Gender Integration in Policing: A Comparison of

Male Police Recruits' Receptiveness in Taiwan and the United States

Terry E. Gingerich
Department of Criminal Justice
Western Oregon University
345 N. Monmouth Ave.
Monmouth, OR 97361
Phone: 503-838-8854
E-mail: Gingert@wou.edu

Doris C. Chu
Department of Criminology, Sociology, and Geography
Arkansas State University
P.O. Box 2003
State University, AR 72467, U.S.A
Phone: 870-972-3276
Fax: 870-972-3694
Email: dchu@astate.edu

Gender Integration in Policing: A Comparison of

Male Police Recruits' Receptiveness in Taiwan and the United States

ABSTRACT

Taiwan has undergone substantial cultural change in recent years as it responds to a more gender-conscious society. With passage of the 2001 Gender Equality in Employment Law, more women have been recruited into the police force. The United States has a more extensive history in gender integration in policing as it began fully integrating females into all aspects of policing in the mid-1970s. An understanding of police recruits' receptiveness to gender integration in policing is important since cadets have just begun the socialization process and their attitudes have not been molded by actual police experience. A comparative study of police recruits' attitudes can provide insights into our understanding of how receptive police recruits are to gender integration under different cultural settings. Using data derived from surveys conducted with 383 male cadets in Taiwan and 78 male cadets in the United States, this study compares police recruits' attitudes toward gender integration in Taiwan with the attitudes of American recruits. The findings reveal that Taiwanese and U.S. cadets differ in their attitudes toward gender integration in several dimensions. Policy implications are discussed.

Introduction

In 2001, Taiwan, Republic of China, enacted the Gender Equality in Employment Act (GEEA). Coinciding with this effort to foster equality in employment; the nation began a campaign to recruit more female police officers and to offer them a wider array of assignments. In theory, the law views females as equals with their male counterparts. Relevant literature, beginning with police recruitment brochures now explain that male and female officers will be treated as equals subject to the same opportunities and assignments. This is a break from past practice and evidence that Taiwan is undergoing substantial cultural change as it, and its institutions, respond to a more gender-conscious society (Bergh, 2006). Yet, despite its noble intentions, change of this nature invariably challenges the status quo, a phenomenon often observable in the attitudes of those employees in the organization it most affects.

This paper explores one aspect of the Gender Equality in Employment Act within Taiwanese policing by measuring male police recruit receptiveness to gender integration. Then to place "receptiveness" into context, it compares the Taiwanese experience with the American experience, a country that began fully integrating females into all aspects of policing in the mid-1970s. Our overall goal is to establish a "receptiveness-benchmark" that can be used to measure the progress (i.e. the level of acceptance) of gender integration –officers working side-by-side as equal partners, (Novak, Brown, & Frank, 2011), as it evolves within the institution of Taiwanese policing. We should also note that this is a preliminary report based on somewhat limited data. While we have 383 responses from male cadets in Taiwan, to date; we have only collected

responses from 78 male cadets in America. We plan to correct this weakness by collecting additional data from our American study population in the near future and then conduct further statistical analysis using this larger data set. Consequently, while we believe our initial findings will be supported with additional data, this report is presented with a note of caution.

The Gender Equality in Employment Act and Organizational Change

Traditionally, when female officers graduated from the police college they were assigned to support duties or units specifically organized to handle cases involving women and children – assignments that were considered non-hazardous and comported with society's vision of a proper role for policewomen. They were not assigned to patrol duties; these assignments were the domain of male officers (Chu & Sun, 2006). However, since passage of the Gender Equality in Employment Act there has been a gradual but limited integration of females into non-traditional assignments, for example, they now work as traffic management officers or festival and special events security officers. Yet, female officers still do not serve as completely independent first-line patrol officers (Mon, 2009; Yeh, 2004). Moreover, according to Huang and Cao (2008, p. 340), "Despite the presence of women in the contemporary police in Taiwan, their representation in various police forces has been limited because the National Police Administration set up strict limits on the number of female officers that could be recruited each year." Apparently, when fully implemented, the Gender Equality in Employment Act is intended to correct this disparity.

