GENDERED DIFFERENCES IN PROFESSIONALISM AND GOOD POLICING IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

HUNTER JACKSON SIMMONS. Gendered Differences in Professionalism and Good Policing in Law Enforcement (Under the direction of DR. Janne Gaub)

For over 100 years, scholars and practitioners of law enforcement have been unable to reach a consensus on defining police professionalism and good policing. During this time, much has changed, including women's introduction into policing; and with their entrance, they have brought about a separate perspective with which to examine these two topics. Unfortunately, research on professional and good policing is limited, as is research on women in policing generally. This study addressed these deficiencies by assessing gendered differences in working definitions of police professionalism and good policing. This study used the definitions of professionalism and good policing provided by Muir (1977) to examine his four typologies of law enforcement officers using interviews with sworn police officers in the United States (N=21), including both men (n=10) and women (n=11). Transcripts of these interviews were analyzed using thematic qualitative analysis and reflexive coding. The results from this analysis found that, while Muir's four categories appear to have remained mostly stable in definition, how they are perceived by this sample of officers has changed. Additionally, participants were less clear on how to distinguish between professional and good policing, whereas Muir (1977) found professional policing (perspective) and good policing (passion) to be separate concepts. Additionally, while finding both important, participants, regardless of gender, seemed to put a greater emphasis on the professional/perspective traits, over those of good policing/passion, with female participants holding these in even higher regard than males. However, more research is necessary to fully understand how professional and good policing are defined by officers today. Significance of these findings, including implications, limitations, and direction for future research are also discussed.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late great-grandfather, Alleghany County Chief Deputy Cleve Nichols, as well as my grandfather, Retired Master Trooper Jack Richardson and his late K9 partner “Rambo.” Thank you for your selfless service and for inspiring me daily, as I continue my career in law enforcement. It is also dedicated to all of my brothers and sisters in law enforcement, past and present, who have served with honor. I pray that God watches over and protects you daily.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Unhappy with the reputation police had for being uneducated and corrupt in many parts of the United States in the early 1900s, August Vollmer was determined to seek reform while he was leading the Berkeley (CA) Police Department (Wilson, 1953). These efforts by Vollmer and other reformers ushered in a new era of policing known as the Reform (or Professionalism) Era (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This era saw a desire to educate the officer, establish records keeping metrics tracking, and communications, and put an emphasis on officer selection and training, effectively turning the job of policing into a profession (Kelling & Moore, 1988; Vollmer, 1933). However, the changes in the Reform Era brought about some confusion, which resulted in some officers isolating themselves from and viewing the public as little more than sources of information, while others continued to view the public as partners in a larger goal of reducing crime (Potter, 2013). Because of this, there has been a lack of consensus in law enforcement on what constitute the traits of professionalism and good policing. One of the better definitions, however, comes from Muir (1977), where he described professionalism as perspective, or the ability to understand the nature of human suffering, and good policing as passion, or the ability to achieve just ends with coercive power.

It was also during the Reform Era when women began to enter law enforcement in true policing roles. Although their responsibilities tended to be restricted to only crimes of morality and those involving women and children until the early 1970s (House, 1993), their impact on policing was and remains important. Unfortunately, women in policing have been an understudied and relatively small group for years, comprising less than 13% of sworn officers in 2019 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2022). Only recently has more research addressed women's experiences,

beliefs, and definitions in the policing profession, though it still falls short (Archbold & Schulz, 2012; Cunningham, 2021; Guajardo, 2016).

This study addresses some of these shortcomings, attempting to better define professionalism and good policing and uncover any gendered differences in the perception of the two. Additional studies that focus on women in policing are crucial as women continue to grow in the field, and gaining a better understanding of the beliefs and practices of female officers will hopefully aid in finding the path law enforcement needs to take going forward. To accomplish this, this study will employ the use of qualitative analysis, conducting 21 interviews with sworn law enforcement officers in the United States (male=10, female=11). An interview protocol was developed using aspects of Muir's (1977) study that deals with professionalism in law enforcement and good policing.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Professionalism in Policing

Asking individuals to define the term professionalism is likely to elicit a different response from each person asked, suggesting that perhaps professionalism is not a black and white construct, but more of a spectrum. While these responses could be similar or have aspects that remain constant, Carlan and Lewis (2009) noted that there is a "myriad of standards about how [society] defines professions" (p. 39). This is something policing has struggled with, as many individuals have discussed police professionalism and what it should look like for close to 100 years and are still writing on the subject today (Ashenhust, 1959; Paterson, 2011; Regolil & Poole, 1980; Stone, 1933; Williams, Norman, & Rowe, 2019). However, to gain a better understanding we have to look at the history of professionalism in policing and how it has varied over time, starting with The Nine Principles of Policing from 1829.

The Nine Principles of Policing, which have been attributed to Sir Robert Peel, have and remain an important part of policing and describe what police officers must do and how they must act in order to be effective at their job. This includes serving impartially under the law, preventing crime, and securing the respect and approval of the public, among several other things (Jones, 2004). What these principles describe is technically professionalism, in that they set forth standards for the profession and created expectations for officers to follow to be successful. While some scholars today question whether Peel actually wrote down all nine of these principles himself (Lentz & Chaires, 2007), there is little doubt that these principles laid the foundation for modern policing and continue to impact departments and officers. The inclusion of these principles can often be found boldly listed on police department websites and police practitioners have written

articles encouraging officers to use the principles in training new recruits (South, 2022; South Londonderry Township, 2021).

In the years following the creation of the London Metropolitan Police Service, Peel's work was used by advocates for police departments in American cities like Boston and New York. This, in theory, was a good thing; however, once these police forces were established, they "borrowed selectively rather than exactly" (Uchida, 1993, p. 11) from the Peelian Principles, though these principles have remained an important part of American policing in some fashion ever since. Individuals like then-Chief Edward Davis of the Los Angeles Police Department even stated in 1971 "[the principles] are ancient but principles do not change and all solutions to crime are here and all the solutions to community relations can be found here" (Davis, 1971, p. 29). Additionally, many scholars have argued that Peelian principles are the foundation for true community policing (Patterson, 1995; Williams, 2003).

The Reform Era is often referred to as the Professionalism Era; during this time, many reforms were put in place that impacted police operations and standardized the profession of law enforcement. Arguably the most prominent figure in this reform was Chief August Vollmer of the Berkeley (CA) Police Department. Vollmer emphasized officer education, agency cooperation, and the re-evaluation of the role of police as social workers. Additionally, he wanted to remove the corruption that law enforcement had been known for in larger cities. While these were seen as necessary and important reforms, one of the downfalls of Vollmer's professional policing model was that he wanted officers detached from local connections and political processes, which limited the community involvement that Vollmer felt was necessary for professional policing (Douthit, 1975). By the end of the Reform Era, focus shifted from police whose job was more along the lines of a social worker, into more of a crimefighter role (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This mentality was

reaffirmed by the events of WWII and the Communist "Red Scare" that followed in the late 1940s and into the 1950s (Price, 1977). J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was a prime example of this, running radio advertisements stating, "The FBI in peace and war" (Kelling & Moore, 1988, p. 5) and creating the "Ten Most Wanted" list which still exists today (FBI, 2010). This mindset change—paired with things like the introduction of the automobile, which limited police-citizen interactions by reducing the previously walked beats, and tracking officer metrics of arrests, citations and cleared cases—created an environment that, as Carte (1972) described, would at best make an officer "an outside expert in his relations with different community groups" and at worst "an alien agent for the states coercive power" (p.192), a problem that has yet to be rectified in policing.

By the 1980s the "War on Drugs" had been ushered in and American police seemed to have nearly abandoned the community service aspect of policing, instead embracing a warrior/crimefighter take to the profession (Balko, 2021). This failed to reduce street-level drug activity and further exacerbated issues in existing policies and laws, like stop-and-frisk practices. Codified in *Terry v. Ohio* (1968), stop-and-frisk allows officers to stop potential suspects and pat the outer part of a person's clothing down for contraband; however, in practice, it has increased discrimination and incarceration among minority groups and led to an uptick in police brutality (Bobo & Thompson, 2006; Byfield, 2019b; Cooper, 2015). Byfield (2019b) discussed the issues with stop-and-frisk at length, noting that it allowed police to stop and search individuals essentially without cause, and the practice was developed using metrics-tracking that indicated young Black and Hispanic men were likely to be the ones selling drugs and carrying guns. Byfield (2019b) further explained that this metrics-tracking was problematic for several reasons, including biases in the data collection itself. This and other concerns have led stop-and-frisk to be just another

policy in a long line of policies dating back to the late 1800s that disproportionately targeted minorities. While she also noted that upticks in incarceration and over-policing of minorities dates back decades, policies like stop-and-frisk exacerbated the issue and led to increased instances of police shootings of minorities, mass incarceration, and further over-policing of these minority communities (Byfield, 2019a, 2019b).

This policy, like many that came before, was supposed to reduce crime and increase public satisfaction in the police; however, it has only further hurt community relationships, especially among minority groups (Bradford, 2017). While this has been as much of a political failure as a policing one (Coyne & Hall, 2017), the attempt by agencies to course-correct through community policing has so far done little, likely because these types of programs have been running concurrently and counterintuitively with policies like stop-and-frisk. While stop-and-frisk has ended in New York, Byfield (2019b) stated that if we are not careful it will simply "evolve into new policy and practices that will continue to criminalize Black people" (p. 239) as well as other minorities. A complete change in the current mentality of the profession and its practices is required if programs like community policing—which show some promise—are to succeed at improving police-citizen relationships and professionalism (Gill et al., 2014, Skogan & Hartnett, 2019). However, this has yet to occur, with some even suggesting that policing has entered a new era even less compatible with community policing.

