one on her ass.

So I came into the office and then she came in right before role call, and role call is right outside the room, and he was changing her bandage on her tatoo! She was like bent over the desk, and he was changing... and I didn't even notice this at first. I was doing paperwork. And there was like five guys in the office that day because there was court, and usually there was only two or three of them. And I looked up for some reason and I was like "Oh my God!" I was horrified. I just started writing, I couldn't believe it. I could tell you the color of her underwear, the brand of her underwear, the cut, the style, everything. Anything you want to know about, I could tell you. She had her pants down, getting it. And then he moved her into the corner.

So I was like 'this is out of control!' This is too much. Now I'm embarrassed. And he's got a lot to lose. All the cops were getting really pissed. All the females were all bitching up a storm, because she was getting favoritism, and this and that. It was a matter of time before somebody made a phone call.

And I said "Look, Lieu, not for nothing--he was getting ready to make captain--I don't want to see this whole thing blow up. You're going to have a big EEO problem on your hands. I said, these girls are pissed. I said, the other day I came in and he's changing her diaper, or whatever. You know, they had the tatoo party and it's like she's at the desk, and he's changing...I was speechless, you know?"

So, it turned out that my lieutenant got pissed at me. And he went to my sergeant and he then came back to me and told me Sarge and this girl are upset that someone would say something like that. Because I didn't want to get involved...I thought, you know, man to man, maybe you could talk to him and tell him he's got to simmer down, take it outside of work. So it all came back on me, and I got a really shitty evaluation. Then, I said, I just didn't want to see it go to EEO, I was just looking out for you guys. I really liked Sarge, sick as he was, I did like him. He says, this isn't EEO, and blah, blah, blah. He's screaming at me.

So I made a phone call, said I got to get out of here. And I actually got transferred to get out of there because that's how bad it got. And they made phone calls ahead, so they brought me in at the new place and they said "Well, you know, sometimes we use language, and we don't mean anything by it..." And I said "Excuse me: eight years. Heard it all, been there, done it. I don't know where this is coming from, don't worry about it." But I had to defend myself going down there.

KCJ: Because the phone calls preceded you?

S24: Because the phone calls preceded me. They set me up.

Another subject who found that she was constantly being transferred and reassigned against her wishes indicated that she believed her treatment to be discriminatory:

S18: Well, soon I go back to my old position, and what they're going to be doing is downsizing, because they won't have a large class. So certain people will be asked to leave.

KCJ: Will you be one of them, do you think?

S18: My lieutenant doesn't even speak to me! I'm sure.

KCJ: So you anticipate discrimination?

S18: Yes, and I would call it discrimination because I have, in my particular unit, more seniority than a lot of people. I have more teaching experience than a lot of people in that unit, and they already discriminated against me in December. Because some people are supposed to go out on patrol, and some are supposed to stay in. And one of the women they kept in, she had less seniority than I did, on the job and teaching, and she has a poor teaching record also. And they kept her in.

KCJ: And you wanted that position?

S18: That's not the point. First of all, those people who had to stay, they had to stay behind with those students who didn't pass, they were on academic probation or they had discipline problems. So, if these folks need special attention while the other ones move on to the next training stage, you try to use your best resources, right? You would think so, theoretically, but they don't do that, they play games. So they kept her, but then again, she's the one who sleeps with the sergeant.

While subjects appeared to be more attuned to discriminatory behavior and situations, it was clear that their sexual identity and fear of disclosure had a chilling effect on any thoughts of filing formal complaints. While most subjects were clear that EEO protections existed for such problems, the overall perception was that to file a complaint would only make matters worse. It was commonly assumed that even if an EEO complaint were filed and won, the complainant would be persecuted and subtly discriminated against thereafter.

A number of subjects admitted experiencing harassment and discrimination, but diverted the significance of such problems by focussing on the harassment and discrimination suffered by gay male officers:

S29: See, we don't have it half as bad as the men do, . the gay men. This one guy I know, a gay cop, a really sweet guy, had the cops called on him when he and his lover were having a domestic. So he was outted, right then and there, and it was a big deal because they arrested them both for breach of peace and put copies of the police report on his locker and stuff. Now you know and I know that never would have happened to a cop

having a fight with his wife. Never. This poor guy, a good cop too, can't even lift his face in the squadroom anymore. The cops absolutely torture him, and he just takes it because a complaint would make it worse. So whenever I think I've got it bad, I think of him, and I think I've probably got it easy.

Fear and Stress

As indicated previously, the issue of fear is one that was not anticipated from the literature on policing, but emerged as prevalent in discussions of disclosure, harassment, discrimination, and work-related problems. Fear of disclosure was the most common fear described, as indicated by the narratives featured in the section on disclosure. However, fear was also linked to relationships with coworkers, particularly with the issues of danger and discrimination.

KCJ: So you don't get along with your female coworkers?

S12: It's not that I don't get along, it's just that I don't feel safe working with them. Seriously. And I know that's bad, me being female, but so many of them are in their own little world of hairdos and makeup and fingernail tips that they have their heads up their ass. I am seriously afraid of getting killed, working with a female. And this is based on experience! I've had two female partners, and I was stressed out every time I had to work with them.

KCJ: You mean in dangerous situations?

S12: Yeah, but it's not the danger that scares me. It's that they can't handle a dangerous situation. They freak out, they're terrified. When you have to be more afraid of your partner shooting you than the perp, you know it's time to go inside.

Not surprisingly, the issue of fear was revealed as the link between issues such as danger, safety, harassment, disclosure and stress. However, there appeared to be a perceived difference in the type of fear caused by "external" and "organizational" stressors such as danger and machismo, and the fear of disclosure and discrimination which was perceived as an "individual" stressor (Blackmore, 1985).

Subjects indicated a high level of stress in their police lives, but not necessarily in their personal lives: most subjects made a point to differentiate between the two as much as possible, and several proposed that being a lesbian, particularly when concealed, facilitated that separation.

S10: I just won't give in to that cop mentality. When I go home, I go home. My work is always piling up, sometimes I start freaking out, realizing that I'll never catch up. Then I step back, and I say "but that's with all jobs" and I get myself back on track. I'm really sensitive to criticism, so I freak out some times. But you know, I work with women who have to go home and deal with husband and kid stuff. I go home and just chill. I make sure that I don't take stuff home with me.

Fear of disclosure was often associated with privacy and discrimination issues, and stress was often the result:

S13: You know, I'm from a long line of cops, so I heard all the stories growing up. But even my dad told me "You can't possibly know how bad this is until you actually work the job. You just can't know." I was like, right, sure. But he was right.

So I'm telling you right now that unless you've actually been in this organization, going through the stress that I go through, you can't possibly know what it's like. See, they own your soul. They can do anything they want to you. They're like the fuckin' CIA sometimes. They're not supposed to be in your private life, but they are, or at least they can be. They know where you live, what you drive, your credit history, and if they want to know who you sleep with, they can find that out too.

See, now you think I'm paranoid, but this is reality. It's not even...see, they probably already know I'm gay. For all I know, they've been discriminating against me on those grounds all along. I can't prove it. But I'm not going to come out, just because my relationship with my girlfriend is sacred. I don't want it part of any record. That's my choice, and I agree that I suffer for it.

KCJ: How do you suffer?

S13: You can't imagine. I couldn't possibly describe what it's like, this control they have over you. It's just...mental anguish, this paranoia. It's like living in [George Orwell's book] *1984* or something.

Other subjects discussed the oppression of keeping her identity secret:

S15: In some respects, the out ones are doing a whole lot better than I am. I can only speak for myself, but this misery... I feel if I was to just totally come out, I would be almost delivered. You know? That's what they talk about in my church: you'll feel so much better, and they're talking about you anyway. So the people who know are always pushing me, encouraging me, but that just makes it worse. I'm just not ready. I'm already dealing with enough, I just can't deal with that right now. I don't have the courage. I can only handle so much at once, and that's the least of my problems.

S07: It's fear of the unknown, pure and simple. See, right now they don't know I'm gay. They probably know, but I've never confirmed it for them. So that's their unknown. My unknown is that if I feel like I'm being passed over, discriminated against, or punished for something, I don't know if they're doing that because they think I'm gay. And that's a whole different kind of torture, that unknown. But here's what's worse: if I did come out, and I was still harassed and discriminated against, how could I prove that it was because of my sexual orientation? Do you think this Department would actually side with me, agree that I was passed over because, they would say, I hate men?

There's no way. And I've got to say that I'd rather deal with the stress of the unknown than the stress of working for an organization that is a total farce. I think the reality of that injustice would put me on the brink. I have another 10 years, I can't work for a place that pretends to uphold justice but doesn't. I'd rather just deal with the unknown.

Organizational stress often centered around problems with harassment and discrimination, as well as conflicts with coworkers and ethics:

S28: My problem is that everywhere I look, everyone is totally *corrupt*. These people have no work ethic, no sense of decency. It's all a scam, this job, how much money they make for doing absolutely nothing. I was just raised differently: get paid a decent wage for a full days hard work, anything less is just not acceptable. I can't even tell you how corrupt these people are. And what am I going to do, complain to my boss? He's trying to get over, too! And so is his boss!

Really, I get so resentful sometimes when I'm doing all the work, and everyone is just on these three hour lunches, drinking free drinks, coming back drunk. I can't even tell you how long it takes me to come down when I get home. I'm like a little girl who has to stay in and do the dishes while I look out the window at all my brothers playing in the yard. I walk around wanting to cry, it gets so bad.

In consonance with the literature, stress often carries over into physical maladies:

S32: They told us all the stuff about divorce and alcoholism in the academy, so I've always tried to be aware of when the stress is taking its toll. But I smoke. Way too much, like more than two packs a day right now. I have ulcers. I bite my nails and I clench my teeth so hard when I sleep that half the time I wake up with lockjaw and can't even eat. But what can I do? I try not to take the stuff home with me, but there's no way you can do that. If you're human, but especially if you're female, there's no way you can just flip the switch at the end of the day.

S05: Well, as you can see, I eat. I was so busy making sure that I didn't drink or smoke or put a gun in my mouth that I just turned to food instead. In the early days, I fought it by throwing up. Then one day I woke up with like a bleeding ulcer and my doctor said "you're bulimic, aren't you." I quit throwing up on my own, I wouldn't go to the shrink, but I didn't stop eating. Honestly, I don't think that weighing 200 pounds is as bad as some of the things people do to relieve their stress. And I'm at peace with it. I didn't realize it at the time, but men stopped bugging me after I started getting fat. Sometimes I wonder if that's why I let it happen.

An important link to the issue of support surfaced in discussions of stress and stressors. A perception of isolation became evident in discussions of stress and the lack of supportive friends or coworkers with whom to vent; this was indirectly related to the level of disclosure, as subjects who were less disclosed indicated that they had no one at work with whom to discuss work-related problems:

KCJ: So if you had a problem at work, who would you go to?

S06: No one. No one at work, certainly. You don't take your problems to the people who are your problems. I don't even talk to [her lover] about job stuff anymore. I used to, and she'd listen, and she'd know all the names and the things that were going on, but in the end all she could do was listen. And that wasn't enough, there was nothing she could help me do. I don't think venting cures my stress, I think it makes it worse. Because you let it all out, and there it all is, this ugly evidence of how much the job sucks, and it just hangs there in the air making fun of you because you have to go back to the job the next day. I don't find that talking about it helps at all, especially to people who aren't even on the job, because it just makes me more aware of how futile it all is.

In summary, while subjects reported a great deal of fear with regard to disclosure on the job, most could not substantiate or explain the basis for their fear. In response to questions about the nature of stress, it was revealed that most stress, both in quantity and quality, was the result of occupational and organizational stressors. For most subjects, fear of disclosure simply magnified the stress, or perhaps exacerbated it, but was not usually the cause of the stress which subjects most commonly reported.

Most stress appeared to be linked to work-related problems of relationships with specific coworkers, dislike of assignment or duties, and a general lack of control over work issues. Fear of disclosure was simply an aggravating circumstance to other work-related issues.

It appeared that the fear of disclosure among semi- or non-disclosed subjects was so common and pervasive, that it was eventually internalized as a norm. Though ignoring the fear often resulted in avoiding any associated stress, fear often compromised ability to find the support, trust, or solidarity in the workplace which might have otherwise helped subjects in dealing with organizational or external stressors.

The following narrative reveals the complex and cumulative nature of stress--occupational and personal--associated with being a lesbian officer:

S01: My spirit is being murdered slowly. And I'm not lying. Maybe it's suicide. But I feel there's more to me, and it's not just coming out in this job at all. I think it's just killing me, spiritually.

KCJ: And this has come about just since the merger?

S01: No, it's been building. I mean, when I was a lieutenant, I came up against a boss, who was a real SOB, a couple of them. Now that you mention, I always thought it was because I was a lesbian, so let's go back to that.