The law is quite specific and sweeping. According to Ma and Yeh (2011, p. 62), the Gender Equality in Employment Act is the most significant accomplishment of the feminist movement in Taiwan with regard to labor practices and was designed "to challenge the structural patriarchalism of the labor market." The law mandates that an "employer shall not treat an

applicant or an employee discriminatorily based on gender in the course of recruitment, examination, appointment, assignment, designation, evaluation and promotion" (GEEA, 2001, Ch. 2 Art. 7).

However, despite its significance for women in general, to date, the law has received mixed reviews within Taiwanese policing as its implementation bumps up against the structures, routines, rules, and norms that have come to define its organizational culture (Schein, 2004). For example, Chu (2013) found that Taiwanese male and female officers, hold significantly different opinions regarding important aspects of fully integrating women into policing. In what seems like rejection of a law meant to level the playing field, female officers were less supportive of being placed in assignments that demand they perform the same duties as men (i.e. full integration), especially when it places them in potentially dangerous circumstances. On the other hand, male officers, although they doubt that female officers are as capable and effective as men in performing basic police duties, would like to see greater equality in personnel decisions, including the idea that female officers should be assigned to the same duties as males. In fact, the majority of male officers believe that females are treated more leniently when it comes to rule enforcement and are given special consideration and accommodations in work assignments. These beliefs are supported by antidotal evidence suggesting that many male supervisors are reluctant to place female officers in potentially hazardous assignments (Chu, 2013). In fact, Huang and Cao (2008, p. 339) report that very often "policewomen are given tasks that will not be assigned to their male counterparts, such as greeting guests and delivering medals in awards ceremonies. Furthermore, policewomen might be asked to participate in business dinners after work and asked to consume alcohol and so on."

As we explained above, historically, police officers in Taiwan have been divided into workgroups based on job description. While they all proudly view themselves as police officers, the division of labor has produced a male workgroup broadly defined and a female workgroup broadly defined. Consequently, each group, because they are tasked with different assignments and duties, has developed "…shared patterns of thought, belief, feelings, and values that result from shared experiences and common learning," in other words, they have developed a "culture of the group" (Schein, 2004, p. 87-88). Because implementation of the Gender Equality in Employment Act calls for organizational change and a restructuring of workgroups, it threatens the status quo. Under the best of conditions, as Paul Hersey and his colleagues so accurately observe, "Individual behavior is difficult enough to change, but implementing change within *groups* and *organizations* is even more complicated" (1996, p. 473). Our paper opens a small window on the challenges that gender integration brings to Taiwanese policing.

Literature Review

This study adds to a growing body of literature that chronicles the historical development of Taiwan's National Police Agency (Gingerich, Chu, & Chang, 2011), its transitions to a democratic institution (Cao & Dai, 2006), and its adoption of a community policing philosophy (Chang, 1995; Chang & Wang, 2006; Gingerich & Chu, 2006; McBeath, 1979; Tao, 1971; Tarng, Hsieh, & Deng, 2001; Yen, 1987). It also adds to an emerging body of literature regarding the demographics of officers and their reasons for choosing a career in policing (Tarng, Hsieh & Deng, 2001); their attitudes toward aspects of the work environment (Chu & Sun, 2006, 2007, 2010; Sun & Chu, 2008a, 2008b; Yang, 1985); to sexual harassment in the workplace (Huang & Cao, 2008); and the stress produced by police work (Chen et al., 2006). Most directly, this

study helps fill a gap in the literature regarding the progress of gender integration in Taiwanese policing (Chu, 2013).

The Taiwanese Experience with Gender Integration

Coinciding with its transition from an authoritarian regime to a democracy, Taiwan has been on a long march toward safeguarding women's rights and building a gender-conscious society (Chen, 2009). The journey has been difficult, but pioneers in the fledgling woman's movement gradually developed a voice that began to awakening a female consciousness. In the 1970s these voices were disconnected. Yet, by 1982, a group of Taiwanese women pooled their energies and formed an organization which they named "Awakening." They also published Taiwan's first feminist magazine, *Awakenings*, devoted to women's rights and self-awareness. The women also organized various events designed to raise the public's awareness of women's issues and the plight of women and, to guarantee their efforts would hold the weight of law, they pressed for legislation to protect the rights of women. While their successes were halting at first, things really began to change with the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. The new political freedom "enabled the emerging female organizations [primarily the Awakening] to tackle various women's issues," as they organized female events, formed female organizations, and mobilized "their organizational resources and generated organizational linkages and involvements" (Ma and Yeh, 2011, p. 60).