This new era of policing, as some suggest, focuses on homeland security (Burruss, Giblin & Schafer, 2010; Oliver, 2006; Vaughn Lee, 2010), and was brought on by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (also referred to as "9/11"). After 9/11, the law enforcement focus shifted towards security and tactical concerns and awareness, with public satisfaction in how policing occurs, becoming less of a priority. Funding for community policing at the federal level almost

dried up and police departments have been further militarized. This has arguably created an environment in which community policing is almost incompatible with the current model of the profession, which is somewhat ironic given the fact that police often show off SWAT equipment and armored vehicles—things associated with the militarization of law enforcement—at events labeled to be community policing events (Oliver, 2006; Kraska, 2021; Vaughn Lee, 2010). The mere fact that agencies have this equipment is not necessarily where the problem lies, but in how they use it. The fact that law enforcements efforts to reduce drugs have been referenced as a literal war further undermines the relationship with the public., The "war on drugs" has fostered the "us vs. them" mentality and increased the use of no-knock warrants for offenses like drug possession and the use of SWAT officers as a show of force in hot spot patrols (Kraska, 2021). One might draw similarities between this behavior and policing in the post-WWII era mentioned previously and see this as an example of failing to learn from history. However, with major events involving the police such as the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, the public is demanding change.

This apparent inability to clearly establish objectives and expectations of the profession—and failing to address major shortcomings and problems within it—has led to difficulty in clearly conceptualizing professional policing and what it needs to accomplish to be successful. However, studies like that of Muir (1977) might provide a better understanding of both police professionalism and good policing (which this study will discuss in depth later). In his study, Muir (1977) provided an in-depth look at how individual law enforcement officers in the early 1970s viewed the job of policing and how they performed their work duties, dividing them into different categories. This could be seen as a way of defining professionalism in policing and showing the development of a good officer. To do this, Muir collected data over five years, interviewing and participating in ride-alongs with 28 male police officers. He observed them on many calls and saw

how they interacted with the public. Through his analysis of these observations, Muir was able to place the men studied in one of four typologies of officers: The Avoider, the Reciprocator, the Enforcer, and the Professional (Muir, 1977).

The Avoider, or "call dodger" as officers today might refer to them, are officers who lack confidence and the ability to take action and are often disinterested about the matter at hand. They tend to be unable to handle serious calls as they often have a hard time identifying the problem and lack the ability to use force, even if they wanted to. The Reciprocator is similar to the Avoider in that they have difficulty identifying or responding to a problem, but where they differ is that unlike the Avoider, Reciprocators have the desire to help others and resolve problems. Unfortunately, having the desire to help others, but lacking the ability to effectively do so, especially if force becomes necessary, can lead these officers to fail at their job. Often with Reciprocators, if a call fails to go how they initially hoped, they are not able to effectively resolve the issue. Next, the Enforcer is the type of officer that can recognize a problem and is not afraid to use their authority; however, exercising their authority does seem to be the only way they choose to handle a situation. Muir (1977) quoted an officer that he described as an enforcer as saying, "If you're not getting in the shit six times a year, you're not doing the job" (p.26). Lastly, the Professional is the type of officer who understands the problems and situations before them, and knows the right level of force and authority to use. They are not afraid to use their authority, but they look to other options first, if possible. Muir described these types of officers as ones who worked to preserve citizens' dignity, showed restraint and had compassion for those they were serving (Muir, 1977). While these categories work well at describing specific types of officers, and even though Muir literally named one of his categories "The Professional," the criteria he used

to place officers into these categories is where perhaps the best definitions of professionalism in law enforcement and good policing can be found.

Muir (1977) described two characteristics that officers hold: Perspective and passion. An officer's level of each of these allowed him to place officers into the four categories. Perspective is a police officer's ability to understand the "nature of human suffering" (Muir, 1977, p.3); in other words, how much an officer cares about the individuals and the call they are on. Passion, on the other hand, was how the officer achieves "just ends with coercive means" (Muir, 1977, p.4), or the officer's ability to use the power they held to resolve the situation at hand. Muir (1977) saw these as two distinct categories and the description of the two serves as perhaps the best definition of professionalism and good policing. While Muir literally named one of the four categories as the "Professional," this title should simply be seen as another way of saying 'the best officer possible,' not that these officers are the definition of professionalism. While they are going to be very professional, they are also officers who are good at the job of law enforcement because they have high levels of both passion and perspective, allowing them to balance the two. Conversely, the Avoider has neither passion nor perspective, leading them to being neither good at the job nor very professional. Additionally, the Enforcer, holds a great deal of passion and probably clears many cases, but they often do this by sacrificing professionalism in the process because they lack perspective. Lastly, the Reciprocator struggles to know when to use their power (low levels of passion) but may possess the ability to be a professional officer (high levels of perspective).

2.2. Good Policing

Just as professionalism in law enforcement has been difficult to define, so too has good policing. This difficulty has led many departments to take a quantifiable approach to establishing what constitutes good policing. For example, agencies often bestow awards to officers for things

like the highest number of arrests for driving while under the influence, or confiscating the most drugs or guns (Old, 2015; Purcell, 2015; South Carolina Department of Public Safety, 2019). This focus on numeric metrics is a holdover from the Reform era, which allows agencies to tangibly measure success, since "police departments have long struggled with how to effectively measure, and in many ways promote, high-quality performance" (White, 2008, p.2). It is likely that this trend is the result of the unclear nature of police work and how to effectively communicate results of policing practices.

Fyfe (1993) explained that police have many duties and responsibilities, for which they have been given little guidance in setting priorities and how they should carry out these duties efficiently, other than to simply "maintain order and enforce the law" (p. 275). While that does seem to provide some direction for how agencies and officers go about maintaining order and enforcing the law, they can work against each other and reduce the success of both. Additionally, Fyfe (1993) notes that according to Peelian Principles, the success of police should be measured by the absence of criminal activity and general disorder, which has been hard for agencies to effectively prove. With the difficulty agencies face in demonstrating the impact they have on crime; they often resort to using quantitative metrics such as the numbers of arrests or tickets written to show "success" to the public. However, this strategy fails to consider whether there was an actual impact on crime rates or if it displaced crime to other areas. It could also reduce the use of officer discretion and incentivize officers to write more tickets and make more arrests, when they could have given more warnings and addressed crime through other means (Fyfe, 1993). These actions, which might look good on paper, do so at the risk of hurting community relations and gaining and maintaining the public's trust was a key component of Peelian principles (Jones, 2004) and an essential piece of community-based policing.

Kelling and Moore (1988) discussed how policing in the late 1980s was evolving and the Reform Era was being replaced by one that was more community focused. With this, an emphasis was placed on community support, problem-solving and citizen satisfaction, among other things. They argued that these relationships were necessary for good policing and for the police to be seen as legitimate by the communities they serve (Kelling & Moore, 1988). However, as discussed, it is difficult to measure things like community satisfaction or problem-solving within a community and present it clearly and persuasively to the public. Because of this, there is a lack of consistency in what constitutes 'community policing' in reality and agencies claim to perform community-policing activities, like foot patrols and general community involvement, but fail to understand that full commitment and a change in mindset is required for it to actually work (Kelling & Moore, 1988). This has led to some skepticism in its use, though it is still seen as an aspect of good policing today and likely could increase trust within the community, if done correctly (Skogan & Hartnett, 2019).

Multiple researchers have argued that if the public lacks trust in the police, it jeopardizes police legitimacy, but when the public believes they are being treated fairly, trust in police increases leading to increased police legitimacy (Hough, 2020; Meares, Tyler, & Gardener, 2015; Tankebe, 2014). This impacts the levels at which individuals comply with laws and officer commands. Furthermore, the outcome of a situation is often less important to the public than how they view their treatment while in contact with officers (Paternoster, Bachman, Brame, & Sherman, 1997; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2004). Simply put, the public considers a key component of good policing to be fair treatment by police (Hough, 2020; Meares, Tyler & Gardener 2015), and fortunately, there are some police administrators that recognize this.

A study of small-town police chiefs by Sanders (2010) found that these police administrators did not put much value in tasks like ticket-writing. One chief went as far as to say that an officer that writes a lot of tickets is "probably an idiot" (Sanders, 2010, p.9). When asked to describe their best officer, participants spoke highly of the officers who were level-headed, trustworthy, dependable, and had good people skills; he found the things these chiefs cared the least about were the quantifiable numbers in arrests and tickets (Sanders, 2010). This is consistent with the findings of Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) that good cops are those who make connections within the community they serve—actions that reduce crime—as opposed to those that write mountains of tickets.

With the lack of consensus on what constitutes 'good policing,' turning to Muir (1977) once more and looking at his description of passion will help. As previously discussed, passion is how an officer uses the power they hold to achieve just results. As such, 'good policing' can be viewed as solving and preventing crimes, enforcing the law, and doing so effectively. This is what Muir is referring to in the concept of 'passion,' and it is the reason that police exist in the first place. Agencies appear to have some understanding of this, but struggle with how to convey these results to the communities they serve, something that will need to improve in the future to aid in police legitimacy.

2.3. "Us vs. Them" and the Police Subculture

In developing working definitions of good and professional policing, it is important to address other factors that could impact how these definitions are viewed and applied, such as the subculture of policing. There are many aspects of the police subculture, such as loyalty, bravery, cynicism, suspicion, secrecy, the list goes on. However, this study will look to a few of the specific examples in police subculture that have aided in the development of the 'us versus them' mentality

that currently exists in US law enforcement. These include issues of social isolation, solidarity, coercive power and the problems of hypermasculinity.

One of the core components of the police subculture in the United States is social isolation in law enforcement, which arguably began in the Reform Era of policing. During the Political Era, when officers walked their beats and interacted with the public, getting to know at least some of the people they served. However, once technological advancements of the Reform Era came about—particularly the implementation of the automobile—officers were no longer forced to have these interactions and often only dealt with citizens when crimes had occurred (Carte, 1972). With, negative interactions dominating police-citizen encounters, officers began to look at citizens with suspicion and caution, which prompted officers to further distance themselves from society.

