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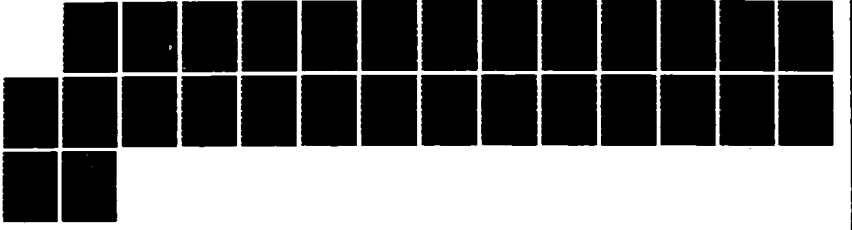

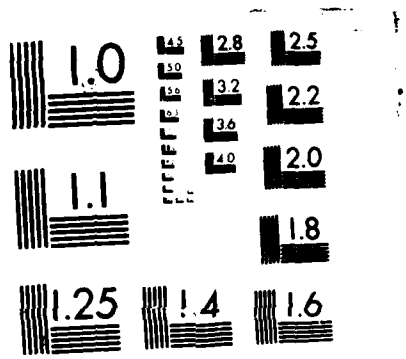

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GENDER INTEGRATION OF A TRADITIONALLY MALE FIELD: A DEFINITION OF THE OCCUPATION

ANNUAL REPORT

MARGARET O'CONNELL

JULY, 1982

Supported by

U.S. ARMY MEDICAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT COMMAND
Fort Detrick, Frederick, Maryland 21701

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The purpose of this research was to explore the relationship between occupational conceptualization (image) and occupational definition in police work. Specific attention was paid to the effects of the relationship on the integration of women into this traditionally male field. While conducted primarily from an organizational perspective, a limited number of social-psychological instruments were administered to characterize the effects of structure on the individual. Participant observation and extensive interviewing were the methodological techniques employed.

Preliminary analysis has indicated that there is an attempt in this case to construct the organization according to idealized conceptualizations, but that this does not coincide with daily job performance requirements. As a consequence, this discrepancy has led not only to an exclusion of certain categories of persons from the occupation, but has created a daily work environment devoid of any real solidarity, efficiency, or productivity.

The early conclusion drawn is that most of the problems women face in entering traditionally male fields are related to the structure of the work system and the manner in which recruits are socialized to that system. False expectations on the part of males and females clearly lead to different experiences for each, and typically to cycles of demoralization, demotivation, and failure. For women, failure is likely to mean the inability to enter, or remain on, the job; for men, it is likely to mean inefficiency and a lack of productivity. Organizational restructuring is required, not only as it addresses employment equity, but organizational yield as well.

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I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A. Introduction

Idealized conceptions of role performance are found in most occupations. They serve to attract and more easily socialize recruits, as well as control incumbents (Bloom, 1964; DeFluer, 1964; Whittaker and Oelsen, 1964; Becker and Carper, 1956). Such conceptualizations are developed in response to potential orgnizational strains (Malinowski, 1926) by administrative officials whose perceptions of reality generally carry great weight. Ideal conceptions typically become occupational definitions thereby influencing organizational selection criteria, the content of training programs, and reference points by which newcomers evaluate their own transition into the occupation (Garskoff, 19761 Corwin, 1961; Fox, 1957). While the need for certain attributes can be objectively demonstrated, it is not uncommon for occupational definitions to be unrelated to, or inconsistent with, actual requirements for role performance. As a consequence, utilization of ideal rather than real conceptions can lead to the systematic exclusion of certain categories of persons from certain occupations.

