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**Grennan, Sean Anthony**

THE ROLE OF OFFICER GENDER DURING VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS  
WITH CITIZENS

*City University of New York*

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THE ROLE OF OFFICER GENDER DURING  
VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS WITH  
CITIZENS

by

SEAN ANTHONY GRENNAN

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.

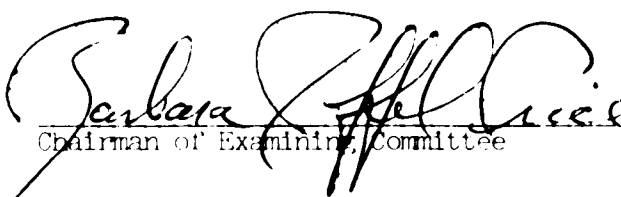
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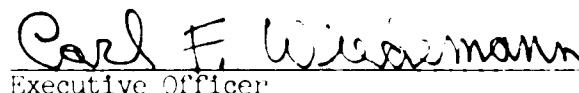
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Criminal Justice in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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4/21/87  
date

  
Executive Officer

Barbara Raffel Price, PhD

Carl F. Wiedemann, PhD

James J. Fyfe, PhD  
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

THE ROLE OF OFFICER GENDER DURING  
VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS WITH CITIZENS

by

Sean Anthony Grennan

Advisor: Professor Barbara Raffel Price

A total of 3,701 police/citizen confrontations from 1983 were examined in order to determine if female officers behaved differently than male officers during violent confrontations with citizens. The data was collected by the New York City Police Department using a "Firearms Discharge/Assault on Officer Report" form. The analysis included situations involving assaults, firearms discharge and assaults with firearms discharge. Officer gender, duty status, length of time in the department, prior firearms discharge and the nature of the threat were examined. The study was especially concerned with the role that officer gender plays during violent confrontations with citizens of New York City.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study bears my name but it never would have been started or completed without the assistance of quite a few people.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This dissertation analyzes the comparative involvement of male and female police officers in violent confrontations with citizens. Its major data source is 3,701 reported incidents which occurred in 1983 involving New York City police officers and citizens.

A great deal of research has been conducted over the past several years concerning violence and the police, but no research focuses on the female police officer and violence. The major reason for this is that there has been little to study. Female participation in patrol work has been minimal until recently, even though the first American female officer was appointed in 1910. Historically, female officers were assigned to low visibility positions in most police departments; for the most part, they were used as matrons, traffic officers, clerical personnel or juvenile officers until the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (Title VII) was passed in 1972 to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Since the adoption of these laws,

there has been a great influx of women into policing. This has been a cause of much concern to police executives in the United States. Since the enactment of Title VII, four female officers have been killed in the line of duty. The first was killed by a robbery suspect in Washington, D.C. in 1974. The other three female officers all were killed without any warning that they were in danger which is unusual for police killings. Two officers were assassinated and one was killed by a sniper (Milton, 1972; Horne, 1980; Keefe, 1981; Bell, 1982).

The view of most police executives in the United States is that women, for the most part, do not belong on patrol because of their lack of physical strength and their inability to maintain an imposing presence in the face of challenges to police authority. It is the thinking of police managers that in violent situations female police officers do not perform well, and that they create a danger to other officers and to the public (Milton, 1972; Crites, 1973; Marshall, 1973; Mishkin, 1981; Remington, 1981; Bell, 1982; Linn and Price, 1985).

Although a number of objections to female police

officers have been defused by research findings, by citizen surveys, and by male officer experience with women partners, the question of their ability to perform well under the stress of a violent situation remains. Part of the reason for this lingering reservation concerning women officers is that there is virtually no empirical research comparing female to male officers in violent encounters with the public. This study begins to fill this void. It explores questions as to whether there are differences in the frequency of and actions taken in violent confrontations in which male and female officers participate.

#### THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN POLICING

Women have been employed as police matrons since 1880 in order to satisfy legal requirements related to the confinement of female offenders. The 1890's brought about the appointment of Marie Owen, the widow of a police officer, as an assistant to Chicago investigators handling cases involving women or children. This appointment, made directly by Chicago's mayor was probably a way of taking care of police widows rather than a change in police philosophy toward

women in policing. Early in the twentieth century women's responsibilities increased to include social work, juvenile work and clerical work. In 1905, the city of Portland, Oregon gave Lola Baldwin police powers to cope with the problems created by a large increase in the number of workers arriving during the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Then in 1910, Alice Stebbins Wells, who was a social worker, petitioned and addressed the Los Angeles City Council and the Police Commissioner on the problems the city was facing with women and children, and the need for female personnel to handle these problems. Wells was convincing and was appointed to the Los Angeles Police Department, to work with women and children but was not permitted to perform field work outside police facilities. Soon after, women were hired in police departments throughout the United States. One other major breakthrough took place in 1914 when the city of Milford, Ohio appointed Mrs. Dolly Spencer as the first female police chief in the United States. Still, the total number of women appointed was always very small and women's impact on the male dominated profession was minimal. Further, whatever gains women made in the early years of this

century were dissipated with the reduction in personnel caused by the 1929 depression (Buwalda, 1945; Perlstein, 1971; Milton, 1972; Crites, 1973; Connolly, 1975; Horne, 1980; Linn and Price, 1985).

After the depression, women again entered police departments but the total number of women hired, in comparison to men, remained relatively small. During World War II women were hired to perform some of the tasks previously performed by male officers then serving in the military. Still, women remained generally confined to administrative work as call dispatchers, clerical officers, desk officers and records clerks. A few departments put women into the field, but they were generally limited to dealing with crimes involving women or juveniles, and typically worked with male partners (Horne, 1980; Milton, 1972; Perlstein, 1971).

At the end of World War II poor police working conditions and low wages created significant manpower shortages in many southern police departments. Lacking sufficient men, departments hired women to perform the tasks of traffic control and parking enforcement. The solution was so successful that it led to the

employment of women by departments in many other jurisdictions throughout the United States. Although the job the women were hired to perform was basically traffic duty, it provided movement in the right direction for those women wanting to enter law enforcement (Milton, 1972; Horne, 1980).

The early history of women in policing indicates that there were very few women in the occupation and they had virtually no impact on policing, its procedures and its policies. All of the pioneers - Alice Stebbins Wells, the first American woman police officer, Isabella Goodwin, of the New York City Police Department and the first female detective and Dolly Spenser, the first female police chief in Milford, Ohio - considered themselves social workers working in the field of policing rather than peers of male officers. They performed duties that involved women, children and family problems, and did a minimal amount of what is generally considered "real" police work (Milton, 1972; Crites, 1973; Horne, 1980; Linn and Price, 1985).

Gradually the social worker role of women disappeared and, during the 1960's, vanished entirely as females started to become actively engaged in more

typical police field work. In 1968, women were officially assigned to perform patrol duties in Indianapolis, Indiana. Much more instrumental than the Indianapolis experiment in putting substantial numbers of females on police forces was the Equal Rights Amendment of 1972, which expanded the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII) to include public employers. The Griggs vs Duke Power Co, 91 S. Ct. 849 (1971) case established the principle that a plaintiff in a job discrimination case need not prove discriminatory intent. Instead, the Supreme Court held, once it is evident that job qualifications appear out of proportion in relation to a group or class of people, the employer must prove that the said requirement is a Bona Fide Occupational Qualification (BFOQ) that is directly related to the occupation and that no other standards could reasonably replace this criterion. Sex could not be proven as a BFOQ simply because many police departments had never hired females, and thus had no way to compare the performances of men and women. For just about every police standard - height, weight, age, etc. - Griggs made a winner of most actions by plaintiffs against the police. Further, in Reed vs

Reed 92 S. Ct. 251 (1971), 1972, the Supreme Court banned discrimination on the basis of a person's sex. Taken together, legislation and court rulings have had more of an impact in opening employment to women than isolated experiments by police departments (Milton, 1972; Martin, 1980; Horne, 1980; Remington, 1981; Keefe, 1981).

Prior to 1970, very few large departments placed women into significant positions in policing. Then in the 1970's women started to be integrated into the patrol ranks in most major departments in the United States. In St. Louis County, Missouri, women were appointed to the police department and trained for one person patrol units in 1975. One restrictive hiring practice, a height requirement, was abolished by many of the large urban police departments. This was a very important action for women, who were frequently eliminated from hiring considerations because they did not pass the height requirement. The elimination of the height requirement in New York City led to the hiring of more female officers and, ultimately, the placing of more women on patrol in 1973. Once the New York City Police Department set the precedent, many

other large departments arranged similar guidelines to place women on patrol (Sichel, et al., 1978; Horne, 1980; Colgrove, 1983).

Gaining appointment to police departments has not been the only problem women have faced in their efforts to pursue careers in law enforcement. Having passed written, physical and medical examinations, they were still placed in menial positions within most departments and denied the right to compete for promotion. Then, in 1961, Felicia Shpritzer, a member of the New York City Police Department, who had been denied the right to take the sergeant's examination took her case to court. By 1963, she had won several court decisions, but the police department still refused to let her take the promotional exam. Finally in 1964, the police department accepted the court decision in Shpritzer vs Lang, 234 N.Y.S. 2nd 285 and she was permitted to take the exam from which she ultimately was promoted to sergeant (Milton, 1972; Keefe, 1981).

In 1967, Shpritzer and Gertrude Schimmel both passed the lieutenant's test and were the first females in New York City promoted to that rank. Schimmel, in 1971, was the first women to attain the rank of captain.

Then, in 1972 the police department assigned 15 female officers to patrol duties under a pilot program established by Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy. On January 1, 1973 the Commissioner changed the designation of "policewomen" to "police officer" and in August the Policewomen's Bureau, the unit to which almost all female officers and no male officers were assigned, was abolished. This was an important event because women would from now on be assigned throughout the department and placed in the same category as their male counterparts on patrol. The major problem faced by female officers during this period was the lack of acceptance they received from male officers. But an additional setback occurred in 1975 when a City fiscal crisis resulted in the lay off of 3000 police officers. In 1972 the department had approximately 330 female officers and during the period from January 1973 to October 1974 more than 500 females were added to their ranks. Then, with the City's fiscal crisis in 1975, most of the newly appointed officers, male and female, were dismissed because of an inverse seniority rule in the New York State Civil Service Law which requires that the last person hired be the first person laid off.

The State law also contained a ruling on veteran's preference which gave a person 30 months seniority providing that person had served in the United States Armed Forces and had one year of police service. This ruling favored the men. As a result, the numerical gains that female officers had finally attained were lost during the layoffs because a majority of the female officers had been hired after 1973, had little or no seniority and were, therefore, out of work until the City got back on it's feet financially (Acerra, 1978; Keefe, 1981; Linn and Price, 1985). In short, they fell victim to last hired - first - fired rule.

In 1976, the New York City Police Department assigned Captain Vittoria Renzullo as the first female precinct commander in the City's history. Renzullo was well qualified. She was one of the first female police officers to graduate from the F.B.I. National Academy in 1972, held a master's degree and would later be accepted into medical school. She represented one of the few visible accomplishments made by female officers after the police layoffs (Personal Communication with Vittoria Renzullo, 1984).

The New York City Police Department has, since

1979, almost tripled the total number of female members (OEE0-NYCPD, 1984). The recruitment and hiring of women suggests that this police department does not accept the questionable view that only male officers can handle the vigorous and dangerous work of policing. Because more women are entering police work than ever before and because additional information on their performance is needed, this study was initiated. It will identify the differences, if any, between male and female officers in the way they handle violent confrontations with citizens.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND REVIEW OF THE LITEATURE

#### THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The entry of women into police work in more substantial numbers than ever before has caused considerable controversy in the law enforcement community. Studies have been conducted on female ability to perform in the patrol environment and most of these studies indicate that women can properly function within that environment but, that women may have problems when handling violent confrontations with citizens. This dissertation investigates differences between male and female police officers in dealing with violence. In doing so, we must first review prior theory that is relevant to the female sex role in society and its relationship to police and violence.

#### THE FEMALE ROLE

A discussion of sex role theory must consider a profusion of terms and usages, some of which will be conflicting. Sex role can denote behavioral expectations, traits, or a combination of these. The

institutionalization of a sex role can also vary in degree (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975). Role can be defined as:

a cluster of norms that applies to any single unit of social interaction. Thus, those norms that specify the nature of a relationship between a player and the referee would constitute a role or a role relationship..... Roles are always reciprocal in nature...the player-referee role, the...coach-referee role, etc. (Haas and Drabek, 1973, p. 111).

Any role may maintain a large number of norms, which are ideas about how classes, categories or persons ought to behave in specific situations. The norm assigned to a particular role can be assigned to five general categories: task, authority, status, affect and sanction. Task refers to activities that the participants should be doing; the authority norm indicates how problematic situations should be handled; status designates the appropriate amount of deferential behavior between role players. Affect specifies the kind and amount of feeling which is appropriate between role participants, including behavioral specifications (e.g., a husband should demonstrate love for his wife; a doctor should maintain a neutral and professional courtesy toward a nurse). Finally, sanction involves both approval toward appropriate behavior and negative

sanction when a norm violation occurs (Haas and Drabek, 1973, p. 111-112).

There are two approaches to the study of role theory. The structuralist views role as static, arising from the cultural patterns associated with a given status; the interactionist views role as dynamic, as patterns of behavior flowing out of social interaction (Nye, 1976).

Role has been found to have three core meanings in the literature: position (anthropological): what is normatively appropriate for males and females within the structure of society; behavior (psychological): denoting what males and females are and what they do within the social context; relationships (sociological): the process of learning a role through interaction with others (Angrist, 1969; Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975). Because of the vagueness and overlapping of definitions, the meaning of sex role should be seen as connotive rather than denotative. As a means of resolving the confusion, Angrist (1969) theorizes that sex roles can be seen in terms of four basic elements: "label, behavior, expectations and location." The label, female, e.g., connotes certain

behaviors and expectations which are consistent with the term, but which are always linked to a specific social location. "The definitional weakness may mirror the hardship of specifying and studying that which is rapidly changing, blurred and variant in form" (Angrist, 1969, p. 218).

Moreover, individuals have many different roles at any given time; a woman, for example, may be a teacher, student, newly-wed, daughter, all at once. Angrist (1969) refers to multiplicity as a constellation of roles.

The idea that people manage to juggle, avoid, manipulate, interpret, the scope of their roles seems closer to empirical reality than that individuals act in terms of a single role blueprint at any given time or place....The utility of a role constellation approach to the study of sex roles rests on the fact that the individual rarely, if ever, behaves just as a man or woman. Rather, sex modifies, sometimes strongly, sometimes weakly, whatever social interactions or relationships he is engaged in (p. 222).

Role constellations can account for the multiplicity of factors within an individual's life at any given time, such as age, stage in the life cycle, occupational status, position in the family, etc. An important aspect to multiple roles is dominance: in a particular social context, one role will temporarily

supercede the others, which become latent. Age and sex roles are unfocused, they tend to intrude upon whatever particular role is dominant at a given time (Angrist, 1969).

Role set, the study of the complementary relationships that exists between people of a given social status, is an important part of role analysis (Merton, 1957). Role confusions can occur when some members of a given role set have vague or conflicting behavioral expectations, as in the blurred sex role:

...indeterminacy of sex role expectations is well documented as evidence that men's and women's dress, family and work lives are increasingly less dichotomous in industrialized urban societies, and even polar personality differences hold less consistently (Angrist, 1969, p. 223).

On the other hand, role conflict can also be seen as possible role flexibility. Angrist maintains that the individual has the possibility of altering the expectations of others in his or her role set, by interaction. This fits with the interactionist view of role conflict, which is that the conflict is temporary, that the processes of social interaction will eventually change or reduce role conflict (Jacobs, 1983).

In the study of modern societies or traditional,

upper-class or lower class, white or black, now or in the eighteenth century, the issue of sex roles is the single biggest blind spot in existing sociology (Hochschild, 1973, p. 261).

Angrist points out that, in the learning of adult sex roles, males are primarily occupation-directed, while females are family-directed. Girls grow up preparing for contingencies: "Woman lives by adjusting to and preparing for contingencies" (Angrist, 1969, p. 224), and the key contingency is marriage. In a study of college women, Angrist found that, while marriage was explicitly planned and prepared for, occupation was only vaguely prepared for. However, most of the traditional research on women has been in the sociology of the family, concentrating on white, middle-class women; single women and black women have been largely neglected (Angrist, 1969; Hochschild, 1973).

#### SOCIALIZATION AND THE FEMALE ROLE

Cross-cultural studies indicate that sex role differentiation is universal. The socialization process begins at birth, and is well developed at an early age (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975). Socialization is the process of learning behaviors that are acceptable to a particular group and that are

relevant to the function of that group.

From birth, girls are treated differently than boys, and by the time they enter kindergarten, sex role stereotypes are not only well established, but the male role is already given a higher value. Adolescent females are frequently directed away from external achievement roles and toward sex-marriage-family roles (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975). Komarovsky (1946) theorized that bright girls tended to suppress their intellectual ability in order to be more popular, and less threatening to their male peers.

When one realizes that it is not even always clear what is male and what is female, and that recent research demonstrates that sex and gender are the result of a multiplicity of interacting neurophysiological, hormonal, social, and cultural factors....the simple Freudian dictum "anatomy is destiny" becomes part of a complex and controversial debate (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975, p. 302).

Research on sex differences finds women to be more emotional, expressive, dependent and concerned with interpersonal relationships than men; they are found to be more or less intelligent than men, depending upon age and task involved; field dependent as opposed to men being field independent (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975). Just how and whether sex differences

are determined to be biological or acculturative is an active and ongoing debate.

Where actual sex differences are unclear and subject to continuous discussion and modification, there is little dispute about sexual stereotyping, which can be defined as a "generalized expectation that members of a particular sex will behave in a particular way as contrasted to the members of the opposite sex" (Hernandez, 1979, p. 9). In American society, the ideal feminine qualities are "personal warmth and empathy, sensitivity and emotionalism, grace, charm, compliance, dependence and deference" (Epstein, 1970, p.20). On the other hand, the masculine image calls for independence, objectivity, logic, competitiveness and adventurousness, and action (Martin, 1980).

In discussing the evolution of the American image of the female role, Epstein theorizes that its roots are in European literature and the arts. Despite the fact that women of the lower classes have always worked inside or outside the home, the ideal feminine attributes were the ones "glorified by the urban middle or upper class role ideals, in which the expectation of what the women should be and do was linked with the

man's desire for beauty and pleasure and his demand for order and relaxation after work" (Epstein, 1970, p. 21).

Epstein notes that many of the so-called feminine traits, such as passivity, non-aggression, practicality, are found in all humans but have come to be "sexualized and are assumed, asserted, or expected to correlate with sexual differences" (Epstein, 1970, p. 22).

For the woman entering the work world, conflict is inevitable, as the traits most necessary to a successful career (such as competitiveness, aggressiveness, active persistence, emotional detachment) are considered to be masculine (Epstein, 1970).

A result of the process of socialization and consequent polarization of the sexes is the limitations placed upon women entering the working world. She is limited not only by societal pressures, but by real external barriers (such as discriminatory policies, sex typing or particular jobs, etc.) in certain occupations, as well as her own internalized barrier, a limiting view of herself (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975).

Thus, for the woman entering a male-dominated

occupation, conflict is not only inevitable, it is highly stressful. Epstein characterizes this stress as:

sociological ambivalence... the social state in which a person, in any of his statuses (as wife, husband, or lawyer, for example), faces contradictory normative expectations of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior which specify how any of these statuses should be defined (Epstein, 1970, p. 19).

This ambivalence results in lowered aspirations and self-esteem for women when in competition with males (Kanter, 1975). The stress can also cause greater tension, deteriorating health, lessened job satisfaction, reduction of efficiency, less social participation, and cognitive changes which reduce stress (Connolly, 1975).