This social isolation generates strong bonds among officers and is further strengthened as officers experience traumatic events and violence, as they know that fellow officers understand their experiences, when most of society cannot (Andersen & Papazoglou, 2014). While police work by nature carries the possibility of violence, out of more than 800,000 police officers in the United States, less than 100 are killed in felonious attacks each year (FBI, 2022). However, even with this knowledge, recruits in police academies are regularly shown videos of officers being shot and killed and are told that one lapse in judgment could lead them being killed as well. Additionally, Cockcroft (2020) found that the way in which officers killed in the line of duty are memorialized across agencies and the nation helps to "maintain broad, occupational assumptions of dangerous and deadly police work" (p. 632). This is something Sierra-Arévalo (2021) continues with, describing it as the 'danger imperative' and stating that the belief that police work is profoundly dangerous "encourages behaviors that damage the legitimacy of police, harm the public, and perpetuate inequalities in the criminal legal system"(p. 71) This preoccupation with

danger and the need to be constantly on high alert undoubtedly reinforces the culture of ‘us vs them’ among officers and strengthens police solidarity.

Additionally, this loyalty that exists between officers has led to other problems, including the blue wall of silence. This unspoken code where officers will not testify against fellow officers or turn a fellow officer in, has led to police corruption and covering up serious criminality. Lester and Brink (1985) found that officers with higher levels of solidarity had an increased “tolerance for misbehavior by fellow police officers” and additionally found that these officers were more likely to cover up this behavior (p. 326). While some may suggest that these instances of deviance by law enforcement officers can be attributed to poor recruitment, a bad apple or two falling through the cracks, Stoddard (1968) and more recently Skolnick (2002) found that police subculture is actually responsible for making these misbehaviors, and the failure to report them, socially acceptable.

Another important factor in police culture that leads to the ‘us vs. them’ mentality, is the use of coercive power. Coercive power is the power held by law enforcement that can be used to force individuals to follow officers’ orders, under threat of repercussion such as physical force, citation or arrest (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). As Muir (1977) described the use of coercive power by police is necessary, as it is something that must exist for police to be effective. Taking this a step further, Terrill, Paoline III and Manning (2003) found that officers who are more engrained in the police subculture, are more likely to use coercive power but also noted "the relationship between police and citizens is one in which coercive force is reciprocal, and the culture demands that police officers maintain control” (p.1008). If officers lose this control over citizens, then the job of policing will only become harder. However, as Brown (1981) pointed out “the routine use

of coercion sets policemen off from society" (p.37), and these further drives social isolation and solidarity, promoting the 'us versus them' mentality.

Finally, the police subculture is steeped in hypermasculinity. Policing has long been known for being a man's job, which is still making it difficult for women to make progress in the field. Women in law enforcement are often subjected to sexual harassment and coercive treatment from superiors (Brown et al., 2020) and are regularly met with resistance when entering the field. They often are seen as not being capable or strong enough to do the job (Wilkinson & Froyland, 1996) and by nature, their presence is seen as a threat to this masculine environment. Many women are forced to carefully navigate this, often sacrificing their femineity in order to have a successful career (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Even with this, Schuck (2014) found that women are less likely to adhere to the hypermasculine subculture of policing and this directly relates "to an officer's perceptions of less negative behavior by citizens and fewer complaints" (160), indicating that high levels of hypermasculinity further promotes the 'us versus them' culture in law enforcement.

McLean et al. (2020) further discusses this culture within law enforcement in exploring the differences between the warrior and guardian mindsets in policing. McLean et al. (2020) describes the warrior mindset as an officer who sees themselves as a crime-fighter battling evil, whereas the guardian is an "officer who protects citizens through partnerships with the community" (McLean et al., 2020, p. 2). The guardian mindset was shown to improve police-citizen interactions, leading to better communication and less inappropriate use of force. These mindsets, while similar, are different enough that a change in culture from warrior to guardian would likely improve police legitimacy, reduce excessive use of force incidents, and create an overall better experience for officers as well as the citizens they serve.

Additionally, the guardian mindset would be better suited to aid in both parts of the mantra found on many police cars: “To Serve and Protect.” This also aligns with Muir’s (1979) passion and perspective; passion correlates with the drive to protect individuals and solve crimes, and perspective aligns with the willingness to serve the public and understand fellow citizens. However, if police departments are to really live up to the saying of “to serve and protect,” and have the best officer they possibly can, a cultural shift away from the ’us vs. them’ mentality found in the warrior mindset is necessary.

2.4. Women in Policing History

As of 2019, less than 13% of law enforcement officers in the United States are women, a number almost static since the early 2000s (U.S. Department of Justice, 2022). This number seems low given that women have been in policing for over 100 years, starting with Alice Stebbins in 1910. Officer Stebbins became the first woman known to be a sworn police officer in the United States when she was sworn in by the Los Angeles Police Department (Flanagan & Menton, 2009), and while she broke a glass ceiling that many perceived to be unbreakable, her roles were restricted to dealing with juveniles and women—a limited role for women that continued for decades (House, 1993). However, advancement was not easy for women, and men often did not take them seriously, thinking they could not do the job or were “a fad and their entry into police work [was] an unjustified excursion into social work” (Koenig, 1978, p. 268).

Even into the 1960s and 1970s, women in policing described police work as having always been, and always being, “predominantly a man’s job” (Koenig, 1978, p. 269). Furthermore, these women cautioned that, by being the only woman among a group of men, they may be “pinched, patted or played with” (Koenig, 1978, p. 269), highlighting what they had to go through to be police officers. Progress came slowly and women still receive pushback from men when entering

law enforcement (Franklin, 2005; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). However, through the actions of individuals like Gertrude Schimmel, things started to change. Schimmel was an officer with the New York City Police Department who sued the agency and won, allowing her and other women to take the sergeants exam (Koenig, 1978). Her lawsuit helped pave the way for other women nationwide to assume supervisory roles in policing. Even still, some agencies would not see their first female officers until the late 1970s or 1980s and by 1978, women made up only 4.2% of all officers in the United States (Martin, 1989).

There were other events that helped to progress women's roles in policing like Indianapolis (IN) Officers Betty Blankenship and Elizabeth Coffal being assigned to general patrol duties in 1968 and Washington D.C. Police Officer Gail Cobb being shot and killed trying to apprehend a robbery suspect alone in 1974 (Schulz, 1995). Blankenship and Coffal were seen as a successful "experiment" (Schulz, 1995, p. 131) after apprehending a man who beat a woman to death, and Cobb was the first female officer shot and killed in the line of duty in the United States. Her death specifically showed that women, like men, were willing to die to protect others. Her decision to try and arrest the suspect alone was even viewed by many as a "rookie's, rather than a woman's, mistake" (Schulz, 1995, p. 140). However, a commonality between these women and one they share with many others is they had to "prove they were as good as a man" (Martin, 1980, p. 196) to earn respect as officers. Cobb literally had to give her life to be respected as an officer in the same way as a man and this seeming requirement of women having to prove themselves still exists today, when the same level of scrutiny is often not applied to male officers (Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

While women still face discrimination today, there has been some positive change. Throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and into the early 2000s, women's roles did advance and expand,

albeit slowly. Many officers who started their careers without women on the force began to retire, and many new officers were coming on the force with women as their supervisors. While this did help solidify women's roles in general patrol work, there were still men and even women in the field who felt women should not be in law enforcement, or restricted to limited roles (Flanagan, & Menton, 2009; Prokos & Padavic 2002). This attitude seems to continue to be pervasive as it was not until 2008 that the Los Angeles Police Department had their first female SWAT Team member, Jennifer Grasso (Zercoe, 2019). Many departments still have yet to achieve this and other goals relating to women in certain special assignments and women still face push back when attempting to enter these areas. As one female SWAT officer noted, "SWAT is still a definite boys club" (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011, p. 707).

It is important to note that discrimination does not stop with gender, as many minority women feel they are treated as "doubly inferior" (Todak & Brown, 2019, p. 1052). This often makes these officers feel even further isolated in the job, having to deal with both racism and sexism at work. However, Todak and Brown (2019) also note that given some male concerns about women in policing, research has shown that minority women sometimes feel that their gender is "more problematic for them at work" (p. 1056). While this is not the case across the board it does indicate how severe gender discrimination is for some women in law enforcement, often leaving them wanting to do nothing more than to simply put in the required hours of their shift and go home (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011; Todak & Brown, 2019).

2.5. How Women Police

San Diego Police Chief Elemer Jansen hired four women in 1954 to be "real policewomen," to be a part of an "elite group" (Schulz, 1995, p. 121). These women participated in narcotics raids and undercover work, assignments previously denied to women. While they had

to have more formal education than their male coworkers and had to carry themselves a certain way, this opportunity got their foot in the door for other types of police work and demonstrated they could be successful (Schulz, 1995). As other women around the country got similar opportunities and as more time passed it became clear they would succeed in general police work.

While women in law enforcement have been shown, on average, to use the same amounts and levels of routine force as their male counterparts (Leong, 2018), many studies have shown that women are often better at de-escalation tactics and are less likely to violate a person's civil-rights or use excessive force when dealing with combative individuals, which is an important distinction (Belknap & Shelley 1993; Lonsway, 2001; Lonsway, Wood, & Spillar, 2002). Additionally, they tend to be better at engaging in community policing tactics, and their presence helps improve agency response to violence against women and crimes against or involving children (Lonsway, 2000; Miller & Bonistall, 2011; Van Wormer, 1980; Ward & Prenzler, 2016). While these areas of policing have sometimes been referred to as the "feminized forms of police work" (Rabe-Hemp, 2009, p. 124), they are areas that are extremely important and require service and compassion. While some agencies have made public commitments to increase the representation of women in their ranks to 30% by 2030 (Advancing Women in Policing, 2023), this goal will not be reached if the current trend in recruitment and retention of women continues. These efforts to recruit and retain women are important, as women's experiences and actions are often different from those of men. They provide another voice which agencies can use to provide the public service of law enforcement to their community. But given these differences in experience and how they do the job, it is not unreasonable to assume their definitions of professionalism and good policing may vary as well.