One of their most important goals for women's groups in Taiwan was securing equality in employment and pay (Zveglich & Meulen-Rodgers, 2004; Berkin, 2000; Marsh, 1998). This goal moved one step closer with passage of the Gender Equality in Employment Act. In fact, according to Yu and Manrique (2009), between 1978 and 2007, female labor market

participation increased from 39.1 percent to 49.4 percent. The move toward gender equality moved forward on other fronts as well. For example, Lin (2010, p. 103) reports that although "gender injustice is still lingering in Taiwan's reformed adversarial system," the feminist movements in the late 1990s succeed in fundamentally reshaping how the courts responded to rape. Equality in education was another area that witnessed reform with passage of the Gender Equality Education Act, which was designed to eliminate embedded gender discrimination, stereotyping and segregation in school curricula and learning environments (Wang, 2007).

Today, in addition to Awakenings Foundation, there are a number of organizations that advocate on behalf of women's rights and/or provide services for women in Taiwan. The list includes, among others, the Commission on Women's Rights Promotion (CWRP), the Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Committee, the Foundation for Women's Rights Promotion and Development (FWRPD), National Alliance of Taiwan Women's Association (NATWA), Taiwan Women's Center (TWC), and Taipei Women's Rescue Foundation (TWRF).

The American Experience with Gender Integration

Whether one views it from an international or domestic perspective, for most of its history policing has been considered "men's work," (Rabe-Hemp, 2008) an occupation considered inappropriate for women because of the physical and psychological demanding nature of the job (Brewer, 1991; Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003). Consequently, opportunities for women to serve in American police departments (with full police powers) between 1910, when Alice Stubbins Wells was first hired by the Los Angeles Police Department, through the early 1970s when the door was forced open, have been limited. Evidence of this can be found in a 1965 survey of police departments serving the nation's 161 largest cities. The survey reports that only 1,792

policewomen serve in these communities (Melchionne, 1967). However, shortly after the survey was conducted conditions would begin to change. A national movement for social justice, including gender equality, that began in the 1960s, and reached a crescendo in the 1970s, coupled with pressure from policewomen already in the field, would lay the groundwork for greater numbers of women to enter the profession. American was moving toward a more gender-conscious society.

Yet, even after the door was pried opened in the early 1970s, it was not an easy journey for the new generation of policewomen who would join their sisters-in-arms. As was the case for those who entered service as policewomen before them, gaining entry and securing assignments in the full universe of policing (i.e. patrol and detective work) was characterized by institutional indifference and strong resistance by many male officers of all ranks (Schulz, 1995). Hindered by a national culture that was generally unsupportive and by subtle and general forms of workplace harassment and unpleasantness, which were serious impediments in themselves, the women also faced sex discrimination and sexual harassment (Schultz, 1995). This section reviews the history of their journey.

The forerunners to the first policewomen (a female employee having full police powers) were prison and jail matrons (a female employee primarily responsible for the direct supervision of women held in custody) who were hired in some cities as early as the 1845 (Higgins, 1951). The number of municipalities that employed matrons did not significant increase until the 1880's, when police and sheriff's departments began to hire police matrons (Higgins, 1951; Myers, 1995). Three interconnected conditions would lead to these hiring decisions –immigration, industrialization, and urbanization (Walker, 1977; Hutzel, 1929). During the mid- to-late 1800s, these factors helped to swell the populations of many American cities, adding to the myriad of

social problems associated with urban life. Attempts to address these problems come on many fronts, including hiring matrons to support the work of police departments. Eleonore Hutzel (1929, p. 104) explains how this transpired in New York City, "…the appointment of women police officers was first expressed by certain groups of women who felt the need for protective work with girls in their communities. These women realized that changing conditions were bringing a large group of women and girls to the attention of the police, and that these women and girls presented problems which could perhaps be handled better by women officers than by men officers." These calls for better service were both progressive and noble and would eventually lead to the employment of more women in police departments.