Since 1973, many discriminatory hiring practices have been forbidden by law, but the integration of women into traditionally male fields has been painfully slow. In fact, evidence points to an increase in occupational segregation and income differentials betwen men and women during the past decade (Hedges, 1970; Kahne, 1975; Kanter, 1977), in spite of institutionalized policies, such as Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity, intended to correct and prevent such occurrences (Freeman, 1975; Kanter, 1976; Kaws, 1976; Walum, 1977). If one accepts the premise that work is a socially structured activity reflective of the culture in which it occurs, then one might assume that the conceptualization of jobs in American society has been, and continues to be, gender based; that is, certain jobs, or occupations, are believed to require certain characteristics, or personal attributes, that are exclusive to one gender. Research has shown, in fact, that organizational selection procedures rely heavily on a practice known as "statistical discrimination", whereby the gender of the applicant is used as an indicator of interior characteristics which are too costly to measure directly (Berg, 1971; Phelps, 1972).

In order to comply with anti-discrimination statutes, there are, logically, two directions in which efforts could be aimed: 1) the elimination of gender related qualities from occupational role definitions, or, 2) compensatory socialization to impart the gender related qualities to those categories of persons believed to be deficient. While either approach addresses the legal issues, the second has been more common than the first, because, in part, idealized role conceptions are slow to change. On the other hand, there has been growing evidence that many gender differences (Tyler, 1965) are neither inherent, nor permanent, but learned and subject to change (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Hartley, 1959; Lynn, 1959; Pierce, 1961; Kagan, 1964; Mussen, 1966; Mischel, 1966; Horner, 1969; Gardner, 1970; Bernard, 1971, 1972; Federbush, 1972; Weitzman, et al., 1972; Sario, Jacklin and Tittle,

1973; Weitzman, 1974). Hence, we have seen the rise of programs designed to remedy women's "deficiencies," (Graham, 1973) since it is typically believed that if women have not been conditioned to behave in ways traditionally defined as male (therefore not female), then to succeed (according to the male behavioral standards embedded in the job conceptualizations) requires the acquisition of those behaviors not already included in the female behavioral repertoire.

This study proposes to examine aspects of the discrepancy between idealized occupational definitions and actual role requirements in the field of law enforcement, specifically the State Police. While similar to any other occupation in an organizational, or bureaucratic sense, the police are unique in the degree to which they exaggerate an idealized and gender based occupational definition. Being a policeman has been thought to require attributes possessed only by males (Bordua, 1967; Neiderhoffer and Blumberg, 1976; Caiden, 1077), such as courage, physical strength, and emotional detachment. The literature on police and military organizations (Davis, 1958; Janowitz, 1967; Block, 1973; Reiner, 1978) demonstrated a large gap between ideology and operational requirements when these occupations were exclusively male. A current examination of the discrepancy will not only challenge the view that "police work is man's work," (or, the necessity for a gender based occupational definition), but will enhance the understanding of the occupational socialization process. Women in police work are required to not only adopt a new occupational identity, but one which has as its central definition personal qualities associated with males. While the structure of police work has been examined (Wilson, 1973, 1975; Becker, 1970; Bordua, 1967; Smith, 1960; Vollmer, 1936; Goldsmith, 1964; Westley, 1970; Skolnick, 1966, 1969; Reiner, 1978; Saunders, 1970), and the performances of women on patrol and in the military have begun to be measured (Block, 1973; Horne, 1975, 1980; DeFleur, 1978a, 1978b; Woelfel, 1978; Sichel, et al., 1978; Charles, 1977), the occupational socialization process, especially for women entering traditionally male fields, has been ignored.

In summary, the purpose of this study has been to:

1. Identify the idealized conceptualizations of State Police work;

2. demonstrate how this is translated into selection criteria and training programs;

3. explore the process by which those selected adopt (or do not adopt) the occupational identity;

4. determine the degree of discrepancy between the ideal conception and the actual role requirements; and,

5. illuminate the consequences of the discrepancy for new recruits, as well as for incumbents, wherever possible.