2.6. Tying it Together

It is clear that professional policing and good policing, although related, are not the same. While it is likely that, often, a good police officer is a professional one and vice versa, it depends on the levels of passion and perspective, the virtues of good and professional policing, the officer holds. To some, a good officer might be the one making the most arrests, but if they do it as Muir's "Enforcer," are they professional? Similarly, someone who would fall into the Reciprocator category might appear professional on the surface, but is falling to recognize when one must take appropriate action going to result in good policing? For an officer to be the best possible officer for the community and to reduce crime in an effective manner the officer must have the right amount of both perspective and passion. Getting to a point where the majority of officers can achieve this will likely require a change in the culture of policing, but perhaps women in law enforcement have the ability to create this change.

Women are often better at certain aspects of policing—such as de-escalation and not using excessive force—than their male counterparts. Additionally, the public views fair treatment as one of the most important aspects of policing. This has led to the implementation of community-policing programs and a re-emphasis on Peel's belief that, to successfully police, agencies must gain the trust and support of the community. Because of this, it has been theorized that women might be the answer to improving those community relationships (Grant, 2000; Lonsway, Wood, & Spillar, 2002; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). After all, if women are in fact better at de-escalation, rarely use excessive force, treat victims of violent crimes with compassion, and rarely violate a person's civil rights—all while still being effective at the job of policing—that would satisfy both aspects passion and perspective, described by Muir's Professional. Additionally, it would seem to fulfill the requirements Peel set forth when he established his nine principles of what a law enforcement officer should be. Furthermore, Cunningham (2021) argues that working to remove the

institutional misogyny (and racism) within policing will likely improve police legitimacy and other research has shown that higher levels of representation of women in law enforcement contribute to this increase in legitimacy as well (see also Schuck, Baldo, & Powell, 2021). All of this would seem to indicate a need for more than 13% of officers to be women.

2.7. Gaps in Research

Most of the research on women in policing lacks discussion about definitions of professional and good policing. Additionally, while Muir (1977) provides a good definition through which to examine police professionalism and good policing, it has been almost 50 years since it was published and much has changed in that time. This includes the increase of women in law enforcement and their expanded roles.

The lack of women in Muir's (1977) study and others is a glaring omission today. Much of the research in this area is older, yet even in more recent research, there is little distinction in how men and women relate to professionalism and good policing. Many scholars have argued that often women in policing handle certain situations better than men, and that occasionally men "stir up the very violence they are seeking to avoid" (Van Wormer, 1980, p. 94). This trend has continued to the present day (Bergman, Walker & Jean, 2016), and makes one question why women are often pressured to prove they can handle themselves with violence, when many times they successfully handle those same situations without it. Gaining a better understanding of how these women define professionalism and good policing practices and how these definitions compare to men, just might reveal that perhaps men should be following their lead, especially in an era of policing where there seems to be a need to place a re-emphasis on things like service to the community and de-escalation.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1. Current Study

This study[1] seeks to understand if there are gendered differences in the perception of how members of law enforcement define professionalism and good policing. With little existing research on the topic, this study will address three research questions aimed at understanding these differences and what impact it can have on the profession moving forward. The three questions that will be addressed are:

1. How do men and women in law enforcement define professionalism and good policing?
2. How do these definitions align with Muir's (1977) passion and perspective?
3. Do these definitions fit Muir's (1977) four categories of police officers – The Professional, The Enforcer, The Reciprocator, and The Avoider–or have these categories changed or have new ones emerged?

3.2. Data

This is a qualitative study assessing gender differences in perceptions of police professionalism and good policing using semi-structured interviews (N=21) of male (n=10) and female (n=11) sworn law enforcement officers in the United States. Participants were recruited via social media (Twitter and LinkedIn) and the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing listserv. Both the social media posts and listserv email directed potential participants to a Qualtrics scheduling survey. Additional participants were recruited through snowball sampling, as some participants told others about the study. The scheduling survey gathered participants' demographic

[1] This study was approved by the UNC Charlotte IRB and is filed under IRB-23-0205.

information including race, age, rank, time with agency, total time in law enforcement, and state where they serve.

After the participants completed the scheduling survey, they were contacted via email to set up an interview[2]. Interviews were semi-structured and lasted, on average, between 30 and 45 minutes. They were conducted via Zoom and recorded, though participants had the option to participate using only audio (turning off their camera) or to not be recorded at all. Once the interviews were completed, the audio files were transcribed using Otter.ai and verified for accuracy. The interview protocol consisted of 10 questions, developed from the findings of Muir's (1977) study, with slight differences between the questions for women and men (see Tables 1 and 2). The data was coded using the qualitative analysis software NVIVO, and 26 mid-level codes were developed through thematic analysis.

3.3. Analytical Strategy

Braun and Clarke (2022) describe thematic analysis as "a method for developing, analyzing, and interpreting patterns across a qualitative dataset" (p.4), and the goal is to recognize recurring expectant themes within the dataset during the coding process, also known as deductive or theoretical thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Based on Muir's (1977) study, this study expects to find themes related to his four categories of officers (the Professional, the Enforcer, the Reciprocator, and the Avoider) and to help identify participants' beliefs about good and professional policing in relation to Muir's (1977) original descriptions of passion and perspective.

[2] Originally this study was designed to utilize focus groups, however scheduling conflicts and time constraints prevented an adequate number of participants from being in each focus group. After the initial focus group was completed, which included two participants, the decision was made to complete the research using one-on-one interviews.

Table 1 – Women in Law Enforcement Focus Group Guide

Conversationally, the following questions will be covered (in no particular order):

1. Provide some background about yourself, including your tenure at your current agency, your current assignment and any previous assignments, and any other information you feel is relevant.
2. Why did you get into law enforcement?

Professionalism of Policing and Being a Woman in Law Enforcement

3. Describe what it means to you to be a woman in law enforcement.
4. What characteristics and traits do you believe make a professional police officer?
    a. PROBE: How does police culture play a role in this?
5. Aside from professionalism, what are the characteristics of a "good" law enforcement officer
    a. PROBE: What makes a police officer "good" at their job?
    b. PROBE: Does police culture play a role in this?
6. Conversely, what are characteristics of "bad" police officers
    a. PROBE: What should departments look for when rooting out "bad" police officers? ("Bad apples")
    b. PROBE: Are there degrees of "bad"?
    c. PROBE: Again, how does police culture play a role in this?
7. How have the elements that make up good and bad officers changed over time?
    a. PROBE: What do you believe are the percentages of good, bad, and "neutral" officers?
    b. PROBE: Are there gendered elements of these characteristics and how have they changed over time?
8. How does your department's actions align with your interpretation of good and bad officers?
9. Similarly, how does the community define or describe a good and bad officer?
10. With all the negativity within the world and within our job specifically I would like to end this focus group on a positive note and ask, if you are willing, to briefly describe one call for service, traffic stop or other moment within your career that stands out, where you feel you embodied what you believe it means to be a good law enforcement officer, or describe one situation in which you feel that being a women in law enforcement was extremely beneficial to a situation.
11. Do you have any other comments you feel are important or would like to add?

Table 2 – Men in Law Enforcement Focus Group Guide

Conversationally, the following questions will be covered (in no particular order):

1. Provide some background about yourself, including your tenure at your current agency, your current assignment and any previous assignments, and any other information you feel is relevant.
2. Why did you get into law enforcement?
3. What does it mean to you to be a law enforcement officer?

Professionalism of Policing

4. What characteristics and traits do you believe make a professional police officer?
    a. PROBE: How does police culture play a role in this?
5. Aside from professionalism, what are the characteristics of a "good" law enforcement officer?
    a. PROBE: What makes a police officer "good" at their job?
    b. PROBE: Does police culture play a role in this?
6. Conversely, what are characteristics of "bad" police officers?
    a. PROBE: What makes a police officer "good" at their job?
    b. PROBE: Does police culture play a role in this?
    c. PROBE: Again, how does police culture play a role in this?
7. How have the elements that make up good and bad officers changed over time?
    a. PROBE: What do you believe are the percentages of good, bad, and "neutral" officers?
    b. PROBE: Are there gendered elements of these characteristics and how have they changed over time?
8. How does your department's actions align with your interpretation of good and bad officers?
9. Similarly, how does the community define or describe a good and bad officer?
10. How have female officers influenced or changed policing in your agency or over time?
11. Describe what you believe it means to be a woman in law enforcement.
12. With all the negativity within the world and within our job specifically I would like to end this interview on a positive note and ask, if you are willing, to briefly describe one call for service, traffic stop or other moment within your career that stands out, where you feel you embodied what you believe it means to be a good law enforcement officer, or describe one situation in which you feel that having a women in law enforcement, on scene, was beneficial to a situation.
13. Do you have any other comments you feel are important or would like to add?