Traditional family role research divided family functions into instrumental and expressive roles for male and female, retrospectively. At its worst, this division "reinforces sex role stereotyping. At its best, this instrumental-expressive dichotomy provides many useful insights, but still frequently fails to perceive the dysfunctional aspects of the traditional order into which men and women are socialized" (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975, p. 306). Thus, the traditional role-casting of male and female has failed

to provide modern women with the prescriptive behavior and role models necessary for her successful entry into a male-dominated occupation.

Another research focus addresses the role conflict of the working wife. Studies have concurred that, for the most part, men and men's needs take precedence in the marriage. The husband's time, interests and career are dominant over those of the wife. While the wife's professional status does not seem to have much effect on the family, her income does, if it is greater than her husband's (Lipman-Blumen and Tickamyer, 1975). Certainly, it raises the family's standard of living but, in addition;

The attitudes of social scientists have lent considerable legitimation to the popular suspicion that women who seek an independent identity outside the home are women with problems and that women who do not feel a strong drive to establish a family first and foremost should wonder what is wrong with them. Women who chose careers react to the cultural expectations of femininity by trying to prove themselves in all spheres. They accept all the role expectations attached to their female status, feeling that to lack any is to deny that they are feminine (Epstein, 1970, p. 31).

Another theoretical contribution to role strain and the ambiguity experienced by women is the concept of status inconsistency: discrepancies in status within

the constellation of roles, such as education, ethnicity, and occupation level. A woman entering a typically male profession may be subject to status inconsistency. She would also encounter the problem of dominance. Males tend to have the dominant sex status and, for many purposes, sex tends to be the most salient determinant of status: in many contexts, the female executives are accorded less status than male secretaries. Further, the public may look to a male police officer for confirmation of a female sergeant's orders, or a female sergeant's orders may be questioned by a male subordinate. Thus, sex is often a principle factor in establishing status. Sex status and racial status are among those statuses that are "central in controlling the choices of most individuals" (Epstein, 1970, p. 35).

Tresemmer perhaps sums up best the results of the studies on sex differences:

Studies show that the oversimplifications of divisions between the sexes are characteristic of, and perhaps necessary for, early stages of development in the human life cycle. But it is important to place more emphasis on the potentialities of maturing beyond those models. More comprehensive ways of understanding the complex matters of styles of thinking, patterns of living -- the plurality of ways of inter-

acting between self and society -- are implicit in the new models of the androgyne (1976, p. 308-309).

How the importance of sex status effects female officer (and male officer) behavior in violent confrontational situations remains to be seen.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY AND THE FEMALE ROLE

Social theory gives us reason to anticipate gender related differences in police - citizen encounters. The police, after all, are in the business of getting people to defer to their authority (Muir, 1977), and we should expect that, by virtue of the traditionally higher social status and authority accorded them, males might do this more easily than females. Prior research on the police also gives us reason to anticipate gender related differences in the this study. Martin (1980) analyzed the role of officers sex on their general behavior as police officers and found that sex influences the exchange of deference when police officers interact with citizens. When male police officers, by virtue of their higher male status, interact with female citizens, citizen deference is likely. Conversely, the expectation of deference to

the male can work to the disadvantage of female officers when encountering male citizens. Thus, even though police officers possess a unique status separate and apart from their sex, the norms that operate in any encounter between police and citizens call for citizen deference to the police, these norms may or may not operate for women police officers and bear investigation.

Prior research reports two broad types of behavior styles on the part of female police officers. The first is an aggressive posture usually interpreted as an effort to compensate for their relatively weak physical stature. Aggressiveness is used in an effort to "outmacho" male peers, and, within the police world, it is commonly assumed that female officers who adopt this proactive style of policing will be quicker to use deadly force than their male counterparts (Martin, 1980). To date, no evidence supports this belief. The second behavioral pattern, in which female officers perform their work, according to Martin, is a stereotypical and exaggerated feminine manner, which is an excessively passive style, more passive, in fact, than the average woman's behavior seen in work

environments that do not require the exercise of authority. Thus, Martin (1980) and Remington (1981) suggest that there are female officers who exhibit a passive style of policing and may fail to take any action when a citizen does not comply with directions or otherwise resists. When such passive female officers work with male partners, they tend to rely on males to gain citizen compliance and to maintain control (Martin, 1980; Remington, 1981).

Both Martin (1980) and Remington (1981) suggest that women police officers adapt to their work in a manner that may differ from the behavior of their male colleagues. We do not know, however, whether these adaptations may be reflected in differences in the frequency and nature of violent police encounters with citizens. We don't know, for example, whether the broad operating styles of male and female officers differ in ways that may affect the likelihood of violent confrontations. In addition a set of very specific questions present themselves: What can happen once a confrontation begins? Are females more likely to be injured than their male counterparts? Are male officers more likely to be injured when working with

female partners? Are male and female officers equally likely to discharge their firearms?

A substantial amount of research shows that police officers can be either a positive influence in gaining a citizen's compliance or a negative influence contributing to the escalation of the potentially violent confrontation. All of this work, however, has examined male police, and we know that escalation frequently occurs because of the aggressive style of some male officers during the early stages of a confrontation (Skolnick, 1967; Lane, 1967; Bittner, 1970; Wilson, 1973; Muir, 1977; Reiss, 1980). This study will give us greater understanding of whether these findings apply equally to the females who have more recently joined police ranks.

Martin (1980) has noted that work-related behavior has been examined from the position of the individual model rather than the systems model which looks at how an organization and its structures shape its members. In Men and Women of the Corporation, Kanter utilizes the organizational structure as her basis of study:

Life does not consist of infinite possibility because situations do not make all responses equally plausible or equally available. But

the limits are not as much internal, rooted in the person, as they are structural and situational. In the view advanced here, people are capable of more than their organizational positions ever give them the tools or the time or the opportunity to demonstrate (Kanter, 1977, p. 10).

Management, Kanter points out, is a male category; those women who hold managerial positions tend to be concentrated in the lower-paying positions, in certain fields, and in less powerful organizations. Office work, on the other hand, is a predominantly female function: "women are to clerical labor as men are to management" (Millman and Kanter, 1976, p. 39). A "masculine ethic" early on became associated with the ideology of the managerial ideal. It incorporated supposedly masculine qualities such as: a hard line approach to solving problems; analytic planning abilities, an ability to set aside the personal, the emotional point-of-view in dealing with a task; and the intellectual approach to problem-solving and decision making. This ethic defined a place for women in management in the people-handling staff functions, where the intuitive-emotional approach was appropriate; thus the feminine stereotyping became operative (Kanter, 1977).

Kanter's theory shows how three major variables in the organizational structure cycle its members into upward mobility or downward spirals of low or no-growth, and disengagement. These variables are: opportunity, power and number.

Where opportunity is open, aspirations, commitment to work, loyalty and responsibility were found to be high (or increase dramatically when the opportunity opened up). Conversely, those workers with low opportunity had little ambition, commitment or responsibility: "opportunity structures shape behavior in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies" (Kanter, 1977, p. 158). The work orientations of the secretary (Kanter found that "parochialism, timidity and self-effacement, praise-addiction and emotionality" were strategies for achieving recognition and success of that group) are a prime example of how the worker's behavior is restricted and determined by the social stereotyping of the job (Kanter, 1977, p. 91). Thus, qualities or orientations which have been assumed to be sex related or stereotypical are a product of the organizational structure:

This analysis should thus lead to a reinter-

pretation of familiar findings about sex differences in work behavior: that men are more ambitious, task-orientated, and work-involved, and women care more about relationships at work. When women seem to be less motivated or committed, it is probably because their jobs carry less opportunity (Kanter, 1977, p. 159).

Power in the organization, which Kanter defines as efficacy, is related to opportunity: those who have power tend to create more of it for themselves. Low power, on the other hand, is a downward spiral. Powerlessness promotes frustration, resistance and ineffectuality (Kanter, 1977). Studies showed that female executives have had the most difficulty with male peer relationships during their early to middle careers, when they had less power or status and when they were presumably more desirable sex objects. (Millman and Kanter, 1976). Kanter notes that the stereotypical view of the woman boss, with such negative qualities as bossiness, jealousy, fussiness, fault-finding, and many others, is simply a description of a person who feels powerless. Men in similar positions of relatively powerless authority, or those who had had insufficient training or experience showed the same characteristics (Kanter, 1977).

The problem of power, thus, is critical to the effective behavior of people in organizations. Power issues occupy center stage not because individuals are greedy for more, but because some people are incapacitated without it (Kanter, 1977, p. 205).

Number, the third variable, refers to belonging to either the majority or minority in an organization. Kanter found that three consistent factors arise in minority situations:

- (1)visibility: tokens get more attention
- (2)contrast: "polarization and exaggeration of differences" tend to occur
- (3)assimilation: tokens tend to be seen as stereotypes; their individuality is overlooked; conversely, tokens themselves tend to fit into the stereotypes as a means of establishing an "instant identity" (Kanter, 1977, p. 211-212).

While these factors affect the female worker in a male dominated situation, the same is true for the male workers, in female dominated occupations, obviating the premise that they are linked solely to sex, rather than simply to position. When male nurses, the minority group in that profession, were studied, the same factors were observed to be present (Kanter, 1977).

A woman entering a male-dominated profession encounters several problems related to tokenism. She may be categorized into one of four stereotyped roles,

which Kanter has given the self-explanatory labels of mother, sex object or seductress, pet, or iron maiden. She may be also treated as average or stereotypical, as when a female executive is assumed to be a secretary. The result is that the woman may be less likely to behave competently, and she may have a longer or more difficult time establishing her competence, due to the pressures of the role-defined situation (Kanter, 1977).

Kanter found that token women tend to "allow other people to take over and fight their battles for them...or they stand much too alone. They may be unable by virtue of scarcity even to establish effective support systems of their own" (Kanter, 1977, p. 221).

#### OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION

Sex typing is an important variable which limits the lives and opportunities of women within the organization:

women participated in a different labor market than men, even within the same organization. Their "typical jobs" in the office carry with them not only sex-role demands but also placement in a class and hierarchy that itself limits mobility into positions of power (Millman and Kanter, 1976, p. 51).

Epstein theorizes that sex typing of occupations

(which has been found to occur in all cultures) has led to the view that occupations are extensions of a sex role: "Cultures demand that one must do masculine work to be considered a man, and not do it to be a feminine woman" (Epstein, 1970, p. 154). Women entering a masculine profession thus are seen as deviant and subject to social group sanctions. Additionally, the female in such an occupation is prone to status ambiguity. As mentioned earlier, the salient status may be an irrelevant one, e.g., a female lawyer may be perceived as a woman first, a lawyer second (the token's status is always salient); whereas a male lawyer is seen first as a lawyer. The male lawyer thus has the advantage, as his professional mode is not diffused by the intrusion of sex role status (Epstein, 1970). For the woman, each new professional encounter usually begins with the focus on sex status: she is first received as a female, with the appropriate surprise and accompanying uncertainty of a favorable reception. Attention and energy are leached away from the professional role, as "the working environment is always transmitting messages that she is unique, and she anticipates them" (Epstein, 1970, p. 23).

Women respond to sex role typing and the correspondent status discrepancies by unobtrusive behavior, attracting as little attention as possible, and by over-achievement. One professional woman expressed the conflict: "...if you're a woman, you have to make less mistakes... a woman must put greater effort into her work... because if you make a fool of yourself, you're a damn fool woman instead of just a damn fool." Epstein notes that such behavior and attitudes are typical of "strivers in blocked opportunity structures" (Epstein, 1970, p. 191-192).

On the other hand, men tend to respond to sexual stereotyping by being over-solicitous, by over-compensating, by demanding too much of the woman or too little. Epstein finds that women are judged professionally by a different set of standards than men. Having lower expectations for a woman, men tend to overpraise her minor accomplishments. However, the woman who does succeed is expected to be perfect, since, to have been successful, she is assumed to be superior.

Status discrepancies make continuous role definition necessary during interactions that should be routine... When an inappropriate status of a status set is activated in a professional context, refocusing on the

appropriate status must occur if the professional task is to be accomplished (Epstein, 1970, p. 194).

What are some of the opportunity structures that block women's successful ascent into the managerial positions, with a subsequent downward spiral into frustration and disengagement? Not surprisingly, Epstein found within male-dominated professions the presence of a male sub-culture. Interaction within the profession has a high degree of informality, like an exclusive club. Women do not have access to these club-like networks, through which male professionals gain much of their knowledge and insight into their professions. Furthermore, the women sometimes voluntarily limit themselves from participating in this informal interaction (Epstein, 1970). Also, the protege system, having a male sponsor in order to advance into upper - management operates against the woman, who may find it more difficult to acquire a male sponsor than a male peer would (Epstein, 1970).

The small number of women in management is perhaps the greatest single barrier to upward mobility and success. "In the absence of external pressures for change," Kanter (1977) points out that "tokenism is a

self-perpetuating situation" (p. 241). And, since the power to promote women to upper positions is primarily in the hands of males, Kanter's theory that "women populate organizations but they practically never run them" becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy (Kanter, 1977, p. 208).

Another barrier to female entry into leadership positions is male resentment toward women in authority. One study suggested that this was due to status inconsistency; people resent taking orders from someone of lower status. Women also are found to be reluctant in assuming "visual leadership." A study of dominance in groups of the same sex and opposite sexes found that women tended to "minimize authoritative exercise of power and maximize subordinate autonomy and learning through delegation." This style of leadership worked well when the woman involved had the power to back it up, but sometimes had a negative impact when associated with low power (Millman and Kanter, 1976, p. 62).

#### FEMALES IN THE POLICE ORGANIZATION

Women entering police organizations find the same

kinds of obstacles to advancement found in other occupations. Martin notes that, in this transitional period, many women still lack the seniority to be eligible for upper level positions:

a low promotion rate for women is likely to continue, however, since in most departments, promotion is based on both written examinations and ratings by one's supervisors; the criteria on which the officers are evaluated are often unclear; and sponsorship by a (male) supervisor is, in fact, a necessity -- few female officers are likely to gain such support (Martin, 1980, p. 48).

The police management hierarchy, Price and Gavin point out, is rigid, and very narrow at the top, with a limited number of middle management and administrative positions. This pyramid structure, and the emphasis on crime fighting and a good arrest record as the best means to promotion serve to "perpetuate the attitudes about policing being man's work" (Price and Gavin, 1982, p. 406).

In a 1975-1976 study of the Atlanta Police Department, Remington theorized that female police officers had been accepted by their male peers, but not as equals:

... police solidarity has not been affected by the introduction of women. The latter have been acculturated into the group's attitudes

and behavior, but remain in a subordinate position in the male's eyes. The result has been the formation of a sexually stratified group (Remington, 1981, p. 187).

In a southern setting, in which sex roles have a particularly strong traditional orientation, sex status seems to have effectively overshadowed other role differentiations, with predictable effects on the police. Price and Gavin point out that social change must take place on three levels: the social structural, the technological, and the cultural level, the latter being the most difficult level in which to effect change. But, it is not until more contemporary attitudes have been assimilated at the cultural level that irrelevant sex role differences will begin to lose their impact (Price and Gavin, 1982).

In answer to the question of why aren't women fully accepted in the police organization, Price and Gavin theorize that there are two major sources of resistance:

- (1) the social change process and the critical role that attitudes play in it; and
- (2) the impact of police attitudes shaped by the organizational structure, and in turn, reinforcing its social structure (Price and Gavin, 1982, p. 404-405).

An important aspect of police officers attitudes

and feelings about their work is the deep-rooted conviction that it is men's work, requiring physical strength and bravery. Historically, the police task was defined as "maintaining order by intimidation." Those officers who are performing according to the old criteria are responsible for propagating this traditional attitude, rather than acknowledging the fact that 80 to 85% of police work today is in service-related tasks, of which women have proven themselves to be equally capable (Price and Gavin, 1982). A study of sex role orientation and attitudes toward female police officers found a close correlation of positive attitudes with a contemporary sex role orientation, and a corresponding negative attitude with traditional sex role orientation. The disappointingly small number of males maintaining a contemporary attitude towards female officers shows how far cultural change has to go (Steffensmeir, 1979).

Studies have shown that policemen come primarily from working-class and lower middle-class backgrounds (Neiderhoffer, 1969; Westley, 1970). Even those who don't:

tend to adopt a working-class perspective

toward the meaning of masculinity as a result of the recruitment process, the nature of their work and the frequent interaction with working- and lower-class citizens -- the; primary users of police services and the targets of patrol efforts... The police share with such males an emphasis on toughness, and seek to be smarter and tougher than the "street dudes" whose values and postures they often mirror (Martin, 1980, p. 90).

Thus, the stereotypical view of sex roles is a strong component of male police officer resistance to female officers entering active police work, such as patrol duty.

Research reveals that these resistant attitudes are currently prevalent in policing. Remington's Atlanta study evidenced perhaps the most stereotypical attitudes and corresponding behaviors in male officers. "Women do not belong on the streets" was a frequent remark made in the presence of female officers, and in conversations among male officers. Daily, male officers expressed and demonstrated a lack of confidence in female peers. A male was present at every violent call during the year of observation, and he took charge in nearly every case. Females, on the other hand, seemed to fall into the stereotypical mode as well. When asked whether they would prefer a male or female partner, every female chose a male partner. "Most

of the women expressed greater trust in the policing capabilities of the males" (Remington, 1981, p. 167). Male officers complained extensively of the need for extra protection for female peers.

Martin found similar male attitudes among the officers she studied. Male police officers were generally more cautious when working with a female partner, were less reliant on female partners (whom they perceived as less capable of backing them up), and took fewer risks when working with female partners. Males tended to take the initiative and tended to take a protective role with a female partner. On the other hand, a strong female partner tended to threaten the male:

The men are caught in a bind: they want a partner who will be "tough," fight, and back them up and whom, in turn, they are willing to back up. But women are not supposed to fight, be tough or protect a man. The more a female partner acts like a police officer, the less she behaves like a woman. On the other hand, the more she behaves like a woman, the less adequate she is as a partner -- although such behavior preserves the man's sense of masculinity (Martin, 1980, p. 93-94).

Martin found that additional problems were created for men by the entrance of females into patrol work. The solidarity of an all-male society is

threatened by the entrance of females who have their own behavioral styles. "Blue-collar men work, socialize and live in an almost exclusively male world cut off from close interpersonal ties with women" (Martin, 1980, p. 97). The physical and emotional closeness created by patrol team partnership calls for a new set of norms governing behavior, affect and sanction. Policemen's status insecurity, due to the status ambiguity of the police role, is intensified by the entrance of policewomen: "Traditionally male occupations that seek out women recruits frequently suffer a decline in prestige, while traditionally female occupations become more prestigious following the entry of males" (Martin, 1980, p. 100).

A female patrol partner is also in a double bind: as a strong partner she is a threat to the male partner's ego; as a weak partner, she is a threat to his safety and well-being. Male officers have also expressed the fear that because female officers have little power, and less authority, they will weaken the police image with the public, and potentially endanger them in a stand-off with a criminal (Martin, 1980).

SEX ROLE OF THE FEMALE POLICE OFFICER

In addition to female officer role ambiguity in relation to male officers, the female police officer faces similar problems in interactions with citizens. Martin points out that, while a police officer has normally higher status, this can be over-ridden:

While the asymmetrical status norm in general dictates that deference flows upward to the police officer, who has a higher status than most citizens with who he or she interacts, lower status "irrelevant" characteristics of the officer may lead to a reversal of the flow (Martin, 1980, p. 163).

Of the four possible combinations of interaction, the male police officer/male citizen is the simplest: the police officer has a higher occupational status, but equal sex status. The female police officer/male citizen interaction is the most problematic. When the male citizen perceives and responds to the role confusion -- the perceived superiority of police officer, and the perceived inferiority of the female -- additional problems can occur. While most of the time the female police officer is deferred to, it is at best an unstable situation, and deference can be withdrawn, usually when the female officer behaves in an "unladylike" way (Martin, 1980).

When dealing with female citizens, the female officer may be subject to greater hostility because she does not give special treatment; or, she may find more cooperation as woman to woman (Martin, 1980).