B. Background

1. Occupations

Idealized conceptions of an occupation are mental images of what a job should be, what type of person should hold such a job, and what behavior should be expected. By having and projecting such an image, occupational recruitment, socialization and control can be more easily managed. Images embodied in legendary figures, such as Florence Nightengale, Clarence Darrow, and Vince Lombardi, or media heroes, such as Marcus Welby, Lou Grant, and Mary Tyler Moore, serve to attract potential recruits, and offer a model for incumbents to emulate. Accouterments such a symbols, slogans, ranks, and equipment can also incite interest, allegiance, and conformity.

Images are perpetuated and/or modified to prevent or treat occupational strains. Sources of strain may be external or internal to the organization. The more stressful the occupation, the more idealized, or exaggerated, the conceptualization is likely to be. Community relations may be improved by the link to the occupation created by glamorized media portrayals of jobs. Intraorganizational changes may be facilitated by image modification. And image can serve as a tool for indoctrination during training, a period typically fraught with strain. Thus image operates through anticipation, transformation, and inculcation.

Agents of conceptualization include those who define and redefine, and those who transmit. Defining agents would typically be senior administrative officials, persons with the ability and the authority to turn their perceptions of reality into definitions. Transmitting agents would include recruiters, selection board members, instructors, and those who emulate the image.

Utilization of image, or idealized conceptions, results in greater homogeneity in an occupation. Internal desires to perpetuate the organization without change, and external pressures from colleagues lead recruiters and selectors to seek individuals whose attributes are consistent with the existing organizational membership, as perceived. Applicants must convince these gatekeepers that they are already similar to, or are able to learn to be like, those already on the job. For those who make it through this culling process, the socialization, or training, process will involve no less of a demand for conformity. In fact, the purpose is to impart to the novice the occupational norms which are expected to be observed. This results in the development of a personal identity intimately linked to an occupational one. The internalized conceptions of the occupation become manifest in overt behavior which communicates to others the nature of the occupation as well as the individual. If one lacks the necessary resources to adopt the occupational identity, and fuse it with the personal, occupational exclusion becomes the reality. Status inconsistency, or deviance, and the ensuing dissonance, are orgnizationally undesirable, therefore exclusion is viewed as legitimate.

Any inherent occupational contradiction, or the discrepancy between idealized occupational definitions and actual job requirements, is likely to begin to materialize, or to be clearly observable, during the period of transition from novice to practitioner. The existence of such a discrepancy supports the argument that if there is a weak relationship between selection criteria, the training program and the job, then those persons who were excluded, at any stage, may not have been deficient, or unsuitable, after all. It is more likely that the definition of the occupation is inappropriate. This addresses the problems of employment discrimination and minority integration differently than the current approach, which still prefers to resocialize than redefine.

2. The Occupation: The State Police

While one of the goals of the proposed research is to characterize the organization and process of the State Police, some basic information is known. The State Police, like other bureaucracies, is formal, rational, centralized, and utilizes idealized conceptualizations of role performance. Their occupational definition is, however, more exaggerated than those found in most occupations. The basis for this increased idealization would seem to be the more stressful work conditions associated with law enforcement in general. Such conditions would include rotating shift work, long working hours, constant fear and anticipation of danger and death, daily interactions with seamy individuals, actual confrontations with injury and violence as well as prejudice, suspicion, and hostility from the public at large, and the frustrations of the role within the criminal justice system, that is, feeling continually thwarted in their efforts to enforce the laws by the courts and the corrections departments (Seyle, 1979).

Strains specific to the State Police involve external pressures to operate on an insufficient budget, to integrate minorities to a greater degree, to improve public relations which have been poor since the 1960's when police were known as "bullies" and "pigs," and to repair a reputation damaged during a major murder case in the early 1970's. Recent internal strains include a shortage of personnel, widespread demoralization, a lack of career advancement opportunities, a controversy over promotion policies, and growing debates over the union.