Unfortunately, during much of the 1800s and early 1900s, many city governments, including their law enforcement components, were locked in the corrupting grips of partisan politics, a situation that rendered them grossly unprepared to effectively carry out their mandates (Fuld, 1909; Fosdick, 1915; Monkkonen, 1981; Fogelson, 1977; Walker, 1977; 1998). This fact, was increasingly apparent to the public, national associations like the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), progressive police administrators like August Vollmer (1922), and scholars like Raymond Fosdick (1915) and Leonhard Fuld (1909), who (along with Vollmer) wrote that police departments were ineffective, poorly organized, poorly administered, and poorly staffed. Not surprisingly, their ability to deal with the various problems associated with urban life was marginal at best.

Consequently, under the banner of Progressive Reform, a campaign to disconnect the institution of policing from the grasp of partisan politics and move it toward a professional service model, gradually developed (Fuld, 1909; Fosdick, 1915; Vollmer, 1922; Monkkonen, 1981; Fogelson, 1977; Walker, 1977; 1998). Coupled to this movement, early feminist like Susan B. Anthony,

Lucy Stone, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Castro, 1990) also called for improving social services

for women and children, including those performed by police agencies. These calls, in the words

of Lois Higgins (1951, p. 822) were also "promulgated by such national bodies as the Federation

of Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the National Women's Christian

Temperance Union; and by local associations and clubs, including social agencies operating in

the protective field; and by social hygiene groups." They believed that a greater "female

presence" within police departments would help address the growing social and criminal

problems related to children and women (Higgins, 1950 &1951; Myers, 1995).

The wisdom and noble motives of these appeals led progressive police chief to begin hiring

"qualified policewomen" to augment the traditional maternal roles and duties of police matron.

Higgins (1950, p. 101) notes that, "As far back as 1916 the International Association of

Policewomen recognized the need for, and advocated certain minimum standards for

policewomen." Minimum qualifications for policewomen were also endorsed by the IACP as

early as 1922. While their duties varied from department to department and evolved over time,

policewomen were generally limited to performing clerical working and/or working with adult

and juvenile females in ways that helped to prevent and detect crime (Higgins, 1950 & 1951;

Myers, 1995). However, this was not the case in all departments. For example, by 1929 the

Detroit Police Department had promoted one of their "policewomen," Eleonore Hutzel, to

Deputy Commissioner of Police.

The decision to hire women was both progressive yet tempered by society's viewpoint that

females should work in limited "protective and preventative" roles protecting women from the

evil influences associated urban society, including the spread of venereal disease, unwanted

pregnancies, prostitution, and the immoral influences associated with dance halls and

entertainment arcades (Higgins, 1951; Myers, 1995). Dorothy Schultz (1995, p. 36) contends this created a gender-based social service role for women in police departments, a role that would affect the "professional lives of policewomen until the modern era."

From a broader perspective, this is not surprising; the police professionalization movement was tied to the socially accepted gender-roles of its time. While noted reformers like August Vollmer (1922, p. 252) did promote the use of women, he also qualified their utility by suggested that when "…their duties have been carefully defined and the right type of women selected, the policewoman has proven her value to the department and community." He adds that women were particularly suited for work with delinquent and pre-delinquent youth. While the door may have been tentatively opened for women, in the words of Ester Koenig (1978, p. 268), "The average male officer and police chief considered policewomen a fad and their entry into police work an unjustified excursion into social work."

With their decision was ridiculed by some members of the public and the press, in 1910, the Los Angeles Police Department became the first to hire a woman officer (Alice Stebbins Wells), giving her the official title of "policewoman" (Schulz, 1995). Her duties, in the words of Ester Koenig (1978, p. 268) "included the supervision and the enforcement of laws concerning dance halls, skating rinks, penny arcades, picture shows and other similar places of public recreation." She also searched for missing persons and maintained a general information bureau that focused public safety issues for women. Although many police departments followed suit, especially during and immediately following WWI (Levine, 1994) and again during WWII, the positions were usually temporary and limited in scope, in fact, some scholars contend that the duties of policewomen changed relatively little from their original role of police matrons (Prince and Gavin, 1995). Nevertheless, policewomen were becoming an ever increasing presence in

American policing, performing a wide assortment of preventative and social work functions (Pigeon, 1927; Women's Bureau Bulletin #231, 1949).