There's an undercurrent where men treat you a certain way, and even though they're pretending to be nice, they're sticking it to you. And I kept thinking it's because they really know I'm a lesbian and not interested in them. But the point with that is, it's their male egos, because you're not going to give them the time of day. And they think they should be screwing anything in sight, including you. So I always said, it's because I'm not available, that they have to lash out, and take it out on me.

But people just aren't honest, and I can't handle it. And they'll wear you down. So it started way back when I was, when all these ugly things started. But

it's building, and the higher I go, the more ugly it gets, the more vicious. And now to have it come from the women full-blast...where you least expect it.

Job Performance and Job Satisfaction

Issues of job assignment, ethics, mission, and satisfaction revealed linkages in the narratives. Cynical attitudes were most likely to be revealed in response to questions about work-related problems and job satisfaction.

Subjects appeared to be quite candid in their assessment of their own job performance. Most reported a high level of confidence in their policing abilities, as well as skill and competence with actual duties, but indicated that stress factors were a major theme in discussions of job performance.

S22: Poor performance, on behalf of my officers, affects my performance.

KCJ: Tell me about your own job performance.

S22: I think that I'm extremely competent. I think that when I'm given a job to do, or an assignment or a mission, I accomplish it 110%. Sometimes to my own health, sometimes. I obsess, I'm compulsive, with just about everything. It makes me perform well, and I do perform excellent, but there's always a cost to that. I'm high strung. I smoke. I have a lot of stress that I create for myself. If the Chief asks me to do something and he doesn't give me a time limit, I set my own time limit, so that it has to be done by tomorrow. I achieve excellence, but at a cost. My only weakness is that I let it affect me. I'm obsessive and compulsive when I don't need to be. I think I worry for no reason.

S29: I'm a good cop, and I know it. But I get self-destructive when I'm frustrated, and I get frustrated because I'm surrounded by idiots. I literally have to write down on a piece of paper: PULL YOURSELF UP. Otherwise I get really negative, because no one cares about the job, no one cares about their reputation. So I work through it on my own, I pull myself up. I know that the minute I give in to the bitchin' with everyone else, I can't say I'm a good cop anymore. But most days, I feel like I'm the only one who cares. A lot of days, I wonder why I even bother.

The issue of tokenism on the job also emerged under the theme of job performance. Ranking officers perceived that no matter how good their job performance, they would always be perceived as tokens; police officers indicated that they believed most promotions of females were actually based on political factors more than job performance or merit.

S07: I don't think job performance gets you anywhere in the end. I think it's like being a lesbian: it doesn't hurt you, it doesn't help you. I start to look at these higher bosses, and they don't bother with your merit or your sexuality, because it's all for surface looks anyway.

They say, you can hire her, it looks good for us, but meanwhile they say, don't have her work for me, put her over there. Sometimes it's to their advantage, having a woman in the office, so they can say "never say I didn't take this person in..."

KCJ: So it has nothing to do with job performance?

S07: No! They're tokens. Women, minorities, are token to these guys.

Seven subjects reported that their lesbianism actually had a positive impact on their job performance, citing

maturity and the ability to deal with the oppression associated with lesbian status as possible assets which enabled them to perform better as police officers:

S16: There is this level of understanding about the human condition that makes you a good cop. The weird thing is, the job tries to kill that thing, that ability to feel pain and understand the suffering of others. Does this make sense? See, I actually think that lesbians, maybe all gay people, but I think it's more true if you're a lesbian, I think the process of coming to terms with your sexual orientation, and all the problems that are going to come with it, the outing and stuff--I think it gives you a level of maturity and understanding, a perspective, that makes you better at the job. I honestly think I better understand the human condition than other cops do. Psychologically, dealing with my identity has made me stronger. I think that gives me better judgment on the job. I know I think about the implications of everything I do.

S03: See I think they make it tougher for women in general than for lesbians. I think the job actually likes lesbians. I know [a Deputy Commissioner] loved them. Absolutely. He thought they were great cops. He thought that they were aggressive and focused, and they didn't have anything else to worry about. His whole attitude is "the job is your life and if it's not, then get out. Where do you want to go--because I don't want you in my unit." So he loved gay women. He actually pulled them up, he took care of a lot of them. I loved working for him.

Seven subjects, however, indicated that their sexual identity had no bearing on job performance; many vehemently resented that such a factor could even be considered:

KCJ: Do you believe there are any benefits to being a lesbian police officer?

S09: No. It's not an issue. I can't even stand that word lesbian. I hate it. You've noticed that I try not even to use it, that I say "gay women" instead.

KCJ; Why?

S09: It's so separating. I'm so tired of people using anything they can to separate us. We're all blue. That's it. That's how it should be.

Eleven subjects, all semi- or non-disclosed, indicated that being a lesbian was in some way detrimental to their job performance. The disclosure issue appeared to be the link between sexual identity and job performance:

KCJ: Do you think that your sexual identity affects your job performance at all?

S28: I think that it does, because all that energy you use to cover up, you take it and you're not as aggressive. I'm not as aggressive, I just get too tired of fighting the bullshit attitudes. I surrendered a long time ago.

S07: I think if I was straight and I had something to say, or wanted something, or I thought there was a problem I would be much quicker to address it. I think I don't, because I don't want to bring attention to myself. I don't want them to not like me, because then if they don't like me, then they will use my sexuality against me. So I think that I hold back more than if I was straight.

S31: I've thought about this a lot, because I think lesbians are actually very insecure people. Everyone thinks lesbians are so aggressive and strong, but I think that even in the ones that are out, this is just a smokescreen. To be any kind of minority brings a level of insecurity: you spend all your time wondering what other people are thinking. I'm Latina, so I know. But that's what separates lesbians from other

minorities: you can hide it, you can control it. See, I can't control my race, everyone can see it, they see it in my last name. But I can control them knowing about the other. So I do. In my case, it just lessens the ammunition they have against you. But what a way to live your life. Of course it affects my job performance.

Evaluation of the narratives did not reveal that job performance was related to job satisfaction, but the factors which were related to both job performance and job satisfaction appeared to be common. If a subject suffered from any of a number of job-related problems--harassment, discrimination, fear, cynicism, distrust, etc.--the problem invariably affected both her job performance and satisfaction.

Positive job performance was reported more often than positive job satisfaction. It appeared that job performance was simply a factor more within the control of subjects; job satisfaction was usually determined by variables perceived to be outside the control of subjects. In other words, subject's narratives revealed a perception that work-related problems were more likely to have a negative impact on job satisfaction than job performance.

Issues of control (or lack thereof), primarily over job assignments and transfers, appeared to be most related to job satisfaction. This, coupled with conflict with coworkers, provided the most common basis for lack of job satisfaction.

The issue of control related to job satisfaction suggests that job performance and sexual identity issues are important to subjects, because these are factors within their control.

KCJ: Tell me about your job satisfaction.

S02: The only satisfaction I get out of this job is annoying them. I know they wonder, I know they want to know if I'm gay. Like this (indicates her dark skin) annoys them. And my gender might annoy them. But they see that, and they're going to see that every day. But it annoys them that they don't know who I sleep with, they don't know who I talk to on the phone. See it's so bad, I can't even call people from work. I say don't call me if you don't have to. So that's my satisfaction. It's something that I can control and they can't control.

KCJ: How satisfied are you with your job?

S24: Look at the form you gave me. I hate my job. I hope and pray that if I ever started doing things that I see these other cops doing, running around with guns, beating up kids, lying in court, all the stuff they do, I hope I'd just have the strength to see it in myself and quit. See, I'm still young and stupid. I still think I can make a difference, be a role model to little kids, little girls, out there. But I've got my seven year itch lately. I'm not so sure I'll ever make a difference.

In keeping with an earlier study done of women officers of the NYPD (Jordan, 1996), the theme of "getting out" after twenty years of service was a major factor in discussions of work-related problems and job satisfaction. This suggests a perception by subjects that their job satisfaction will

never improve, and that retirement is the only solution to their negative attitudes:

S30: I'm miserable. I'd be lying to you if I said that I feel anything less than hatred for this job. I'm so sick and tired of it I can't even articulate the reasons anymore. And maybe because I'm a good cop, I mean I KNOW that I perform well no matter what they say, that it hurts so much to still be here. I love the work, but I hate the organization. I can't believe I work for an organization that hates women and gays so much. I see it every day. Believe it or not, I'm one of the lucky ones. I only have four years on, so getting out isn't so scary.

KCJ: Are you working on getting out?

S30: You bet I am. If I'm this miserable now, imagine another 16 years of this. I'm just lucky I've figured it out early.

The joy of retirement was a major theme not only in questions of job satisfaction, but in questions regarding work-related problems. One of the few subjects who reported a high level of satisfaction still emphasized her desire to reach retirement:

KCJ: How satisfied are you with your job?

S04: I'm satisfied. But I'm also very much looking forward to retiring. I want to have the latitude of doing what I want, staying in one place. I want certainty. I hate this limbo. I don't like change. I'm good at what I do, but that only means that I get moved around. If you want something done, give it to a busy person. I want to be busy for myself for a change.

KCJ: Are you saying you might leave before your 20 years?

S32: If I have to keep being miserable, if this misery that I'm feeling lately doesn't pass, I think that might make me leave before 20.

KCJ: What would make things better?

S32: Finding some capable people to do the work I have to do. Or else, maybe learning the rules; maybe I just need to learn the rules. Maybe I've been operating with the wrong message. Maybe it doesn't matter how well we perform in the end. Maybe I just have to settle for mediocrity. Either way I have to adjust, or I don't think I'll last.

Elements of cynicism were not only revealed in discussions of job satisfaction, but they also became more evident in response to questions about the mission and future:

KCJ: Do you think your police related problems will change in the future?

S14: It will always be the same. No matter where you go you're going to find people who don't really want to work. There is no longer a work ethic amongst people in general. I've seen it get worse over the years. Recruitment efforts aren't getting better. The economy is bad, so civil service is the way to go. You make \$27,000 to start, and after five years you're making \$40,000. Where else can you get that? Twenty years ago people were more mature, society was more in tune to the work ethic.

S28: You know, I could probably deal with all the things I've told you about, if I could just see a better future. But nothing changes, it just gets worse. I'd even argue that the more they have these

policies and directive put into place, the worse it gets. You just drive all the hatred and discrimination underground, so you're dealing with a bunch of phoney-faced liars. I'd rather just have it out in the open: if someone is a bigot, I really want to know it when I deal with them. See, in the future, everyone will just learn to be more careful, they won't learn to be more ethical or open. Everyone keeps telling me that things are getting better for women, but they can't see the forest for the trees. There has not been one major change or improvement on this job that hasn't come because of a lawsuit. To me, that says everything.

Many subjects had no specific response to the question regarding their mission in policing. The overwhelming initial response (without intended irony) was that their mission was to make it to twenty years:

KCJ: What do you consider your mission in policing?

S25: I stay because I've got ten years in, and ten years 'til pension. That's why. Idealistically, my mission is, well my role has kind of changed. As a supervisor, my mission is to have a calming effect, to be able to teach younger cops, to be able to let them look at things a little differently. My mission is to control them. I'm really worried about their behavior, because they're only worried about the public's behavior. I need to teach them responsibility, grace under pressure.

S02: My mission is to just get through each day at a time without cracking up. I learned a long time ago that nothing I do here is going to make a difference to anyone. I gave that up a long time ago. Now I just want to make it to the end. You've heard that going home at the end of the day is what it's all about? I'd say that stepping out in 20 is what it's all about.

Only a few subjects were job-specific in what they envision their mission to be:

S13: My mission is just to do my job. Do it with professionalism, make a difference if I can. Set an example for others, don't let them drag me down. Make a difference, that's my mission. And if I can't do that, then just to keep my nose clean, stay out of trouble.

Job satisfaction was assessed quite negatively overall; exceptions to this existed in higher ranking officers who enjoyed their work assignments, but higher ranking officers who did not enjoy their work assignments reported even less job satisfaction (usually related to more severe work-related problems) than did police officers.

The only police officer subjects who reported a higher (4) level of job satisfaction were new in their jobs, having just completed their rookie years. The two subjects were in a relationship together, and though they worked in different precincts, each indicated a high level of idealism toward the job, perhaps made possible through their mutual support of one another. These two subjects indicated a high level of job satisfaction and were also two of the three subjects who indicated complete concealment on the job.

S20: I love my job. I've always known this is what I want to do. I also know that I'm supposed to get old and crabby as time goes by, but I think if you fight it, it doesn't have to be. I think that [her lover] had a lot to do with that: they say cops marrying cops

is really common, because only cops can really understand the problems of each other. So I guess I'm lucky, because I have someone who understands. But I think it's what you make it. If you want to go up, and fight your way up, you can do it. I think most of these women just give up too early.

In summary, the issues of job performance and job satisfaction suggested a complex relationship of variables, most often linked by level of disclosure and perceptions of personal job performance compared against the performance of others.