Martin employs sex role theory to women police by describing two polar reactions, which she calls policewoman, the defeminized professional, and policewoman, the deprofessionalized female. The policewoman emphasizes her professional role: coping strategies include "professionalism, assertiveness, occupational achievement, and loyalty to the department" (Martin, 1980, p. 186). The policewoman does not view her work as a threat to her feminine identity; she is ambitious, aware that she must try harder than the average male, accepting of the reality of physical confrontation she enjoys patrol work.

The policewoman is less clear in her approach to her work, more traditionally feminine in her behavior; she either lacks interest in her work or adapts a service-oriented perspective, with which she is more comfortable. Unable or unwilling to face the constant testing of loyalty and competence, she becomes apathetic, unmotivated, and passive:

this leads to lower expectations of them by others, overprotection, fewer opportunities to prove themselves as individuals... and the further reduction of their work effort and career aspirations (Martin, 1980, p. 195).

They lack ambition, feel uncomfortable with patrol work, and place much emphasis on feminine behavior.

Martin concludes that policewomen pay the price of:

pressure to perform, social isolation and self-distortion.... Policewomen, on the other hand, adopt the stereotypic roles into which they are cast, tend to fail as patrol officers, and thus "prove" women's incapacity for policing. Whichever path a woman takes (and most seek an intermediate solution or a non-patrol assignment), she is faced with dilemmas not encountered by policemen (Martin, 1980, p. 205-206).

Bloch and Anderson (1972) theorized from their study on female patrol officers that:

- 1)The public was very pleased with the work of the female officers;
- 2)The female officers were less likely to exhibit inappropriate behavior;
- 3)The female officers were more effective than male officers in defusing potentially violent situations;
- 4)The female officers exhibited a less aggressive style of policing;
- 5)Despite these positive attributes, male officers preferred not to work with female officers (p. 5-7).

Researchers have found the police officer's world to be one of isolation and alienation (Skolnick, 1966; Westley, 1970). Remington (1981) noted that:

... the nature of the role that police have as enforcer, authority figure, impersonal representative of the law; the actions that provoke the need for an officer's presence... the alien nature of the sub-cultures most frequently encountered -- all contribute to the isolation of the white police officers as a group and to the socialization of women police into police attitudes and behavior. Almost all members feel alienated from the public (p. 195).

The inherent danger of the police officer's environment tends to lead them to become a suspicious person (Skolnick, 1966). Neiderhoffer concludes that, as a result of experience and socialization, police officers tend to become cynical; in "this Hobbesian view the world becomes a jungle in which crime, corruption and brutality are normal features of the terrain" (Neiderhoffer, 1969, p. 52).

Burnout is frequently found in members of health and service professions, who deal over a period of time in close situations with people under chronic conditions of stress and tension. Characteristics of burnout are feelings of emotional exhaustion, cynicism toward the recipients of one's services, and negative self-evaluation (Colegrove, 1983). Neiderhoffer's description of the symptoms of alienation and cynicism among police officers suggests that burnout is a direct result of their work (Neiderhoffer, 1969). A more

recent study found that police officers who encountered serious or traumatic situations for which they lacked either the training or authority to resolve experienced burnout as a result of feeling helpless or powerless to deal with the problem (Colegrove, 1983). Reportedly high rates of divorce, alcoholism and suicide among police officers is another indication that stress is part of police work (Milton, 1972; Kroes, 1976).

For the female police officer, the additional stresses of role ambiguity, the conflicting demands of home and job, and other factors such as male hostility and non-acceptance on the job take their toll.

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

##### VIOLENCE AND THE POLICE

Wolfgang and Ferracutti (1967) noted that a subculture of violence exists and that violence is an accepted form of social behavior in the United States. They found that: " It is the willingness to use violence that is said to have positive value rather than violence itself" (p. 262).

The violent encounter can be considered from several key perspectives: that of police officer, citizens involved, and the interaction between them. The social context, as well as the interactive sequence of events and the agents involved, must be considered in any analysis. Binder and Scharf (1980) place these components in perspective in viewing the violent police-citizen encounter as a "developmental process in which successive decisions and behaviors by either police officer or citizen, or both, make the violent outcome more or less likely" (p. 111). Before going on to examine each of these, it is necessary to establish the frame of reference within which the police officer and citizen operate.

Wilson (1973) in his study of police behavior came to the conclusion that "police-citizen contacts in any but routine matters are likely to leave both parties dissatisfied" (p. 24).

When the police arrive to look for a prowler, examine a loss, or stop a fight, the victim and suspect are agitated, fearful, even impassioned. But the police have seen it all before and they have come to distrust victim accounts (to say nothing of suspect explanations) of what happened (Wilson, 1973, p. 24-25).

Westley (1970) examined police contact with the

public in eight categories: traffic cases, family quarrels, sex cases, criminals, businessmen, the fight, the courts and juvenile delinquents. In every category there was a sense of unpleasantness or distrust:

the policeman's contacts with the public tend to be unpleasant and to generate a feeling on the part of the police that they are a hated group. In many cases the contacts are such that they are frustrating and productive of anxiety. Among them the policeman finds grounds for the use of force, in addition to his legal privileges in this respect (Westley, 1970, p. 91-92).

A large majority of the officers polled in this study felt that the public hated the police or were hostile toward them. This perceived hostility, coupled with the strongly negative situations in which police must intervene are powerful factors in their subsequent dealings with the public (Westley, 1970).

Thus, the prevailing social climate, the popular view of the police, and the police perception of that viewpoint are important factors. In addition, because the police are representative of the dominant social class, they may be seen by minorities as symbols of social inequalities and oppression, or as defenders of an unfair system (Meyer, et al, 1979).

Toch (1969) observed from his research on assaults

on police officers that encounters between the police and citizens are not chance encounters and that:

The typical police assault takes place on a slum street and it is perpetrated by a young Negro who has experienced previous brushes with the law (p. 34).

Bannon (1976) analyzes police violence and theorizes that "when it is improperly used it becomes deviant behavior" (p. 171).

Police violence is seen as lying along a continuum of behavior which becomes a matter of concern when and only a point is reached that the behavior does not comply with the restrictions placed on its utilization by the law. In other words, the violence itself is not the central issue; rather the issue focalizes upon the appropriateness of its use on a specific occasion or in a particular situation (Bannon, 1976, p. 174-175).

Bittner (1970) viewed the police role and concluded that only a small part of their duties involve the invoking of the law but, when the time comes to take action against a citizen, that:

the role of the police is best understood as a mechanism for the distribution of non-negotiably coercive force employed in accordance with the dictates of an intuitive grasp of situational exigencies (p. 12).

Scharf and Binder (1984) assert that " a number of armed confrontations between police and citizens are resolved without any injuries being inflicted to either

party" (p. 19). They conclude that:

Such "averted" shootings in armed confrontations have been only a recent concern to sociologists, largely because they are rarely recorded in anything but the most obscure police arrest records. Experienced officers in many hard-core areas report that such averted shootings are common, almost commonplace events (p. 19).

Fyfe (1978) theorized from his study on the use of deadly force by New York City Police officers that:

It is likely that geographic distribution of police shootings parallels variation in other indices of intra-community violence and the potential for deadly confrontation with the police (p. 102).

Fyfe studied police officer race and the use of deadly force and concluded that "black officers use their guns and are assaulted more often than white officers." He further related that:

Off-duty officers, regardless of their race, are most likely to discharge their firearms in areas in which their ethnic groups are most heavily represented among the population (Fyfe, 1978, p. 217).

A considerable number of shootings by off-duty police officers (up to 25%) reveals the broad human spectrum of considerations that must be kept in mind in dealing with the problem of violence in police-citizen encounters (Milton, et al., 1977; Fyfe, 1978).

Thus the perspectives of the researchers on

violence and the police suggest: that violence is a frequently accepted behavioral form; that police interactions are usually unsatisfactory to both parties with the police frequently viewed as antagonistic and oppressive; that violence is, at times, the inappropriate way of handling a situation recognizing that policing is inherently coercive; some violence is preventive in nature and avoids the use of deadly force and, finally, that the degree of use of deadly force seems to relate to the amount of violence in the community. While none of the research deals directly with the women officers use of violence, it is important to have as an overview the theoretical positions from which research on this topic has proceeded.

#### THE POLICE OFFICER

Police officers have a unique background and position in the community. Much discussion has been given to whether or not a "police personality" exists, and, if so, how it is formed (Neiderhoffer, 1969; Chevigny, 1969; Wilson, 1971; Balch, 1972; Muir, 1977).

The concept of "police personality," whether from selection or socialization, usually includes several features in addition to authoritarianism -- among them are cynicism, bigotry, conservatism, group loyalty, and secretiveness (Binder and Scharf, 1980, p. 113).

Acceptance of the concept of a police authoritarian personality has led to the suggestion that it produces a greater probability of violence, especially towards minorities: "Policemen apparently do see themselves as personifying authority, and a challenge to one of them... is a challenge to the Law" (Chevigny, 1969, p. 278).

The police officer's behaviors and attitudes are partially a result of his unique position in the community:

The basic condition of patrol work was that it was lonely, dangerous, and preoccupied with human suffering. It therefore depended on an extraordinarily high degree of personal morale. No policeman worked at his utmost unless he felt that what he was doing was both effective and right.... No system of economic rewards could compensate for the dangers to which a morally compelled policeman willingly risked sacrificing himself (Muir, 1977, p. 158-159).

In discussing the "working personality" of the police officer, Skolnick (1966) observed that danger and authority are two uniquely powerful variables in police life. Danger leads to isolation and a

suspicious attitude toward citizens. Authority reinforces the sense of isolation, which, in turn, creates an occupational solidarity among police officers. They tend to be emotionally and politically conservative. Skolnick points out that the combination of authority and danger presents a serious problem in that it can lead to self-defensive conduct: authority becomes the means of reducing perceived threats (Skolnick, 1966).

Police officers become sensitized to the possibility of death or injury, and must face the "management of fear" issue. Fear, additionally, distorts perception, and it "may produce overreactions and bravado and may provoke suspects to over-react in turn" (Toch, 1977, p. 7). The policeman views himself as isolated and alien from society, operating in a climate of danger. Thus as a group, the police turn inward and are collectively secretive and withdrawn. Secrecy "functions as a shield for actions that may be criticized but that the police feel are necessary to their ends" (Westley, 1970, p. 151).

While the apprehension of a felon is rated as the major source of occupational satisfaction by the

officers, a corollary to that objective is that the end justifies the means:

The essence of any group norm lies in its permissive or prescriptive regulation of the conduct of the members. Since occupational norms can be considered the product of the problematic areas of social interaction, it is probable that they will control or regulate these areas (Westley, 1970, p. 118).

In polling his police subjects on their major goals in their work, Westley found that maintaining respect for the police, apprehension of a felon and enforcing the law were rated highest. As legitimation for the use of force, the officers named four categories which were illegal, the highest category being disrespect for the police:

That 66% of the men gave as their primary rationalization an illegal basis for the use of force... would indicate that the group-engendered values are relatively more important to the men than their legal function (Westley, 1970, p. 122).

Finally, status sensitivity is also an important factor in the police officer's behavior in a violent encounter. Status superiority implies the need for deference, something police officers expect. Toch suggests that the police officer's self-esteem is linked to the respect he receives from others, but that violent suspects also value respect and connect it with

self-esteem:

This suggests that much police violence comes about when either party to a confrontation engages the other in a test of respect. Violence becomes probable where one party retreats from the threat he poses to the other's self-esteem (Toch, 1977, p. 31-32).

Chevigny (1969) found that 71% of the authenticated brutality complaints against members of the New York City Police Department involved defiance. In his studies of police-citizen encounters, Reiss (1972) found that the majority of the public treated police with civility with only one person in ten antagonistic. By contrast, police were somewhat disproportionately hostile, authoritarian or derisive toward citizens 11% of the time; and police were far more likely to be negative or unprofessional where citizens were antagonistic, rather than respectful toward them. Reiss found that police were most likely to use undue force either when they perceived the citizen to be a "deviant-offender" or when the citizen overtly defied police authority. The use of undue force was more related to the conditions of the encounter than to racial prejudice. Seventy-eight percent (78%) of such abuse took place in police controlled settings. Almost all victims were

characterized as suspects or offenders. They were young, lower-class males from any racial or ethnic group. Reiss also found that "officers frequently interpret any failure to grant deference as a challenge to their authority and make efforts to assert it" (1970, p. 149).

How the police officer perceives the citizen also influences status sensitivity. Reiss concluded that offenders were five times more likely to be antagonistic toward the police than the non-offender, but that "all openly hostile or provocative behavior towards citizens by the police occurred against offenders" (Reiss, 1972, p. 145).

Sykes and Clark (1980) suggest that a police officer-citizen encounter is governed by an asymmetrical status norm, that the police officer expects and commands greater deference than he receives, and will take corrective sanctions if it is not forthcoming.

#### THE CITIZEN

A 1973 study of five south central states found the typical police assaulter to be male (88%), between 18 and 34, non-white (a disproportionately high number of

non-whites committed assaults). Unemployed and blue-collar workers accounted for 74% of assaults. Alcohol played an important role in assaults: 64% of assaulters had "been drinking" and 55% were intoxicated at the time of the assault. Height was also found to be a factor: a disproportionate number of short men were found to have committed assaults on the police, but this was the case only when diminished height existed in connection with other factors, such as ethnicity, class and occupation. "Evidence illustrates that short men from low socioeconomic groupings are more likely to initiate assaults on police than are taller men of their class" (Meyer, et. al., 1979, p. 169). Height appears to become important only when combined with other ego threatening factors.

The potential of violence among unemployed, or blue-collar youth is heightened because the officer is a symbol of a repressive society (Binder and Scharf, 1980). Further, the Wolfgang and Ferracutti (1967) research suggests that violence is both expected and admired by those in the "subculture of violence" they claim characterizes the lower classes. More recent work on the subculture of violence affirms that:

... there is a theme of violence in the set of values that determines the socialization process, patterns of interpersonal relationships, and the lifestyles of individuals living within the subculture. In a sense, these people are taught to be assailants (Meyer, et. al., 1979, p. 168).

#### THE ENCOUNTER

Binder and Scharf (1980) describe the transaction between police officer and citizen as having four phases: anticipation, entry, information exchange, and decision. Anticipation defines the means of initiation of the confrontation, which can be either by mobilization or by direct observation. Reiss (1972) found that, while self-initiated encounters were in the minority of those he studied, they were more likely to lead to arrest, and that all charges for interfering or resisting an arresting officer were self-initiated situations. Legitimacy of authority is an important factor in an encounter, and when the officer enters a situation on his own, it is more likely to be questioned. Interfering with an arrest was a criminal charge in 73% of the cases where an officer was injured:

When such persons questioned the legitimacy of police intervention and a police officer reacts to control their behavior, more serious conflict may ensue as each party attempts to gain control of the situation. This results more often in injury to the officer (Reiss, 1972, p. 61).

In the entry phase, the officer must define the situation, and establish authority. How the officer establishes it may exacerbate the situation or help defuse it. Information exchange can be critical because the incorrectness or lack of information can lead to a wrong decision to use force. The decision to use physical force is in many cases determined by the sequence of decision-making in the transaction. It may be a rational decision, or based on emotion, such as fear: "the presence of overpowering emotional elements is particularly likely to accompany a decision to use deadly force" (Binder and Scharf, 1980, p. 118). Sykes and Clark (1980) found that the police officer used three modes in an attempt to regulate or take charge of an encounter: definitional (cognitive), imperative, and coercive. Definitional regulation, the most common mode, is primarily achieved through repetition, asking of questions, and is the most successful method. The imperative form can be seen as an escalation in

forcefulness, the coercive form, least commonly used, is the use of force.

Toch (1969) found that the two most common motives for police assaulters were: responses against a perceived interference with the person in the form of physical or verbal contact by the officer, and response to some form of hostility from the officer, such as a threat or expression of contempt.

Skolnick (1966) observed that the ability to be discreet is a key element in police-citizen encounters, and is affected by the amount of danger present. When an officer is confronted with a low-threat situation (such as a traffic violation) where discretionary authority is allowed, he was found to be "fairly even-handed" in his standards of treatment, even though he has the opportunity to allow personal biases to take precedence. However, as the element of danger rises, discretionary authority is more subject to the irregularities of personal prejudice.

#### FEMALES ON PATROL: PHYSICAL STRENGTH CONSIDERATIONS

A number of studies have examined the issues arising out of women's entrance into the police

profession. Milton (1972) examined problems women faced when dealing with male officers who, for the most part, felt that females were incapable of performing police work. Men cited the physical strength factor as a reason for the perceived unsuitability of women for police work, but the men also noted that women may possess superior psychological skills. The research of Bloch and Anderson (1974) was a more systematic study than that of Milton; it was a one year investigation comparing the performance of 86 female and 86 male officers in New York City. They reported that males and females responded to the same type of calls; that males and females obtained the same results when handling violent or angry citizens; that women were less likely to be charged with conduct unbecoming an officer. In other words, females may approach and handle situations differently from males, but males and females obtained the same results. Bloch and Anderson concluded that women were more than capable of performing patrol duties.

The Sichel, Friedman, Quint and Smith report (1978) matched the patrol performance of 41 male and 41 female police officers in New York City and found

that the same type of techniques were used by male and female officers to obtain control of a situation (e.g., verbally or through the use of force upon the arrival at what would be considered a disruptive or disorderly scene). The report said that males and females were equally likely to use force or to draw a weapon; that females were less likely to try and take control of a situation (e.g., to use the necessary authority, power or force to take command; that citizens felt that female officers were more efficient, agreeable and courteous than their male counterpart; and that females were less likely to engage in vigorous physical activity (i.e., chasing a suspect, carrying or moving heavy objects, etc). The Sichel, et.al., study was originally scheduled to have many more male and female participants but due to the police layoffs the study was confined to 82 officers.

The study by Martin (1980) used participant observation and structured interviews with the Washington, D.C. police department in order to study 70 female police officers. Martin found that female officers were constantly being placed under psychological pressure by their male peers and

supervisors. She also found that many female officers do not perform as well as their male counterparts in patrol situations (e.g., that they don't take command of a situation, refrain from using physical force, and are not as aggressive as male officers); that female officers are more likely to use psychological approaches to calm a possible violent situation; and that female officers still face prejudicial promotional practices because of the male dominated hierarchial command structure.

Remington (1981), found that Atlanta policewomen have little or no impact on the changing of police attitudes or police relations within or outside the department. She observed that women are still not accepted by males as part of their police world and that the females studied lacked confidence in their ability to handle violent confrontations with citizens. All of these studies were conducted during a period when the number of female officers in policing was significantly lower than today.

#### ASSAULTS AND HOMICIDES OF POLICE OFFICERS

In comparing assaults on police officers with

homicides, Margarita (1980a) notes that, while there are more similarities than differences, it is "an untested assumption implicit in discussions of violence against the police... that serious assaults and homicides of police officers are distinguishable only in outcome, not in substance" (p. 219).

Margarita finds two contrasting forms of violence;

... violence against the police can be conceptualized as impulsive or instrumental violence. Impulsive violence typically involves non-utilitarian goals, including defense of personal autonomy or expressions of hostility. By comparison, instrumental violence is used as means to an end -- for example, to avoid arrest, to escape from custody, or to silence a witness through the threat or use of force. It is suggested here that the outcome of the attack is not determined by chance alone, but is influenced by the structure of the incident, and the intentions and motivations of the assailant (Margarita, 1980a, p. 220).

Other differences between assaults and homicides emerged from statistical comparisons: national and regional statistics showed that assaults occurred during the commission of less serious crimes, such as drunkenness and disorderly conduct. However, an officer was most likely to be killed during the commission of a serious crime. In New York City from 1966 to 1971, robbery, drug arrests and investigations,

and interventions in altercations between citizens were the most common situations in which officers were killed. Weapons were another area of contrast. The assaulter primarily used "personal" weapons (fists, feet, hands or teeth), while homicidal assailants used firearms 89% of the time. The study concludes that homicides and assaults are qualitatively different, at least in the area of type of weapon used (Margarita, 1980a).