While they were hired in increasing numbers during second-half of the 20th Century, women were generally assigned to separate bureaus within police departments (Higgins, 1951) and charged with responsibilities consistent with their socially accepted gender-roles as maternal figures and caregivers. Society-at-large and their own departments viewed them as social workers rather than crime fighters (Schulz, 1995). This perception was nicely summarized by Lois Higgins (1951, p. 103) in the following explanation:

…the idea of the woman police officer was conceived in a spirit, and with a purpose, very different from the spirit and purpose that governed the regular police force. Responsibility for the legal aspects of cases that require authoritative handling comes, automatically, within the jurisdiction of the police. It must be kept in mind, however, that the treatment of these cases [referring to young women and children] requires understanding and skill; that the stress and strain attendant in every contact with the law, or on an actual arrest, is likely to form an indelible impression on the immature mind of a child. It is, therefore, extremely important to have these cases handled by women who understand the traumatic character of the experience and who appreciate the effect that it can have on the life of a child.

In both subtle and sustentative ways these perceptions of policewomen continued into the 1960s. However, while deeply ingrained in our national cultural and the culture of police organizations, these assumptions were challenged, indirectly by the civil-rights movement and directly by the women's liberation movement, throughout the 1960s. With these forces at play, things really

begin to change in the 1970s with passage of two laws. In 1972, Congress amended Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination by public, as well as private, employers. This was followed in 1973 by passage of the Crime Control Act, which banned, among other things, sex discrimination by law-enforcement agencies receiving federal aid. Consequently, although they were not received with "open arms" by many of their male counterparts, throughout the 1970s, more and more women entered law enforcement at the local, state, and federal levels. In 1978, Koenig (1978, p. 274) summarized the situation in these words, "You've come a long way, baby." Maybe so, but in the opinion of many, the policewoman's place is still inside the precinct house: and not on the beat!" Yet by 2008, or 35 years after Koenig made her gloomy observation, approximately 100,000 female officers were serving in America law enforcement (Langton, 2010).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study compares "receptiveness" to gender integration from the viewpoint of Taiwanese and American male police recruits (specifically in the State of Oregon) as they complete training in their respective police academies. The study is designed to give researchers an idea of how the opinions of new officers in America, a country that began integrating females into all aspects of policing in the mid-1970s, compares to the opinions of new officers in Taiwan, a relatively new democracy that is just beginning to integrating females into all aspects of policing. Our overall goal is to establish a "receptiveness-benchmark" that can be used to measure the progress (i.e. the level of acceptance) of gender integration as it evolves within the institution of Taiwanese policing.

We hypothesize that due to cultural differences and length of experience with gender integration in their respective countries, there will be significant differences in the levels of "receptiveness" to gender integration between Taiwanese officers and American officers. To measure suspected differences in receptiveness, we divided survey responses into three dimensions, (1) perceived capability of females to perform police duties, (2) receptiveness to equal assignments for both male and female offices, and (3) acceptance of females as equal partners. Each dimension is delineated by a hypothesis and an accompanying number of survey questions that were collapsed into a perspective index and used to assess the predictive strength of the hypothesis.

Perspective One: Ability of females to perform police duties.

The first perspective explores male recruits' opinions of the ability of females to perform police duties. Five survey items were collapsed into an "Abilities Index" and used to assess Hypothesis 1. Table 1 displays the survey items used to construct these variables and reliability estimates.

Hypothesis 1: "Because of cultural differences rooted in a more patriarchal society and length of experience with gender integration, Taiwanese police recruits will be less receptive to the idea that female officers are as capable as males in performing all aspects of police work compared to American police recruits."

Perspective Two: Equal assignments between male and female police officers

The second perspective explores police recruits' opinions of equal work assignments between male and female officers. Two survey items (See Table 1) were collapsed into an "Equal Assignments Index" and used to assess Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2: "Because of cultural differences rooted in a more patriarchal society and length of experience with gender integration, Taiwanese police recruits, will hold less favorable opinions regarding policies that ensure equal work assignments between male and female officers compared to American police recruits."

Perspective Three: Acceptance of females as equal partners

The third perspective explores officer acceptance of females as equal partners. Two items (See Table 1) were collapsed into an "Equal Partners Index" and used to assess Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis3: "Because of cultural differences rooted in a more patriarchal society and length of experience with gender integration, Taiwanese police recruits, will hold less favorable opinions of the idea that female officers should be viewed as equal partners compared to American police recruits."