The idealized definition espoused by the State Police does not include a legendary figure to emulate, although Barney Miller and Joseph Wambaugh's depictions of police work are thought to be realistic, and beneficial regarding public opinion. The dominant image is reflected in the use of uniforms, guns, cruisers, ranks, and a quasi-military structure, which has served to preserve uniformity, if not solidarity, in light of recent strains. The core of the image of the State Trooper, however, seems to involve the inherent possession of certain personal attributes, such as physical strength, aggressiveness, courage, emotional detachment, decisiveness, the ability to take charge, and the ability to be a good team member. In recent years, some college education and service to the community have become important qualities. Prior military experience was once considered a significant criterion, but is no longer readily available given the lack of mandatory conscription and voluntary enlistment in recent years.

The ideal conception is perpetuated primarily by senior administrative officials, such as the Commissioner and the Executive Officer, via policies which they set addressing recruitment, selection and training directly, and field operations indirectly. Theoretically, conceptualizations are guided by feedback from the field, as well as other pressures. While no special efforts seem to go into recruitment, the selection procedure is elaborate and time consuming. Applicants are given tests to measure intelligence, knowledge of police work, agility, strength, and stamina. They are subject to physical examinations, polygraph tests, oral interviews, and background checks. The whole process takes as much as a year to complete. The validity of these tests, their reliability, and how the results are interpreted, in light of the occupational definition, are unknown, but of major concern to this project. Selection board members are assigned to this job on a temporary basis, so who they are and how they were chosen is also of concern.

Training involves formal classroom work at the police Academy, including an intensive physical training program. Trainees live at the Academy for the six month duration, going home only on weekends. In addition to instructors who espouse and enact the image, this total institutional approach to training makes trainees vulnerable to mutual socialization pressures, as well as opportunities for mutual reinforcement. Upon graduation, they are assigned to one of the twelve Troops around the state. For the next six months their status is probationary, and this is considered on-the-job training. They can expect to put in at least five years "on the road" before becoming eligible for advancement to a special unit, such as Narcotics, Organized Crime, Sex Crimes, or Criminal Investigations.

It will be a major task of this project to determine the points at which disillusionment, or acknowledgement of a discrepancy between what the job was thought to be, and what it actually is, occurs. Equally important is how this is managed. Responses might include acceptance and adjustment, sublimation, or rejection and withdrawal. Attrition rates may be influenced by factors other than dissatisfaction, but an examination of who drops out, and when, will clarify the importance of the discrepancy between ideal and real role definitions. High rates of social and medical problems, such as divorce, coronary heart disease, emotional disorder, suicide, and substance abuse, clearly reveal that stress is a major ingredient of police work. However, the sources of stress, that have been conventionally identified, usually do not include the possibility that selection and training procedures may not be germane to actual role performance requirements. Such a relationship is expected to be observed in this study.

An analysis of the occupational definition, and how it is translated into selection and training procedures, is also especially timely. The pressure to integrate women into the organization has required a review of the idealized conception of police work as man's work. The attributes thought to be fundamental to role performance are attributes thought to be possessed primarily, if not solely, by males. Resistance to image modification, but the need for compliance with federal mandates, has created a dilemma in need of attention, and an opportunity for the illumination of a heretofore, ignored organizational process.

3. Women in Police Work

Women have traditionally occupied positions in police work. They have been hired as clerical workers, switchboard operators, dispatchers, and policewomen. In that there were female prisoners and female victims, the job of policewoman was created as the only "decent" and "moral" way in which to serve their needs.

Until 1976, females employed by the State Police were known as policewomen, and performed duties distinct from male Troopers. As an occupational subdivision, they were responsible for dealing with women and juveniles. Cases typically involved interrogating rape and child abuse victims. Policewomen wore civilian attire, worked weekdays, and were on call for night and weekend emergencies. They did not patrol the highways. There was approximately one policewoman assigned to each Troop, with a few regional floaters. They totalled less than twenty on a force of nearly eleven hundred.