Meyer, Magedanz, Chapman, Dahlin and Swanson (1982c) analyzed a nationwide study conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police relating to robbery-associated assaults and concluded that:

- 1) these types of assaults were predominantly urban occurrences which are common in the winter months
- 2) officers who are victims do not show any unusual or unexpected characteristics
- 3) Assailants in robbery events which produce police casualties resemble other robbery offenders in many respects
- 4) the dynamics of the assault situation are dominated by the dangers that robberies pose for both officer and suspect
- 5) Physical acts, rather than verbal communication, take precedence
- 6) the presence of firearms, especially handguns, is the other dominant feature which produces officer casualties (p. 269-270).

Wilson, discussing the injuries and deaths of police officers during the maintenance of order, notes

that:

Statistically, the risk of injury or death to the patrolman may not be great in order maintenance situations but it exists and, worse, it is unpredictable, occurring, as almost every officer interviewed testified, "when you least expect it" (1973, p. 19).

Toch (1969) identified five primary motivating factors in police homicide: "perseverance in the violence, defense of personal autonomy, protection against concrete danger, defense or support of others, expression of contempt" (p. 249-260). In an analysis of a study of 245 criminal homicides of New York City Police officers (from 1844- 1978), Margarita (1980b) noted that the outstanding motive was protection against danger. Usually the officer posed a threat to the escape of the suspect during the commission of a serious crime (robbery (28%) being the model category). The other categories ranged in predominance from contempt (13%) to defense of others (2%).

Criminal homicides of police in New York City characteristically have not been committed by domestic disputants, raving lunatics, or political terrorists. Instead, the garden variety city crimes -- such as armed robberies or weapons offenses -- were the more common precipitants of police homicides in the metropolis. For most police assailants, violence against the police should be viewed as goal-directed behavior. The element of

intent to injure is not a major feature; rather, the majority of police assailants are attempting to protect themselves from capture, arrest, or injury (Margarita, 1980b, p. 70-71).

#### SUMMARY

The preceding review of the theoretical and research literature sets the stage for this study of female police officers and their role during violent confrontations with citizens. The number of female officers has increased significantly in the past ten years and, at the same time, police administrators in city after city have assigned women to patrol. Since their inclusion into the patrol force, researchers have taken an interest in their performance, and in the responses of citizens to women police officers. This chapter has reviewed the relevant theoretical literature relating to the sex role of the female and police violence. A focus of this chapter was the highlighting of the conflicts and ambiguities women confront when they take on the police role. Conflicts, we found, extended beyond their relationship with the police organization and affected their relationship with citizens. This would lead one to expect that the data

on violent confrontations would show significant differences in injury rates between male and female officers. The reason for such a conclusion is that early gender socialization would be expected to prevail and that women would be more passive and men more likely to assume the aggressive role in confrontations with citizens. The next chapters examine the data on male and female officers and explore aspects of how they handle violent confrontations.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

The study focused on the gender mixes of two person patrol teams and violent confrontations. Specifically, it investigated whether the observed proportion of female/female patrol teams differed in any significant way from the ratio of male/female or male/male patrol teams similiarly involved in violent confrontations. It is important to do all the same comparisons on other variables between patrols teams in order to determine if there is a difference in number and types of confrontations based on gender.

#### SAMPLE

In order to study the issues posed by this study, a sample was obtained based on the universe of all data on all patrol teams in all years in the New York City Police Department. The population was comprised of male/male, male/female, and female/female patrol teams for the time period between January 1, 1983 and December 31, 1983. The research sample for this study involved male/female, male/male, and female/female patrol teams

who had participated in violent confrontations with citizens. Patrol teams include all police field teams that are performing radio motor patrol, in or out of uniform, and all two person patrol teams performing patrol duties on foot. Data were compiled from incidents reported on the New York City Police Department "Firearms Discharge/Assault on Officer Report" forms for 1983.

"Firearms Discharge/Assault on Officer Report" is prepared by police officers in all incidents in which officers either discharge a firearm or are assaulted (Appendix C). A firearms discharge includes any type of weapons discharge, on or off duty, whether directed at a suspect, an animal, a moving vehicle or just into the air, and whether occurring intentionally or accidentally. An assault includes any type of attack in which officers may be injured, or are subjects of unsuccessful attempted killings or serious assaults. An assault may also include any incident where a firearm was discharged at an officer and there was no physical injury. A total of 3701 incidents from 1983 were analyzed during this research study. Obviously, these data may not include some incidents

where officers do discharge their firearms, and fail to prepare reports because there were no injuries or property damage. There is no possible way for the researcher to have any knowledge of similar incidents that officers do not report.

Coding of these data was done by the New York City Police Department's Office of Programs and Policies and placed on a computer tape. The original form contained over 150 elements. Included in the items on the report form are sex, race, age and an exhaustive list of factors which are pertinent to these types of incidents (See appendix A).

#### Hypothesis Testing

For the purpose of this study, we will define violent confrontations as incidents that involve the discharge of a firearm or the use of any other type of weapon or body part that could result in the officer receiving a physical injury.

Based on the past research of sex role conflicts and the use of violence by the police, the following hypotheses were formulated and tested:

### Hypothesis I

H1: Female/male patrol teams are more likely to experience physical injury than male/male patrol teams during violent confrontations with citizens.

### Hypothesis II

H2: Female officers working alone on patrol are more likely to experience physical injuries than are male officers working alone during violent confrontations with citizens.

### Hypothesis III

The third hypothesis focuses on whether female officers are less likely than male officers to use deadly physical force (firearms discharge) during violent confrontations with citizens (for use of Deadly Physical Force guidelines, see Appendix B).

H3: Female officers are less likely to use deadly physical force (firearms discharge) than male officers during violent confrontations with citizens.

### Hypothesis IV

The fourth hypothesis also addresses the question

of physical injury during a violent confrontation, but, does so as it concerns the individual officer within a patrol team. The expectation in this case is that women will be injured more frequently because of their limited physical ability to defend themselves, an expectation generated by earlier research findings (Remington, 1981). Such comparisons are best examined in mixed patrol teams because the incident type is controlled for, and it can't be argued, as it could in comparing all male with all female teams, that male teams are taking greater risks.

H4: Within male/female patrol teams, female officers are more likely to be injured (physical injury) than are male officers during violent confrontations with citizens.

#### Hypothesis V

The fifth hypothesis deals with the number of violent incidents in which female officers become involved as members of patrol teams.

H5: Female officers in patrol teams are involved in violent confrontations more frequently than are male officers in patrol teams.

### Hypothesis VI

The sixth question also concentrates on the number of violent incidents in which female officer become involved while working alone, as a function of the total number of females in the New York City Police Department.

H6: Female officers, alone on patrol, are involved in violent confrontations more frequently than are male officers alone on patrol.

### Variables

The dependent variable for the testing of hypothesis I and II is whether the officers sustained an injury. The dependent variable was dichotomized into values of "injury" (1) or "no injury" (0). An injury was coded one (1) if any officer received a physical injury during a violent confrontation with a citizen; when no injuries occurred it was coded zero (0).

The independent variables used were those which were thought to relate to injury rate, and can be divided into incident characteristic variables, police characteristic variables and citizen characteristic variables.

Method of Analysis - Hypothesis I and II

A Chi-Square procedure (SAS Institute Inc., 1985) was used to identify the variables that were significantly related to injury status and/or gender of officer or team. Significant independent variables were then effect coded and placed in a regression equation. A stepwise Max-R procedure (SAS Institute Inc., 1985) was then utilized identifying the variables that predict injury status. Models were then generated for officer-alone incidents as well as patrol team incidents.

Officers were injured in the great majority (89.57%) of incidents included in the data. Therefore, to assess whether any other predictor/criterion relationships were being obscured, a utopian environment of all non-injured cases and an equivalent number of injured cases was created. When a phenomenon's occurrence approaches 0 or 100%, it becomes increasingly difficult to predict, e.g., if disease occurs to only one (1) person in 10,000, it is difficult to do better than the "idiot" prediction that any given person will not get the disease, a prediction which will be right 99.99% of the time. A reasonable solution is

to take all of the occurrences (in this case non occurrences of injury which are far less numerous) and a random sample of non-occurrences (here occurrences of injury which was ubiquitous). A stepwise Max-R procedure was employed on this subsample to create two additional models. The null hypothesis for all regressions was that the beta weight for any variable from the 1983 tape was a random departure from zero, which would be the mean weight if all years other than 1983 were used.

#### Hypothesis III

Male/female teams who were involved in firearms discharges were selected. A Z-score was computed to analyze the difference, if any, between the frequency of male firearms discharges and the frequency of female firearms discharges within male/female patrol teams. The null hypothesis is that equal numbers of males and females filling out the form were the shooter on male/female teams involved in a firearms discharge.

#### Hypothesis IV

All male/female teams who were involved in violent

confrontations and received a physical injury were selected. A one way Chi-Square was used to analyze the relationship between gender and being the member of the team completing the incident report, which was always done by the injured partner. The null hypothesis here is that, among male/female teams which sustained an injury, as many females as males completed the form.

#### Hypothesis V

The proportion of females working as part of patrol teams and involved in firearms discharge/assault on officer incidents (i.e., percent teams containing females on the incident tape) was compared to the proportion of females on patrol in the New York City Police Force. Twelve police patrol precincts were randomly selected and a 24 hour survey was done to ascertain the percentage of teams containing females. A Z-score was compiled to analyze this difference against the null hypothesis of no differences.

#### Hypothesis VI

The proportion of females working alone on patrol and involved in a firearms discharge/assault on officer

incident (i.e., the percent of females alone on incident tape) was compared to the proportion of females on patrol alone in the New York City Police Force. Twelve police patrol precincts were randomly selected in order to get a sampling of the number of women working on patrol alone in any given 24 hour period. A Z-score was compiled to analyze this difference against the null hypothesis of no differences.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## RESULTS

In this chapter the dissertation examines the results of the analysis performed on the data concerning male and female officers and violence.

The first set of tables relates to 3073 incidents involving officers working with partners. The best model consisted of 4 variables and is shown in table 1. Overall, 31.8% of the variance in injury status is explained by the following 4 variables: Type case 1 (assault vs firearms discharge); incident code (less overtly threatening situations, e.g., issuing a summons, handling a sick case, etc., and more overtly threatening situations, e.g., man with a gun, crime in progress, etc.); prior discharge (prior firearms discharge vs. no prior firearms discharge); and Type case 2 (assault only incidents vs. combined assault and firearms discharge incidents).

TABLE 1

Level of injury against all predictors (Patrol teams N=3073).

Indepent. Variable	Simple		Semi-Partial		Incremental r2	F Value	P
	r	r2	r	r2			
Assault vs Discharge	.54	.29	.540	.292	.292	117.68	.0001
Less overt threat vs more overt threat in incident	.23	.05	.118	.014	.306	54.83	.0001
Prior discharge vs no prior discharge	.22	.05	.083	.007	.313	23.58	.0001
Assault vs both assault and discharge	-.51	.26	.071	.005	.318	22.56	.0001

The analysis in table 1 indicates that the regression findings relating pure assault to injury are highly significant, showing that an officer in a patrol team is more likely to get injured in a pure assault case than in a case involving a firearms discharge. Once a patrol team arrives at the scene of a confrontation that could become, or already is, tumultuous, a decision has to be made by the team

members on how that situation should be properly handled. Peaceful negotiation through the use of verbal or physical tactics should be the preferred method of handling this type of situation, although it could lead to officer injury if improperly used. The practice of drawing or using a firearm, although more questionable when civilians are unarmed, would be consistent with reduced officer vulnerability to injury.

The second finding indicates that less overtly threatening incidents are a positive indicator of injury. Team officers, when responding to calls that involve past or in progress felony crimes, assaults in progress, shots fired, etc., are provided with the necessary information to prepare themselves properly for the possibility of facing a violent confrontation. Patrol team officers, responding to a less overt type of situation are not always prepared to face a violent conflict in which they may be assaulted and injured. A team officer, due to laxity or the unanticipated confrontation, can become an easy target of an assailant. Another possible variable that may be involved in a less overtly threatening situation is that one of the team members may be overly aggressive

and, therefore, precipitate the assault through aggressiveness.

A third finding relates to firearms discharge and injury. A significant negative relationship was found between the probability of injury and prior firearms discharges. This may be because team members previously involved in firearms discharges are especially cautious when arriving at the scene of possible violent conflicts and this factor apparently relates negatively to injury to the team.

The final finding is consistent with the first finding since it indicates that a team officer is more likely to be injured in a pure assault situation than in a combined assault/discharge. This finding is as important as the first and second findings since it indicates that officers who discharge a firearm, whether in an assault or not, are less likely to be injured. Interestingly, gender was not selected by any of the regressions as a salient predictor of injury. Also important is the fact that the tabled variables were not "plucked" out of all the myriad possible crosstabs because of a significant chi-square. Instead, the tabled variables are those which, when

effect coded, were selected by regression as being significant over and above all other variables. It should be noted, throughout this research, that the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables is often different at different levels of a second independent variable (i.e., in later tables interaction terms are frequently selected).

Tables 2 to 4 provide a much clearer picture of the way in which the independent variables relate to the dependent variable, injury status. The percentages in all crossbreak tables are read by row. The meaning of the regression results in table 1 can be readily understood by examining the crossbreaks in tables 2 through 4. It is important to keep in mind that the significance of these tables is insured by their selection in dummy coded form by the regression (see table 1). Therefore, the tables contain no Chi-Square analysis.

TABLE 2

Case type and level of injury in all cases with partner (N=3073).

Case Type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Assault	131 4.62	2703 95.38	2834 92.22
Assault and Discharge	113 58.25	81 41.75	194 6.31
Discharge	37 82.22	8 17.78	45 1.46
	281 9.14	2792 90.86	3073 100.00

Table 2 presents the relationship between the case type and the degree of injury. This table shows the relationship between injury and assault. There is a large variation among the assault cases, where 95% of teams members are injured and the combined assault and firearms discharge cases where 42% of the patrol teams are injured and, finally, the firearms discharge cases where only 18% of the team officers were injured.

TABLE 3

Incident type and level of injury all cases with partner (N=3073).

Incident Type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
More overt threat incidents	162 20.30	636 79.70	798 25.97
Less overt threat incidents	119 5.23	2156 94.77	2275 74.03
	281 9.14	2792 90.86	3073 100.00

Table 3 presents the relationship between incident type and the presence of injury. These statistics, indicate that in cases with partners, officers are more likely to be injured when the incident involves a less overt threat. The figures show that 95% of the team officers involved in less overtly threatening situations were injured while 80% of the officers involved in more overtly threatening situations were injured. Since less overtly threatening situations arouse less suspicion on the officers part, they will always remain as the more injury-laden type of situation, because no policy or procedure can teach officers to "expect the unexpected."

TABLE 4

Prior firearms discharge and level of injury all cases with partner (N=3073).

Firearms Discharge	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Prior Firearms Discharges	74 30.33	170 69.67	244 7.94
No prior firearms discharge	207 7.32	2622 92.68	2829 92.06
	281 9.14	2792 90.86	3073 100.00

Table 4 analyzes the relationship between prior firearms discharge and injury. The total number of team officers involved in incidents where the officer filling out the form had a prior firearms discharge is small (244 out of 3073 or 7.94%) and, out of the whole sample, the total number of team officers with a prior discharge who were not injured is even smaller (74 out of 3073 or 2.4%). The results are still significant, showing a diminution in the incidence of injuries sustained by teams where the officer filling out the form had no prior firearms discharges (93%) compared with those teams where the officer filling out the form had prior firearms discharges (70%).

The next set of tables (5 to 9) deal with an

officer who was working alone at the time of the incidents included in the data. This sample consists of 628 incidents involving violent confrontations with citizens in New York City. The best model consisted of 4 variables and is shown in table 5. Overall, 22.4% of the variance in injury is explained by the following 4 variables: the interaction of Type case 2 and county 1 (assault only vs. a combination assault and firearms discharge and Manhattan South vs. the other 6 police boroughs in New York City); Prior discharge 1 (prior firearms discharge vs. no prior firearms discharge); Type case 1 (assault vs. firearms discharge); and the interaction of Type case 2 and forcetime (assault only vs. combination of assault and firearms discharge and the number of years in the police department).

TABLE 5

Injury level against all predictors when patrolling alone (N = 628).

Indepent. Variable	Simple		Semi-partial		Incre-mental r2	F Value	P
	r	r2	r	r2			
Assault vs both by Manhattan South vs all other boroughs	-.23	.05	.451	.203	.203	8.56	.0036
Prior discharges vs no prior discharges	.26	.07	.100	.010	.213	8.00	.0048
Assault vs Discharge	-.42	.18	.095	.009	.222	26.22	.0001
Assault vs both by length of time on the force	-.40	.16	.045	.002	.224	18.72	.0001

The first finding in this table deals with a designated patrol area of the city, Patrol Borough Manhattan South, which encompasses ten precincts. The boundaries include the southern tip of Manhattan on the south, the East and Hudson Rivers on the east and west, respectively, and 59th street on the north. This finding indicates that officers working alone are more likely to be injured in Manhattan South than in any

other police borough of New York City in pure assault cases, and that injuries are more likely during pure assault situations than during any type of firearms discharge situation. The findings on firearms discharge and firearms discharge plus assault and injury in all other police boroughs are the same.

The second finding involves injuries and firearms discharge. The results show a relationship between injury to officers who were working alone and no prior firearms discharges. It indicates that the officer who has had no prior firearms discharges is more likely to get injured during a violent conflict than the officer who has had a prior firearms discharge. As previously indicated with firearms discharge and partner incidents, the officer with a prior firearms discharge is apparently more cautious when dealing with a possible violent confrontation than an officer who has not had this prior experience.

The third finding for officer working alone is consistent with the same comparison in table 1. It indicates that there is a significant statistical relationship between the probability of injury and pure assault situations for officers working alone.

The fourth finding on table 5 deals with the amount of years that an officer has spent on the police department, type of case, and officers susceptibility to injury. The results of this regression are very provocative because they indicate that an officer with seniority in the police department is more likely to be injured in a pure assault case than an officer with less seniority on the police department. The findings here relating to firearms discharge and assault versus pure firearms discharge are not consistent with the pure assault findings on police seniority. Any type of firearms discharge is a negative indicator of injury to an officer with more than five years of police service and a positive indicator of injury to officers with less than five years of police service. If we consider that as officers get older, most fail to maintain a physical fitness program and, as a result it may become more difficult for them to handle street situations that may involve physical contact and assault. Without the proper physical fitness program most officers will be unable to handle this type of street conflict and will end up getting injured. A factor that may relate to senior officers being injured less in firearms discharge

incidents may be that they are more cautious when responding to these types of incidents. The learning process in policing should enable a senior officer to evaluate an incident involving a firearm much more capably than an officer with less seniority. It is, once again, interesting to note that gender was not selected by any of the regressions as a salient predictor of injury.

Tables 6 through 9 provide a much clearer picture of the way the independent variables relate to the dependent variable, injury status. The meaning of these regression results in table 5 can be more readily understood by examining the crossbreaks in tables 6 through 9. It is important to keep in mind that the significance of these tables is insured by their selection in dummy coded form by the regression (see table 5). Therefore, the tables contain no Chi-Square analysis.

TABLE 6

Case type and level of injury for all cases working alone (N=628).