Methods

This investigation compares survey responses collected in 2011 from 383 male police recruits attending the Taiwan Police College, located in Taipei, Taiwan and compares them to survey responses collected from 78 male police cadets attending the Oregon Police Academy, located in Salem Oregon. The survey instrument used in Taiwan was translated from English to Mandarin. The same English survey was used at the Oregon Police Academy. After securing approved from the Western Oregon University, Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the Oregon Department of Public Safety Standards and Training, we conducted three on-site surveys of cadet classes, one in February, and two in April of 2013. The scope and purpose of the survey was

explained to the assembled cadets and a sufficient number of blank surveys were left in the classroom. After the investigator left the classroom, respondents who choose to participate in the study completed the survey, placed them in an envelope, and gave them to a member of the academy staff. Later, a member of the academy staff returned the package of completed surveys to the investigator.

Discussion

As displayed in Table 2, the analysis of variance indicates that compared to Taiwanese cadets, the American cadets were more likely to perceive women are capable to perform all dimensions of police work. In addition, the American cadets were also more receptive to women as their partners and supervisors. They were also more likely to support equal assignments between male and female officers. Those initial findings support our hypotheses.

We hypothesized that due to cultural differences, owing to a more patriarchal society, and length of experience with gender integration in their respective countries, Taiwanese police recruits would be less "receptive" to gender integration when compared to American police recruits. To measure suspected differences in receptiveness to gender integration, we divided survey responses into three dimensions defined by topical questions that were collapsed into three indexes (See Table 1). To measure each dimension we used a one-way ANOVA test to compare differences of opinion as expressed in mean scores. The first dimension measured respondent's perceptions of the ability of females to perform police duties. The analysis of variance in this dimension revealed a significant difference in mean scores between Taiwanese (12.46) and American police recruits (16.07) at the $p<.001$ level, producing an *F-ratio* of 81.41. This indicates that compared to Taiwanese cadets, American cadets were significantly more likely to

perceive women as being capable to perform all aspects of police work. Consequently, it supports our first hypothesis.

The second dimension measured respondent's receptiveness to equality in assignments. The analysis of variance in this dimension revealed a significant difference in mean scores between Taiwanese (5.63) and American police recruits (6.82) at the p<.001 level, producing an *F-ratio* of 40.40. This indicates that compared to Taiwanese cadets, American cadets were significantly more likely to believe that women should enjoy equality in work assignments. Consequently, it supports our second hypothesis.

The third dimension measured respondent's acceptance of females as equal partners. The analysis of variance in this dimension revealed a significant difference in mean scores between Taiwanese (6.24) and American police recruits (6.77) at the p<.01 level, producing an *F-ratio* of 9.98. This indicates that compared to Taiwanese cadets, American cadets were significantly more accepting of females as equal partners. Consequently, it supports our third hypothesis.

Conclusions

This paper explores one aspect of the Gender Equality in Employment Act within Taiwanese policing by measuring police recruit receptiveness to gender integration. We hypothesized that due to cultural differences, owing to a more patriarchal society, and length of experience with gender integration, Taiwanese police recruits would be significantly less "receptive" to gender integration when compared to American police recruits, who's national and organizational cultures have slowly evolved to accept the integration of females into all aspects of police work. We suspected these differences would be apparent in the attitudes of Taiwanese cadets in three areas; (1) their belief that women are capable of performing all aspects of police work, (2) their

belief that women could be equal partners and supervisors, and (3) their belief that male and female officers should enjoy equal assignments. In all three dimensions we found significant attitudinal difference to the integration of females into expanded roles in Taiwanese policing.

While these findings are preliminary, we believe they warrant the attention of Taiwan's National Police Agency as they work to overcome the challenges that gender integration will present. A study of the American experience should both encourage the integration of women into all aspects of Taiwanese policing yet make it clear that organizational change of this nature challenges the status quo, even at the police recruit level.

References

Berkin, G. (2000), Mature export-led growth and gender wage inequality in Taiwan, *Feminist Economics*, *6,* 1-26.

Bergh, J. (2006). Gender attitudes and modernization processes, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *19*, 5–23.

Brewer, J. D. (1991), Hercules, Hippolyte, and the Amazons -- or policewomen in the RUC," *The British Journal of Sociology, 4*2, 231-247.

Cao, L., & Dai, M. (2006). Confidence in the police: Where does Taiwan rank in the world? *Asian Criminology, 1*, 71-84.