When federal law prohibited gender based job classifications, the job of policewoman was phased out. Any woman who wished to be employed by the State Police had to apply for the position of Trooper.

Although there have been hundreds of applicants over the years, there had never been more than five female Troopers on the road at any given time. Both the attrition and the turnover rates of the women are high, and considerably higher than males, but the only explanations offered for this entail an emphasis upon gender differences.

Women's chances of recruitment, selection and succession are clearly influenced by beliefs about women and beliefs about the job. In that beliefs about the job of State Trooper are consistent with beliefs about what women are not, the lack of female Troopers is logical and probable. The argument, however, is subject to question. If women are excluded on the basis of not possessing characteristics thought to be, but not necessary for the performance of the role, then the exclusion may not be viewed as legitimate.

It has been shown that when a group is threatened by change, as is the State Police, its culture becomes internally and externally exposed (Hughes, 1958; Kanter, 1977). The arrival of outsiders forces group members to recognize and acknowledge aspects of their common bond which could previously be taken for granted (Moore, 1962; Grusky, 1964). In a law enforcement setting, where habit rules (Wilson, 1973), such self-consciousness is discomforting. Being faced with new, non-structured, non-routine events exacerbates the discomfort (Thompson, 1969). For smooth interaction, members need a shared vocabulary of attitudes (Mills, 1953). A familiar image provides just that. The base provided by the intersection of occupational and personal identities supplies a stronghold for defense against challenges to the jobs, and by definition, to the manhood of the male Troopers. If an exaggeration of the image is occurring within the State Police as a result of impending changes, it is likely to be expressed in greater emphasis upon strength-related capacities, such as hand-to-hand combat. This emphasis might be expected in light of

studies which show that women in police work perform better than men in areas such as report writing (therefore a greater court conviction rate), defusing potentially violent encounters, and motor vehicle operation (Pennsylvania State Police, 1974; Sichel, et al., 1978; Charles, 1977). The possibility of such an image modification was examined during this study.

C. Approach to the Problem

1. Methodological Techniques

Since this study seeks to explore an occupational and socialization process, the chosen method of study needed to be dynamic and able to move about in the subjects' socioemotional, as well as occupational, worlds. A qualitative approach, participant observation, was deemed to be the most suitable. A single site case study was the most feasible pursuit for a single researcher. In addition, it was accessible, available, and well-suited to the interests and needs of the study. It was of large, but manageble, size, had a "good" reputation, and had an available role for the researcher to play. The researcher also had contacts with the organization, which facilitated permission to conduct the study, entry, and initial rapport with some segments of the population.

Participant observation was selected because of a belief that an understanding of people's attitudes and behaviors can best be obtained by sharing their experiences. Additionally, participant observation was the only way to acquire certain types of information--that which people will not directly address in conversation; information which, to date, is unknown and cannot, therefore, be incorporated into formal questions or questionnaires; behavioral data which supports or rejects the spoken word; and information which the participants themselves deem important. Because of this last type, in particular, participant observation was determined to also be the most equitable approach for all involved. The "data door" was always open, and the data was not determined solely on the basis of researcher imagination, insight, and skill. The subjects were able to supply input. The framework of thought was not the structure of the researcher alone, as is so often the case with quantitative research.

As always, there were disadvantages. Researcher presence was known, therefore had some impact. Researcher bias could not be completely eliminated. There was some difficulty in keeping extensive notes during informal times and during physical training periods. Withholding personal opinions sometimes caused difficulties. Being female presented circumstances a male researcher would not have experienced. And, this was an individualized experience, not absolutely reproducible. That is, rapport, confidences, and responses are significantly determined by personality, sensitivity, emotional depth, intellectual capacity, ability to recognize and counter one's own projections, awareness of ethical issues, and ability not to under- or over-identify. These traits will vary with each researcher and each population of subjects.