Case Type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Assault	45 8.56	481 91.44	526 83.76
Both assault and Discharge	40 54.79	33 45.21	73 11.62
Discharge	15 51.72	14 48.28	29 4.62
	100 15.92	528 84.04	628 100.00

Table 6 deals with the police officer working alone and presents the relationship between the type of case and the degree of injury. This comparison shows that an officer is more likely to get injured in a case that involves an assault than a case that involves a combination assault and firearms discharge. The researcher's experience in police work has shown that, in many situations that have the possibility of becoming violent, one of the officers at the scene precipitates the violence by becoming overly aggressive. Situations have been observed where the first officer has calmed all the people involved in a dispute when suddenly another officer on the scene gets involved in an

argument with a civilian for no apparent reason, and it results in injuries and arrests. This type of incident is not uncommon in police work and it is usually precipitated by an officer and not a civilian. Cases involving an assault and firearms discharge, which are considerably smaller (12%) in total comparison to pure assault cases (84%), are basically cut and dried because the assault is perpetrated by or on the officer within a short period of time after the officer arrives on the scene. The officer is either attacked or shot at and the immediate response by the officer, whether injured or not, is to draw his/her firearm and discharge it back at the suspect or to hold the suspect at bay until assistance arrives at the scene (Researcher's 21 years experience as a member of the N.Y.C.P.D.). The figures in this crossbreak exhibit a considerable difference between the total percent of officers injured in assault type of cases (91%) in comparison to cases involving a firearms discharge (48%), while officers involved in both assault and firearm discharge cases have the lowest injury rate (45%). Once again, it is apparent that any type of situation where an officer has a firearm drawn is less

likely to produce an injury than an incident where the officer does not draw a firearm. When we compare this finding to the findings in table 2 on patrol teams we find that firearms discharge and assault and firearms discharge are consistent with injury in table 6 while assault and discharge is inconsistent with discharge and injury in table 2.

TABLE 7

Prior firearms discharge and level of injury without partner (N=628).

Firearms Discharge	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Prior firearms discharge	72 27.17	193 72.83	265 42.20
No prior firearms discharges	28 7.71	335 92.29	363 57.80
	100 15.92	528 84.08	628 100.00

Table 7 examines the relationship between prior firearms discharge and injury. The results show that an officer with no prior firearms discharges is more likely to be injured (92%) than an officer who has had a prior firearms discharge (73%). This table indicates, once again, the fact that an officer who is involved in a violent confrontation is less likely to be

injured if that officer has a prior firearms discharge. The findings in table 7, working alone, are consistent with the findings in table 4, working with partner in that both tables indicate that prior firearms discharge is associated with a reduced probability of injury. A Yule's Q analysis (Liebetran, 1983) was performed on table 7 and the results indicate that there is a very strong relationship between prior firearms discharge and not being injured (.634).

TABLE 8

Case type, police patrol borough and level of injury officer working alone (N=628).

ASSAULT

Patrol Borough	Not Injured	Injured	Total
All other boroughs	41 10.82	338 89.18	379 72.05
Manhattan South	4 2.72	143 97.28	147 27.95
	45 8.56	401 91.44	526 100.00

FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Patrol Borough	Not Injured	Injured	Total
All other boroughs	13 52.00	12 48.00	25 86.21
Manhattan South	2 50.00	2 50.00	4 13.79
	15 51.72	14 48.28	29 100.00

ASSAULT AND FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Patrol Borough	Not Injured	Injured	Total
All other boroughs	36 52.94	32 47.06	68 93.16
Manhattan South	4 80.00	1 20.00	5 6.85
	40 54.79	33 45.21	73 100.00

Table 8 presents the relationship between type of case, county (borough), and injury. The injury rate for pure assault in Manhattan South (97%) is higher than all the other counties combined (89%). Yet, when we view Manhattan South in comparison to all the other counties in the areas of firearms discharge (50%) and the combined assault and firearms discharge (20%) there is a vast change. These changes indicate that an officer in Manhattan South has just as much of a chance of getting injured in any firearms discharge as an officer in any other county of the city.

TABLE 9

Case type, length of service and level of injury  
without partner (N=628).

ASSAULT

Length of Service	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Less than 5 years	33 10.15	292 89.84	325 61.79
5 Years or more	12 3.93	189 94.03	201 38.21
	45 8.56	481 91.44	526 100.00

FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Length of Service	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Less than 5 years	8 42.10	11 57.89	19 65.52
5 Years or more	7 70.00	3 30.00	10 34.48
	15 51.72	14 48.28	29 100.00

ASSAULT AND FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Length of Service	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Less than 5 years	22 48.89	23 51.11	45 61.64
5 years or more	18 64.28	10 35.71	28 38.36
	40 54.79	33 45.21	73 100.00

Table 9 presents the relationship between the type of case, time on the police force, and injury of officers working alone. Within assault cases, results indicate that officers with more than five years on the police department are more likely to be injured (94%) than officers with less than five years on the police department (90%). Although the difference in percentages of the injured officers is not that large it is still significant in showing that an officer with more than 5 years on the department is more likely to be injured in pure assaults. When the firearms discharge cases are reviewed, we find that an officer with less than five years on the department is more likely to be injured (58%) than an officer with more than five years on the department (30%) when firearms discharges are involved. The final set of cases involves both assault and firearms discharge. The analysis shows that an officer with less than five years on the department is more likely to be injured (51%) than an officer with more than five years on the department (36%), when an assault and a firearms discharge are involved.

The next part of our study also deals with the

relationship between police-citizen interaction and officer injury of officers working with a partner but from a selected subsample of all non-injured cases and an equivalent number (randomly selected) of injured cases. (The rationale for all subsamples is on pages 76 through 78 of the methodology section.) The sample injured cases were randomly selected in tables 10 through 15 (working with partner) and 16 through 21 (working alone).

Although the variables are the same as the total sample, additional regression variables are also noted. The best model consisted of 5 variables and is presented in table 10. The regression in this model was based on 548 cases and, overall, 43% of the variance is explained by the following five variables: interaction of Type case 1 and Incident code (assault only vs. firearms discharge and overt threat of incident); Type case 2 (assault vs. a combination of assault and discharge) interaction of Type case 1 and Prior discharge (assault vs. firearms discharge and prior firearms discharge); Incident code (more overtly threatening vs. less overtly threatening incidents); and interaction of Type case 1 and county (assault vs.

firearms discharge and Manhattan South and Brooklyn North vs. all other borough commands).

TABLE 10

Injury level against all predictors subsample partner (N=548).

Independ. Variable	Simple		Semi- partial		Incre- mental r2	F Value	P
	r	r2	r	r2			
Assault vs Discharge by overt threat of incident	-.52	.27	.581	.338	.338	19.76	.0001
Assault vs both assault and discharge	-.53	.28	.274	.075	.413	25.46	.0001
Assault vs discharge by prior firearms discharge	-.53	.28	.084	.007	.420	8.06	.0047
More overt threat vs less overt threat	.35	.12	.077	.006	.426	6.27	.0126
Assault vs discharge by Manhattan South and Brooklyn North vs all other Patrol Boroughs	-.31	.09	.071	.005	.431	5.15	.0236

The major findings in this regression sample are

all meaningful. The first finding indicates that less overtly threatening situations are a positive indicator of injury for patrol teams involved in pure assaults. An interaction between assault vs. discharge by overt threat of incident indicates that there is no relationship between the probability of injury and the overtness-covertness of threat in any type of firearms discharge, involving a patrol team, while such a relationship exists for pure assault.

The second finding indicates that there is a significant statistical relationship between injury and pure assault cases. It shows that an officer, working with a partner, is more likely to be injured in an assault case than in an assault and firearms discharge or a firearms discharge only case. Once again, the assault case is considered by most officers as less threatening than a case that involves the possibility of serious physical injury which a combined assault and discharge case presents. Just as in the firearms discharge type of case, the combined assault and firearms discharge case is usually the result of a serious felony in progress radio run where the officer has knowledge before arriving at the scene that a

serious crime is in progress and/or that a suspect is armed with a dangerous weapon. Pure assault type cases are not always predictable because in some cases the assault does not take place until the officer arrives on the scene of the call. It is then that the situation escalates and the assault can be instigated by any of the persons on the scene.

The third finding deals with the relationship among injury, prior firearms discharge and type case. The results indicate a negative relationship between the probability of injury to a team in a pure assault and the number of firearms discharges by the team member filling out the report. They show that a patrol team with an officer who has had a prior firearms discharge is less likely to get injured during a pure assault incident than a team without an officer who has had a prior firearms discharge.

The fourth finding indicates that less overtly threatening situations are a positive indicator of injury to a patrol team. It is similar to the findings in table 1 which also showed that an officer working with a partner was more likely to get injured in a less overtly threatening incident than in a more overtly

threatening situation.

The fifth finding indicates that there is a significant interaction between the injuries team officers receive and the police borough in which they are assigned to patrol, and the type of incident. The partner sample indicates that a team officer working in either Manhattan South and/or Brooklyn North is more likely to get injured in a pure assault case than an officer working in any other police area of New York City. But police patrol areas of the city do not differ for any type of firearms discharge incidents and injury to patrol teams. In this table, as in tables one and five, regression did not select gender as a salient predictor of injury.

Tables 11 through 15 provide a much clearer picture of the way in which the independent variables relate to the dependent variable, injury status. The meaning of the regression results in table 10 can be readily understood by examining the crossbreaks in tables 11 through 15. It is more important to keep in mind that the significance of these tables is insured by their selection in dummy coded form by the regression (see table 10). Therefore, the tables contain no Chi-

Square analysis.

TABLE 11

Case type and injury level with subsample partner  
(N=548).

Case type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Assault	133 33.50	260 66.50	391 71.35
Firearms Discharge	37 100.00	0 0.00	37 6.75
Assault and Firearms Discharge	113 94.17 281 51.28	7 5.83 267 48.72	120 21.90 548 100.00

Table 11 shows the relationship between the type of case and injury in this subsample with partner. It strongly indicates that a team officer is more likely to get injured in an assault only case (66%) than in a firearms discharge (0%) or a combined assault and firearms discharge case (6%). This subsample finding is consistent with the finding in table 1, the whole sample, which indicated that officers working with partners were more likely to get injured in pure assault cases than in any other type of case.

TABLE 12

Incident type and level of injury subsample partner  
(N=548).

Incident type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
More overtly threatening	162 72.32	62 27.68	224 40.88
Less overtly threatening	119 36.73	205 63.27	324 59.12
	281 51.28	267 48.72	548 100.00

Table 12 compares less overtly threatening incidents (i.e., serving a summons, handling a vehicle accident, aiding a sick person, etc.) and more overtly threatening incidents (i.e., family dispute, burglary in progress, man with a knife, etc.) with injury and it indicates that an officer working with a partner is more likely to get injured in a less overtly threatening situation (63%) than in a more overtly threatening situation (28%). This finding is consistent with the finding in table 3 from the whole sample which indicated that team officers were more likely to get injured in less overtly threatening situations.

TABLE 13

Case type, incident type and level of injury partner subsample (N=548).

ASSAULT

Incident type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
More overtly threatening	65 52.85	58 47.15	123 31.46
Less overtly threatening	66 24.63	202 15.37	268 68.54
	131 33.50	260 66.50	391 100.00

ASSAULT AND FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Incident type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
More overtly threatening	78 95.12	4 4.88	82 68.33
Less overtly threatening	35 92.11	3 7.89	38 31.67
	113 94.17	7 5.83	120 100.00

FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Incident type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
More overtly threatening	19 100.00	0 0.00	19 51.35
Less overtly threatening	18 100.00	0 0.00	18 48.65
	37 100.00	0 0.00	37 100.00

In table 13 the relationship between type of case,

type of incident and injury are presented, indicating that a team officer is more likely to get injured in a less overtly threatening type of situation (75%) involving a pure assault than in a more overtly threatening type of situation (47%) involving a pure assault. The other types of incidents, combined assault and firearms discharge and firearms discharge alone, indicate a very sharp drop in the amount of injuries inflicted on the team member involved in these types of incidents. The combined assault and firearms discharge injury rate (6%) and firearms discharge alone injury rate (0%) are minute in comparison to the total injury rate (67%) for incidents that are more/less overtly threatening to the patrol team officer.

These tables, as well as many others, represent the classic social-science phenomenon variously called disaggregation, the ecological fallacy, or third variable effect (Light, et al., 1980). The strong relationship between perceived threat and injury in table 12 disappears in table 13 for incidents that involve a firearm and remain only for pure assault cases.

TABLE 14

Police patrol borough, case type and level of injury  
subsample partner (N=548).

Type of Case	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Assault and Discharge			
Manhattan South and Brooklyn North	19 95.00	1 5.00	20 17.09
All Other Police Boroughs	94 96.91	3 3.09	97 82.91
	113 96.58	4 3.42	117 100.00
Assault	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Manhattan South and Brooklyn North	28 23.14	93 76.86	121 30.48
All Other Police Boroughs	103 37.32	173 62.68	276 69.52
	131 33.00	266 67.00	397 100.00
Firearms Dis- charge	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Manhattan South and Brooklyn North	6 100.00	0 0.00	6 16.22
All Other Police Boroughs	31 100.00	0 0.00	31 83.78
	37 100.00	0 0.00	37 100.00

The relationship between county, case type and injury is examined in table 14 and it indicates that patrol team officers working in police boroughs of

Manhattan South and Brooklyn North combined are more likely to get injured in a pure assault type of case (77%) than patrol officers working with partners in any other police borough in New York City in the same type of case (67%). Again, there is a large disparity in the percentage of injuries when the total number of injuries for combined assault and discharge cases (4%), firearms discharge cases (0%) and assault only cases (67%) are compared. The indication from table 14 is that any type of discharge case is consistent with less injury to patrol team members.

TABLE 15

Prior firearms discharge, case type and level of injury subsample partner (n=548).

Type of Case	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Assault			
Prior firearms discharge	18 51.43	17 48.57	35 8.82
No prior firearms discharge	113 31.22	249 68.78	362 91.18
	131 33.00	266 67.00	397 100.00
Assault and firearms discharge	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Prior firearms discharge	43 100.00	0 0.00	43 36.75
No prior firearms discharge	70 94.59	4 5.41	74 63.25
	113 96.58	4 3.42	117 100.00
Firearms Discharge	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Prior firearms discharge	13 100.00	0 0.00	13 35.14
No prior firearms discharge	24 100.00	0 0.00	24 64.86
	37 100.00	0 0.00	37 100.00

Table 15 analyzes the relationship between prior firearms discharges, case type and injury. The results show that a team officer who is filling out the form and has no prior firearms discharges is more likely to get injured in an assault case (67%) than a team officer who is filling out the form and has had a prior firearms discharge (49%). This table also indicates a dissolution of the relationship in the combined assault and firearms discharge cases. An interesting part of this subsample is that the relationship between injury and prior discharge is true only for pure assault and disappears for any type of firearms discharge. Again, this table is the classic third variable effect (Light, et al., 1980). The most interesting finding that table 15 illustrates is that, in pure assault cases, team officers with prior firearms discharges are only likely to get injured half of the time (48.57%) while team officers with no prior firearms discharges are likely to get injured two-thirds of the time (68.78%). The reason for this might stem from either the "Dirty Harry" syndrome (an officer, seeing the situation to be possibly volatile, immediately places a hand on the weapon or draws the weapon to

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avoid the possibility of injury) or from the fact that officers with prior firearms discharges are more cautious when confronted by any violent situation. In all probability, there are also cases where officers who are not carrying nightsticks use their guns as bludgeons but data on this point are not included in the records made available for this study. It is assumed that once a citizen or suspect sees an officer pull out a gun that person should cease taking any further violent or assaultive actions against an officer, but that does not necessarily prevent the officer from assaulting the citizen/suspect (personal experience N.Y.C.P.D., 1964-1985).

The next part of our study deals with the relationship between police-citizen interaction and officer injury of officers working alone but from a selected subsample of all non injured cases and an equivalent number (randomly selected) of injured cases. The rationale for all subsamples is on pages 76 through 78 of the methodology section. Six variables were used to produce the best prediction model. Overall, 33% of the variance was explained by the following six variables; Type case 2 (assault vs. combined assault

and firearms discharge); Type case 1 (assault vs. firearms discharge); Prior discharge (no prior firearms discharges vs. prior firearms discharge); the interaction of Type case 2 and County (assault vs. combined assault and firearms discharge and Manhattan South vs. all other police boroughs in New York City); the interaction of Type case 2 and Duty (assault vs. combined assault and firearms discharge and on duty vs. off duty); and the interaction of Type case 2 and Forcetime (assault vs. combined assault and firearms discharge and less time on the police force vs. more time on the police force).

TABLE 16

Injury level against all salient predictors subsample  
without partner (N=217).

Independ. Variable	Simple		Semi- partial		Incre- mental r2	F Value	P
	r	r2	r	r2			
Assault vs both assault and firearms discharge	-.49	.24	.463	.214	.214	58.53	.0001
Assault vs firearms discharge	-.50	.25	.167	.028	.242	6.21	.0135
No prior firearms discharges vs prior firearms discharge	-.41	.16	.158	.025	.267	6.39	.0122
Assault and firearms discharge by Manhattan South vs all other police boroughs	-.31	.09	.182	.033	.300	4.71	.0311
Assault vs assault and firearms discharge by on and off duty	-.19	.03	.122	.015	.315	7.86	.0055
Assault vs assault and firearms discharge by length of time on force	-.48	.23	.122	.015	.330	5.03	.0259

The first finding indicates that officers are more likely to be injured when involved in an pure assault case than in any type of discharge case. This finding is a positive indicator of injury. There was no significant finding in either of the firearms discharge categories. This finding implies that the present training policy to prepare police officers to handle violent confrontations needs revision in order to reduce this type of injury.

The second finding indicates that officers are more likely to get injured in pure assault incidents than in pure firearms discharge incidents. This finding is consistent with the first finding in this table and it indicates that a firearms discharge is significantly related to less injury.

The third finding deals with prior firearms discharge and injury. It indicates that there is a meaningful relationship between the probability of injury and prior firearms discharges. This finding is consistent with the regression findings on the same variable in tables 1 and 5. The fourth finding shows a relationship between type of case, police borough, and injury. These findings show a relationship between the

police patrol borough Manhattan South and injury in pure assault incidents. These findings indicate that, when there is no type of firearms discharge, in the police borough of Manhattan South there is more probability of injury than in other borough police commands. This relationship does not retain the same characteristics for discharge or discharge plus assault.

The fifth finding deals with the relationship between duty status, type case, and injury. The significant finding in this regression interaction is that an officer who is on-duty is more likely to be injured in a pure assault case than an officer who is off-duty. On-duty and pure assault cases are positive indicators of injury while any type of firearms case eliminates the relationship between duty and injury. The sixth finding in this stepwise regression study indicates that an officer who has more seniority on the police department is more likely to get injured in a pure assault case than is an officer who has less seniority. This interaction also indicates that seniority and injury are unrelated when there is any type of firearms discharge. This

regression, also, failed to select gender as a salient predictor of injury.

The next set of tables (17 to 21) deal with the subsample of officers working alone. They will indicate the different types of patterns involved in each finding in this part of the research. The meaning of these regression results in table 16 can be more readily understood by examining the crossbreaks in tables 17 through 21. It is important to keep in mind that the significance of these tables is insured by their selection in dummy coded form by the regression (see table 16). Therefore, the tables contain no Chi-Square analysis.

TABLE 17

Case type and level of injury subsample alone (N=217).

Case Type	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Assault	45 29.22	109 70.78	154 70.97
Firearms discharge	15 93.75	1 6.25	16 7.37
Assault and firearms discharge	40 85.11	7 14.89	47 21.66
	100 46.08	117 53.92	217 100.00

Table 17 indicates that an officer working alone is more likely to be injured in a pure assault case than any other type of case. In fact, the percentage of injuries for all assault cases (71%) is much higher than for either firearms discharge (6%) or the combined assault and firearms discharge (15%). In this table, as in several prior tables, there is a decline in injury when the officer utilizes a firearm during a violent confrontation with a citizen.

TABLE 18

Firearms discharge and level of injury subsample alone  
(N=217).