Chen, H. et al. (2006). A survey of quality of life and depression for police officers in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. Quality of Life Research, 15, 925-932.

Chen, Y. (2009), Taiwanese feminist history: A Sociocultural review," in Y. Chen (editor), *Women in Taiwan: Sociocultural Perspectives*, 15-30, University of Indianapolis Press.

Chan, J., Devery, C., & Doran, S. (2003). *Fair cop: Learning the art of policing*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto.

Chang, K. M. (1995). The relationship between political development and police function in the Republic of China on Taiwan (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Illinois at Chicago.

Chang, K. M., & Wang, T. (2006). The measurement of people's satisfaction on public safety and police service. *Journal of the Asian Association of Police Studies*, *4*, 24-39.

Chu, D. (2013). Gender integration in policing: a comparison of male and female police officers' perceptions in Taiwan," *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice, 37,* 143-157.

Chu, D., & Sun, I. (2006), Female police officers' job-related attitudes: A comparative study of Taiwan and the United States, *Women & Criminal Justice*, *18*, 107–130.

Chu, D., & Sun, I. (2007), A comparison of attitudinal differences between Taiwanese and American police supervisors. *Police Quarterly*, *10*, 63–86.

Chu, D., & Sun, I. (2010), Reactive v. proactive attitudes toward domestic violence: A comparison of Taiwanese male and female police officers. *Crime and Delinquency*, doi:10.1177/ 0011128710372192

Fogelson, R. M. (1977), *Big-City Police*. Harvard University Press.

Fosdick, R. (1915), *American Police Systems,* Century Co.

Fuld, L. (1909), *Police Administration,* Century Co.

Gingerich, T., Chu, D., & Chang, M. K. (2011). Public perceptions of police performance in Taiwan: A historical review, *Asian Politics & Polic*y, *3*, 49-68.

Hersey, P., K. H. Blanchard, & D. E. Johnson (1996), *Management of organizational behavior: Utilizing human resources* (7th Edition), Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, NJ.

Higgins, L. (1950), Women police service," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 41*, 101-106.

Higgins, L. (1951), Historical background of policewomen's service," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, *41,* 822-833.

Huang, L. & L. Cao, (2008), Exploring sexual harassment in a police department in Taiwan, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 31*, 324-340.

Hutzel, E. L. (1929). The policewomen. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 146, 104-114.

Koenig, E. (1978), An overview of attitudes towards women in law enforcement, *Public Administration Review*, *38*, 267-275.

Langton, L. (2010), Women in law enforcement, 1987-2008, *Crime Data Brief,* Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice (NCJ230521).

Levine, P. (1994), Walking the streets in a way no decent woman should: Women police in World War I," *The Journal of Modern History, 66*, 34-78.

Lin, C. (2010), "Does the refined adversary system refine gender discrimination? Rape trial and its courtroom culture in Taiwan," in S. King, C. Salzani, and O. Staley (Editors), *Law, Morality and Power: Global Perspectives on Violence and the State,* pp 103-115, Inter-Disciplinary Press, Oxford: United Kingdom.

Marsh, R. M. (1998), Gender and pay in Taiwan, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *39*, 115-137.

Ma, T., & Yeh, Y. (2011), Crossing the boundary to East Asian: A political context analysis of female labor policy-making in Taiwan," *International Review of Social Sciences and Humanities*, *1,* 47-74.

Melchionne, T. M. (1967). Current status and problems of women police. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Scienc*e, *59*, 257-260.

McBeath, G.A. (1979). Political training and attitudes of Taiwan's police recruits. International *Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, *3*, 157-166.

Mon, W.T. (2009). Policewomen and policemen as co-workers in the substation: An empirical Inquiry. *Law Enforcement Review of Central Police University*, *5(2)*, 1–40.

Monkkonen, E. (1981), *Policing urban America: 1860-1920*, Cambridge University Press.

Myers, G.E. (1995), *A municipal mother*, Oregon University Press.

Novak, K.J., Brown, R.A., & Frank, J. (2011), Women on patrol: An analysis of difference in officer arrest behavior. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, *34*, 566–587.

Pigeon, H. D. (1927), Policewomen in the United States," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, 18,* 372-377.

Rabe-Hemp, C. (2008). Survival in an "all boys club": Policewomen and their fight for acceptance. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, *31*, 251–270.