Table 3: Participant Demographics

Variable	Women N (%)	Men N (%)
Number of Participants	11	10
Geographical Region		
West	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
Midwest	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
South	11 (100%)	7 (70%)
Northeast	0 (0%)	2 (20%)
Agency Size (Number Sworn Officers)		
1000+	2 (18.18%)	2 (10%)
500-999	1 (9.091%)	0 (0%)
150-499	4 (36.36%)	1 (10%)
50-149	3 (27.273%)	2 (20%)
0-49	1 (9.091%)	5 (50%)
Rank		
Police Officer	4 (36.36%)	8 (80%)
Sergeant (or equivalent supervisor)	3 (27.273%)	1 (10%)
Lieutenant or above	3 (27.273%)	1 (10%)
Years of Service	(mean = 12.68) Min = 4; Max = 22	(mean = 16.5) Min = 2.5; Max = 33
Age		
20-29	1 (9.091%)	2 (20%)
30-39	6 (54.55%)	2 (20%)
40-49	4 (36.36%)	2 (20%)
50+	0 (0%)	4 (40%)
Race/Ethnicity		
White/Caucasian	8 (72.72%)	9 (90%)
Black/African American	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Hispanic/Latinx	3 (27.273%)	1 (10%)
Marital Status		
Single/Never Married	2 (18.18%)	1 (10%)
Married/Cohabitating	8 (72.72%)	7 (70%)
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	1 (9.091%)	2 (10%)
Education Level		
Less than college degree	1 (9.091%)	2 (20%)
Two-year college degree	6 (54.55%)	2 (20%)
Four-year college degree	4 (36.36%)	2 (20%)
Graduate or professional degree	0 (0%)	4 (40%)

Additionally, this study seeks to observe emergent themes from within the data, also known as inductive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998). Comparing the current study with one done almost 50 years ago, it is likely that there are new and emerging themes that will develop. Cultural and technological shifts in policing over this time could have led to very different methods of policing not found in the 1970s. Additionally, given the fact that women did not appear in Muir's work, we should expect to find new information regarding their policing practices and how they define good and professional policing.

The data will also be analyzed using reflexive coding. Reflexive coding is when the researcher seeks to understand how their experiences, beliefs, and practices impact the way they analyze the coded data. To put it another way, the researcher understands that the themes uncovered within the data are impacted by their own experiences and biases, and "requires a continual bending back on oneself – questioning and querying the assumptions we are making in interpreting and coding the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 594). The researcher identifies that they are drawing conclusions and themes through their own lens and can never fully exhaust every possible theme and explanation within a data set. Other researchers could pick it up and possibly find other relevant themes, but that is not a bad thing (Braun & Clarke, 2019). To be more precise, the researcher of this study is a law enforcement officer, studying other law enforcement officers; because of this, it is not only possible, but likely, that he will identify themes or important aspects within the coded data that someone who is not in law enforcement would fail to uncover, or would interpret in a slightly different manner. Additionally, with this researcher being a male with a research focus on women in policing, it is possible that he will draw different interpretations than a female would. These are not limitations, and do not impact the validity of the study; in fact, the

recognition of these factors, one could argue, improves the study if one is fully immersed within and understands the data they are analyzing (Braun and Clarke, 2022).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1. Introduction

This section will begin by addressing the findings on the interpretations of professional and good policing among women (identified as FPO) and men (identified as MPO) in law enforcement, discussing the similarities and differences between them, as well as how these interpretations align with Muir's (1977) definitions of perspective and passion. Next, Muir's (1977) four categories will be addressed, including how the data gathered on both men and women fit into these categories.

4.2. Professionalism in Law Enforcement

A pattern quickly developed in how women defined professionalism in law enforcement. When first asked to describe the traits and characteristics that compose a professional police officer, almost every female participant described some variation of integrity, honesty, and/or trustworthiness. In the only focus group that was conducted for this study, when asked about professionalism in law enforcement, both officers clearly emphasized the importance of these characteristics.

> FPO1: Honesty, good integrity…high integrity, things like that.
> FPO2: Yeah, I mean, I think that…at least here, they hammer [that] into all of the new trainees that, like, your whole career is based on your integrity.

While strong emphasis was initially placed on integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness, women in the sample also expressed that having the desire to serve the people in their communities, and having the ability to understand and empathize with the people they serve, was also an important part of professional policing.

> I think that sometimes people get in the thought process of shooting guns and driving fast and they forget that we're here to serve people, like we really are. Even if we don't work for them, we do serve them. (FPO4)

Interestingly, once women initially mentioned the characteristics of integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness, they rarely explicitly mentioned these factors again. However, they continually discussed the importance of the community/service mindset. For example, many mentioned scenarios in which they were able to rely on interpersonal connections to help the people they serve. One participant stated, "I got sent to a lot of these sexual assault calls and, you know, even though I was in uniform, like I could sit down with somebody and have them feel comfortable" (FPO 2). This indicated that, even with the uniform on—something that can be a symbol of power and might be off-putting for some—she was able to listen to and connect with victims at one of their worst moments. Others also noted the importance of this service mindset, even when doing jobs in law enforcement that they did not care for, and how one can also learn from these types of calls.

> As a deputy, in my younger years, I really got burned out in doing all of the mental health transports that we had to do. Especially the involuntary commitments with females. I was doing a lot of them pretty much every shift at work; I was doing at least one, as well as my patrol duties. So, I really got kind of burned out about it, but now looking back at it, I learned a lot from that and some of those experiences, and being able to, like, take a moment and try and connect with people when they were in crisis. (FPO11)

Additionally, female participants described the service mindset and simply treating individuals with respect as important and beneficial to officers, including when dealing with suspects of crimes.

> Yesterday I arrested this guy. Initially, he was pissed off, upset. He didn't wanna do anything. I got him in the car, and he's like, 'It's hot'. So, I rolled his window down for him, I asked him if that felt better and he was like, 'Yeah, thanks'…I hit the interstate, he was like, 'Oh, oh' I said, 'Are you cold'? And he was like, 'Yes', so I laughed a little bit and I rolled his window up …when we got to the jail, I told him everything, I was upfront and honest, and I ended up letting his buddy walk because his buddy was honest with me. He saw that and whenever it was time for me to go, he was like, 'Thank you for being upfront honest with me'. (FPO3)

All of these statements indicate the importance of the service/community mindset among female participants, and these same themes appeared throughout their interviews, including when they discussed why they chose to enter law enforcement as a career.

> Being a female, being Hispanic, being part of the LGBTQ community, [my agency] is a place that I can be myself, and also wear the badge, and be able to serve my community as all of those things. (FPO11)

Other officers continued with this theme and the importance of helping people, stating, "I love helping people and I love figuring out the why, and why people do things" (FPO4) And, "I thought I could be good at [law enforcement] because I really like…helping people and working with people, and I did see [law enforcement] as…my way of helping society" (FPO8). All of which shows a consistent response from female participants when it comes to defining professionalism.

Conversely, male participants had far less uniformity in their initial perceptions of the traits that define a professional law enforcement officer. Some participants agreed with women when asked what characteristics made up a professional law enforcement officer, stating, "honesty and integrity, doing the right thing when nobody's looking" (MPO5) and "the biggest one is integrity" (MPO6); however, most did not outright say these things. Rather, some hinted at similar traits, as MPO7 explains:

> I believe a professional law enforcement officer [should] convey trustworthy motives. Here's why I'm performing this enforcement activity. Here's why I'm engaged in this investigation, or here's why I'm asking you this line of questioning, able to convey trustworthy motives. This isn't related to any bias or any harassment, you know, I don't do this for the joy of flexing authority. So, officers that can convey there's a reason, a professional and a justifiable reason to [their] behavior, I believe that is probably one of the highest marks of professionalism in law enforcement. (MPO7)

But rather than initially focusing on honesty and integrity, most men tended to describe other characteristics when first asked. For example, some participants pointed to empathy and understanding for the citizens as a key trait of a professional law enforcement officer:

> You've got to be empathetic, with emotional intelligence; you learn about being empathetic, being selfless and understanding…we have to go in there and understand what [the citizen is] going through. (MPO8)

Others felt that always having the willingness to learn, adapt, and train was the key component to being a professional in policing.

> I think the best guys that do this job, take it from a professional mindset. I think they believe that they are always learning. They continue taking courses, they continue to do their best in the profession, because I do believe law enforcement is a profession. So, the best professionals continue to educate themselves, continue to change and adapt, based upon their experiences, and basically just make themselves as good a police officer as they can. (MPO1)

A few officers even took this a step further and mentioned taking pride in one's appearance as an important trait for professional policing. MPO3 addressed this specifically, stating that bad officers are "definitely those that are slobs, you know, not taking care of themselves. They don't worry about portraying themselves as professional, by the way they look. Just slack with their uniform appearance". Additionally, MPO5 felt that appearance and pride in the uniform, along with training, was an important factor for him in choosing his agency.

> In being a state trooper, really, I got into that I guess too, because of their appearance, you know. (REDACTED AGENCY) in my opinion, is the best agency and they look the best and they're trained really well. So, I would think appearance is important. And training is important [for professionalism]. (MPO5)

Unlike the female participants, the men were not in total agreement on what characteristics made a professional officer, when initially asked, but throughout their interviews they did convey that integrity, caring, and understanding for the community were essential pieces. A few male participants even indicated that there was a growing focus on these characteristics in law enforcement and felt that women in law enforcement were perhaps responsible for this push.

> It's really easy for an officer to take notes and take reports and write the facts down and stuff like that. And like I said, when I got started back in the 90s, that's all they wanted you to do, is take the report and get out of there. But as I started working…and started looking at the women I work with, who would take an extra

> 5 to 15 minutes, and they would talk to the person, the victim, you might say, or the suspect. And it's like they…put emotion into law enforcement, I mean, it actually started changing the way you investigate crimes and whatnot, because sometimes the facts you have on paper may show one outcome, but if you put emotions in it, a lot of times the emotion changes the why. (MPO3)

MPO8 continued with this belief, explaining that women often have a better understanding of emotional intelligence, and this understanding is something beneficial to officers on the job, which men should learn from:

> Well, females by nature are more understanding…for the most part…they have a level of emotional intelligence that us males don't have, because a lot of us, especially in older times, [have] that macho man mentality…that masculinity. That whole, I have to be this way, I have to be strong, I have to be that, while the female officers are able to communicate with people on a different level, understand and really bring people down…to a level where we're level-headed, we're understanding.