Prior Firearms Discharge	Not injured	Injured	Total
No prior firearms discharges	28 25.69	81 74.41	109 50.23
Prior firearms discharge	72 66.67	36 33.33	108 49.77
	100 46.08	117 53.92	217 100.00

Table 18 deals with prior firearms discharge and injury. It indicates that officers working alone who have had no prior firearms discharge are more likely to get injured (74%) than officers who have had a prior firearms discharge (33%). Once again, as in tables 4,

7 and 15, there is a significant statistical relationship between the probability of injury and the number of prior firearms discharges. A Yule's Q analysis (Liebetran, 1983), normed odds ratio, was performed on table 18 and it indicated a very strong relationship between prior firearms discharge and not being injured (.705). In subsequent interactions this effect does not disaggregate.

TABLE 19

Case type, police patrol borough and level of injury  
subsample alone (N=217).

ASSAULT

Patrol Borough	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Manhattan	4	31	35
South	11.43	88.57	22.73
All other boroughs	41	78	119
	34.45	65.55	77.27
	45	109	154
	29.22	70.78	100.00

FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Patrol Borough	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Manhattan	2	0	2
South	100.00	0.0	12.50
All other boroughs	13	1	14
	92.86	7.14	87.50
	15	1	16
	93.75	6.25	100.00

ASSAULT AND FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Patrol Borough	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Manhattan	4	1	5
South	80.00	20.00	10.84
All other boroughs	36	6	42
	85.71	14.29	89.36
	40	7	47
	85.11	14.89	100.00

Presented in table 19 is the relationship between type case, county and injury. The results of this interaction indicate that there is a significant relationship between injury and officers working alone in Manhattan South commands only in pure assault cases. Table 19 indicates that the probability rate of injury to an officer working alone in Manhattan South is 89% while the injury to officers working alone in all other police boroughs of New York City is 66% during pure assault incidents. In incidents involving any type of firearms discharge the probability rate for injury in all police patrol boroughs decreases asymptotically to zero when compared to pure assault incidents. When we compare this table to table 8 we find that the rates of injury in pure assault are consistent. Again, this is the classic third variable effect, wherein the relationship between police patrol borough and injury prevails only for assault but not for any type of discharge (Light, et. al., 1980).

TABLE 20

Case type, duty status and level of injury subsample  
alone (N=217).

ASSAULTS

Duty Status	Not Injured	Injured	Total
On duty	23 21.10	86 78.90	109 70.78
Off duty	22 48.89	23 51.11	45 29.22
	45 29.22	109 70.78	154 100.00

FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Duty Status	Not Injured	Injured	Total
On duty	4 80.00	1 20.00	5 31.25
Off duty	11 100.00	0 0.00	11 68.75
	15 93.75	1 6.25	16 100.00

ASSAULT AND FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Duty Status	Not Injured	Injured	Total
On duty	8 100.00	0 0.00	8 17.02
Off duty	32 82.05	7 17.95	39 82.98
	40 85.11	7 14.89	47 100.00

In table 20 the relationship between type case,

type of duty and injury is examined. The results of this interaction indicate that an officer who is working alone and is on duty is more likely to get injured in a pure assault case (79%) than an officer who is off duty (51%). This interaction also indicates that any type of firearms discharge removes the relationship between duty status and officer injury. This table indicates that the differential injury rate between on and off-duty is obtained only for pure assaults. This is, once again, the third variable effect (Light, et.al., 1980).

TABLE 21

Case type, length of service and level of injury  
subsample alone (N=217).

ASSAULTS

Length of Service	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Less than 5 years	33 32.35	69 67.64	102 66.23
5 years or more	12 23.08	40 76.92	52 33.77
	45 29.22	109 70.78	154 100.00

FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Length of Service	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Less than 5 years	11 100.00	0 0.00	11 57.89
5 years or more	7 87.50	1 12.50	8 42.11
	18 93.75	1 6.25	19 100.00

ASSAULT AND FIREARMS DISCHARGE

Length of Service	Not Injured	Injured	Total
Less than 5 years	22 78.57	6 21.43	28 59.57
5 years or more	18 94.73	1 5.27	19 40.42
	40 85.11	7 14.89	47 100.00

The final table in this subsample presents the relationship between type case, forcetime and injury. Table 21 indicates that an officer working alone who has more than 5 years of police service is more likely to get injured in a pure assault case (77%) than an officer who has less than 5 years of police service (68%). Another finding in this table indicates that an officer with less than 5 years of police service is more likely to get injured in a combined assault and firearms discharge type of situation (21%) than an officer who has more than 5 years of police service (5%). The relationship between less service time and higher injury rate found for assault disappears in the pure discharge situation. This is the classic third variable effect (Light, et.al., 1980). No gender differences were found in either the whole tape or the subsample, for officer together or alone in any regression.

The next four findings are concerned with the comparisons between male and female police officers during the violent confrontations to which the officers respond. It includes findings on firearms discharge, injury and incident involvement. Three of the findings

deal with female officers working in teams and the other finding deals with female officers working alone.

In a comparison of patrol teams comprised of males and females involved in firearms discharge incidents, 76.5% (13) of the firearms discharges were fired by the male reporting team member, and 23.5% (4) by the female reporting team member. The null hypothesis is that males should be the shooter in 50% of all mixed gender team firearm discharges and that, hence, out of 17 such incidents, males should be the shooter only 8 or 9 times. 13 out of 17 is tested against the null of 8.5 out of 17. A Z score of ( $Z = 2.18$ ,  $P < .03$ ) was produced which indicated that the male partner in a male/female patrol team was more likely to discharge a firearm during a violent confrontation than the female partner. This result is significant because it indicates the probability of a male officer in an male/female team using deadly force is greater than 50%. This finding contradicts previous beliefs and current expectations of predictions made by both police officers and police executives throughout the United States. The expectation of a male officer is that the male shoots more than the female because the male takes

immediate command of a confrontational situation. If this were true, which is doubtful (personal experience working over three years with female officers in high crime areas), then in each and every incident, in male/female teams, the male would be the only officer discharging a firearm. Seniority, explained below, can possibly affect a shooting incident but having worked with senior officers for many years, my experience was that the majority of them stayed in the background to watch the actions of a younger officer and, in most cases, took action only after the younger officer appeared to be unable to handle the incident. We must remember that the senior officer is an advisor and an instructor to the younger officer and not the officer's protector (personal experience from 21 years experience as a member of the law enforcement establishment, 1964 to 1985). The third variable, (Light, et. al., 1980) seniority, may be relevant in these types of incidents. The appropriate comparison would be to look at all male/male teams in terms of who fired the shot and seniority. Unfortunately, data on seniority are not available. It may be that gender of the shooting partner is confounded with seniority of the

shooting partner.

The next finding examines the injury rate of male versus female officer's working as partners during a violent confrontation. The data for this comparison include the members of all male/female patrol teams who filled out the required form and sustained injuries. Frequencies and crosstabs of these variables indicated that 53% of the officers injured were male and 47% of the officers injured were female ( $t=1.1633$   $P > .10$ ). The null hypothesis is that the injury rate is 50%-50% between male and female members of patrol teams filling out the form. A total of 391 male and female patrol team officers involved in violent confrontations were examined and the results indicated that 207 males and 184 females were injured during these conflicts. The findings show that the male member of the patrol team was no more likely to get injured than his female counterpart. The major implication here is that when males and females work together in a patrol team there is no difference in the number of male or female officers injured during violent confrontations with citizens. This finding is contrary to the type of results that would be anticipated from this type of

study by law enforcement officials throughout the United States. A male police officer would ascribe the cause of the male being injured, more than the female, to the fact, that the female officer remains in the background during confrontations and will not take any action that may cause her injury. If this assertion were true, which it apparently is not, then the injury rate for male officers should have been much greater than 53% (Remmington, 1981; Martin, 1980; Johns, 1979; Bell, 1982; Marshall, 1973; Lehtinen, 1976; Sherman, 1973).

The next finding deals with female officers working in patrol teams and the amount of violent confrontations (as opposed to injury) where female officers are present and participants in these violent conflicts. This research finding shows the number of female officers on patrol teams and the number of incidents they get involved in as a team member. Women comprise 7.3% (NYCPD-OEEO, 1983) of the total police force.

TABLE 22

Make up of New York City Police Department by Gender.

	Patrol	Other Assignment	Total
Male	16048 71.66	6347 28.34	22395 92.69
Female	1308 74.02	459 25.98	1767 7.31
	17351 71.81	6806 28.19	24162 100.00

In order to get a sampling of the number of women on patrol working in teams, twelve (12) patrol commands were randomly selected and a 24 hour survey was done. The results of this survey indicated that females make up 7.5% of all the officers on patrol working with a partner. The incident tape data, which this study is based on, showed that 15% of the teams that were involved in violent confrontations had women on them. This finding is significant since it indicates that female officers are involved in these type of incidents at twice the rate (15% vs 7.5%) that one would expect from the number of female member patrol teams on the force ( $Z=16.26$ ,  $P < .001$ ,  $r = .267$ ). The  $r$  is the point-biserial correlation between having a female member on a team and that team's being involved in an

incident, not between having a female team member and sustaining an injury.

The final finding examines the relationship between gender and incident when female officers are working alone. In order to get a sampling of the number of women working alone on patrol twelve (12) patrol commands were randomly selected and a 24 hour survey was done. The results of this survey showed that females make up 7.3% of all officers working alone on patrol. The incident tape indicates that 9.2% of the women who were on patrol alone were involved in violent confrontations. This finding indicates that women working alone on patrol are slightly more involved in these types of incidents than can be expected from their composition on the police force ( $Z = 1.916$ ,  $P < .03$ ,  $r = .07$ ).

Women are sufficiently represented in patrol teams and on patrol alone in comparison to their numbers on the police department. Yet, their involvement in violent confrontations indicates that they are not standing fearfully in the background as has been previously indicated by a vast majority of the male police establishment (Researcher's experience within police

environment, 1964 through 1985; Molden, 1985, Shaffer, 1978; Remington, 1981).

An alternate to multiple regression, hierarchical log-linear analysis, was run with no change shown in the relationships among the variables involved in this research.

## CHAPTER FIVE

This chapter, divided into two parts, discusses and summerizes the findings of this study based on officer reports over a one year period following either a firearms discharge or an assault on the officer. The first part deals with the hypotheses related to the research on female police officers and the second part deals with assault and firearms findings in this research.

DISCUSSION I

On April 16, 1978 an article was published in the Philadelphia Enquirer on the performance of female police officers. In this article the then Police Commissioner Joseph O'Neill was quoted on a comment made during a hearing in U.S. District Court in Brace vs O'Neill.

"A women is not as strong physically as a male. I believe they would be inclined to let their emotions all too frequently overrule their good judgement" (p. 3L).

O'Neill continued:

"There are periods in their life (females) when they are psychologically unbalanced because of physical problems that are occurring within them" (p. 3L).

On a different occasion, Donald Pomerleau, the former Police Commissioner of Baltimore, Maryland, referred to female police officers as "little balls of fluff" in December 1980 (Law Enforcement News, 1980, p. 12).

Statements such as these have caused female police officers problems throughout the years and have helped strengthen the status of male police officers. Chauvinistic male officers view females as intruders in a job market where they do not have the physical strength or stamina to perform properly. This type of police thinking has been substantially disproven through the use of research (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Kerber, Andes and Mittler, 1977; Sichel, et. al., 1978). Yet, many police officers do not accept these findings and continue to find ways to place roadblocks in the path of female officers.

This part of the discussion will focus on the hypotheses set forth in the methodology section of this dissertation and will then analyze the results in the regression tables related to each hypothesis.

The first hypothesis that was tested deals with male/female and male/male patrol teams and physical injury. It states:

H1: Female/male patrol teams are more likely to experience physical injury than male/male patrol teams during violent confrontations with citizens.

When we view tables 1 through 4 (see Chapter 4), we find that the results of the statistical analysis indicate that there is no difference between the way that male and female patrol team officers handle violent confrontations with citizens. In fact, there was no variable (e.g., assignment type, height, weight, race, incident type, etc.) examined that indicates any distinct difference between all male and female member police teams and the way they handle violent confrontations.

The findings in the four tables do indicate that police patrol teams are more likely to get injured during a pure assault type of incident than any other type of incident that may involve the use of a firearm. A pure assault incident is one in which officers do not draw their guns. Although the injury rate is greater in these cases, the findings should not be interpreted to mean that police administrators should have officers respond to calls with their guns drawn in order to decrease the amount of injuries received during violent

confrontations with citizens. Such a policy is inappropriate and would certainly increase the number of firearm discharge injuries sustained by citizens as well as set back the police image to the days of the wild west.

The subsample (the rationale for all subsamples is on pages 76 through 78 of the methodology section) for partners (tables 10 through 15) also indicates that there is no difference between all male and female member patrol teams in the way that these teams handle violent confrontations. The results show that an officer in a team is more likely to get injured during a pure assault incident than any other type of confrontation with a citizen. Once again, there was no indication that any variable associated with gender had any impact. Therefore, the hypothesis H1 must be rejected since the analysis found that there was no difference between the amount of injuries received by male/male, male/female or female/female patrol teams.

The second hypothesis examines the female officer working alone and the total number of injuries inflicted on her in comparison to her male counterpart. It states:

H2: Female officers working alone on patrol are more likely to experience physical injury than male officers working alone during violent confrontations with citizens.

The data from this study indicate that there is no difference between the number of male and female officer injuries when working alone on patrol. Thus, the chances of getting injured is not dependent on the sex of the officer during violent confrontations with citizens. Injury appears as an equal opportunity variable in that the sex of the police officer does not deter the assaulter from attacking.

A subsample (the rationale for all subsamples is on pages 76 through 78 of the methodology section) was also drawn of officers working alone. The results of this research indicate that there was no relationship between gender and injury. These findings, once again, indicate that the hypothesis predicting officer injury when working alone must be rejected because there is no relationship between the sex of the officer and the probability of injury while working alone and handling violent confrontations.

These two findings suggest that opinions on the

deficiencies of female officers in handling of violent situations are a fabrication created by police working in a male dominated occupation. Women police officers may lack the actual strength and stamina of male officers but the data suggests that they apparently have the confidence and courage to get involved in violent confrontations as measured by the number of injuries sustained. Because the female officer works in an environment permeated by male supremacy, she will, no doubt, welcome these findings and be encouraged by them. However, experience suggests that she will not be relieved of the need to continually prove her competence to the male officers and, particularly, will need to demonstrate that her capabilities, as a police officer, are similar to those of male officer.

The third hypothesis focuses on the use of deadly physical force by male and female officers. It examines whether the female officer will more readily use her weapon to defend herself than her male counterpart. It states:

H3: Female officers are less likely to use deadly physical force (firearms discharge) than male officers during violent confrontations with citizens.

Johns and Barclay (1979) compared male/male police teams to female/male police teams and found that male officers discharged their firearms with greater frequency when in the presence of a female partner. This research was done under experimental conditions with officers who had spent one year in the field after graduating from the police academy. It is difficult to infer from experimental research what will actually happen when a person is placed in a life and death situation. The experience of this researcher indicates that when officers come upon a situation where the use of deadly physical force is imminent all officers present will participate. However, the results of this research indicate that the male officer is more likely to fire a gun when working in a male/female patrol team. Therefore, this finding is consistent with those of the Johns and Barclay research.

Many police officials and some of the public have accepted as fact that because women lack the physical stature and strength of male officers, female officers would be more inclined to use a firearm than their male counterparts. This research and its findings discredit

this view. Prior research on women police officers indicates that females are more emotionally stable than their male counterparts and lack a need to project the "macho" image that seems to be inherent in the personality of most male officers. The female officer with her less aggressive personality will be more likely to try to calm those engaged in a potentially violent situation and thereby avoid injury to all of the participants (Molden, 1985; Bell, 1982; Remington, 1981; Johns, 1979; Sichel, et al, 1978; Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Milton, 1972; Merton, 1957).

Past research findings are substantially supported by the results shown in table 23.

TABLE 23

Male/female police officers discharging firearms.  
(N = 341)

Officer Sex	Discharge Alone	Assault & Discharge	Total
Male	71 21.58	258 78.42	329 96.48
Female	3 25.00	9 75.00	12 3.52
	74 21.70	267 78.30	341 100.00

This table contains the total amount of police

firearms discharges (341) reported by police officers on the Firearms Discharge/Assault on Officer Form in 1983. It indicates that female officers accounted for a very small amount of all firearms discharges while the men produced over 96% of all firearms discharges. A Z-score was computed from the proportion of female police officers involved in all firearms discharge incidents (3.5) in comparison to the total number of female members of the New York City Police Department (7.31). The results of this testing ( $Z=-2.70$ ,  $r=.145$ ,  $p < .003$ ) indicate that the male officer is more likely to get involved in a firearms discharge incident than would be expected from the gender make-up of the N.Y.C.P.D. (table 22). Explanation from male police personnel suggest that this occurs because the male officer is more aggressive and takes charge of violent confrontations. However, the data in this study show that female officers are just as willing to get involved in violent confrontations as their male counterparts. Police training personnel should further explore the gender differences in firearms discharge in an effort to decrease the amount of firearms discharges by male officers. The third hypothesis is accepted

since it has been shown in the data that the female police officer is much less likely to use deadly physical force (firearms discharge) than her male partner.

The fourth hypothesis also addresses the physical injury question during a violent confrontation, but, does so as it relates to the individual officer within a patrol team. The expectation is that the female officer will be injured more frequently because of her limited physical ability to defend herself. Earlier research findings by Kruckenberg (1974) and Remington (1981) suggest a higher female injury rate.

H4: Within male/female patrol teams, female officers are more likely to be injured (physical injury) than male officers during violent confrontations with citizens.

The male officer has always been considered to be far more capable of handling a violent confrontation with a citizen because of his physical stature, stamina and strength. This continues to be one of the biggest issues confronting a female police officer. The majority of police officials believe that men handle confrontations better than women. Since there has

been no research available to dispute those opinions, this attitude has prevailed. The sample size of this research is large enough to permit confidence in the findings and thus to give female officers valid evidence of their ability to handle violent confrontations. This research has shown that there is no difference in the injury rate between male and female officers. Unlike the male police officer, the female officer does not view conflict situations as personal confrontations that question her ability as a police officer. This, together with women's inborn or socialized nurturing ability makes the female officer just as productive as a male officer in the handling of violent confrontations (Bell, 1982; Martin, 1980; Sichel, et. al., 1978; Kanter, 1977; Connolly, 1975; Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Milton, 1972; Anqrst, 1969).

Since no significant difference in the number of injuries sustained by male and female officers during violent confrontations with citizens was found, the hypothesis that states that a female officer is more likely to get injured than her male partner during a violent confrontation is rejected.

The fifth hypothesis addresses the number of

violent incidents a female officer gets involved in as a member of a patrol team in comparison to the number of females working in patrol teams in the New York City Police Department.

H5: Female officers in patrol teams are involved in violent confrontations more frequently than are male officers in patrol teams.

The results here indicate that female member patrol teams are involved in violent incidents at twice the rate that one would expect from the number of female member patrol teams within the department. Apparently female officers working in a patrol team are aggressively approaching violent confrontations without fear of personal injury. This finding further demonstrates that female officers can handle all types of patrol situations. There is no reason related to their ability, to confine women officers to desk or clerical duties, juvenile investigations or traffic assignments. Many police administrators claim that female officers do not belong on patrol because they are not aggressive enough to handle some of the situations that can arise while on patrol. In general, male officers have tried to be overly protective of their

female counterparts (Molden, 1985; Remington, 1981). The results of this research suggest that there is no need for such behavior, and that female officers are at least as willing to become involved in violent confrontations as male officers. The results of this research indicate that the fifth hypothesis in general must be accepted.

The final hypothesis concentrates on the number of violent incidents that a female officer working alone gets involved in, as compared to the number of females in the New York City Police Department.

H6: Female officers, alone on patrol, are involved in violent confrontations more frequently than are male officers alone on patrol.