The Other Life

The "Other Life" is essentially the subjects' "personal" life, although the extreme focus on privacy and disclosure issues in this category demanded a more appropriate naming of the category. This category was driven by the varied and emphatic themes of the quality (or lack thereof) of life outside of daily police world, and the extremity of the quality of that life. Some subjects' narratives revealed that the Other Life was either an extremely sacred entity that provided sanctuary from the problems of Police Life. Others said it was a tenuous space of peril, in constant threat of invasion by the Police Life, which created a strange new set of problems stemming from a merge between policing and personal issues.

The Other Life therefore revealed themes of escape, disassociation from any police-related problems or attitudes, and even hope for healing and self-fulfillment for some subjects. It also revealed themes of distrust and conflict related to policing that carried over into the off-duty lives of other subjects. Concern about disclosure would once again surface as an important factor in determining the quality and nature of the Other Life.

In general, the Other Life reflects the personal lives of the subjects, extraneous to their policing, which often includes their social activities (including voluntary membership in police-related organizations) and personal relationships with others. It appeared to be the past experiences with activities and relationships, combined with goals set for the future, which determined the quality of a subject's current Other Life.

Organizational and Recreational Activities

A very large number of subjects indicated that they were members of organizations, sometimes several at once, in which they engaged in social activities with others.

Voluntary membership in a variety of police organizations was reported by nine subjects. Of significance is that most of these organizations' membership

and mission was determined by race and ethnicity, or gender.

Only one subject was an active member of GOAL.

S33: Well, I'm from a long line of Irish cops, so it's a matter of tradition that I have to be in the Emerald Society.

KCJ: So it's your Irish heritage that makes you enjoy this organization?

S33: Actually, it's more the music, the bagpipes. I mean, I'm like fourth generation Irish, so it's not like I have a lot of ethnic pride. But we have this love for Irish music, all of us. At least that's why I'm a member.

S02: I'm in this fraternal organization, the Guardians. That's the only police-related group I'll ever associate with. I was in the Policewomen's Benevolent Association...is that what it was? I can't even remember the name now. I just went to a few meetings and they all talked a lot but did absolutely nothing. I'd rather be with an African-American organization than a woman's organization. At least we get things done.

S04: I've only had one negative reaction to me as a lesbian cop and that is from GOAL. I am not a member of GOAL. I am a member of the Columbia Association, which is an Italian cop thing. When I was in Housing, which was for most of my career, I was the president of the Female Association. I had been a member, and a board member, for many years. I was really involved in FPOA; we did a lot of things for women and we would help members in whatever. But then came the merge, and the association dissolved and that was the end of that. The only association I am with now is the Columbia Association.

All but one subject indicated negative attitudes toward the Gay Officers Action League (GOAL). This is especially noteworthy, as there were no specific questions about GOAL in the interview schedule. Subjects introduced the topic of GOAL, usually because they had a highly negative attitude toward the organization; several subjects indicated indifference, simply mentioning that they knew people in GOAL but had no interest in joining.

S18: GOAL has wanted me to be a member for years. I just have no interest. I feel that they out people. I feel that they're hurtful. I feel that they have their own agenda. They are not there to help you, they are there to use you. And I believe that coming out is a personal thing, it is a private issue. If you want to be a member of GOAL, that's your business. I believe in associations, I believe they're very helpful, fraternal organizations. But: not at the expense of the members themselves. They're trusting and they're vulnerable and GOAL is making them come out. Which is a little bit different than any other kind of association! So I've never really cared with them.

KCJ: Tell me what you think their agenda is.

S18: I think that they have a political agenda. I think that they're power hungry and I really don't know what they're agenda is and I can't even tell you because I've never even gone to a meeting. I went to one meeting that a friend of mind was speaking at. I went to hear to her speak, and that was it. That was the one and only time I went.

KCJ: You said you have friends in GOAL. Have you ever been to a GOAL meeting?

S03: Yeah. Hate them.

KCJ: Why?

S03: Because I'm not...I think...I hate them as much as I hate ACT-UP. I hate ACT-UP, but I also understand that somebody's got to be out there doing that stuff or nothing ever changes. I don't think that they have to go to such an extreme, but maybe that's what they have to do. Maybe that's what you need to do and I'm not knowledgeable enough to know that.

But if they handled it different, maybe I would get involved. If they could say "here's a case of discrimination, here's a case where someone is having a hard time, let's address this." But I was reading in the paper the other day that they want the Emerald Society Pipes and Drums to march in the Gay Pride parade. And they feel that it is discriminatory that they won't march in the parade. And march them down Fifth Avenue with the women with no shirts on, and the motorcycle mamas, and you know, the guys dressed like my mother. They're asking them for more than what's fair. It causes ...they cause MORE discrimination and MORE hatred than they solve, because of their ways.

The one subject who was a member of GOAL indicated that she is currently inactive:

S32: I guess I joined because my girlfriend was a member. At the time I really thought it as important to look for other people like us, find some commonality or something. But the whole thing was organized and run by gay men, which is fine, but it just struck me that it's no different from the Department: run by men. Their problems are really different than ours, I think. Anyway, when we broke up, I just quit going because I didn't want to run into her.

Membership in police-related organizations was mentioned by nearly half of subjects, but most indicated that they were not very active. Two other types of

organizations, sports and religious, emerged as other sources of activities for subjects in their Other Life.

Participating in organized sports, particularly softball, was generally reported as not only a way of socializing with others, but also relieving stress. Most women participated in sports through Women Athletes of New York (WANY), which was described as being an unofficial network for lesbians, but four subjects indicated that they had played softball in the police leagues.

S19: That's how I met my girlfriend, playing ball. See we had played together on a WANY team, and then when I went to the Academy, and she was there, so I knew her from softball. Then we played in the police league, the Commissioners, the police softball league. And she played on the [department] team, she was on a bunch of teams. So I met her through there. Actually, I met most of my friends through there, through playing ball over the years.

Several subjects indicated that they had encountered other lesbian officers through these sports activities; only one subject participated in police-organized sports by golfing with other officers. Overall, group sporting events (either as participants or observers) emerged as the only organized activity in the Other Life in which subjects indicated a theme of positive cohesion, interaction, and solidarity. Because nearly all sporting activities were unrelated to the Police Life, sports appeared to provide a "neutral" territory for networking and socializing, even

when other officers were coincidentally present, without fear of disclosure.

Eight subjects indicated that they were members of church or other organized religious groups, which they indicated provided them with both social interaction and spiritual support. While all reported that church activities were important to them, the emphasis of the narratives was on the spirituality of their religious lives and the "solace" and "refuge" provided by such activities. Like sports, where subjects indicated that they enjoyed being with people who shared their interest in that athletic activity, subjects active in church activities indicated that commonality with other members of their church was an important factor in the appeal of the activities. The one difference appeared to be that sports-related activities were reported to be a significant part of the social aspect of the Other Life; church activities were not pursued so much for socializing as for spiritual growth and emotional support:

S17: My father is 86, and he comes to New York every Sunday, and we go to church together. I go to [name of church], which is a great church by the way. I've been thinking about getting involved more with the church, because they accept gay people. And they just have a wonderful ministry and minister.

S02: I have a church family. I'm actually involved with the ushering and the security of the church. My

sister is actually the pastor of the church. It's not a gay church, but the ministers are gay.

KCJ: So you're active in the church.

S02: Yes, we take trips. We're going on a retreat next month. We go bowling. I'm pretty active! But mostly these people are just great people to talk to, to share fellowship with.

Only one subject reported being active in a gay organization other than GOAL; she volunteers for the Gay and Lesbian Switchboard of New York. Few subjects reported having an active social life in the "club scene"; most indicated that they had gone through phases in their early 20s, usually when they were first identifying themselves as lesbian, in which they had often frequented gay and lesbian "spaces". The vast majority of subjects indicated that they had a very limited social life, choosing to spend their time alone, with their partners, or with a close circle of friends.

S10: I'm a homebody. When I finish work, I just want to go home. I have so much to do there. If I'm not cleaning house, I just like to sit and read. No TV. Just hang out, pay bills, catch up.

S15: I go to the gym, work out. I swim. I've never been into team sports, but I do enjoy lifting, running, swimming, sports you can do alone. That's my time, all to myself, when I let go of all the stress of the day. I don't know what I'd do without it.

S17: As I said, I go to school at night. I've got to have 60 credits before I can take the Sergeants exam. It was kind of hard getting back into it, but now that I've got my nights filled up, I get sick just thinking of all the years I laid around the house after work.

Very few subjects indicated that the people they spend time with outside the workplace were other police officers. The overwhelming majority of responses to questions about socializing and friendship indicated that subjects avoided socializing with other officers off the job. Although they were active in police organizations, subjects indicated that they did not count other members of these organizations among their close personal friends. Members of their intimate social group and those they counted among "genuine friends" were usually other lesbian women and almost never cops.

S14: I have a lot of friends who are in different fields. Most of my friends are NON-police officers. Not all my friends, some are cops, but they're not genuine friends, just acquaintances, really. The kind of person, friend, I would invite to my house would not be a cop. And I would never go to one of their houses if invited. My friends are into, you know, computer programmers, teachers, caterers, self-employed. All different fields.

KCJ: Gay, straight, male, female?

S14: Mostly gay women. Mostly.

S06: I don't even have a best friend. I guess if I had to talk to someone, it would be my neighbor across the hall, an intelligent woman. Or my friend from...well, she's a cop, but that's a coincidence. I know her from church.

KCJ: Are these women gay?

S06: One is. But that has nothing to do with it. Like her being a cop has nothing to do with it. They're my friends. They're women, maybe that's what it is.

Subjects were not very forthcoming in discussing their friends and relationships with others. While information about lovers did come out in passing, it was usually in the context of a relationship that was over. This relative reticence on the subject of personal life was perhaps due to the internalized distrust of all "outsiders" (including the researcher). A number of narratives, however, suggested that subjects' personal friendships had suffered greatly because of their police status, and their intimate relationships had often deteriorated due to the stress that accompanies the job.

S10: It's gotten to the point where the job has actually taken over control of my life. I don't have any; THEY have control over my life for the next ten years. I just have to accept that, you know? I could be hanging out having a good time, someone starts acting like an asshole, I have to get up and leave. Or I have to do something about it: "All right! That's the end of my Saturday night, but you come here because you are in big trouble!" (laughs) It's just gotten to the point where it's overwhelmed me. It makes me frustrated and angry because I liked it.

Like my best friend from high school smokes weed. She's always calling me to go out somewhere, but then she always wants to light up right in front of me. I don't even see her anymore.

S13: I have a friend who thinks being a cop is like being gum on the bottom of somebody's shoe. And she's

smart, got like three degrees now, so I remind her when she says "cops suck" that I'm one of those. She says "yeah, well you're different, you have a brain." Well, yeah, but I AM a cop. She's like: I'll give you an exclusion. You're the exception that proves the rule.

S04: So my love life is, always has been, shit. I had a twelve year relationship with someone and that ended. I was very very upset about that, obviously, and it took me a long time to get over it, but I got over it. And I met someone who is on the job. Big mistake.

The other one was on the job too, but I didn't meet her on the job, we met in college. I was not on the job yet, I was only 20. So I met her, and we got together, and then I got on the job. She was a social worker, and then she went to probation, and then she went and joined the department. That was the downfall of the relationship I think.

This one is a [ranking police officer]. I don't know. My career is more important to me. She doesn't like the job that much, she doesn't like what she does. So it was like a constant battle. And always like a priority. Because the job is important to me. Maybe she felt like it was a competition, I don't know. But it just didn't work out and it is over now.

I'm still hurting over it. I teach this stuff. Domestic violence. As a teacher of this stuff, and knowing the dynamics of it, I never experienced it. And I was involved in it, and I didn't realize it. Or I kind of did, but I didn't, and I wanted to deny it. And finally it got the point where it had to stop and I had to get out. And so I did. And so I had the courage to get out and away from it. But I'm hurting over that and I'm trying to heal over that. So when I think about a relationship, I'm not interested in a relationship, I am not interested in anyone. I do not know if I ever will be interested in anyone.

I love me too much. I do! I'm not conceited, I don't think. I just think I'm confident and I have too much going for me right now for me to be involved with someone else. I don't even know if I could give someone else what they could want, or need. I don't know if I could share my life. I have too much on my

plate. So I think it would be foolish to get involved, plus I have no interest.

In summary, analysis of the narratives with regard to the Other Life revealed that most subjects are hypervigilant in not allowing their personal lives to impact or interfere with their Police Life. Work-related problems, particularly stress, did appear to have the most negative impact on subjects' personal lives. Overall, subjects appeared to maintain an Other Life that reflected a need for privacy, personal fulfillment, and stress-relief.