Schein, E. H. (2004), *Organizational culture and leadership* (3rd Edition), Jossey-Bass, San Francisco: CA.

Schulz, D. M. (1995), *From social worker to crimefighter: Women in United States municipal policing*, Praeger Publishing: New York.

Sun, I., & Chu, D. (2008a). A cross-national analysis of women police's attitudes. *International Criminal Justice Review*, *18*, 5–23.

Sun, I., & Chu, D. (2008b). Gender difference in policing: An analysis of Taiwanese police's attitudes. *Police Practice & Research*, *9*, 431–443.

Sun, I., & Chu, D. (2010). Who is better for handling domestic violence? A comparison between Taiwanese female and male officers. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *38*, 453–459.

Tao, L. (1975). Reform of the criminal process in nationalist China. *American Journal of Comparative Law*, *19*, 747-765.

Tarng, M. Hsieh, C., & Deng, F. (2001). Personal background and reasons for choosing a career in policing: An empirical study of police students in Taiwan. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *29*, 45-56.

Walker, S. (1998), *Popular justice: A history of American justice*. Oxford University Press.

Walker, S. (1977), *A critical history of police reform*, Lexington Books.

Wang, W. (2007), Gender equality education act in Taiwan: Impacts and challenges, in Reitumetse Obakeng Mabkela (Editor), *Soaring beyond boundaries: Women breaking educational barriers in traditional societies,* pp. 131-148, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam: The Netherlands.

Women's Bureau Bulletin # 231 (1949), The outlook f or women in police work, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Yang, D.J. (1985). Women in policing: A comparative study of the United and the Republic of China (Taiwan). *Police Studies, 8*, 125–131.

Yeh, Y.L. (2004). Deployment policy for policewomen: A review. *Central Police University Journal*, *41*, 107–132.

Yen, S. (1987). Policing Taipei. *Police Studies, 10*, 63-66.

Yu, W. & Manrique, G. (2009), Changes in the labor market of Taiwanese women from 1978 to 2007," in Chen, Y. (Editor), *Women in Taiwan: sociocultural perspectives*, pp 45-60, University of Indianapolis Press

Vollmer, A. (1922), Aims and ideals of the police," *Journal of the American institute of criminal law and criminology*, *13*, 251-257.

Zveglich, J. & van der Meulen Ridgers, Y. (2004), Occupational segregation and the gender wage gap in a dynamic East Asia country," *Southern Economic Journal*, *70,* 850-875.

Table 1: Construction of Dependent Variables

Variable	Survey Items	Response Categories	Cronbach's alpha
Ability of females to perform police duties	1. Police work is an appropriate occupation for women. 2. I believe females are as capable as males in performing the duties of patrol work because gender is not a delimiting factor in patrol work. 3. Females can perform the duties required of a police officer as well as males. 4. Females have the physical abilities to perform patrol work. 5. Female can be effective patrol officers.	1= Disagree strongly 2= Disagree somewhat 3= Agree somewhat 4= Agree strongly	.89
Equal assignments	1. Police women should perform exactly the same duties as policemen. 2. Female officers should be allowed to perform the same duties as males even when the assignment may be dangerous.	1= Disagree strongly 2= Disagree somewhat 3= Agree somewhat 4= Agree strongly	.71
Equal partners	1. If I were working a patrol assignment, I would not mind having a female officer as my partner. 2. I would not mind working for a female	1= Disagree strongly 2= Disagree somewhat 3= Agree somewhat	.68

supervisor.   4= Agree strongly

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Mean Comparison by Country

	Total (N=461)		Taiwan (N=383)		USA (N=78)		
	Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*F-ratio[a]*
Attitudinal Dimensions							
Ability of females to perform police duties	13.06	3.45	12.46	3.30	16.07	2.52	81.41***
Equal assignments	5.83	1.57	5.63	1.57	6.82	1.18	40.40***
Equal partners	6.33	1.38	6.24	1.39	6.77	1.28	9.89**
Officer Background							
Age	25.30	5.99	24.32	5.49	30.14	6.06	69.62***
College graduated	.47	.50	.47	.50	.50	.50	.30
Married	.14	.35	.05	.22	.58	.50	221.60***
Length (month)	10.26	5.12	11.75	4.14	2.80	2.08	342.41***

[a.] One-way ANOVA was used to compute the ratio. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 one-tailed