Therefore, in recognizing these limitations, what was lacking in design was compensated for in intimate, long-term familiarity. Also, supplemental data, collected by such means as content analysis and a number of social-psychological instruments, was expected to be useful in lending support to the qualitative data.

2. Chronology

This research project began in September, 1979, one year before the contract with the U.S. Army was negotiated. The first five months involved: 1) a general search of the literature relating to police work and women in non-traditional work, 2) a search for an accessible, as well as potentially fruitful, field setting to study, and 3) writing a preliminary proposal for the research. This document was used to gain permission for study from the host organization, as well as to seek funding from the U.S. Army Research and Development Command.

In January, 1980, permission was granted, and interviewing of top administrative officials began. This data addressed departmental policy, structure and practice, as well as idealized conceptualizations, aspirations, and ambitions. It also provided an opportunity to visit some of the barracks and ride with Troopers, thereby acquiring specific information about the job. This facilitated the development of exploratory questions for use during the training period. Training officials and instructors were interviewed during this time, as well as some recent graduates and veterans. Details for adopting the trainee role were finalized, and physical workouts to insure the researcher's capacity began.

The training program was in session from June to November, 1980. Trainees resided at the Academy from Monday morning through Friday evening. The typical day began at 6 a.m. and ended at 11 p.m. Daily activities included inspections, classroom lessons, intensive physical training periods, work details, three meals and approximately one hour of free time to study (on the first day of the session, permission for the researcher to sleep over was withdrawn, so a fifteen minute ride to a rented room was also part of the day's activities).

During this time, participant observation was the primary data collection technique. A content analysis of all documents was conducted, and several questionnaires and scales were administered. These included the General Well-Being Index, the Spence-Helmreich Attitude Toward Women Scale (short form), the Neal and Seeman Powerlessness Scale, Srole's Anomie Scale, and Dean's Alienation Scale.

After graduation, and lasting through June, 1981, extensive interviewing of a sample of graduates (N=12) and numerous incumbents began. In addition to qualitative data regarding the "rookies" daily work experiences and consequent responses, several tests were administered to assist in determining their levels of job satisfaction (Brayfield and Roth), employee satisfaction (Morse), and group dimensions (Hemphill, shortened form).

The period of July through September, 1981, was spent sorting, categorizing and collating the wealth of data collected over the previous two years. While preliminary analysis began, contact with the femmale troopers continued, as did attempts to acquire the remainder of the data promised by the host organization prior to its being beset by internal problems. These problems included lawsuits brought against the organization by male and female recruits who were terminated during training, a Justice Department probe into selection and training activities, and investigations by the Governor and the State Legislature of organizational policy, activities and administrative competence. Thus far, none of these problems have been resolved in favor of the organization, and all had an effect on personnel and their work. While situations such as these were not historically uncommon, having a researcher present during such unfavorable times was viewed as undesirable. An attempt was made to restrict researcher access to detailed information. This amounted to the official selection records. The interaction with the recruit sample and incumbents was modified to private, rather than on-the-job, contact. The strictest confidentiality was required as many recruits feared repercussions for openly engaging in an activity frowned upon by the administration.

D. Preliminary Results

1. Categorization

After preliminary analysis, the data collected, to date, has provided the following broad categories of information:

a. images of police work held by administrators, incumbents, and recruits;
b. recruit profiles and motivations for application;
c. administrative and training staff profiles;
d. selection and training policies and practices;
e. modes of adaptation;
f. means of identity adoption and/or maintenance;
g. defensiveness;
h. depersonalization;
i. competition and cooperation;
j. assimilation, accommodation, and segregation;
k. tokenism;
l. attitudes:
   - between labor and management
   - between staff and recruits
   - between the Academy and field personnel
   - among recruits
   - towards minorities and out-groups
   - towards self
   - towards police work
   - stress: physical
     emotional
   - recruit performance: at the Academy
     on the road
o. actual role requirements;
p. professionalism;

q. ethics;
r. deviant behavior;
s. attrition.