Because work-related problems were the source of most reported stress, subjects had little or no inclination to socialize with other police officers. Most subjects indicated that they were not very social by nature, but also indicated that they actively avoided socializing with other officers outside the job. It appeared that negative issues related to policing--not sexual identity or disclosure--determined the nature and scope of their social activities and personal choices.

The After-Life

Subjects usually introduced the topic of their "After-Life" emphasizing hopes, dreams, and plans for life after leaving policing. That subjects would initiate the topic,

and often return to it repeatedly throughout the interview , before being asked specific questions about the After-Life, indicates the importance of this concept in their lives. This focus on life beyond policing has been revealed in the literature as common all police officers, and is often linked to stress and cynicism (Neiderhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1967; Martin, 1990; Jordan, 1996).

Many subjects, in discussing their education, jobs, and plans in the "Before-Life" would mention that they intended to return to those earlier plans or seek development of unrealized potential after retiring (usually referred to as "doing 20"). It was not anticipated that subjects would perceive policing almost as a 20 year hiatus, often unintended, which diverted them from their true mission or goal in life.

Some officers were so discouraged by their work-related problems that they reported having plans underway to leave policing before the 20-year benchmark.

KCJ: Do you intend to make policing your career?

S02: No. I probably should, but...right now I'm 32, and I have eleven years to go. And I'm trying to take good care of myself. And even if I stay for eleven years, I'll be doing something else. I'm torn between staying...if I can make fifteen, which is six more years for me...

KCJ: What happens at 15 years?

S02: Fifteen means I can vest out and just wait five years for my pension.

KCJ: And what factors are influencing this decision?

S02: Finding another job quickly. If I knew that tomorrow morning that I could go on two or three job interviews and within a week have a job, I would quit! That sounds silly, but it's true.

KCJ: And what kind of job would you want?

S02: I like teaching. I like writing. I wouldn't mind working with teenagers, troubled teens. That's pretty much it right now.

S30: I'll tell you honestly, and the PD doesn't know this, but I'm already working on my applications to law school.

KCJ: And if you get in?

S30: Well I'm applying to all the local schools, and the ones that have part-time programs, I'm applying for that. So if I get into one of those, I'll probably just try to go at night and work it around the job. But if I don't, and I get into a full-time program and they give me all the financial aid to go full-time, then I swear I'll just quit. I've only got four years on, so I wouldn't be losing that much. I'd just quit. I should have gone to law school in the first place.

One subject was in her twenty-first year and would be retiring shortly; another subject would reach her 20th year three months after the interview. Apart from the twenty-one year veteran, who stayed longer in the job only because she was waiting for her partner to reach her twenty-year mark so they could leave together, not one subject reported planning to stay beyond 20 years. Most seemed to take comfort in the idea that because they had entered policing

at an early age, they could retire in their 40s and still have time to begin, revive, or pursue a second career. This sentiment parallels the findings of an earlier study of women in the NYPD (Jordan, 1996) in which only the highest ranking officers (captains and above) indicated that they liked their work enough to stay beyond 20 years.

KCJ: You going to stay with policing?

S01: No. And I'll tell you, this is, I mean I've been trying to deal with this, and people tell me stay the five more years. But I've been looking at this merger, and I'll have 15 years in October, and I keep saying, well at least if I can get to 15, then I can leave with something. But I'm already thinking, I don't want to stay.

KCJ: If you leave policing as a career, what would you do?

S01: Well, that's the strangest thing. Because I don't know, but I know I like teaching. I also love animals. I really do. I had wanted to go into some kind of veterinarian field, even before I came on this job. And I think I do have an affinity for animals, so maybe something to do with animals. But it's a hard area, because either you're very low on the totem pole, or you're a vet. There's no middle area. Those are the things that interest me: teaching or animals.

KCJ: Would you consider it a whole new career, or just something to do after you retire?

S01: I would consider it a career. I think if you find something you're passionate about... I think that's why I'm disappointed with policing, because I'm not passionate about it. See, I was passionate about teaching math. I loved teaching math. But that's the lessons of your youth come back to you. Sometimes I think I sold out for security. Which I think I did. Because I was teaching for \$7,500 a year in a parochial school for two years, and trying to get that math degree I told you about, to go to public schools. And I sold out, but I did have a passion for that.

Teaching was the job which most subjects indicated they wanted to pursue in their after-life. Six subjects indicated that they were currently continuing their education (in criminal justice, law, or sociology) in order to credential themselves for their After-Life. One ranking subject was already teaching part-time as an adjunct professor while enrolled in a doctoral program in social work.

S22: You know, I loved teaching at the Academy, but once you get this high up the ladder you can't go backwards. I can't do that anymore, and it's what I want to do. I'd probably stay with the Department for the rest of my life if they'd let me do that. But instead, I'm stepping out in twenty. I'll keep my part-time teaching and I'll look for a full-time position. I want to do what you do! How much do you make?

Apart from teaching, careers in social work and consulting were most cited. Several subjects did, however, indicate that they had no specific career plans to pursue upon retirement:

S23: See I'm out in three months, but mentally I'm already out of here. I have a house in Arizona all picked out. I'm just going to relax. I'm not going to work, I've been working my ass off for twenty years. I'm going to read and paint. I always wanted to try my hand at painting. Maybe I'll open a gallery or something. Maybe I'll make pottery. I'll figure it out when I get there. But I'm not going to worry about it now. Ninety-seven days and four hours. I'm counting it down.

Several subjects indicated that they wanted to spend more time with their families, usually meaning parents or partners, upon retirement. One subject said she was planning to start a family.

S13: See I'm lucky because I started when I was 21. That means I'll be 41 when I retire, and that's still young enough, barely, to have a baby. I've looked into it. I think I'll even get pregnant in my 19th year so I can have a nice, easy year at a desk my last year. I never would have a kid on this job, never. But after twenty I'll be set. I'll have the time and money to raise a child the way a child should be raised.

The overwhelming theme in discussing or referring to the After-Life was that of great relief. Three subjects referred to it specifically as a "fresh start" on life, while others reported actively fantasizing and dreaming about their lives after retirement. Most subjects, particularly those who had reached their halfway 10-year mark, indicated taking specific steps (such as researching a retirement locale, investing wisely, increasing education) toward their retirement vision.

Subjects indicated that dreams of the After-Life sustained them through their most difficult days and helped them cope with work-related problems. While subjects had listed a variety of reasons for entering policing, the vast majority of subjects indicated that the only reason they continued to stay was because of the 20-year pension plan.

Interpreting the Qualitative Findings

A process of selective coding elicited the above themes from the narratives. The categories (Appendix F), and the coded information which shaped them, were intended to generate new theory about the phenomena described by the subjects and interpreted by the researcher. As indicated throughout this chapter, the findings often exceeded the parameters of the original research questions.

The following chapter reports in detail the summaries and conclusions offered in this chapter, and proposes to apply existing theory in a manner which allows for the generation of new theory to explain the findings of this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Story Line, Summary, and Conclusions

The world of the lesbian police officer, as revealed through this research, is a world of balance. But unlike the sort of balance which, when achieved, accomplishes the comfort of equilibrium, this world of balance is always precarious. Balance is not so much achieved as sought; life is most often spent teetering on the edge, standing vigil to avoid those threats which might upset the balance. This process of seeking balance, driven by a fear of imbalance, requires the expenditure of great energy at the expense of lasting comfort. It is a complex world revealed through the cumulative analysis of this study's data.

Much was revealed in the 1,100 single-spaced pages of interview transcription, but much more was clearly hidden. Sentences started were often stopped, restarted, not finished, or contradicted in rephrasing. The many ellipses on the printed page were emblematic of themes buried deep which remained repressed. Attempts to evoke the subjects' true feelings through prompt questions and probing restatements often failed.

Comparing the quantitative findings of the survey data to the qualitative findings of the interviews revealed insight that would have gone undetected if either phase had

been excluded. The importance of rank to the issue of disclosure, as revealed by the survey data, became instrumental in analyzing the narratives of subjects of different ranks. This, in turn, would generate a theoretical perspective on the disclosure of lesbian police officers which was never anticipated at the outset of the study.

Central Categories: The Story Line

This study identified a distinct story which emerges from the collective analysis. The following sections tell this story by articulating a number of central categories which resulted from selective coding in analyzing all the data.

The central categories which follow thus represent the result of selective coding in analyzing all data. The categories are: Lesbian Officers as Police Officers, Lesbian Officers as Women, Lesbian Officers as Racial/Ethnic Minorities, and Lesbian Officers as Lesbians. Finally, the notion of "The Limbus" is introduced as a theoretical means of integrating the findings.

Lesbian Officers as Police Officers

A central finding of this study is that lesbian officers experience many of the same work-related problems as evidenced in studies of other police officers (see Skolnick, 1967 and Neiderhoffer, 1967). Thus, subjects revealed very cynical attitudes about their jobs and work-related problems. Consistent with previous literature, subjects reported that their initial idealism at the outset of their policing careers soon faded to disappointment, anger, frustration, and loss of interest. Those who reported positive and hopeful attitudes admitted, often with very apparent self-deprecation and embarrassment, that they were atypical. Indeed, these optimists were actually self-disparaging, referring to themselves as "naive" and "living in a dreamworld."

The issue of trust also linked the subjects' narratives to the existing literature. Subjects were emphatic in stating that trust was extremely important in their daily lives as police officers, particularly in relationships with partners, but they were equally emphatic in asserting that they rarely trusted anyone in policing. Those who did report having a good, trusting, relationship with a partner indicated a much more positive attitude and experience with policing, as well as slightly higher job satisfaction.

Experiences of betrayal, often because a trusted coworker "outed" the subject, often resulted in subjects never trusting anyone in policing again. Issues of danger were linked to trust; subjects feared for their physical and occupational safety with coworkers they could not trust. Subjects were more likely to trust male coworkers than female coworkers, as manifested in their negativism toward female officers as a group.

Police solidarity, a central concept in the policing literature (Skolnick, 1967; Neiderhoffer, 1967) did not surface as a prized value of the respondents. Not only was clannishness absent among the lesbian police officers, but it was often abhorred as a basis for harassment and discrimination.

The notion of machismo in policing was validated in the interviews. Subjects proposed that machismo was very related to sexism in policing, and that sexism was the most important factor in issues of perceived discrimination and harassment in policing. Subjects reported being acutely aware of the male-domination of their profession, and while harassment was actually accepted by most as a normal occupational hazard, discrimination was often noted and extremely resented.

The resistance by subjects to consider actions, which they intellectually acknowledged as sexual harassment, as

real sexual harassment in the police milieu is important. Subjects recounted many stories which revealed prima facie sexual harassment, but dismissed such experiences as insignificant because sexism was regarded as common and accepted in policing. Subjects discounted the harm caused by such unwelcome behavior by focusing on the concept of *unwelcome*. By adjusting their thinking to avoid the "unwelcome" criteria that would cause certain behavior to become "harassment," subjects were able to deny or cope with behavior that was clearly harassment.

Fence-straddling by subjects on the topic of sexual harassment was continually revealed in their narratives: while such behavior was certainly neither welcome nor enjoyed, to object would bring severe ramifications which subjects felt powerless to combat. Tolerance and acquiescence, generally achieved by ignoring behavior and desensitizing one's self to the pain and shock of such experiences, was perceived as necessary to survive in the police environment.

The perpetual realization of this theme in the narratives indicated that there is indeed a code of silence among female officers with regard to sexual harassment stemming from fear of being disclosed as lesbians. But this unwillingness to speak out is quite different than the traditional police "code of silence" as described in the

literature. The code of silence which evolved from subjects' narratives is based not upon positive perceptions of trust, loyalty, and solidarity, but rather on the negative perceptions of exclusion compounded by outright fear of harassment, labeling, oppression, discrimination, and alienation. Subjects indicated that because there were so many subtle and subterranean methods which police officers could use to punish and ostracize them, a code of silence emerged as a means of survival.

This unspoken understanding is perhaps better interpreted as a *code of complacency* rather than silence, because the silence is not practiced as a means of protecting others and maintaining status with the police subculture. Instead, the code of complacency, often to the point of invisibility, is a learned necessity which one adopts to ensure self-preservation. The promise of silence is thus to one's self, and not to members of any other group or subculture as a requirement of membership.

Fear is the driving force behind this demeanor. But it is not the fear of danger and public disdain discussed in existing police literature, but rather fear of *other police officers* and more broadly of the *organization* of policing itself. These are realistic fears actually based on and perpetuated by the police organization, which engenders

resistance to women in policing, be they heterosexual or lesbian.

Lesbian Officers as Women

While subjects' narratives indicated they overwhelmingly perceive themselves as *policewomen* instead of *policewomen* (Martin, 1980), subjects actually resent the term "policewoman" entirely. They consistently objected to, and refused to use, the word "policewoman," emphasizing that they were simply police officers who happened to be female.