The results of this research indicate that women working on patrol alone are slightly more involved in violent confrontations than their actual percentage within the police population. This, as in the previous finding, suggests that female officers, who are working alone or with partners, are just as likely to get involved in violent confrontations as are their male counterparts. Once again, police officials have in the past worried about permitting women to patrol

alone. The results of this research lead to the conclusion that hypothesis six must be accepted because the data show that female officers get involved in violent confrontations at a slightly higher rate than their percentage in the police population.

If productivity is measured by involvement, our data shows that the female officer is just as productive as a male officer when dealing with violent confrontations with citizens. One can surmise from the data that the female officer is neither apprehensive or indecisive when placed in situations where she may get killed or seriously injured. Female officers appear to willingly accept these challenges and enter violent conflicts without fear of being injured and knowing that, in most cases, the person with whom they are entering into conflict will possess more strength. These findings will, no doubt, be viewed skeptically by most police personnel in the United States. Yet, they are the results obtained. With a greater influx of females into policing in the next twenty years more research may be done to demonstrate that the female officer is just as capable, if not more capable, in certain situations (e.g., handling family disputes,

settling street disorders, etc.), than a male officer. Under the law women can not be excluded from policing and the reality, based on these findings, is that they are performing as well if not better than men. Perhaps sometime in the near future police officers will be police officers and the sex of the officer will have no impact on the perceptions of ability.

Another possible indicator of the level of police aggression is the number of civilian complaints lodged against an officer. Thus, if complaints are low for some officers and higher for others, one can assume that the low officers behavior is less offensive to citizens. It has been demonstrated in this research that the female officer is just as willing as the male officer to get involved in violent confrontations with citizens without fear of the possible repercussions (e.g. physical injury, death, civilian complainants, etc.) that may effect them immediately or at a later date. It is, therefore, appropriate to examine the probability of having a civilian complaint filed against the female officer. When comparing the number of civilian complaints filed against the first officer identified on a complaint, it was found that

male officers received 96.7% of all civilian complaints made against New York City Police Officers in 1983. The figures in tables 24 and 25 are taken from the Civilian Complaint Review Board Report for 1983. The first table deals with 4673 complaint reports made by citizens with 363 eliminated because there was no positive identification of the first officer on the complaint. The second table deals with the total number of officers on 4310 complaints which totals 5971 with the elimination of 490 unidentified officers. These figures were compared to the expected (table 22) which were obtained from the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity of the N.Y.C.P.D.

TABLE 24

Gender of first member involved in a civilian complaint Part I (N = 4310).

	Actual	Percentage	Expected N	Expected Percentage
Male	4169	96.73	3995.37	92.7
Female	141	3.27	314.63	7.3
Total	4310	100.00	4310	100.00

A Z-Score was compiled from table 24 by using the proportion of female officers receiving civilian

complaints and comparing it to the proportion of female officers that are members of the New York City Police Department (officers do not have to be on patrol to receive civilian complaints). The analysis sought out to identify any possible differences in the amount of civilian complaints made against male or female officers. The results are significant and they indicate that a female officer is less likely to receive a civilian complaint ( $Z = -10.09$ ,  $r = .151$ ,  $p = <.0001$ ) than would be expected from their percent on the police force (7.31%).

TABLE 25

Total number of officers on all civilian complaints for the year 1983 Part II (N = 5971).

	Actual	Percentage	Expected N	Expected Percentage
Male	5703	95.51	5535.12	92.7
Female	268	4.49	435.88	7.3
Total	5971	100.00	5971	100.00

In table 25 we analyze the total number of officers identified on civilian complaints whether or not they were first on the complaint. A Z-score was compiled (in the same manner as table 24) from these figures to analyze any possible difference between the total amount

of male and female officers that were reported on the Civilian Complaint Review Board forms in the year 1983. The results of this test ( $Z = -8.32$ ,  $r = .107$ ,  $P < .0001$ ) indicate that female officers are less likely to receive civilian complaints than would be expected from their representation on the police department (7.31%).

The figures in tables 24 and 25 indicate that the male officer is more aggressive/abrasive when dealing with citizens.

The second part of the discussion section deals with the other findings of this research including the police handling of violent confrontations with citizens and the amount of injuries incurred by the officers dealing with this type of conflict. The majority of injuries sustained by officers occurred during situations that involved pure assaults rather than situations that involved the officer's use of a firearm.

DISCUSSION II

When we consider the amount of injuries officers receive during violent confrontations with citizens, we must also consider how many of these injuries are avoided because an officer either draws or uses a revolver. Our findings indicate that when the total of all incidents, alone and working with partner, are examined 95% of the officers involved in pure assault situations receive some type of a physical injury, 43% of the officers involved in an assault with a firearms discharge receive an injury and 30% of the officers involved in a pure firearms discharge are injured (tables 2 and 6 combined). An officer, whether working alone or with a partner, is more likely to get injured when the situation involves a pure assault. Is it, therefore, necessary for police administrators to adopt a more liberal policy concerning the use of firearms? This would be an unwarranted conclusion because once firearm discharge policy is changed to avoid injuries to officers by encouraging greater use of weapons, more citizens and officers will be injured (Fyfe, 1978). However, other changes are needed.

Law enforcement agencies should alter the way violent confrontations are handled by their personnel. Emphasis should be on the positive role that negotiation can play in violent encounters. During the initial training phase (recruit training at a police academy), most officers are trained in police science, law, social science, firearms and physical education. Training programs should be revised to include strategies that will decrease the amount of injuries sustained by police personnel. All officers should be exposed to additional training on hostage negotiation strategy. The majority of police departments within this country have hostage negotiation teams that handle serious criminal disputes that usually involve any type of hostage taking with the risk of serious physical injury or death to the hostages. There have been very few deaths or injuries sustained by the hostages, police or the hostage-taker since the inception of hostage negotiation strategies in law enforcement. The negotiation methods that are used to ease anxieties and tensions, encouraging the hostage-taker to assess the situation more rationally resulting in the release of the hostages. Hostage negotiation strategies are

also applicable to violence-laden situations that officers deal with on a daily basis. Experienced police officers should be able to gauge, when they respond to certain scenes, whether or not that scene can become volatile. The ability to assess situations and people can be learned in the classroom. However, a good portion is common sense, an important trait in all good police officers. A combination of proper confrontation negotiation training and the use of common sense on the part of police officers can reduce the amount of injuries officers sustain during violent confrontations with citizens.

The police officer's personality should be considered as part of the proper handling of violent confrontations. The police personality is defined, for our purposes, as the characteristics the officer displays at the scene of a potentially violent confrontation. Based on experience working in the police environment (the writer was a member of the N.Y.C.P.D. for 21 years) this researcher suggests that the police personality exhibited during violent confrontations falls into three categories: The first personality type is the overly aggressive "macho" type

of officer who categorizes all members of society except other police as "skells" (a derogatory term used by police officers to describe criminals). These officers exhibit the "Dirty Harry" syndrome which includes the direct use of force to maintain authority on the street. Psychologically the "Dirty Harry" officer is unable to maintain any type of positive relationship with the citizens in the community because the officer believes that everyone in that community is out to get the police. Such an officer is more likely to escalate a confrontation into a violent conflict that can lead to officer and citizen injuries. The last thought in this officer's mind is the stabilization of a potentially violent situation. Because of personal anxiety this officer can only respond with violence and, therefore, he/she quickly escalates a situation into violence. Frequent civilian complaints and police disciplinary complaints are part of this officer's personnel file as is a consequent need for close monitoring by a supervisor. This type of officer can be identified as having a Community Deficient Personality. Fortunately, this is not the most common or typical personality in policing

in the view of this researcher. An example of the type of action this person takes can be seen in an incident that involved a family dispute between two brothers. After calming down everyone at the scene, a solution to the dispute was cooperatively suggested and accepted. Soon after an officer with a community deficient personality appeared. When asked what he was doing there by one of the disputants, the officer directed several ethnic slurs at the two brothers, for no apparent reason. Within seconds the situation erupted into a brawl. Clearly officers with this type of personality require retraining or dismissal.

The second type of police personality is the mild mannered conversationalist who handles people in a professional manner that moves people toward reassessment of a situation and realization that the confrontation can be settled without violence. An officer with this ability assesses each situation and then decides what is necessary to maintain peace and tranquility. This officer is a true problem solver who views all people, no matter what their background, as being equal. Psychologically, this officer is very stable and fits in very well in any type of

community. This type of officer can be identified as having a Community and Department Asset Personality.

The third type of officer personality is found in the officer who goes about work in an oblivious manner. This type of officer arrives for work, goes out on patrol and then goes home at the end of the tour of duty without accomplishing anything. Any type of call that may involve physical activity, possible danger or assisting members of the community is avoided by procrastinating on a minimal service call (e.g., assisting a motorist, taking a report on a non-serious crime, etc.) or locating minimal work (e.g., recovering a stolen auto, dispersing a group of youths, helping an individual under the influence of alcohol, etc.). An officer with this type of personality has no sensitivity toward the community and no allegiance to the police department. The job is considered a way of earning a living by doing as little work as possible. The officer's objective is to avoid any type of task that may involve physical activity or direct confrontation with the public. When this officer does respond to a situation that may involve a possible violent confrontation, he/she will stay in the background and

let the situation get out of control before deciding to take any action or calling for assistance from other officers. This type of officer can be identified as having a Community and Department Deficit Personality. This analysis of police personality during violent confrontations can be compared in some ways to what James Q. Wilson (1973) did in his analysis of police departments. The Legalistic Style and Community Deficient Personality are similar in that they are both strict enforcement types but Wilson's model does contain officers who are not overzealous in their enforcement of the law. While all of the officers in our model are overly zealous in enforcing, what they consider, their own laws of the street. The Watchman Style and the Community and Department Deficit models are almost parallel with the exception being that our officer avoids enforcing the law by procrastinating on minimal service jobs and, thereby, forcing other officers to pick-up and handle his/her work. There is a very close relationship between the Service Style and the Community and Department Asset officer. The methods used to obtain citizen satisfaction are comparative as are their maintenance of relationships

within the community. The only difference is that the New York City officer maintains these characteristics even though the community financial conditions may vary from one assignment to another.

An officer with the Community Asset Personality is the ideal officer that every department wants to have patrolling its streets. The departmental challenge is the recruitment and the training of officers to function as community asset officers. Part of the answer lies in developing proper supervision techniques. Supervisors must be trained to effectively observe officers under their supervision and must have the authority to recommend psychological assessment, transfer, retraining or dismissal from the department. This requires the complete support of higher ranking police officials. Without improved supervision there is little or no chance of police departments ever reaching any level of professionalization. First line supervisors (e.g., sergeants and lieutenants) are the key figures in the delivery of police services; they must know what is going on at all times, teach by example and instruction, and take action when appropriate (Muir, 1977). It is, therefore, important

that the department give first line supervisors the necessary authority to control their subordinates. In turn, this power can only be exercised effectively following supervisory training. A supervisor must learn how to identify officers who are having stress, alcohol, marriage, financial or drug-related problems. After identifying a problem, supervisors must acquire the necessary diagnostic abilities in order to make the appropriate recommendation. A friendly relationship between a supervisor and a subordinate frequently develops; however, the supervisor still has the responsibility not to overlook problems that are effecting a subordinate's work personality. The supervisor's training must make clear the dangers of poor supervision for the department and the community in the long term. An officer who is constantly being assaulted or receiving civilian complaints should be evaluated for personality problems. Policing is a service oriented organization which exists to maintain order and preserve the rights of all citizens.

Injuries to officers are costly to police departments. Injuries reduce productive work hours and in some cases require departments to pay service-related

line of duty injury pensions. It is not mandatory for New York City Police Department officers, who receive a line of duty injury, to go to a hospital or to see their own physician within twenty-four hours. How is it possible without this requirement to control an officer's injury status? In most cases it is not possible, and, as a result, the Department has to accept whatever sick leave an officer takes with a line of duty injury. The Department also gives disability pensions to officers, usually to higher ranking supervisors, who were injured up to twenty years prior to their retirement. These abuses are possible because of a lack of regulations and related administrative control.

Injuries as well as service-related injury pensions are difficult to control. Through the use of physical and medical testing on an annual basis abuses can be reduced and even eliminated. The California Highway Patrol has set up specific guidelines for all members of its department. The standards for physical fitness were initiated for incumbent officers in 1979 and became mandatory in 1984 for all officers within that department. Since the initiation of this

program the percentage of officers who have passed the physical fitness standards has grown from 76% for men and 65% for women in 1982 to 95% for men and 96.5% for women in September 1984. Disabling cardiovascular injuries are down 33.3% and disabling back injuries are down 19.3% since 1979 (California Highway Patrol-Physical Performance Program, 1984). This program has been so successful in reducing injuries and injury-related retirements that the Los Angeles Police Department and the Michigan State Police are presently working towards implementing the same program. Requiring that appropriate physical and medical standards be maintained by all members of a department appears to be an excellent way to reduce injury rates. It is, also, a way for senior officers to maintain physical fitness standards. The injury rate for New York City police officers with five years or more working on patrol alone was higher than the injury rate for officers working on patrol alone with less than five years on the department. A department should impose medical, physical and weight standards in order to control a high injury rate. An officer who is overweight or cannot perform required physical tasks

(e.g., climbing over a fence, running 100 yards, carrying 125 pounds down three flights of stairs) should not continue to serve as an active police officer.

The importance of physical conditioning should not be overlooked by any police organization. Police training personnel should emphasize to recruits its importance. On-going physical conditioning is the only way an officer can maintain the physical standards required of the department and it is, also, an excellent way to reduce the mental and physical stress of police work. The constant pressure placed on a police officer causes stress to build up and may ultimately cause cardiovascular problems in later years. Physical exercise is a measure that all officers should use to attempt to reduce possible future cardiovascular problems.

When injury rate is discussed the severity of the injury must also be reviewed. The following four tables describe the injuries that patrol team partners receive during violent confrontations with citizens.

TABLE 26

Hospitalization by Gender make-up.  
Injured patrol team members (N = 2787).

Team Makeup	Hospital		Total
	Yes	No	
Male/Female	33 8.44	358 91.56	391 14.03
Male/Male	215 9.10	2148 90.90	2363 84.79
Female/Female	0 0.0	33 100.00	33 1.18
	248 8.90	2539 91.10	2787 100.00

TABLE 27

All patrol teams; (N = 3073) and total injury level by  
Gender.

Team Makeup	Not Injured	Injured	Critical	Killed	Total
Male/Female	32 7.57	391 92.43	0 0.0	0 0.0	423 13.77
Male/Male	249 9.52	2363 90.29	4 .15	1 .04	2617 85.16
Female/Female	0 0.0	33 100.00	0 0.0	0 0.0	33 1.07
	281 9.14	2787 90.70	4 .13	1 .03	3073 100.00

These two tables taken together provide an extremely interesting picture of the relationship between injuries and hospitalization of the officer. Although over 90% of patrol teams reported injuries less than 9% required hospital care immediately after the confrontation. When the injury rate is viewed for total incidents, partner and alone, an explanation will also be given as to why such a large percentage of officers claim injury but refuse medical aide (pages 169 - 170).

TABLE 28

Hospital treatment by Gender; Officers working alone  
(N=528).

Sex	Hospital		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	73 15.30	404 84.70	477 90.34
Female	4 7.84	47 92.16	51 9.66
	77 14.58	451 85.42	528 100.00

The findings for officer working alone and hospital treatment are very similar to that for officers working with a partner (See tables 26 and 27).

TABLE 29

Officers working alone (N=628); injury level by Gender.

Sex	Not Injured	Injured	Critical	Killed	Total
Male	93 16.32	473 82.98	2 .35	2 .35	570 90.76
Female	7 12.07	48 82.76	2 3.45	1 1.72	58 9.24
	100 15.92	521 82.96	4 .64	3 .48	628 100.00

When the total number of officers injured 3315 (89.57%) of the whole sample of 3701 is compared to the total number of officers who went to the hospital for treatment or diagnosis 325 (9.80%) of total officers injured, we find a large discrepancy. Given the large percentage of officers who claim they received a physical injury during a violent confrontation with a citizen, one would expect a hospital visit and the resulting medical records (e.g., medical charts, x-rays, doctors testimony). This is especially true because these records are needed as evidence during a trial in criminal court of any assailant arrested and charged with the crime of assault. It should be mandatory that injured officers be taken to the hospital for an evaluation of their injuries. It is clear from the

small percentage of officers who go to the hospital that some officers are not seriously injured. One explanation of police claiming injury is that they are raising the level of the crime for which the citizen was charged (Chevigny, 1969).

It must be remembered that officers who get involved in violent confrontations, sometimes through their own psychological inadequacies, are unable to walk away from an incident in which they have been pushed, slapped or knocked down without retaliating by charging that person with a crime. This type of action by an officer is not uncommon. Once an officer becomes emotionally involved in a confrontational situation, there is a very strong possibility that an assault will take place and that a citizen will be arrested for that crime. This is a further reason for police departments placing a high priority on the psychological testing and observation of all police candidates and continuing this activity during their training and probationary periods.

There has been considerable research done in the area of police firearms discharge in recent years (Harding, 1970; Jenkins and Faison, 1974; Kobler, 1975;

Milton, et al., 1977; Fyfe, 1978; Scharf and Binder, 1984). Fyfe's (1978) study of firearms discharge by New York City police officers provides the most in-depth study of police shootings to date. He analyzes a wide range of primary and secondary variables involved when an officer draws a firearm and uses it against a citizen. Yet, except for a study done by Johns and Barclay (1979), there has been little or no research done in the area of female police officers and firearms discharge.

The first area of police firearms discharge to be discussed is police suicides. Three officers committed suicide during 1983 using their own guns and two other officers attempted suicide with a firearm. In two of the suicides and one of the attempted suicides the officers were working (all males) while in the other suicide and attempted suicide the officers were off-duty (both females), one at home and one in an auto outside a bar. In one of the suicide cases a male officer was sitting at his desk at his place of employment (police academy) and fired one shot into his head. The officer died instantly and the cause of death was classified as accidental (officer

was cleaning his gun and it went off accidentally). This researcher worked in the same location as the officer who committed suicide. After his death, discussions with supervisors and officers who knew the victim revealed that his friends had observed a change in his personality and that he had appeared depressed over failing a promotional examination. Nothing was done to get this officer psychological assistance.

The Department will classify some of these deaths as accidental (e.g., cleaning a gun when it accidentally went off) but there are very few people who clean their guns while pointing them at their heads or mouths. Further, it is very difficult to check the cleanliness of a revolver gun barrel when the cylinder is closed and it is fully loaded. All of the officers in the 1983 suicides and suicide attempts were assigned to police commands where they were regularly observed by superior officers, but until the day of their deaths no one reported any changes in their behavior. Police officials de-emphasize suicides indicating that these types of deaths are unavoidable but that does not seem reasonable to the family and co-workers. Fyfe (1978) relates the causes of suicides as being interrelated

with family and occupational problems. If a police officer is experiencing periods of depression, a not uncommon phenomenon in all occupations, supervisors should be prepared to identify the psychological/personality changes and refer that officer for assistance (Maris, 1969; Anderson and McClain, 1971; Durkheim, 1980). Suicide should not be considered unavoidable by police administrators; they should be encouraged to engage in department research as well as to cooperate with outside researchers in an effort to resolve this problem. An indicator of the magnitude of this problem is the fact that in 1986 a total of seven New York City police officers committed suicide.

During the researcher's years as a member of the New York City Police Department two incidents occurred in which my firearm was discharged. In both cases a male citizen pointed and fired or attempted to fire a gun at me. In the first incident a crime was in progress. While chasing three suspects, one pulled out a gun and pointed it at the researcher; the suspect was shot and seriously injured. In the second incident a robbery suspect was apprehended and a second male appeared from the side of another

building, pulled out a .22 cal revolver and pulled the trigger. Fire was returned and the suspect was critically injured. In each of these incidents all department guidelines pertaining to the use of a firearm were properly followed. During these incidents the researcher believed his life was in imminent danger and that the only proper response was the use of deadly physical force.