2. Discussion

Idealized conceptualizations of police work differed widely between administrative officials and field personnel. The former, being responsible for the enactment of Affirmative Action policy, offered only the most general characterizations of necessary criteria, such as "bright", "healthy", and "able to handle the complexities of police work." The comment most frequently voiced by administrators was that "through the demanding selection process the 'cream of the crop' always rises above the rest, and the finest candidates are always chosen."

Field personnel, on the other hand, emphasized physical attributes, specifically strength, as the mandatory criterion for selection and successful job performance. Underlying this perspective, and offered "off the record," was the assumption that women do not possess sufficient strength therefore do not belong on the job. Women would not be able to provide "back up protection" when [the speaker's] life was on the line.

Recruits' opinions regarding selection criteria also fell into two camps. Women and male minorities generally reflected the administration's purported position, while most white males reflected that of field personnel.

Motivations for applying were similar among the recruits. Most believed they were joining "an elite group of highly trained professionals." Accompanying this belief were expectations of high salary, greater prestige, respect, and authority, and job mobility. For a few, entering police work for the first time, there was a strong desire to "serve the community" (primarily the female recruits).

It was interesting to note that the recruits selected shared al least one, but typically more, of the following characteristics:

a father, brother, or uncle in the State Police or a relative of high rank in a municiple department;

formerly a State Police auxiliary;

a transferee from another state agency;

formerly a municiple police officer;

military experience;

fired from a prior class, returning as a result of legal action.

An analysis of the selection records, specifically the applications which were rejected, will be very useful in determining the degree to which there was adherence to the "objective" criteria so frequently mentioned by the administration, but always unable to be defined.

The selection process was said to address minority candidates, by setting quotas and utilizing separate lists for "white males, women, and other minorities." Field personnel perceived this as "reverse discrimination" and "highly unfair."

No specific or direct efforts were made to encourage minority applicants to apply for employment. The "recruitment effort" consisted of the State Personnel Department advertisement in the classified section of the newspaper. On an informal level, incumbents encouraged their friends, or relatives. Administrators frequently referred to two (of many) public service announcements which displayed a female trooper and a black male trooper. These photos, however, appeared long after the application deadline, and were intended to bolster the organization's sagging public image. While this may have an impact on potential future applicants, they were not even in existence during this application period.

The training program employed a pedagogical approach to teaching which had a contrary effect on the said goal of producing self-directing, mature troopers able to work autonomously in the field. This model did not motivate students to learn. They were bored listening, struggled to memorize, forgot rapidly, comprehended little, had no time to study, and consequently, complained of being unable to apply the proper concept of technique when necessary. The model also tended to emphasize absolute responses and solutions to issues and problems. It did not teach careful analysis of the many dimensions and alternative decisions which are characteristic of police work. It did not stress intellectual rigor and abstract thinking. Therefore, students and incumbents rely on the "technique" which was stressed, in the classroom and in the gym--presentation of an intimidating physical image, and physical performance.

Some indicators of the discrepancy between the policy promoted by the Administration and enacted at the Academy may be seen in a 30% attrition rate (53% female, 22% black male, 4% white male), and excessive numbers of physical injuries requiring medical attention, and the results of the General Well-Being Index revealing that 49.7% of the graduating recruits reported moderate to severe distress, with an additional 10.5% experiencing only marginal well-being.