Clearly, "female" denotes sex (biological), whereas "woman" denotes the feminine gender (cultural); the difference was clearly deemed relevant to the subjects. All subjects consistently referred to themselves as "women" in discussion of various topics, as long as the word "police" did not precede it.

The findings of this study with regard to the subjects' perceptions of their roles as police officers and women were consistent with the literature. The subtext of the narratives revealed the same theme of role conflict as found by Martin (1990): female officers must perform their jobs under extreme pressure, often compounded by uniquely female issues of which male officers are seemingly oblivious, and from which they are probably immune.

The findings of this study were also very consistent with a recent study conducted on the status of women in the NYPD (Jordan, 1996). That study, conducted for the Police Foundation of the City of New York, focused on issues of the role of women, support among women coworkers, advancement opportunities for women, and the future of women in the NYPD.

Jordan's findings revealed highly negative attitudes and extreme cynicism among female officers with regard to all topics of inquiry. Participants in that study overwhelmingly reported that the role of women in policing was merely that of supporting male officers and providing clerical skills; that women in the NYPD were non-supportive and sometimes combative; that opportunities for advancement were available only by political favoritism ("hook"), sometimes generated by engaging in sexual relationships as needed, and that the bulk of ranking females were merely organizational "tokens"; and that the status (or plight) of women in the NYPD would not improve in the future. Indeed, the most unexpected and pervasive finding of Jordan's study was the vehemence with which all participants anticipated "getting out" after completing twenty years.

Jordan's report of the status of women in the NYPD very much paralleled Martin's (1990) study of the status of women in policing. Indeed, the most striking conclusion

derived from comparing the findings of the two studies was that little, if anything, had changed in the nearly ten years since Martin's data had been collected. Jordan's study of the NYPD officers indicated that women in that department reported even more difficulty with family and childcare issues than indicated in Martin's study a decade earlier.

The significant theme of family and childcare issues revealed in the Jordan study was the only major issue which did not parallel the findings of the current study of lesbian officers. While this is not unexpected, it suggests that lesbian officers might actually enjoy a level of freedom from familial pressures which other female officers must consider. The marital issues and childcare obligations which plagued officers in Jordan's (1996) study were almost completely absent from subject reports in the current study. Only one officer had children but indicated no real issues with childcare as her children lived with their father.

Relationship issues did overlap some of the marital problems revealed in the earlier study; however, the nature of the lesbian relationship (primarily the reality that formation and dissolution of such relationships does not require legal intervention such as marriage and divorce) appeared to spare subjects from much of the stress

associated with marital difficulty. Lesbian relationships appeared to suffer from a completely different stress than that of heterosexual marriages: the element of secrecy and fear of disclosure that is often associated with such relationships. Still, subjects in the current study indicated, as did the general study of women in the NYPD, that policing took a great toll on their relationships with significant others.

Virtually every finding in the Jordan study of women in the NYPD was replicated, with minor variations, in the current study. Subjects in both studies perceived that their female status was a detriment to their police role, their ability to receive support from others, their opportunities for advancement, and their future in the department. The consistency of highly negative attitudes from subjects in both studies indicates that it is their status as women, more than status of rank, race, ethnicity, parenthood, age, or sexual identity, which is the basis for most work-related problems.

One finding of the Jordan (1996) study which has a bearing on the quantitative findings of the current study is that pertaining to rank. In the earlier study, it was found that only in the focus group reports of executive female officers (rank of Captain or above) were attitudes more positive and hopeful. This was interpreted as a politically

convenient stance considering the nature of the study (many of these "executive" subjects had been instrumental in initiating and funding the study), but might also reflect a level of advantage and comfort enjoyed by the higher ranking women.

This factor is important in assessing the quantitative findings of this study which indicate that subjects with the rank of sergeant are more likely to be disclosed in the workplace, whereas subjects of higher rank (lieutenant and captain) were less likely to be disclosed. Taken together, the findings of both studies suggest that above the rank of sergeant, executive women in the NYPD are extremely sensitive to the political implications of their status.

It is proposed that lesbian officers of high rank consider nondisclosure of their sexual identity as requisite to the professionalism which is expected for advancement opportunities and maintenance of rank. Narratives of the four executive lesbian officers in this study revealed a deep distrust of organizational politics as well as a hypersensitivity to any foible which might leave them open to criticism. Their fear of disclosure is thus not so much an issue of sexual identity management (Leinen, 1993a,b) or even "status-cleansing," but more an effort toward devoiding themselves of any personal status at all.

This phenomenon of *status void* is a distinct hybrid: the subjects' status as women is beyond their control, but their status as lesbians is not. Consistent with Schur's (1984) theory of gender, stigma, and social control, subjects clearly perceive that they will receive all of the negative stigma relegated to *women* officers. For the lesbian officer, however, stigma management is an on-going process of controlling the introduction of, and erasing any hint of, a sexual identity status which is inconsistent with the organizational expectations of rank. It is not so much an issue of "identity management" as "identity suppression": the denial and quash of sexual identity is what permits the *status void* conducive to the upper ranks.

Lesbian Officers as Minorities

As indicated earlier in the discussion of qualitative and quantitative findings, subjects indicated their "race/ethnicity" on the demographic form. The unexpected element of subjects' response to that open-ended request for information was the qualification of that status. Women of color invariably indicated their race with ethnic specificity: "African American," "Caribbean-American," "Jamaican," "Puerto-Rican," "Latina," "Black-Hispanic," "Hispanic," "Dominican," "Chinese-American," and "Multi-racial" were all indicated as responses by subjects. Only

one subject indicated that she was "black." The majority of white subjects indicated their ethnic identity: "Irish-American," and "Italian-American" were most common, with one "Polish-American" and one who simply wrote "American."

The narratives of subjects who identified themselves as women of color revealed themes quite in keeping with the existing literature on racial minorities, including the classic study of black police officers by Alex (1969) which introduced the concept of "double marginality". This concept posits that African-American officers must deal with the expectation that they will give members of their own race a break; on the other hand, black officers often experience racism amongst their own coworkers. Alex's (1976) follow-up study found that black officers are becoming more aggressive and self-assured, and far less willing to accept any discriminatory practices by the police department.

Alex's concept of double-marginality was evident in the narratives of minority subjects in this study. Subjects' introduced the negative reaction to their racial status early in the interview process, consistently indicating that apart from gender, their racial status was a greater contributor and detriment to their work-related problems than was their sexual identity. Again, the factor of control was paramount in this differentiation; minority

subjects were even more aware of their ability to control their sexual identity through nondisclosure than were white subjects, and equally resigned to the fact that there was no control for gender. The inescapable nature of racial identification was contrasted to their relative control over revealing that they are lesbian.

Minority subjects emphasized that they believed the police organization reacted to their status as *women* first, and then their status of *race* next. Subjects were very specific in that it was the color of their skin, not their ethnicity per se, which evoked an immediate response upon categorization by gender. Most minority subjects were so conscious of their racial status, that they indicated it was not possible to determine if their sexual identity, as perceived by other police officers, was the basis for any negativism or discrimination.

Minority subjects assumed that inequitable or discriminatory treatment in the workplace was in response to their status as minority women, except in situations where they were subjected to epithets based on sexual orientation, such as "dyke" or "rugmuncher." The most interesting aspect of subject's narratives was their belief that being a woman in policing was actually worse than being a person of color: the combination of both was perceived as a double onus,

redefining the notion of double-marginality and limiting it to work-place marginalization.

Minority subjects reported that they were more wary of racism and ethnocentrism from other police officers (who inherently held more potential for harassment and discrimination) than from the public. They indicated that they were more compatible with members of their own race than with any other group (delineated by gender, rank, age, or sexual identity). Although minority subjects alluded to their "triple threat" status of being female, racial minority, and gay, status deflation in the workplace based on race was often perceived by them as a greater problem than that posed by gender and sexual orientation.

Lesbian Officers as Homosexuals

The earlier review of the literature regarding gays in law enforcement revealed a dearth of information on lesbians in policing. In the limited literature on gays in policing which does currently exist, lesbians are included as an appendage or afterthought to studies of gay male officers.

The one comprehensive study of gay police officers, Leinen's (1992) study of NYPD officers who were affiliated with GOAL is consistent with the findings of this study. Not only did he find that gay officers, especially lesbians, avoided disclosure on the job, he also proposed that the

stigma of being a gay officer within the NYPD was so negative that many gay officers worked toward active concealment of their sexual identities.

Leinen found that lesbians officers, when compared to gay males officers, were subject to additional problems in the workplace because of the harassment and isolation they suffer as women. The important point Leinen makes is that lesbians experience this harassment and isolation from homosexual as well as heterosexual male officers, thus confirming that the work-related problems of lesbian officers are often quite separate issues from those confronted by gay male officers. Leinen found that much of the harassment lesbian officers experienced in the workplace clearly springs from the known-about or suspected sexual orientation.

Subjects in this study confirmed Leinen's findings in that they clearly perceived their work-related problems to be different than those of gay male officers. Many subjects enjoyed friendship and a certain level of compatibility and "understanding" with gay male officers, but nothing which approached a solidarity based on sexual orientation. Some subjects indicated that they did not even know any gay male officers, and would avoid them if they did for fear of "guilt by association."

An unexpected finding of this study, however, is the perception by subjects that they actually have fewer and/or less stressful work-related problems than their gay male counterparts. The basis for this belief was the severity of *machismo* witnessed among NYPD police officers; subjects indicated that they had seen women engage in machismo behavior, and had sometimes engaged in such behavior themselves, as a means of "being one of the guys." Ironically, though they feared labeling as lesbians, macho behavior was reported to be so acceptable that it served as an instrumental coping mechanism to handling the machismo of heterosexual males. In other words, subjects indicated that their suspected or known sexual identity would be more easily ignored or tolerated because being perceived as masculine and aggressive was actually an asset. This, apparently, is a coping strategy unavailable to gay males officer who are stereotyped as weak and effeminate.

The marginality which Leinen indicated that most of his gay and lesbian participants reported was also confirmed in this study. His findings that fear of reprisal and homophobia by coworkers led to nondisclosure and concealment of officers' homosexual orientation (a "commitment to silence") were also confirmed here.

This study, however, builds upon Leinen's study in that it discovers that in the case of the lesbian officer, it is

not so much homophobia which produces nondisclosure, but rather a combination of *heterosexism* and *homonegativism*. *Heterosexism* is more specific than sexism in that it is defined as "an ideological system that denies, denigrates and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 1992:89). *Homonegativism*, in contract to homophobia, describes purposeful but not irrational negative attitudes towards nonheterosexuals (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980).

Specifically, it is external homonegativism, reflected in the cultural beliefs and actions of the NYPD which sustain and promote negative images of nonheterosexuals, which lesbian officers fear most. Unlike the gay male officers in Leinen's study, the lesbian subjects of this study did not indicate concern about irrational hatred or fear by their fellow officers toward their homosexuality. Rather, it was the perception that being homosexual was not considered conducive to policing by fellow officers, that most served to suppress their disclosure. Lesbian officers did not fear physical or verbal abuse, or perceive problems with hateful partners or dangerous situations, to the extent that gay male officers do.

Homonegativism has been experienced by lesbians in sports which, like the profession of policing, is a very male-dominated and often machismo environment (Krane, 1996).

The construct of homonegativism towards lesbians in sports, as proposed by Krane, offers several tenets which correspond to the findings in this study. Krane proposes that external homonegativism runs so deep in some cultures that lesbians internalize homonegativism as part of their identities as a coping mechanism. Krane's findings indicate that "covering" or "passing" is a common manifestation of internalized homonegativism; lesbians in her study indicated that they often attempted to hide sexual orientation from others in order to avert potential external homonegativism.

This type of behavior will lead to a discrepancy between one's personal and public lives (Herek, 1991) and cause an individual to deny and silence one part of the individual's self identity. The most important application of homonegativism theory is, however, that maintaining such a pretense can become very stressful, especially when one lives in fear of discovery (Savin-Williams, 1994). Lesbians who are passing or covering may experience feelings that they are living a lie, distancing themselves from others, maintaining only superficial interaction with others (Herek, 1991). All of these behaviors associated with homonegativism experienced by lesbians in sports are consistent with the findings of this study of lesbians in policing.

The Limbus

The *Limbus* is a term coined by this author to describe a phenomenon discovered in this study for which no existing theory is apparent. In keeping with the provision of grounded theory, The Limbus is a concept reflecting the cumulative findings of the previous central categories while adding the crucial variable of disclosure to the theoretical construct. Introduction of The Limbus as a concept unique to this study is intended to describe a theoretical "space", "status," or even "quandary," which was discovered to exist among lesbian officers in the NYPD.

The term "limbus" describes "a place or condition of neglect or oblivion to which unwanted things or persons are relegated" (Webster's Unabridged Dictionary). In its most negative aspect, it is likened to hell or imprisonment; in its most innocuous aspect, it is likened to a border or edge. In either definition, The Limbus represents a veritable netherworld which encompasses hopelessness and alienation. The torture apparently experienced by occupants of The Limbus is based upon the condition of social unacceptance.