Overall, while both women and men in this study started out discussing different things when asked about professionalism, they ultimately arrived at more of a consensus as interviews progressed. Both groups discussed characteristics associated with service to the community as an important factor of professionalism, but with women doing so far more frequently. Interestingly, some of the male participants recognized this and indicated that men in law enforcement should look to the women they serve with and place the same emphasis on service to the community, as while they may generally feel it is important, they often fail to place enough emphasis on it themselves.

4.3. Good Policing

For both women and men who participated in the study, their perceptions of good policing placed them into one of two groups, regardless of gender. The first group was defined by participants who focused less on characteristics and indicated that they felt good policing was so intertwined with professionalism as to make them virtually indistinguishable from one another.

The second group believed that good policing was a separate idea from professionalism but not wholly separate as Muir (1977) described—rather, it is related in some way to professionalism. Additionally, participants in this group often described characteristics of good policing as things that have more to do with the actual job duties of law enforcement.

The participants in the first group often did not give detailed descriptions of what they considered good policing as they did with professionalism; instead, they simply indicated that good policing and professionalism were very similar and used similar words to describe both:

> I think…[professional and good policing] go hand in hand. I mean, when I…think of my co-workers that I like and respect the most, and I look up to…I do see them as being someone who is professional, and [they] have all those traits [of professionalism]. (FPO8)

Additionally, some participants in this group likened being a professional officer and engaging in good policing with just being a good person and having good traits in general, which is why they felt the two are closely linked.

> I think those things go hand in hand, honestly. I think just being a good person, a good human being goes well with being a professional, because it's going to carry through if you're a good person, and you study and you know your stuff, your law enforcement stuff, it's gonna carry through your professionalism and how you carry yourself and how you speak to others. (MPO3)

This first group described professionalism and good policing as almost indistinguishable from one another, which is a major difference from Muir's (1977) study. However, the second and more common group were those officers that felt professionalism and good policing were separate but related concepts. For example, FPO9 described professional policing as having "integrity [and] honesty" and "being empathetic [and] sympathetic", and then went on to describe good policing as having more to do with work ethic and drive to do the requirements of the job of law enforcement itself:

> If you're a good officer, then you're a professional officer still, too…I think also good officers are just professional, but a good officer is having good work ethic, being there, being present, thinking about your teammates, thinking about your zone partners, not being lazy. Not trying to take the easy way out of stuff. Not trying to cut corners, being thorough in your investigations, things like that. (FPO9)

This is further explained by FPO1 who stated, "you can still be professional, but not be good at your job…you can be nice and courteous to people but screw up all your paperwork." However, the descriptions of good policing also included taking care of oneself, both physically and mentally, as well as continuing to train and learn. Without doing these things, some of the participants felt one could not adequately do the job.

> As far as one big thing is, like, always be learning. Whether that's your own self-care, I come from the fitness and nutrition background. So…I think that's a huge thing, an important thing as far as taking care of yourself at home. Because if you're not good mentally or physically, before you step foot at work, you're probably not going to have a great day or a great career for that matter. So, taking care of yourself at home…always be learning. (FPO10)

However, even though many participants stated they felt that good policing was separate from professionalism, they also indicate that good policing is reliant on officers first having those traits of professionalism—and that these traits are more significant for the best type of officer to have.

> I've seen law enforcement officers that have the physical part where they can do takedowns and they can do armbars, like 100% textbook, but their verbal skills are horrible. They don't know how to talk to people, they don't know how to get people to talk to them. So, they might be a good officer, as in officer-safety-wise, they might be a good officer, because they meet the requirements on the physical part, they meet the requirements on the educational part, they meet the requirements because their reports are decent, but they don't have the community, the people person skills…I don't think they're one in the same, I think they're different. (FPO3)

Additionally, some officers explained that officers could be both professional and good officers or professional and not good at the job, suggesting that good policing alone has a hard time existing

without professionalism. For these officers, then, good policing is part of—but not synonymous with—professionalism.

> Officers can be professional and good, and I think officers can be professional and not so good. You know, anybody, whether it's law enforcement or any other job, you can be professional and not understand the job as well. Or not do the job as well. And it's not necessarily your attitude, it's your ability or understanding...a good officer, you know, he follows up on his calls…he comes to work with a good attitude...attitude means a lot. Personality, stuff of that nature, but a good officer, you know, he really wants to help, he goes above and beyond what is written on paper, expected of him. (MPO4)

While many of the participants of this study described good policing in a similar manner to Muir (1977) in that they stated that it was a separate entity from professionalism, not all felt that way. With some participants describing good policing and professionalism as going hand in hand, almost indistinguishable from one another, there is a discrepancy from what Muir (1977) described. Additionally, when further analyzing what many of the participants in this study who felt good policing and professionalism were separate, said, it appears that they see good policing as a separate entity, but something that also falls underneath the umbrella of professionalism. This is clearly different from Muir's (1977) findings.

4.4 Muir's Perspective and Passion

Overall, when it comes to professionalism/perspective, officers in this study placed importance on having a community/service mindset and understanding the nature of human suffering. Additionally, their beliefs on professionalism, in large part, aligned with those of Muir's (1977) definition of perspective. Women seemed to be the most consistent in this understanding and carried these themes throughout their interviews, whereas men were not in total agreement when first asked to describe the traits of a professional officer. However, almost all participants ended up describing elements of perspective as important pieces of professionalism, at some point in their interviews. Where this study sees a deviation from Muir's (1977) findings is nearly all the

participants put a greater emphasis on the need for perspective compared to good policing/passion, whereas Muir (1977) described the best type of officer as having equally high levels of both passion and perspective (what he termed the Professional). And while both men and women perceived perspective as being more important than passion, women in this study placed an even greater emphasis on having traits of perspective than did male participants. This was something that a few of the male participants recognized and supported, indicating the need for men in law enforcement to do the same.

While participants' descriptions of professionalism aligned closely with Muir's (1977) perspective, the same could not be said for their descriptions of good policing and its relationship with his definition of passion. As noted earlier, participants in this study believed that good policing/passion and professionalism/perspective are either interwoven or separate but related concepts. With Muir (1977) describing the two as entirely separate concepts, this already shows a blurring of the lines around their definitions. However, more participants initially did describe good policing/passion and professionalism/perspective as being two separate constructs. On the surface, this would align with Muir's (1977) study, indicating that there has not been a substantial change in the definition and perception—but on closer inspection, this might not be accurate.

While many officers in this study might have initially indicated they felt good policing/passion was separate from professionalism/perspective, the actual descriptions they gave align more with the belief that good policing/passion is more of a subcategory within professionalism/perspective. One the best descriptions of this belief came from MPO1, who described professionalism as a catch-all term in which many other aspects of policing were included, such as good policing. He described good policing as the protection component of law enforcement, but links it with professionalism.

> I think professionalism is a great term, it's a catch-all term that includes a number of other attributes. You know, again, I think it's that the service mindset is a huge thing in law enforcement. I believe officers have to have that mindset. I've seen bad police officers that do not have a service mindset and you know, they may be excellent at the protecting of people, you know, the protection part of law enforcement, but I've seen them with an attitude of almost, I'm going to tell you what you need, and that's not the service mindset. I think the service mindset is letting the people figure out what it is that they need in any given situation, and then assist them in that, even if you believe it may not be the greatest thing for them. A service mindset is just as important as a protection mindset in law enforcement in my opinion. So, you know, physical fitness, all the things that would make someone a professional, again, fit into that mold. (MPO1)

While many participants stated they felt that good policing/passion was separate from professionalism/perspective, it could be argued that they actually largely see good policing/passion as something that has to exist within professionalism/perspective, insomuch as that, regardless of how they initially defined good policing/passion, it has a hard time existing without an officer first having those traits of professionalism/perspective. This is a clear difference from Muir (1977) who felt the two were separate and should be equal in importance.

4.5. Muir's (1977) Categories

This study has developed an understanding of how both female and male participants define professionalism and good policing using Muir's (1977) framework of perspective and passion. Next, the traits described by participants are used to interpret Muir's (1977) four types of officers: the Professional, the Enforcer, the Avoider, and the Reciprocator.

The Professional

Muir (1977) described the Professional as the best type of officer, one who had high levels of both passion and perspective, which he argued to be separate concepts. While there is some disagreement among the officers in this study as to whether passion and perspective are two completely different ideas, many of the traits that participants described as what makes good and

professional officers are what went into making Muir's Professional. The following are just two examples, one male and one female, where they discussed traits of both perspective and passion as important:

> A professional, deputy or officer, it's just being empathetic and honesty, integrity, I think are the biggest things. (FPO9)

> A good officer is having a good work ethic, being there, being present, thinking about your teammates, thinking about your zone partners, not being lazy. Not trying to take the easy way out of stuff. Not trying to cut corners, being thorough in your investigations, things like that. (FPO9)

> For me, the two factors you have to have (to be a professional officer), you've got to be empathetic with emotional intelligence, you learn about being empathetic, being selfless and understanding. I think when you go to calls for service, a lot of things that officers forget is that we are coming into a situation where we're gonna see people at their worst. So, we have to be emotionally intelligent to understand what's going on. (MPO8)

> You have to go in there and understand what the call for services is, what can you do, what legally can you not do in these calls for services. And how can you handle it based on what you're allowed and not allowed to do. (MPO8)

The biggest difference between Muir's Professional and what participants described in this study was the increased emphasis, especially among female participants, that was placed on perspective. It could also be argued that the men who participated in this study placed more emphasis on perspective than what Muir originally described, just not to the same extent as the women. However, the officers in this study unanimously agreed that this type of officer is the ideal officers, which does still align with Muir's argument. This was consistent across participant descriptions, even if there was uncertainty about how certain traits fall within perspective and passion individually.