A sample of the graduates interviewed and tested during their first five months on the road generally expressed satisfaction with the job, but they qualified such statements by remarking on their disillusionment, boredom, and frustration. Problems encountered relating to work were usually attributed to newness rather than gender or race, which appeared to be sources of interpersonal strain. The subjects were able to identify tasks for which they felt unprepared, as well as tasks, unlikely to ever arise, which they felt had been given too much attention and time in training. Consistent

throughout their training and probationary period was the necessity to address their problems and difficulties without benefit of counsel. Although counselors were designated at the Academy, the informal structure discouraged their use. In the field, peer pressure was no more uniform than the suggested code of conduct. Off-duty behavior was characterized by exaggerated socializing (e.g., heavy drinking and numerous sexual follies) or exaggerated withdrawal (e.g., sleeping, staying in bed, not seeing people). Unless the probationary trooper's behavior drew negative attention to the Department (e.g., citizen's complaints) or was costly (e.g., motor vehicle damage due to careless operation), it usually went unnoticed or unaddressed. Evaluation seemed to be heavily based on comparison with prior novices (as well as incumbents), rather than on some objective distance from a universal standard.

While the female recruits faced open hostility at the Academy, the graduating females met very little resistance at their respective troops. This appears to have been due, in part, to pending legislation regarding harrassment of the female recruits. Past norms being in question, expressions of negative feelings were generally restrained, and certain topics were clearly avoided while awaiting the outcome. This allowed women to perform their jobs without added pressures, and the incumbents to make independent observations without undue exhortations or innuendo.

3. Conclusions

The preliminary analysis of this case study shows the organization operating on three levels. The first involves verbally addressing the various legal mandates to be nondiscriminatory, to actively implement Affirmative Action policy, and to carry out law enforcement practices. The second level is characterized by the implementation, as well as undermining, of programs to carry out these "goals." Level three is the actual, day-to-day conduct of police business, the overt display of the fusion of personal identity and occupational structure.

This tri-level structure is a response to a "forced change" situation. Federal and state law began to dictate certain aspects of organizational behavior which were once solely the will of departmental administrators. Along with the mandates came accountability. A once private and exclusive subculture had been entered and exposed.

The primary source of the ensuing strain was the conflict between the cultural norms and behavioral expectations for women and the situationally defined behaviors appropriate for police offices (and men). These latter definitions are actually stereotypical perceptions which became institutionalized as "natural." A change in the "natural order of things" was perceived as a threat to male solidarity, and elicited a defensive response, a clinging to customs and an exaggeration of their importance.

Historically, occupational membership in police work had been homogeneous with regard to social class, ethnicity, gender and race. To allow status contradictions was paramount to suicide. To accept that work shapes workers'

selves, that who one is is intimately linked with what one does, and that to accept someone different into that work world is to negate the basis of one's own identity (existence). Efforts to survive, however, were hampered by the law which the members were sworn to uphold.

Official rhetoric, therefore, welcomed women, while the informal organizational structure strengthened to support the old image. There was no recruiting effort. No official selection criteria was ever produced. Selection board members were appointed without criteria as well. The training program boasted of its intellectual rigor and thoroughness, but in actuality revolved around physical performance and appearance. Women paid the higher price with regard to pressure to perform--social isolation and self-distortion. Female physical ability was the "bottom line" and the most fiercely fought issue. "A small man is, after all, still a man." These discrepancies spurred tension, frustration and anger, which spilled over into daily interaction with peers, supervisors, and the public, on and off the job.

Without formal organizational structure, specific norms and sanctions in particular, the agency has become an arena for acting out personal lives, not performing work. The challenge to let go of a personal identity and seize an occupational one will not be easily met, but accountability in such areas as integration will eventually lead to less free reign and tighter bureaucratic control. A shared vocabulary of attitude, which once rested on familiar image, will be built on common work experience. Until such time as a strong policy is established and implemented, however, women's ranks can only be expected to grow slowly and with difficulty. Exclusion, direct and indirect, is likely to continue, as are cycles of failure.

In the final analysis, it is expected that organizational disorder will prove to be the heart of the problem (rather than personal prejudice alone), and the key to its solution. Proper definition and a consistent normative structure will reduce the ability of individual attitude to dictate occupational behavior. This can be expected to lead not only to employment equity, but to an appropriate level of organizational yield as well.

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