As proposed earlier, the world of the lesbian officers is one of constant attempts at attaining balance. However, subjects in this study indicated that the quest was largely futile. Their ongoing efforts towards fighting and avoiding

all aspects of sexism, heterosexism, racism, discrimination, and homonegativism were in vain. Consequently, most subjects accepted their plight with utter passivity and resignation.

The most important finding of this study was the overriding importance of disclosure. Not all subjects occupied The Limbus; those who indicated a higher level of disclosure often indicated a higher level of job satisfaction and comfort in the workplace. Put simply, the more disclosed or "out" lesbian officers appeared to have fewer work-related problems, and those work-related problems that they did experience were usually linked to the rigors of police work, and not to their status as lesbians. When status was an issue, it was the status of woman which received the most attention.

It is important to note that nondisclosure did not necessarily infer concealment; on the continuum of disclosure, nondisclosure was the inevitable "3" (neutral) indicated by most subjects. It is a middle world between disclosure and concealment, it is a plateau of nothingness. The effort and energy necessary to occupy the position in The Limbus was perhaps more taxing than that required in concealment, because living in The Limbus is an ongoing challenge. By either pretending scrutiny does not exist, or actively addressing it with techniques of distraction and

diversion, subjects in the Limbus become numb to the pain of their status.

Whereas concealed officers took initial steps to hide their identity (using engagement rings or invented boyfriends), they enjoyed a level of comfort in believing that their ruse was successful. Disclosed officers likewise enjoyed a level of comfort in knowing, and usually not caring, that their status was known and that the nature of work-related problems or conflict with coworkers was more easily decipherable. In interpreting the narratives and subtext of all subjects, it became clear that it was the nondisclosed officer--the one who never acknowledged, addressed, nor confirmed her sexual identity--who suffered the most problems in policing.

While only a few subjects actually articulated that they recognized their occupation of The Limbus (four subjects actually used the word "limbo" in their narratives), they were usually not cognizant of the energy expended in maintaining their status there. Subjects in The Limbus admitted persistent feelings of paranoia and discrimination, the stress of which was often magnified because of the impossibility of knowing the nature of the persecution. Concealed officers could "know", even if this included a certain amount of denial, that persecution was based upon a status other than lesbian. Disclosed officers

not only enjoyed this certainty, but found additional security in believing that because they were known to be lesbian within the Department, they could successfully file complaints, even sue, under EEO provisions.

While nondisclosed subjects indicated passivity and acceptance of life in Limbus, the attention necessary to maintain that occupancy was conclusively linked to work-related problems. The quality of stress endured in the workplace was clearly exacerbated by the problem of *not knowing* if other's knew or guessed their identity, and mental anxiety associated with convincing one's self that not knowing was preferable to knowing.

Having actively practiced this denial, or perhaps "mental voiding" for years, subjects were adept at speaking convincingly about why their status was desirable. However, the extremely negative undercurrent of their discussion of work-related problems revealed that they had not actually internalized The Limbus as desirable. Instead, they avoided the issue completely in assessing its importance in their lives. Police Life would be the usual milieu for such avoidance, but many indicated that it carried over to their Other Life and/or was the primary motivator toward their After-Life.

The quantitative findings are consistent. The finding of statistical significance with regard to the relationship

between disclosure and rank is important. It suggests that a higher level of disclosure is associated with advancement to the level of sergeant, perhaps because disclosed subjects enjoy more comfort and less stress than officers engaged in the energy expenditure of The Limbus. By assuming a level of disclosure, sergeants are perhaps better able to serve as effective supervisors: the fear of disclosure surely has a crippling, if not sabotaging, effect on relationships with coworkers. Whether it is the disclosure which offers subjects the liberation to seek promotion, or the promotion which evokes the disclosure is not known, but the relationship between the two variables proved to be highly significant.

Summary and Conclusions

The major findings of the current study are as follows:

- 1) A positive relationship was found between the variable of disclosure and the variables of job satisfaction and job performance, in that those subjects who reported higher disclosure were more likely to report higher levels of job satisfaction and more confidence in job performance. The state of not being neither concealed nor revealed (The Limbus) was revealed as most detrimental to work-related problems;

2) Relationships with other police officers and with the police organization itself were far more likely to be reported as the source of work-related problems than were demands of the job;

3) Lesbian police officers appear to experience and suffer from the same types of problems (except for family and childcare issues) as do other female officers, but have the added onus of managing their disclosure in the workplace;

4) The problems common to all female officers appear to be linked to their gender status, and thus compound and add to all of the usual policing problems experienced by male officers;

5) The cynicism of lesbian police officers is consistent with that of the police culture, but the type of negativism reported is more consistent with that of female officers, and the overt resignation to status difficulties appears unique to their sexual identity (the degree of which is often determined by level of disclosure);

6) Machismo among lesbian officers is revealed as a coping mechanism exhibited in order to fit in and gain acceptance of male officers; and

7) Existing (EEO and Affirmative Action) policies aimed at protecting officers from harassment and discrimination are perceived as useless by lesbian officers:

the realities of organizational bureaucracy and police subculture norms will always prevail.

A recent article on the issue of disclosure in the classroom (Elliot, 1996), written by a lesbian professor, describes the quandary of living in a world where legitimacy of identity is so denied, that disclosure almost becomes a moot point:

In crossing the abyss, do we expose a secret that should no longer be a secret, thereby draining it of its destructive power--or do we appear to confess, thereby imputing criminality in our practices and feelings? And what distinguishes privacy from secrecy?...That public "identity," because it is predicated upon private taboo sexual practices, can never achieve full status as an identity in the heterosexist mind. (Elliot, *Coming Out in the Classroom*, College English, 58 (6) p.704.)

Legal statutes, EEO protections, policy provisions are useless in the real world of the lesbian officer. Until the NYPD (and perhaps policing as a whole) addresses the reality that lesbian officers are denied workplace comfort and protection because their sexual identity is ignored, the majority of lesbian officers will remain in The Limbus.

Questions unanswered by the present study and deserving of future research include the nature and complexity of the relationship between rank and disclosure. While sergeants were revealed as more likely to be disclosed on the job, the three lieutenants and one captain in this study indicated

higher levels of concealment than did the sergeants. It is possible that a "law of diminishing returns" exists for lesbian officers beyond the rank of sergeant. There are 391 female sergeants in the NYPD, but only 86 lieutenants and 12 female captains. It is conceivable that the political realities of attaining the higher ranks demands a level of nondisclosure that is not as important at the rank of sergeant. Such questions lay the ground for further inquiry.

EPILOGUE

Subjects in this study were, overall, quite careful to maintain their personal distance from the researcher. Most were very forthcoming about their police-related problems, but were rather reserved in disclosing personal information about themselves. The perpetual response, when asked why they were not disclosed in the workplace, was "No one ever asks." The same code of secrecy, whether borne of fear or respect, was observed by the subjects with regard to the researcher. While subjects were told they could stop the interview or survey process at any time, or ask any questions of the researcher, none did.

At times the confidentiality of the subjects' information caused conflict in analysis. It was occasionally (and always inadvertently) discovered that several subjects had been involved with one another, sometimes as coworkers, but often as sexual or romantic partners. Problems arose when conflicting information indicated that one subject had to be hiding or altering information: one of the most articulate and forthcoming subjects in the study admitted she was in a relationship with a lesbian officer she supervised, and that she had

taken specific steps to have her lover transferred to her office in order to rescue her from a harrowing environment.

The subject, who will be referred to as Ann, suffered greatly because of the guilt she associated with having "abused" the privilege of her rank and position; she went to great lengths to convince the researcher, quite unnecessarily, that what she had done was not improper and that both officers were extremely professional. The subject cried while recounting this, as if confessing to some heinous deed. It was impossible to believe that the stress she was suffering as a result of her position, and the anguish caused by the conflict between her being a good cop and a caring lover, did not affect her policing.

In a separate interview with a different subject, it became clear that the subject was Ann's lover. This subject, who will be referred to as Beth, never once made mention of the relationship with her direct supervisor. In fact, she spoke in quite neutral terms about her supervisor, referring to her by her professional rank and surname, saying only that Ann was a good supervisor and she had no problems with her. She immediately diverted the discussion away from Ann to discuss other coworkers. In fact, she reported later in the interview that she was in the process of breaking up a relationship with a woman (in no way involved in policing) who had moved across the country.

While this might not have been untrue, it certainly did not represent the full picture of her personal life, or hint of the anguish involved in her workplace, which had been discovered in Ann's interview.

Of course, no mention of the relationship was ever made to Beth; confidentiality ensured that Ann's information could not be repeated or confirmed. But I was struck by the sadness of Beth's reality: she would not, even in a completely confidential interview on a subject which she believed to be important, with a researcher whom she appeared to trust in every other way, disclose that she was in a relationship with her police supervisor. The very controlled facial expressions and vocal inflection of Beth's mention of Ann belied the fact that she had practiced this denial and deception so much, that she was incapable of putting it aside, even outside of the workplace.

I had occasion to see Beth later when our paths crossed in the college where she is a student and I am a professor. We met in the hall and acknowledged one other; she initiated a request to seek my advice about graduate schools. In our initial meetings Beth was always extremely professional, behaving more as cop than student. By the third meeting, Beth had relaxed a bit, and for the first time asked about the outcome of the study. While we were not friends, Beth was clearly interested in getting to know

me on a more personal level. Because we are the same age and I am not her professor, the ridiculousness of her calling me "Professor" and me calling her "Officer" became apparent. In the months which followed, we would occasionally bump into each other in the cafeteria, and chat over coffee. I was careful, but not withholding, in disclosing the results of my study with her; she was genuinely interested in the outcome.

Six months had passed since the time that Beth and I became acquaintances when she introduced me to another student as her "friend." I believed that at that point Beth trusted me, as I had tried to engender trust by offering information and answering all her questions about my personal background. We had never broached questions about sexual identity or romantic relationships because it was perceived that Beth did not wish to disclose such information, and would feel obligated to do so if she knew such information about me. And so, perhaps out of mutual respect for our mutual professionalism, we maintain a code of silence and complacency which allows us to be "friends."

I recount this because it is through this process that I have come to understand Beth's life in The Limbus. Without intending to, I believe that she drew me into a form of The Limbus with her. It is not so much "don't ask, don't tell" as the complete disenfranchisement from the issue of

disclosure altogether. She mentioned Ann on two occasions, always in the capacity of Ann's supervisory status. Beth no longer works with Ann, and I wonder if this is an indication of the demise of their relationship, or if Beth is so ingrained with the culture of The Limbus that she will never be able to discuss her personal relationships with others. I cannot ask, and I believe that she will never tell.

Table 1

Racial Background of the Lesbian Officers

Race	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Black	8	24.25
Hispanic	7	21.21
White	17	51.52
Chinese	1	3.03

Table 2

Educational Background

Highest Level of Completed Educational Training	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
High School	10	30.30
College (< 4 years)	10	30.30
Bachelor's Degree	7	21.21
Postgraduate (no advanced degree)	1	3.03
Master's Degree	4	12.12
Doctoral Work (no degree)	1	3.03

Table 3

Residence of the 33 Lesbian Officers

New York Metropolitan Area	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Boroughs of New York		
Manhattan	9	27.27
Queens	4	12.12
Brooklyn	9	27.27
Staten Island	1	3.03
Bronx	1	3.03
Westchester County	3	9.09
Long Island	6	18.18

Table 4

Rank/Assignment of the Respondents

Position within the NYPD	<u>f</u>	<u>%</u>
Police officer	21	61.64
Sergeant/detective	8	24.24
Lieutenant	3	9.09
Captain	1	3.03

Appendix A

CONSENT FORM

Please read carefully.

Your signature on this page signifies your agreement to participate in a criminal justice-related study being conducted in partial fulfillment of the researcher's doctoral degree program at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you may terminate your participation at any time if you so wish. Should you opt to terminate your participation, any and all data obtained from your participation will be immediately destroyed. Your participation would be very much appreciated. This study seeks to identify, explore, and interpret work-related issues of female police officers who self-identify within a particular sexual orientation.

Participation will involve responding to questions in a **CONFIDENTIAL** interview; the researcher will not disclose to anyone, including your employer, your participation in the study. After the interview, you will be asked to complete a one-page survey in which you indicate demographic and personal information about yourself; this survey is **ANONYMOUS** in that no names are used. For all participants, pseudonyms (i.e., made-up names) and numbers will be used in identifying interview and survey responses.

Any information gained from your participation will be used for scientific research purposes only. **For the researcher to violate the confidentiality of your participation or divulge your identity would constitute an ethical breach requiring termination of the study and compromising her doctoral candidacy.** Please be as honest and candid as possible in your responses, and feel free to ask if you have any questions.