The Avoider

Another category that remained largely unchanged in description by participants of this study is the Avoider. Muir described the Avoider as an officer with neither passion nor perspective, and these characterizations often appeared when participants were describing bad officers. However, descriptions of the Avoider seemed to come up less often and were no longer the focus of bad policing. Additionally, traits of the Avoider came up more in the interviews with men than with women. The first description given about this category by some of the officers interviewed was the belief that officers need to be invested in the job. When officers are not invested, they are not helping their community, once again demonstrating that participants place significant importance on high levels of perspective.

> Law enforcement needs to be proactive in communities and if you have officers or deputies that are only there to do the bare minimum, it doesn't mean that they're doing bad police work, per se, but they're not helping their community. (MPO2)

FPO9 specifically addressed both the lack of passion and perspective as traits of a bad officer by describing such officers, who do not care about people or the job itself, as those who were "just here for a paycheck."

One other aspect of the Avoider category that was discussed, was that of officers who perhaps do not start out as Avoiders and may have high levels of passion and perspective initially, but somewhere along the line lose their desire to do the job.

> I mean, I think that it's really easy for people to get, you know, overwhelmed with the schedule or with, you know, like what's going on, on the calls, or any of that stuff, like, it's really easy to get burned out. And so like, a lot of people will just like kind of stop caring at work, and there'll be checked out and…those people aren't going to be people that, you know, are going to be doing good work in general, but they're also just not people that you want to get on a call with you…because you know that they're going to just show up and not care, and either not help you or actively screw something up. (FPO2)

This attitude was mirrored by MPO3, but he went on to discuss the importance of officers needing to be able to recognize if this is happening to them, and doing what they have to in order to prevent this from occurring.

> I think we all start out with our best interest, you know, to help people out and some of us carry that on throughout the career. And I think it has to do also [with] where you work at; you know, if you work in [city with high crime rate], you're going to experience a lot of, you know, crazy calls with, you know, child molesters or people killed or others. At some point you're gonna get burnt out, you're gonna just get used to it and you start losing that humanity part of yourself. I think that falls also on what I said earlier, where you know, you as an individual, if you start feeling that you should be going out seeking help, reaching out to the department administrators and let them know that you're going through something, that you need some counseling or, you know, if they don't have that then you go out and search for it for yourself. (MPO3)

All factors mentioned above are traits of the Avoider, and they are similar to Muir's (1977) description of the category, indicating it has stayed relatively consistent over time. While officers could certainly enter their career as an Avoider and stay that way until they retire, it is important to note that participants describe the Avoider category as one that officers can both fall into and find their way out of. Officers can start with high levels of passion and perspective but lose one or both depending on how the career impacts them, and steps need to be taken to guard against that.

The Enforcer

The Enforcer, as Muir (1977) described, was the officer with high levels of passion and low levels of perspective. They often use their coercive power to make people do what they want them to do and are the officers that see the law in absolute terms. Muir did not describe these officers as inherently bad in his original study; however, many participants in this study, both women and men, described these characteristics as some of the worst an officer can have. When asked to describe what makes a bad officer, participants discussed things like the overuse of force and using coercive power unjustly, regardless of the traits they initially discussed for either

professional and good policing. This is clearly shown when MPO4 notes that, “a bad officer may use too much force…not restraining or…you know, it falls all back, you know, treat people how you want to be treated.” FPO5 expanded on this further when she said, “some characteristics of a bad officer are…definitely not trustworthy, not caring [about] themselves or the public, lack of respect, and overusing…authority.” Additionally, some officers felt that seeing citizens as different, engaging in the ‘us vs. them’ mentality found within the Enforcer, was problematic. FPO2 specifically mentioned that she wished law enforcement “could get away from, you know, othering the people that, you know, we have to arrest or… deal with on that side of things,” as this mentality is not compatible with the service mindset.

Additionally, Enforcers are also the types of officers that strictly enforce the law, making arrests and writing tickets with little concern for how their actions impact the community. MPO5 discussed this, stating that he viewed officers who did their job to the “letter of the law,” versus the “spirit of the law,” as bad officers. He felt that officers need to be understanding of the situation at hand and adjust their interaction and enforcement action accordingly. He described this as acting in the spirit of the law, which is open for interpretation, rather than the letter of the law, which is black and white, an everyone-gets-a-ticket or gets arrested-type of mentality. This is where MPO5 felt officers really had the ability to make a difference. This attitude was mirrored by FPO4 who stated that bad officers were those “that are solely focused on…handling the drug calls versus handling the welfare check, the people that will do anything to get the guy.” She felt that officers need to understand that the job is not just about getting the bad guy, but that officers need to have empathy for the people they serve as well, once again indicating that traits associated with the Enforcer exist in direct contrast to those that make the best type of officer.

In this study, both men and women who participated consistently described characteristics of Muir's (1977) Enforcer; however, unlike how it was viewed in the 1970s, the category is now viewed in a much more negative light. Officers in this study indicated that some of the traits found in the Enforcers are the worst traits for an officer to hold. So, while it appears that the category is still very much relevant today, how it is perceived is quite different.

The Reciprocator

The final category is the Reciprocator. Muir (1977) described this category as officers that had perspective for the job, but lacked the passion, or the ability to be an effective officer. Out of all of the interviews with both women and men, there appeared to be only a few instances in which the traits of the Reciprocator were described. MPO1 stated, while discussing the levels of bad policing, that a bad officer can be someone who is using the badge to commit all sorts of crimes, from drug running and murder, all the way "to an officer who probably just isn't great at his job, but you know, doesn't make mistakes that are of the heart you know, just makes mistakes of the mind." Most officers will make both types of mistakes at various times in their career, but the Reciprocator is the officer whose heart is in the right place but just never performs well in the job. The lack of discussion of this type of officer as either a good or bad officer makes it difficult to elaborate further on where perceptions of this type of officer stand among officers today.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary of Findings

This study set out to address three main research questions. First, this study sought to determine how men and women define professionalism and good policing. The results of this study show that while there are many similarities in how women and men in law enforcement define these terms, there are some differences. When it comes to professional policing, almost all women who participated initially indicated in some way that a professional officer is one who has high levels of integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness. However, men's answers to the initial question about professional policing seemed to vary, with some agreeing with women that these characteristics were important, while others mentioned that empathy made a professional cop, and some felt that those officers who continued to learn and train throughout their career were the most professional. At first, this indicated a difference in opinion between men and women; however, as the interviews continued, both men and women often discussed an officer's ability to adequately communicate with and understand individuals in the community as being of upmost importance, with women describing these traits even more so than men.

This result bears the question, if community involvement and understanding became a recurring theme in many of these interviews, why did officers not discuss them more when first asked to describe the traits that make up a professional officer? One possible explanation is the fact that professionalism in the field of law enforcement has been ill-defined for so long. Without a consensus on the definition, perhaps some participants simply discussed the first appropriate attribute for a police officer that entered their mind. Alternatively, while integrity, honesty, and trustworthiness are not directly describing the ability to understand the nature of human suffering, it would be hard for an officer to have high levels of professionalism without first holding these

traits. Further, these and similar traits have been the focus of many agencies' efforts to increase legitimacy and community trust. Hearing these traits repeatedly could certainly explain why they were the first things participants thought of, though this does not explain the difference in emphasis between men and women. Regardless, the officers involved in this study believe that community and service-based elements are of great importance to the development of a professional officer, with women placing an even greater emphasis on these traits.

When describing what defines good policing, participants were in one of two groups, regardless of gender. The first group felt professionalism and good policing were so closely related that it was difficult to find a clear distinction between the two. The second group believed that knowing how to do the job of law enforcement was important, and that being proactive or taking appropriate action was necessary and distinct from professionalism, aligning more with Muir's (1977) description of passion. However, many of the participants that fell into group two described good policing in a way that seemed to indicate that it would be hard for it to exist if professionalism was absent. Both groups' interpretations represent a shift from the description by Muir. This deviation from Muir deserves further investigation. Future research should particularly focus on the potential that the two groups identified here are more alike than they appear in this study.

The second research question addressed how the definitions given by participants align with Muir's (1977) passion and perspective. Most participants described professionalism in a manner that is consistent with Muir's perspective. Participants often described the importance of service to the community being a top priority for the best type of officers. However, their descriptions of good policing were less clear. With participants falling into separate groups, there was an initial indication their beliefs would not align with Muir's (1977) passion as well as they did with perspective. The first group described good policing as almost indistinguishable from

professionalism and the second appeared to align with Muir, in that the participants who fell into these categories stated they saw professionalism and good policing as two separate concepts. However, when further analyzing the second group's statements, it was apparent that they describe them as being separate yet related concepts, with good policing being a subcategory of professionalism.

These findings suggest that Muir's (1977) passion and perspective may not be as starkly different as they once were thought. It is certainly possible that when Muir (1977) originally published his study, perspective and passion were much more distinct, and the best of officers, his so-called "Professional," needed to have high levels of both. However, nearly 50 years later, it would seem that the lines separating these two categories are becoming blurred, and while both aspects are still important for creating the best type of officer, having perspective—the ability to understand and connect with people—is now more important. The development of the best officers still requires passion within the job, but if they develop this without perspective, some may argue that they are neither good nor professional.

Finally, this study's third research question sought to determine if participants discussed attributes of Muir's four categories of police officers—the Professional, the Enforcer, the Reciprocator, and the Avoider—and whether these categories have changed or new categories have emerged. To this end, the results indicate that Muir's (1977) categories have undergone some changes. Unsurprisingly, Muir's Professional seems to have remained the ideal type of officer and one that departments want to develop and retain. However, while traits that make up the Professional seem to have remained relatively consistent, the participants of this study—especially the women—placed a greater emphasis on the traits of perspective. This seems like a logical change as many agencies have turned towards community-based policing, which places a greater

emphasis on these traits, to improve police community relationships and increase police legitimacy (Hough, 2020; Kelling and Moore, 1988; Meares, Tyler, & Gardener, 2015; Peyton Sierra-Arévalo & Rand, 2019; Tankebe, 2014).