The major problem for the officer after the use of deadly force is whether or not, in his/her own mind, the injuring or killing another human being, was justified. A shooting incident usually lasts no longer than 5 to 10 seconds. Within that very short time period officers must depend on prior training to assist them in making a very rapid and correct decision. Once deadly force has been used it can not be reversed.

Another problem an officer must face after a firearms discharge incident is an interrogation by supervisors who, in most cases, have not themselves been involved in a firearms discharge incident. After a firearms incident in which a citizen is shot, the officer is almost always psychologically stressed even

when the officer acted within department guidelines and the law. Superior officers who conduct these interrogations frequently treat the officer, who has taken this action, like a criminal and both harass and demean the officer. This, in most cases, can have a devastating effect on the officer's ability to recover properly from the psychological trauma that a shooting incident creates. There is a need for every shooting incident to be reviewed, within a short time thereafter, but it should be done after a thorough investigation has been conducted with all witnesses and participants interviewed in a proper manner. Evidence of improprieties by officers can be gathered without the use of fascist police techniques.

Psychological counseling should be made readily available to officers who are involved in shooting incidents where a person is seriously injured or killed. When properly conducted, counseling can help an officer relieve tension and trauma that has built up within the officer following the incident. The counseling should be conducted by a psychologist, thoroughly trained in life and death trauma, and two officers who have been involved in the same type of incident because a person

who has never been previously involved in a shooting incident has no knowledge of the effect that post-shooting trauma has on an officer. A post-shooting trauma unit is a very important tool for a police department to have available for members who are involved in or wounded during a shooting incident.

In viewing the total number of reported police pure firearms discharge incidents we found there were 74 (table 23 has the total number of pure firearms discharge 74 and firearms discharges that took place during an assault 267). The information listed in tables 30 through 32 was obtained from the Firearms Discharge/Assault on Officer tape and from viewing original reports relating to pure firearms discharges that are included on the tape. When these incidents were broken down categorically they revealed the following findings:

TABLE 30

Object of firearms discharge only (N = 74).

Citizen	Dog	Accidental	Suicide	Other	Total
18	27	18	3	8	74
24.32	36.49	24.32	4.05	10.82	100.00

It is clear that an officer is more likely to

discharge a firearm at something other than a human being during a pure firearms discharge incident. When we look at the total shots fired at other than citizens (table 31) we discover that officers are not sufficiently trained to handle certain types of situations particularly dogs, accidental and other discharges. There appears to be insufficient training of officers. This is especially true in shooting incidents involving dogs since all officers are equipped with mace and the specialized Emergency Service Units have the equipment to subdue and capture animals.

TABLE 31

Total shots fired at other than citizens; firearms discharge only (N = 99).

Dogs	Accidental	Other	Total
64	18	17	99
64.65	18.18	17.17	100.00

(The 3 police officer suicides were excluded from this table.)

Table 31 reveals a large number of shots discharged, most of which were probably unnecessary. For example in the 27 dog shootings 64 shots were fired which means that 2.37 shots were fired in each incident. Should an officer, who is equipped with mace and a nightstick, have to fire shots at a dog

or rather, should the officer be properly trained on how to handle the situation without the use of a firearm? This is a police policy issue but if that many shots are expended per incident there is always the chance that an innocent bystander could be hit by a stray bullet. This is the issue that police administrators should always keep in mind and then institute more advanced training to prevent further dog shooting incidents. Within the total amount of accidental discharge incidents (18) there were 9 injuries, all officers, which suggests that these officers had not been properly trained to handle a gun on or off duty. The other discharge incidents involve 8 incidents with 17 shots being expended by officers. Included in these incidents are: two attempted suicides with 3 shots expended; mental duress with 5 shots in a garage; under influence of alcohol with 5 shots in air; and one shot fired at a wife. When we consider that a total of 35 shots were fired in what is listed as accidental or other discharge incidents, we must also recall that an officer can carry a gun twenty-four hours a day. If that officer does not know how to properly handle that gun, or if he/she is drinking or under mental duress, there is a chance

that the officer could wound or kill an innocent citizen. It is, therefore, critical that officers be properly trained in the handling of a firearm, on and off duty, in order to prevent these incidents from ever taking place.

TABLE 32

Firearms discharge only incidents and Gender of officer (N = 69).

Officer Sex	Accidental Dog & Other	Suspect	Total
Male	51 75.00	17 25.00	68 98.55
Female	0 0.0	1 100.00	1 1.45
	51 73.91	18 26.09	69 100.00

(Suicides (3) and attempted suicides (2) were eliminated from this table).

The most striking finding in table 32 is the disproportionately low percentage of pure firearms discharges by female officers. When the total amount of incidents (69) is compared to male/female police officer involvement, we find that female officers are involved in a total of (1) or 1.45% of the total firearms discharge only incidents. There are no pure firearms discharge incidents where a female officer

either fired at a dog or accidentally discharged a firearm. A Z - score was compiled from the total number of female officers involved in this type of incident and compared to the proportion of female officers in the New York City Police Department (7.3%). A Z-score of ( $Z = 1.88, r = .221, p < .0300$ ) at a .05 significance level which indicates that female officers are less likely to use a firearm that would be expected from their percent on the police force (7.3%).

In table 33 we analyze the firearms discharge data from the tape by race and officer participation.

TABLE 33

Total firearms discharge incidents reported 1983.  
All suspect and officer race (N = 272)

Officer Race	Suspect Race			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
White	63 30.14	83 39.72	63 30.14	209 76.84
Black	5 13.16	24 63.16	9 23.68	38 13.97
Hispanic	3 12.00	15 60.00	7 28.00	25 9.19
	71 26.10	122 44.85	79 29.05	272 100.00

TABLE 34

All N.Y.C.P.D. officers by race.  
(N = 24162)

White	Black	Hispanic	Oriental	Total
19690	2475	1897	100	24162
81.49	10.24	7.85	.42	100.00

(N.Y.C.P.D. Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, 1983).

Table 33 indicates that when an analysis was done by race and firearms discharge it was found that Black (63.16%) and Hispanic officers (60.00%) discharged their firearms at Black suspects at a higher rate than White officers (39.72%). These findings are similar to Fyfe's (1978) on officer race and shooting incidents. The findings in table 33 indicate a Chi-square of 10.31,  $r = .138$  with four degrees of freedom, and are significant at the  $< .05$  level. It can be explained, in effect, that in most cases Black and Hispanic officers are usually assigned to areas that have a large minority population. Minority areas in cities generally show higher rates of crime and violence because these areas also have widespread drug use and poverty. (McNeely and Pope, 1981). It can be assumed that because of these factors Black and Hispanic police officers are more likely to shoot at

minority members of the community than are White, Black or Hispanic officers who are assigned to lower crime areas of the city (Alex, 1969; Fyfe, 1981; Leinen, 1984).

Table 34 contains a breakdown of the officers of the N.Y.C.P.D. by race. A Chi-square analysis was done by using the total discharge incidents in table 33 and the racial percentage rates in table 34 which produced a Chi-square of 5.04 with 2 degrees of freedom at  $p > .05$  significance level. This indicates that the distribution of shootings by race is consistent with the percentages by race of the members of the N.Y.C.P.D.

The rate of injury by officer and suspect race will be viewed in an effort to ascertain whether or not the same factors prevail as in table 33.

TABLE 35

Total injuries and race. Suspect injuries, officer and suspect race (N = 874).

Officer Race	Suspect Injuries by Race			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
White	232 31.87	302 41.48	194 26.65	728 83.30
Black	16 25.40	28 44.44	19 30.16	63 7.21
Hispanic	17 20.48	29 34.94	37 44.58	83 9.49
	265 30.32	359 41.08	250 28.60	874 100.00

Table 35 indicates that Hispanic police officers are probably a little more likely to injure Hispanic citizens (44.58%) than either White (26.65) or Black (30.16) police officers during violent confrontations with citizens. The findings in table 35 indicate a Chi-square of 11.74,  $r = .082$ , with 4 degrees of freedom at a  $< .05$  significance level. Police officers of Hispanic heritage are also more likely to work in areas that have a high percentage of Hispanic residents because, in most cases, they can speak fluent spanish.

The total number of suspects killed by officer and suspect race is analyzed in table 36 in an effort to ascertain if there is any difference in the percentage

of suspects killed by officer race.

TABLE 36

Suspects Killed, Officer and Suspect Race (N = 41).

Officer Race	Suspects Killed by Race			Total
	White	Black	Hispanic	
White	5 16.13	16 51.61	10 32.26	31 75.61
Black and Hispanic	1 10.00	8 80.00	1 10.00	10 24.39
	6 14.63	24 58.54	11 26.83	41 100.00

The only figure in this table that shows any indication of significance is that Black and Hispanic officers kill Black citizens at a higher rate (80%) than White (52%) officers. Table 36 produced a Chi-square of 15.30,  $r = .432$ , with 2 degrees of freedom at a  $< .05$  significance level.

Minority groups view police shootings in different ways. The first shooting incident that this researcher was involved in, previously described in this chapter, occurred in a Harlem precinct and the suspect was Black. After the suspect had been shot the researcher proceeded on to a fire escape to attempt to apprehend the other two suspects who were fleeing when two Black males from an opposite building yelled, to "shoot those two mother

fuckers, whitey, before they break into my house." This researcher, from experiences working in ghetto or minority areas, came to the conclusion that the majority of ghetto residents are in full support of the police department as long as they know that the officers are working for the people in the community. People want to know, no matter what race they are, that the officers assigned to protect them and their property are properly performing their tasks within the guidelines of the law and without any prejudice (Leinen, 1984; Stotland and Berberich, 1986).

#### CONCLUSIONS

The major findings in this research relate to female police officers. The research shows that female officers behave similiarly to male officers in the handling of violent confrontations. No difference was found in the amount of injuries received by male or female officers during a violent confrontation.

In the use of deadly physical force, the male officer is more likely to use a firearm than the female officer. Female officers, whether with a partner or alone, are more than willing to get involved in violent confrontations apparently without any fear of injury or

death. This research contradicts all prior assessments that held that female officers were incapable of handling violent disputes or confrontations. It is hoped that these findings will be reviewed by police administrators throughout the United States and that they will become more comfortable in recruiting and utilizing fully female officers.

Additional major findings relate to assaults and firearms discharge. The most prominent finding in the area of firearms discharge was that prior firearms discharge has a very strong relationship with not getting injured when an officer is working alone. This finding is very pronounced in table 7 and table 18. This result indicates that an officer working alone who has a prior firearms discharge is much less likely to get injured than an officer who is working alone and has not had a prior firearms discharge. Does this finding indicate that an officer with a prior firearms discharge is far more cautious when approaching any type of situation that may be volatile or that this officer, because of prior experience, exhibits the "Dirty Harry" syndrome and constantly grips or draws a gun during confrontational situations? Because we cannot train

our officers to come out of the police academy shooting, one rational alternative is to conduct research on these officers in an attempt to ascertain why less injuries are inflicted on them than on officers who have had no prior shootings incidents. Police administrators should scrutinize this finding very carefully and make every effort possible to determine why prior firearms discharge is so strongly associated with not getting injured.

During the year 1983 only one police officer was killed in New York City and that death occurred on the 29th of September during a barricade incident in the Bronx. Police Officer Joseph McCormack was shot fatally by an emotionally disturbed man. The other three police fatalities during 1983 were suicides, but the injury rate for officers involved in violent confrontations was 89.57% which is considerably high (see tables 27 and 29).

It is clear that additional research on violent confrontations between citizens and police is needed. Among the research objectives, attention should be given to the reduction of injury and death of both police and the citizenry.



**FIREARMS DISCHARGE/  
ASSAULT REPORT**  
PD 424 (5/17/82)

**APPENDIX A**

Date Prepared

Control No.

187

1 Tax Reg. No. 2 Command 3 No. 4 Apt. 5 Height 6 Weight 7 Sex 8 Race 9 Pt. of Occ.

10 Date of Incident 11 Time of Occ. 12 Type of Report 13 Firearms Discharge 14 Place of Occ.

15 Inside 16 Type Premises (Specify) 17 Duty Status 18 Type of 19 RMP Sub 20 Foot 21 Traffic 22 Am. Crime  
2 Outside 3 M 4 F 5 Cw 6 Ct 7 On 8 Assignment 9 RMP Other 10 Scale 11 Inves 12 Other

23 Alone 24 Partner's Sex 25 Unit 26 Type 27 Disturbance 28 Robbery 29 Traffic 30 Prisoner 31 Other Arrest 32 Other  
25 M 26 F 27 Cw 28 Ct 29 Incident 30 Burglary 31 E.D.P. 32 Cw Disorder 33 Susp. Person/Condition

34 Number of Prior Firearm Discharges 35 Weather Conditions 36 Clear 37 Rain 38 Fog 39 Lighting Conditions 40 Day 41 Dark 42 Indoors Poor 43 Other  
36 Clear 37 Rain 38 Fog 39 Snow 40 Day 41 Dark 42 Indoors Poor 43 Other Indoors Unlighted

P E R S O N	TYPE WEAPON USED OR ATTEMPTED										WEAPON RECOVERED		
	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
1													
2													
3													
4													

101 Reason for Discharging Firearm 102 Shot at by Sniper?

103 Prior Known Situation Involving Weapon? 104 Firearm Drawn Beforehand? 105 No. of Shots Fired at You 106 No Shots You Fired 107 D Action 108 S Action

109 Time to Aim? 110 Time to Reload? 111 Distance to Opponent When First Shot Fired? 112 Officer's Weapons 113 Service Rev 114 Other (Specify)

I N J U R Y I N F O R M A T I O N	I N J U R I E S					P O S I T I O N S					V E S T S	
	Not Inj	Inj	Critical	Killed	Line	Standing	Sitting	Crouching	Lying Down	Other (Specify)	Vest Worn	Vest Deleted/Proprietary
OFFICER	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124
PERP #1	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
PERP #2	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148
PERP #3	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
PERP #4	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172

DESCRIBE PROTECTIVE COVER USED

133 Mace Used? 134 Mace Effective? 135 Officer Injured By 136 Officer Hospitalized 137 Bystanders Killed or Inj

M.S. Control Number Item Line of Duty Injury Report Arrest Number Complainant Number

DESCRIBE INCIDENT IN DETAIL

DESCRIBE INCIDENT IN DETAIL

188

REMARKS (Expand on information provided above, e.g. Where Other Boxes Are Checked. Additionally include information that may be used in firearms training)

Prepared By	Name	Signature	Shield No.	Command
Reviewed By	Name	Signature of Station House Officer		Date Forwarded

**DISTRIBUTION**

WHITE CHIEF OF OPERATIONS (I.R.S.)  
GREEN PERSONNEL SAFETY DESK

P.N.K. FIREARMS AND TACTICS SECTION  
BUFF. PRECINCT FILE

## PATROL GUIDE

PROCEDURE NO 104-1



## GENERAL REGULATIONS

DATE ISSUED	DATE EFFECTIVE	REVISION NUMBER	PAGE
-------------	----------------	-----------------	------

- c. Deputy inspectors or inspectors - on department buildings within his command from time of death to sunset, day of funeral; flag at Police Headquarters will fly at half-mast on day of funeral.
- d. Member killed in line of duty - on department building where member assigned from time of death to ten (10) days after death; flag will fly at half-mast on all department buildings on day of funeral.
- e. Other members, Police Commissioner or a deputy commissioner - as directed by the Police Commissioner or Chief of Operations.

USE OF FIREARMS**USE OF FIREARMS**

In addition to Penal Law restrictions on the use of deadly physical force (see Article 35.00, P.L.), uniformed members of the service will adhere to the following guidelines concerning the use of firearms:

1. Use all reasonable means before utilizing firearm when effecting arrest for or preventing or terminating a felony or defending self or another.
2. Do not fire warning shots.
3. Do not discharge firearm to summon assistance, except when safety is endangered.
4. Do not discharge firearm from or at moving vehicle unless occupants are using deadly physical force against officer or another, by means of other than vehicle.
5. Do not discharge firearm at dogs or other animals unless there is no other way to bring animal under control.
6. Do not discharge firearm if innocent persons may be endangered.

NOTE

The above guidelines are not meant to restrict a member in the performance of his lawful duty, but are intended to reduce shooting incidents and consequently protect life and property. In every case, department policy requires only the minimum amount of force be used consistent with the accomplishment of the mission.



**PATROL GUIDE**

**APPENDIX C**

**FIREARMS DISCHARGED BY MEMBERS OF THE SERVICE  
OR ASSAULTS ON POLICE OFFICERS**

DATE ISSUED  
4 12 78

DATE EFFECTIVE  
4 21 78

REVISION NUMBER  
78 4

PAGE  
1 of 2

**PURPOSE**

To record and evaluate the use of firearms by members of the service and to report assaults on police officers.

**PROCEDURE**

When a member of the service discharges a firearm, on or off duty, except during an authorized training session or while lawfully engaged in hunting or target practice

**MEMBER OF THE SERVICE**

1. Notify station house officer, precinct of occurrence, promptly.
2. Request patrol supervisor to respond.

**S.H. OFFICER**

3. Notify precinct commander/duty captain, Operations Unit and Field Services Area command without waiting for complete details if person injured or killed.

**NOTE**

If weapon is discharged outside New York City, member concerned will promptly report discharge to local police authorities and Operations Unit, either personally or by a responsible person.

**PRECINCT COMMANDER/DUTY CAPTAIN**

4. Respond to scene and conduct investigation.
5. Interview:
  - a. Member concerned
  - b. Witnesses
  - c. Other persons involved.
6. Ascertain if discharge resulted in death, personal injury, or property damage.
7. Notify area commanding officer if death or injury resulted.

**AREA COMMANDING OFFICER**

8. Designate a supervising officer above the rank of captain to supervise investigation.
9. Determine if member concerned should be assigned temporarily to area command.

**PRECINCT COMMANDER/DUTY CAPTAIN**

10. Have Ballistics Unit notified.
11. Direct member concerned to prepare four (4) copies of FIREARM DISCHARGE/ASSAULT REPORT (PD 424-151)
  - a. If member is incapacitated, patrol supervisor will prepare form.
12. Assign member temporarily to Field Services Area command, if so directed by area commanding officer.
13. Notify Operations Unit of details of investigation and temporary assignment of member if such assignment has been made.
14. Direct station house clerk to prepare four (4) copies of unusual occurrence report.
  - a. Indicate in unusual occurrence report the time and date of such assignment.
15. Review and sign unusual occurrence report.



## PATROL GUIDE

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DATE ISSUED	DATE EFFECTIVE	REVISION NUMBER	PAGE
8-12-78	8-21-78	78-4	2 of 2

**PRECINCT  
COMMANDER/  
DUTY CAPTAIN  
(continued)**

16. Forward one copy of FIREARM DISCHARGE ASSAULT REPORT with copy of unusual occurrence report attached, to Firearms Discharge Review Board through Office of Chief of Operations.
17. Forward remaining copies of FIREARM DISCHARGE/ASSAULT REPORT, with unusual occurrence reports attached, as indicated on form.

**AREA  
COMMANDING  
OFFICER**

18. Prepare a report for Chief of Field Services recommending continuance or discontinuance of the temporary assignment.

**ADDITIONAL  
DATA**

FIREARMS DISCHARGE/ASSAULT REPORT must be prepared when a member of the service is assaulted, harassed, menaced, or subjected to an act of reckless endangerment, while performing his lawful duty. A police officer, as defined in 1.20 Criminal Procedure Law, who is not a member of this Department and is assaulted, harassed, menaced, or subjected to an act of reckless endangerment, while performing his lawful duty will also be requested to prepare the form.

If a COMPLAINT REPORT has been prepared, and the case is later cleared by arrest or with other results, member preparing COMPLAINT FOLLOW-UP will indicate that duplicated copy is to be forwarded to Personnel Safety Unit.

This procedure does not preclude a member being suspended or placed on modified assignment if circumstances warrant.

**RELATED  
PROCEDURE**

Line of Duty Injury or Death Occurring Within City - P.G. 120-3

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