Thank you very much for your participation in this study. If you have any problems or questions, please contact: Casey Jordan, Sociology Department of John Jay College of Criminal Justice, phone 212-237-8659.

Signature

Date

Casey Jordan
Ph.D. Candidate
John Jay College/CUNY

Appendix B

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SURVEY

Your identity in filling out this form is ANONYMOUS and your answers to the following questions will be kept CONFIDENTIAL!

What is your age? _____

What is your racial or ethnic identity? _____

How long have you been an NYPD police officer? _____

What is your current rank/position with the NYPD? _____

Marital status? _____

Education? (List credits/degrees earned and major areas of study, if applicable): _____

where do you live (borough/area)? _____

With "1" being completely heterosexual and "5" being completely lesbian, how would you self-identify your sexual orientation?

(heterosexual) 1 2 3 4 5 (lesbian)

With "1" being complete concealment (or "closeted"), and "5" being full disclosure (or "out"), how would you describe the level of disclosure about your sexual orientation in the workplace?

(concealment) 1 2 3 4 5 (disclosure)

Using the same scale, how would you describe the level of disclosure about your sexual orientation outside the workplace?

(concealment) 1 2 3 4 5 (disclosure)

With "1" being very dissatisfied and "5" being very satisfied, how would you rate your level of job satisfaction as a police officer?

(very dissatisfied) 1 2 3 4 5 (very satisfied)

With "1" being very conservative and "5" being very liberal,
how would you describe your personal views?

(very conservative) 1 2 3 4 5 (very liberal)

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS FORM AND PARTICIPATING IN THIS
STUDY!

Appendix C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Becoming a Police Officer

1. How did you come to choose a career in law enforcement?
 - a) What attracted you to the job of policing?
 - b) Why did you decide to apply to the NYPD?
 - c) Did you self-identify as a lesbian when you first joined the NYPD? Do you currently?
 - d) If so, did you anticipate that your lesbianism would present any work-related problems?
2. Do you have any input or influence in choosing your present assignment? If so, how?
3. If you had a choice, what type of work assignment would you prefer? Why? What is the likelihood of your receiving this choice?

Police Work Environment & Disclosure

4. Do you conceal your lesbianism on the job?
 - a) What are some of the factors that influenced your decision to "come out" or "stay closeted"?
 - b) What does it mean to you to "come out"?
 - c) Do you consider yourself "out" on the job?
 - Y > If so, how did the disclosure process occur?
 - > If so, what were the reactions of your co-workers when you came out?
 - > What are your coworkers reactions to you now?
 - N > If not, what reasons or fears keep you from coming out?
 - > If not, what do you think the reactions of your co-workers would be if you did come out?
 - e) What do you feel are some of the implications of coming out or staying concealed on the job?
 - f) Do you believe other gay and lesbian officers should come out or stay concealed on the job? civilian while on the job or in uniform?
 - h) What would you estimate is the percentage of gay police officers in the NYPD? Lesbian officers in the NYPD? How did you arrive at this figure?

Co-Workers

5. Describe your working relationship with your fellow officers.
6. In general, describe your working relationship with male officers. Female officers? Gay male officers? Lesbian officers?
7. Describe your working relationship with your assigned partner. Higher-ranking officers? Your direct supervisors?
8. Is there a particular group of officers you are most compatible or comfortable with? If so, what factors make you feel part of this group? Describe the process by which you came to be part of this group.
9. In general, what do you consider your biggest work-related problems?
10. If you had a work-related problem, who would you probably consult first in trying to solve that problem?

Policing Environment

11. Have you experienced your authority as a police officer questioned or threatened? On what basis? Tell me about such an experience...
12. What do you perceive as the most dangerous situations in policing? What role does your partner (or back-up unit) play in your ability to deal with danger? How important is trust on the job? Who do you trust?
13. Do you find yourself suspicious of any particular group/s of civilians? What about groups of police officers? If so, describe what makes these groups of people so suspicious.
14. Have you ever experienced "macho" attitudes by fellow officers on the job? If so, what does "macho" mean to you? What kind of officers exhibit those attitudes? How does it affect you?
15. What's your mission in policing? What impact to you hope to have as a police officer in your day-to-day police work?

Subculture

16. Is your life as a civilian very different from your life as a police officer? In what ways?

17. Tell me some of the things you like to do when you're not at work.

18. How would you describe your social life? If you have one, who do you prefer to spend your social time with when not at work?

19. How would you describe most of your friends? What do they think of your being a police officer?

20. Are there straight cops you consider genuine friends? If so, do you socialize with them off duty?

21. Do your work-related problems or issues affect the decisions you make in your personal life? If so, in what ways?

22. Do you affiliate with any lesbian or gay organizations? Which ones? What do you get out of your membership/interaction?

Discrimination & Harassment:

23. Tell me something about discrimination within the NYPD.

24. Do you feel that the department discriminates against lesbian officers? If so, in what ways? If so, have you noted any changes during the time of your employment?

25. In your experience, do individual cops discriminate against lesbian officers? If so, in what ways?

26. Have you ever experienced discrimination in the workplace? If so, what characteristics about you do you think were the basis for the discrimination you experienced? Why do you think so?

27. How have you handled instances of discrimination that you personally experienced or observed? Do you know of formal or informal options for pursuing complaints?

28. Have you ever been harassed on the job by someone who made unwanted sexual advancement toward you? If so, who was the perpetrator? What was the basis for the harassment? Tell me about the circumstances surrounding the incident.

29. Have you ever experienced a hostile work environment? Tell me about it. Do you consider this sexual harassment? Why/why not?

30. How have you handled incidents of harassment? Why did you choose the course of action you did?

Job Performance/Satisfaction

31. What do you consider the biggest problem you have that affects your job performance as a police officer.

32. How would you describe your performance as a police officer. What are your strengths/weakness as an officer?

33. Tell me how your sexual orientation affects your job performance. Has it had any influence on your career choices?

34. Do you believe your police-related problems will change in the future? If so, in what way?

35. Do you believe there are any benefits to being a lesbian officer?

36. Tell me how satisfied you are with your job. If you could change anything to make your job better, what would it be?

37. Are you aware of the current NYPD policy with regard to hiring and discrimination based on sexual orientation? What do you think of it?

Appendix D

Preliminary Codes (Open Coding Process)

age
aggression
alienation
anger
anxiety
assignment
association with current NYPD officer
attitude, lazy
attitude, unprofessional
attitude, positive
attitude, indifference
attitude, negative
attitude, judgmental
authority
benefits
career, other
career path
career options
challenge
civil service
community
compatible
competence
conceit
confidence
connections
conspiracy
coworkers, lesbian
coworkers, gay
coworkers, friends
coworkers, straight
coworkers, gay male
coworkers, gay/out
coworkers, gay/closeted
coworkers, straight male
coworkers, female
coworkers, superiors
coworkers, male
coworkers, all
coworkers, straight females
danger
dare/impulse
Department (NYPD)

depression
disclosure
discretion
discrimination, age
discrimination, gender
discrimination, sexual orientation
discrimination, race
discrimination, sex
discrimination, ethnicity
disloyalty
distrust
divorce
domestic violence
education
EEO/Affirmative Action
emotions
environment, hostile
environment, professional
environment, friendly
ethics
ethnicity
excitement
family stress
family influence
fear
frustration
future
gender
get over (scam)
GOAL
goals, job
goals, personal
goals, education
help others
hostility
Housing
identity, cop
identity, female
identity, lesbian
identity, race/ethnic
identity, self
identity, sexual
in (closeted)
issue, policing
issue, gay
issue, personal
issue, women's
jammed up
job satisfaction
job performance

job weakness
job termination
job tracking
job strength
job, negative attitude
job, positive attitude
job, interest in
job security
job, problems with
judgment
law enforcement
lesbian
limited options
location
loyalty to job
loyalty to family
loyalty to significant other
loyalty to partner
loyalty to peers
machismo
make a difference
mental illness
mentor
mission
morals
nondisclosure
official complaint
old boys network
organizations, social
organizations, twelve-step
organizations, gay/lesbian
organizations, ethnic
organizations, religious
organizations, job/police
organizations, women's
other influence
out (of closet)
outed
patrol
peer pressure
personal strength
personal problems
personal weakness
personal stress
physical aspects
physical attributes
police academy
politics
power
pregnancy

pride
problems, with Department
problems, personal
problems, with supervisors
problems, with coworkers
problems, on the job
problems, relationship
profession, service
profession, education
profession, law enforcement
profession, social service
profession, mental health
promotion
public pressure
racial discrimination
rank
rape
reaction, coworkers
reaction, friends
reaction, public
recruited
relationship with brass
relationship with public (on the job)
relationship with peers
relationship with partner
relationship with subordinates
relationship stress
relationship with significant other
relationship with supervisor
relationship with family
relationship with civilians
relationship with friends
reputation
respect
retirement
role model
salary
schedule/shifts
secrecy
self esteem
sex discrimination
sexual orientation
sexual assault
sexual overture
sexual harassment
skills
social life
socializing
solidarity
special interests

stress, job related
stress, personal
subculture, lesbian
subculture, police
subculture, other
support, coworkers
support, family
support, friends
support, significant other
suspicious
testing
The Hook
transfer
Transit
trust
uniform
violence

Appendix E

Code Categories (Axial)

The Before Life (bl)

blfam	before life family
blch	before life change
blj	before life job
blcip	before life career impetus-police
blcio	before life career impetus-other
blcg	before life career goals
bled	before life education
blinc	before life income
blben	before life benefits
blrel	before life relationship(s)
blsi	before life sexual identity
bldis	before life disclosure
blconc	before life concealment
blnond	before life nondisclosure
blsact	before life social activities
blrel	before life religion
blprp	before life problems-personal
blprj	before life problems-job

The Police Life (pl)

Disclosure

plsi	police life sexual identity
pldis	police life disclosure
plconc	police life concealment
plnond	police life nondisclosure
pldiso	police life disclosure-other
pldisp	police life disclosure-process

Coworkers (each had the option of +, -, =)

plcwa	police life coworker-all
plcwm	police life coworker-male
plcwf	police life coworker-female
plcwgm	police life coworker-gay male
plcwl	police life coworker-lesbian

plcwhm	police life coworker-heterosexual male
plcwhf	police life coworker-heterosexual female
plcwpr	police life coworker-peer
plcwsub	police life coworker-subordinate
plcwsup	police life coworker-superior
plcwex	police life coworker-executive ("brass")
plwciv	police life coworker-civilian
plcwpar	police life coworker-partner
plcwso	police life coworker-significant other

Police Officer Working Personality Traits (+,-,=)

plptr	police personality-trust
plploy	police personality-loyalty
plpaut	police personality-authoritarianism
plpcons	police personality-conservative
plpsec	police personality-secrecy
plpsol	police personality-solidarity
plpsus	police personality-suspiciousness
plpfear	police personality-fear
plpdan	police personality-danger
plpmac	police personality-machismo
plpagg	police personality-aggressive
plpcomm	police personality-communication skill
plplaz	police personality-laziness
plpcomp	police personality-competence
plpinc	police personality-incompetence
plpconf	police personality-confidence
plpps	police personality-problem solving
plppre	police personality-prejudice
plprac	police personality-racist
plpsex	police personality-sexist
plpcyn	police personality-cynical
plphom	police personality-homophobic
plpint	police personality-intelligent
plpsup	police personality-supportive

Police Life Sexual Harassment and Discrimination

plsh	police life sexual harassment-general
plshsa	police life sex.har.-sexual advance
plshhe	police life sex.har.-hostile environment
plshmis	police life sex.har.-misogyny
plshag	police life sex.har.-antigay
plshqu	police life sex.har.-quid pro quo
plshorg	police life sex.har.-organization-based
pldis	police life discrimination-general
pldisrac	police life disc.-racial status
pldisfem	police life disc.-female status

pldisage	police	life	disc.-age status
pldisran	police	life	disc.-rank status
pldiseth	police	life	disc.-ethnicity
pldisso	police	life	disc.-sexual orientation
pldisper	police	life	disc.-personality clash
pldisorg	police	life	disc.- organization-based

Police Life Stress

plstres	police	life	stress-general
plsgorg	police	life	stress-organizational
plsext	police	life	stress-external
plcind	police	life	stress-individual
plscw	police	life	stress-coworker-based
plssche	police	life	stress-schedule-based
plsass	police	life	stress-assignment-based
plsdan	police	life	stress-danger-based
plssh	police	life	stress-sex.har.-based
plsdisc	police	life	stress-discrimination-based
plsdist	police	life	stress-trust/distrust based
plscont	police	life	stress-control-based
plspar	police	life	stress-paranoia
plssdis	police	life	stress-disclosure-based
plsfam	police	life	stress-family problems
plsiso	police	life	stress-isolation
plsalc	police	life	stress-alcohol problems
plsel	police	life	stress-relationship problems
plsed	police	life	stress-eating disorders
plspby	police	life	stress-physical disorders
plsmnt	police	life	stress-mental disorders
plssmok	police	life	stress-smoking
plssa	police	life	stress-substance abuse