When it comes to the Avoider category, it too appears mostly unchanged in definition, but has slightly changed in perception. Laziness and simply not caring about the job, traits of the Avoider, were mentioned by several participants; however, when these traits appeared, they were almost an afterthought. While the Avoider is still seen as less-than-ideal if not bad by participants, far less emphasis and concern about the behaviors of Avoiders was conveyed relative to the traits of the Enforcer. One explanation for this is that officers now have a greater understanding for the officers that are Avoiders. With participants in this study mentioning that burnout within the job could cause officers to *become* Avoiders, it is possible that officers are no longer looking on this category with as much disdain as they once did, as they understand why officers end up losing interest in the job. There is a substantial body of research on police officer burnout that finds "this serious stress reaction undermines not only [officers] physical and emotional health but also efforts to reform policing in America" (McCarty et al., 2019, p. 296). These stressors have only been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Jennings & Perez, 2020; Stogner et al., 2020) and recent high-profile events and protests, like those that occurred after the murder of George Floyd. All of these events have culminated in increased officer resignations, many of which are attributed to public hostility (Mourtgos, Adams, & Nix; 2022). This might be part of the reason they are not as quick to condemn other officers that have found themselves in the Avoider category. It could also explain some participants mentioning the need to guard against this becoming a possibility, suggesting officers should seek out mental health care if they begin to experience burnout.

Like the Avoider, the Enforcer category has remained relatively unchanged in definition, though how it is now perceived by law enforcement officers has changed substantially. In Muir's study, the Enforcer got results, made arrests, and used their coercive power to do so—all of . However, both women and men in this study overwhelmingly described these behaviors and characteristics as the worst type of cop, discussing excessive force and the mentality of getting results by any means necessary as dangerous. This was not the case in the 1970s, which indicates a substantial shift in how the Enforcer is perceived, even if the definition itself has remained relatively constant.

Lastly, the Reciprocator category was almost entirely absent from this study. Only a small number of participants even discussed the characteristics of the Reciprocator. On paper, these types of officers can certainly still exist, but the question remains as to why there are so few instances in which participants described Reciprocators. One possible explanation is that perhaps departments are now better at task assignment than they were 50 years ago. If an officer is struggling to effectively do their job as a regular patrol officer, but has high levels of perspective, perhaps departments are recognizing this and moving officers to roles where they can be more effective. Some departments now have division dedicated to community policing-type roles and have many other specialized units where an officer could be moved to and succeed. Additionally, there are now even specialized agencies where an officer might be a better fit. If this is the case, maybe this category was not described because it is now harder for an officer to recognize individuals who have high levels of perspective and low levels of passion because these individuals are moved to other assignments before their struggle impacts other officers, where in the past departments would have simply tried to get rid of officers that failed at regular patrol work. This category would benefit from further inquiry and additional research should focus on this phenomenon.

Overall, the results of this study indicate that while some of what Muir (1977) described is still consistent with what officers in this study believe today, there have been changes. The lines between passion and perspective appear blurred, and while it could be argued that the traits that make up Muir's Professional, Enforcer, Avoider, and Reciprocator are largely the same, how these categories are perceived by these participants have changed, in some cases drastically.

5.2. Policy Implications

The results of this study have several implications for police policy and practice. First, agencies should emphasize Muir's perspective in the hiring and training processes. It would likely be in the interest of departments to seek out individuals who naturally have high levels of perspective, having the ability to understand the nature of human suffering. Brice and colleagues (2022) argue departments typically screen-out applicants by searching for specific red-flags but should instead look to 'screen-in' applicants by looking for specific qualities within them and hire individuals who exhibit those traits. Participants in this sample explained that perspective was essential in policing, with women giving it even greater weight than did men. Agencies should look for the traits associated with perspective when 'screening-in' individuals during the hiring process. The findings of this study also support the idea that more women in law enforcement may help achieve that goal. Todak (2017) found that women who have a desire to enter law enforcement believe that they can help repair citizen-police relationships, through their communication skills, once again something found heavily within perspective traits. These are all traits that study participants used to describe perspective.

It is unclear whether having perspective is something that can be taught or if one has to have that characteristic within them, at some level; future research should attempt to determine this relationship. Nonetheless, once recruits enter the academy, a greater emphasis should be

placed on developing perspective; recruits need to see that law enforcement, as some officers mentioned, is not all about shooting guns and driving fast, it truly is about service. However, police academies today do not really reflect this. Buehler's (2021) study of police academies in 2018 found that 77% of academies have instruction on community-building. Additionally, approximately 75% have mediation and conflict management and instruction on problem solving. Of the academies that do teach these topics, however, the average number of hours of instruction for each are 11, 13, and 16 respectively. By comparison, active-shooter training is taught in 90.4% of academies and averages 14 hours of training yet is something that most law enforcement officers might face once in a thirty-year career. This clearly indicates how underserved recruits are when it comes developing perspective in the academy, which is especially concerning given the fact most officers are expected to engage in aspects of community policing on a routine basis and all participants in this study felt that perspective-based traits were extremely important for law enforcement officers to properly do the job. Beyond the academy, these skills and traits should be developed throughout an officer's career.

Additionally, this study further demonstrates the benefit of having women in law enforcement. The beliefs that these women carry with them about how officers should police, and the traits that should be present in the best officers, align closely with Muir's (1977) Professional and would undoubtedly be beneficial to improving police legitimacy. The findings from this study, combined with those from existing research (Belknap & Shelley 1993; Leong, 2018; Lonsway, 2001; Lonsway, Wood, & Spillar, 2002), further illustrates the need for agencies to work towards increasing the number of women in law enforcement, and retaining those women once hired. While more than 275 agencies have publicly pledged to have 30% of new hires be women by 2030 (Advancing Women in Policing, 2023), it is just a start and that alone will not fix problems within

retention. Specifically, Cordner and Cordner (2011) addressed problems with the male-dominated police culture, lack of advancement opportunities, and the lack of family-friendly policies as reasons agencies struggle to retain women and fixing these problems will require hard work and a change in mindset. Only then are we likely to see a rise in the percentage of women in law enforcement, which has been all but stagnant for two decades.

5.3. Limitations and Future Research

Every study has its limitations, and this one is no different. First, while not necessarily a limitation, this study is qualitative in nature and therefore the findings are not generalizable across law enforcement more broadly. While not generalizable, the information uncovered by this study provides insight that would not have been achievable with a quantitative study alone. Because of this, future research on this topic should incorporate a mixed methodology, combining both qualitative and quantitative analysis to better understand the relationships uncovered here. Performing a mixed methods study will help to increase the validity and reliability of the data gathered and will provide more context for officers perceptions of professionalism and good policing.

Second, data collection was limited to interviews conducted over Zoom. While such interviews offer great benefits, like the ability to gather various perspectives from across the country or world, face-to-face interactions and extended time with participants would provide more context than was gathered here. While it would be difficult to fully replicate Muir's (1977) original study due to time and financial constraints, future research would benefit from a similar study utilizing embedded criminology. This would get closer to the heart of Muir's study by collecting data while participating in ride-alongs and seeing officers performing their day-to-day job functions, interacting with members of the public and would demonstrate whether officers

practice what they preach. Further, this study was initially designed to utilize focus groups in data collection, but participants' scheduling constraints did not permit enough focus groups of appropriate size, which resulted in the study transitioning to one-on-one interviews (except for one initial focus group). The inclusion of focus groups in further research would allow participants to engage with each other while answering questions, which can elicit additional information not uncovered in individual interviews.

Third, the data consists of interviews with 11 women and 10 men. While this was enough data to draw conclusions and began to reveal emergent themes, future research should expand this sample size in order to glean additional information that could potentially lead to the inclusion of new categories of officers not originally identified by Muir. Additionally, expanding the number of interview questions and including more refined and specific questions designed to uncover any potential new categories would be a welcomed addition.

Finally, study participants were recruited via the American Society of Evidence-Based Policing (ASEBP) listserv and through social media; with the ASEBP being an organization dedicated to making policing a more research-oriented and evidence-based profession, the participants therein are likely skewed towards officers who are research-friendly. It is possible that these officers' opinions will be different from the general population of police officers. Additionally, given the sample size, the participants of this study do not reflect the racial and ethnic demographics of law enforcement in the United States, and women were intentionally oversampled in order to ascertain gender differences in perceptions. Geographically, the study is skewed towards officers from North Carolina, possibly because of participants referring colleagues to participate and the location of the researcher. These factors can and should be addressed by future research in order to provide a better representation of officers in the United States.

5.4. Conclusion

In today's world, there is an expectation from the public, and a desire from law enforcement agencies, to have officers reflect Muir's Professional by treating citizens both fairly and with understanding of the situation at hand, as well as caring about the job and the duties contained within. With participants in this study placing a bigger emphasis on perspective, or the understanding of the nature of human suffering, than what Muir found nearly 50 years ago, and with some of the male participants attributing this change to women in law enforcement, two things are accomplished: first, it slightly redefines Muir's Professional as someone who, while still having both perspective and passion, relies more heavily on perspective to do the job; second, this officer is perhaps the ideal type of officer for modern policing. If this is in fact the case, departments should work to engrain and promote perspective-based traits in officers. This should occur from before the first day of the academy and be reinforced continually thorough to retirement. Additionally, the recruitment and retention of women in policing has never been more important. Perhaps departments will realize this and take appropriate action to increase the representation and retention of women across the board, in all areas of law enforcement.

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