Police Life Job Performance, Satisfaction, Attitudes

pljp	job	performance-general
pljppst	job	performance-past
pljpcur	job	performance-current
pljpfut	job	performance-future
pljpass	job	performance-assignment
pljphind	job	performance-hindered
pljpacc	job	performance-accentuated
pljppos	job	performance positive
pljpneg	job	performance negative
pljpsat	job	performance satisfactory
pljs	job	satisfaction-general
pljspst	job	satisfaction-past
pljscur	job	satisfaction-current
pljsfut	job	satisfaction-future

pljsass	job satisfaction-assignment
pljspos	job satisfaction positive
pljsneg	job satisfaction negative
pljsneut	job satisfaction neutral
plja	job attitude-general
pljapos	job attitude-positive
pljaneg	job attitude-negative
pljaneut	job attitude-neutral
pljadep	job attitude-depends

The Other Life (ol)

Other life family and relationships (with +,-,= options)

olfam	family-general
olfampos	family-close
olfamneg	family-distant
olfampar	family-parents
olfamsib	family-siblings
olfamneut	family-spouse/partner
olfamchi	family-children
olfampri	family-priority
olrel	relationships-general
olrelso	relationships-significant other
olrelfr	relationships-friends
olrelfem	relationships-female
olrelmal	relationships-male
olrelgay	relationships-gay people
olrelles	relationships-lesbians
olreldisc	relationships-disclosed
olrelconc	relationships-concealed
olrelac	relationships-acquaintances
olrelcw	relationships-coworkers
olrelsoc	relationships-social
olrelint	relationships-intimate
olrelsup	relationships-superficial
olrelbro	relationships-broken/lost
olrelnew	relationships-new
olrelold	relationships-old

Other life activities

olact	activities-general
olacspp	activities-sports participant
olacspo	activities-sports observer
olacspg	activities-sports (group)

olacspi	activities-sports (individual)
olaced	activities-education
olacsl	activities-sleep/rest
olacck	activities-cook
olachw	activities-housework
olacrd	activities-read
olactv	activities-television
olaccomm	activities-computer
olacmov	activities-movie
olacmus	activities-music
olacart	activities-art
olacthe	activities-theatre
olacvol	activities volunteer
olacfam	activities-family
olacchu	activities-church
olacorg	activities-organizations
olacoj	activities-other job
olaccl	activities-clubs/nightlife

Other life organizations

olorg	organizations-general
olorgoal	organizations-GOAL
olorpol	organizations-police general
olorpolf	organizations-police female-based
olorpole	organizations-police ethnic-based
olorpols	organizations-police sports-based
olorsp	organizations-sports
olorsoc	organizations-social
olorfem	organizations-female-based
loreth	organizations-ethnicity/race based
oloract	organizations-activity-based
olorrel	organizations-religion-based
olorvol	organizations-volunteer/charity
olorpro	organizations-professional
olored	organizations-education
olorgay	organizations-gay
oloroptc	organizations-political

Other life attitude/experiences

olat	other life attitude-general
olatpos	other life attitude-positive
olatneg	other life attitude-negative
olatneut	other life attitude-neutral
olatlon	other life attitude-lonely
olatbus	other life attitude-busy

olatsol	other life attitude-solace/sanctuary
olatdem	other life attitude-demanding/burden
olatcon	other life attitude-control

The After-Life (al)

After-life defined

al	afterlife-general
alret	afterlife-after retirement
alqui	afterlife-after quitting
alpla	afterlife plans
aldre	afterlife dreams
alprep	afterlife preparation
aljob	afterlife job
alrel	afterlife relationships
alloc	afterlife location
alfam	afterlife family/children
also	afterlife significant other
alact	afterlife activities
aled	afterlife education
altea	afterlife teaching
alwri	afterlife writing
alcon	afterlife consulting
alvol	afterlife volunteer work
albus	afterlife business

Appendix F

Central Categories (Selective)

Lesbian Officers as POLICE OFFICERS (profession)

Lesbian Officers as WOMEN (gender)

Lesbian Officers as MINORITIES (race/ethnicity)

Lesbian Officers as HOMOSEXUALS (gay sexual identity)

Lesbian Officers in LIMBUS (disclosure issues)

References

Alex, N. (1969). Black in blue: A study of the Negro policeman. New York: Appleton Century Crofts.

Alex, N. (1976). New York cops talk back. New York: Wiley.

Andrews, R., & Cook, S. (1994). England: The rough guide. London: Penguin.

Baily, S., & Pillard, R. (1991). Masculinity and femininity in homosexuality: "Inversion" revisited. In M. Starika (Ed.), Homosexuality (pp. 32-44). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bayley, B.H. (1974). The policeman and the homosexual: Encounters and attitudes. New Sociology, 4, 18-52.

Bell, A., & Weinberg, M. (1978). Homosexualities: A study of diversity among men and women. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Bittner, E. (1967). The police on Skid Row: A study of peace-keeping. American Sociological Review, 32, 699-715.

Blackmore, J. (1985). Police Stress. In C. Terry (Ed.), Policing Society (p. 395). New York: John Wiley & Sons

Boise police turn against their own. (1977, November). Ms., p. 20.

Brooks, V. (1981). Minority stress and lesbian women. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Bureau of Justice Statistics (1992). Sourcebook, pp. 5,11.

Burke, M. (1994). Homosexuality as deviance: The case of the gay police officer. British Journal of Criminology, 34(2), 192-203.

Buttino, F., & Buttino, L. (1993). A special agent: Gay and inside the FBI. New York: Morrow.

Campbell, V. (1980). The double marginality of black policemen: A reassessment. Criminology, 17, 477-484.

Chafetz, J.S. (1974). A study of homosexual women. Social Work, 19(6), 714-723.

Cops: Miami Beach is talking. (1989, August 14). Newsweek, p. 4.

Critchley, T.A. (1967). A history of police in England and Wales. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith.

Curb, R., & Mahan, N. (Eds.). (1985). Gay and celibate at sixty-five: Sister Marla. In R. Curb & N. Manahan (Eds.), Lesbian nuns: Breaking silence (pp. 133-137). Tallahassee: Naiad.

Dallas' police policy guns down lesbian's dream. (1990, June 15). Houston Chronicle, p. 1E.

Detectives file lawsuit on transfers. (1995, September 1). New York Times, p. L2.

Elliot, M. (1996). Coming out in the classroom: A return to the hard place. College English, 58(6), 693-708.

Fine, G.A. & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis. American Journal of Sociology, 85, 1-20.

Fortier, K.N. (1972, February). The police culture--Its effect on sound police-community relations. The Police Chief, pp. 33-35.

Gay Cops. (1992, September 13). In Lowell Bergman, 60 Minutes. New York: CBS Television

Gay officers find acceptance on New York's police force. (1993, February 21). New York Times, pp. A1, L30.

Gay recruit is rejected by police. (1989, July 15). Dallas Morning News, p. 21A.

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Aldine.

Harris, R. (1973). The police academy: An inside view. New York: Wiley.

Herek, G.M. (1991). Stigma, prejudice, and violence against lesbians and gay men. In J.C. Gonsiorek & J.D. Weindrich (Eds.), Homosexuality: Research implications for public policy (pp. 161-176). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Herek, G.M. (1992). The social context of hate crimes: Notes on cultural heterosexism. In G.M. Herek & K.T. Berril (Eds.), Hate crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men (pp. 89-104). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hudson, W.W. & Ricketts, W.A. (1980). A strategy for the measurement of homophobia. Journal of Homosexuality, 5, 357-372.

Jordan, K.C. (1996). The status of women in the NYPD. Unpublished manuscript, City of New York Police Foundation.

Judge overturns Dallas's policy on police hiring. (1992, February 10). The Advocate, p. 15.

Judge rules in favor of lesbian denied employment by Dallas Police Department; Strikes down "sodomy" law. (1992, February 4). Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. Press Release: New York.

Kasindorf, J.R., Lesbian Chic. (1993, May 10). New York, pp. 30-37.

Kim, K. Wanted in the Slope: One out-of-the-closet cop. (1992, March 8). Park Slope Courier, p.1

Krane, V. (1996). Lesbians in sport: Toward acknowledgment, understanding, and theory. Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 18(3), 237-246.

Krieger, S. (1982). Lesbian identity and community: Recent social science literature. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 8(1), 91-108.

Leinen, S.H. (1993a). Gays in law enforcement: A study of status conflict and identity management. Dissertation Abstracts International, (University Microfilms No. 9306783)

Leinen, S. (1993b). Gay cops. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lesbian police officer charges discrimination. (1980, March 28). Washington Post, pp. B1, B5.

Lesbian wins battle for deputy sheriff post. (1980, August 22). The Sentinel, p. 9.

Lesbian wins battle for job. (1981, January 31). San Francisco Chronicle, p. 6.

LeVay, S. (1991, August). A difference in hypothalamic structure between heterosexual and homosexual men. Science, pp. 84-127.

Levine, M.P., & Leonard, R. (1984). Discrimination against lesbians in the work force. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 9(4), 700-710.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lockard, D. (1985). The lesbian community: An anthropological approach. Journal of Homosexuality, 11, (3-4), 83-95.

Martin, M. (Ed.). (1988). Rose Melendez: Police officer. In M. Martin (Ed.), Hard hatted women: Stories of struggle and success in the trades (pp. 71-80). Seattle: Seal Press.

Martin S.E. (1980). Breaking and entering: Police women on patrol. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Martin, S.E. (1990). Women on the move: A report on the status of women in policing. Washington, DC: Police Foundation.

Meagher, M.S. & Yentes, N. (1986). Choosing a career in policing: A comparison of male and female perceptions. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 16, 320-327.

Muir, W.K. (1970). The development of policemen. In J. Goldsmith and S. Goldsmith (Eds.), The police community (pp. 197-224). Pacific Palisades, CA: Palisades Publishers.

Niederhoffer, A. (1967). Behind the shield. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Ponse, B. (1978). Identities in the lesbian world: The social construction of self. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Radelet, L.A., & Reed, H.C. (1973). The police and the community: Studies. Beverly Hills: Glencoe.

Rafley, D.M. (1975). Police cynicism reconsidered: An application of smallest space analysis. Criminology, 13, 168-192.

Rich, A. (1978). Conditions of work: The common world of women. In P. Daniels & S. Ruddick (Eds.), Working it out (pp. xiv-xxiv). New York: Pantheon.

San Diego lesbian sues sheriff for hostile environment at sheriff's academy. (1993, February 11). News Release: Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., New York

Schmallegger, F. (1997) Criminal Justice Today. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall. ((p. 183)

Schneider, B.E. (1981). Coming out at work: Detriments and consequences of lesbians' openness at their workplaces. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Toronto.

Schultz, D.M. (1995). Invisible no more: A social history of women in U.S. policing. In B.R. Price & N.J. Sokoloff (Eds.), The criminal justice system and women: Offenders, victims, and workers (2nd ed., pp. 372-397). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schur, E.M. (1984). Labeling women deviant: Gender, stigma, and social control. New York: Random House.

Shilts, R. (1993). The dangerous difference. In Conduct unbecoming: Gays and lesbians in the U.S. military (pp. 1-19). New York: Fawcett Columbine.

Simon, W., & Gagnon, J.H. (1967). Sexual deviance. New York: Harper & Row.

Skolnick, J.H. (1967). Justice without trial. New York: Wiley.

Sokoloff, N.J., & Price, B.R. (1992). A case study of black and white women police in an urban police department: Preliminary findings. Paper presented at the 1992 Academy of Criminal Justice Science Meeting.

Stoddard, E.R. (1968). The informal "code" of police deviance: A group approach to "blue coat" crime. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, 59, 201-213.

Strauss, A. (1979). Qualitative analysis for social scientists. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. [1987 ON P. 68]

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sullivan, R. Revolution Number 9. (1990, November 9). The New Yorker, pp. 67-82.

Swerling, J.B. (1977). Study of police officers' values and their attitudes toward homosexual officers. Dissertation Abstracts International, A1341, . (University Microfilms No. 78-02847)

Tifft, L. (1974). The "cop personality" reconsidered. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 2, 266-278.

Trippet, S.E., & Bain, J. (1993). Physical health problems and concerns of lesbians. Women and Health, 20(2), 59-70.

Westley, W. (1953). Violence and the police. American Journal of Sociology, 59, 294-310. [1951 ON P. 13; 1956 ON P. 14]

Williams, C.L. (1989). Gender differences at work: Women and men in nontraditional occupations. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Women cops get the axe in Boise. (1977, August). Mother Jones, p.5.