THE OUTLOOK FOR WOMEN
in
POLICE WORK

Bulletin No. 231
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WOMEN'S BUREAU
The Outlook for Women in Police Work

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU,

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting a report on policewomen in the United States. It is a byproduct of a larger study on the outlook for women in the social services now underway and is being published at the suggestion of women engaged in this field who stress the need for more information about it.

To them, to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and to the many police chiefs and others in law enforcement work who supplied information, special acknowledgment is hereby made.

The manuscript was prepared by Mildred Dougherty under the supervision of Marguerite W. Zapoleon.

Respectfully submitted.

FRIEDA S. MILLER, Director.

Hon. MAURICE J. TOBIN,
Secretary of Labor.

III
The work of the policeman, the sheriff, the State trooper and other men who enforce law and order has received generous attention from the press and various periodicals in recent years. There have, however, been few attempts to bring the policewoman before the public except in a popular way. Although the policewomen of the United States make up only approximately 1 percent of the workers in the law enforcement field they have an importance over and above numbers in the extent and quality of the preventive-protective services they perform. Because this aspect of law enforcement is receiving increasingly greater attention many inquiries on the work of the policewoman have been received by police departments employing them and by the Women's Bureau.

Information included in this bulletin applies only to women in law enforcement employed by government agencies. The material has been gathered from the comparatively few published sources available: from the records of the United States Census; from officials of the Federal Government; from interviews with police authorities in 14 cities which were visited by a representative of the Women's Bureau; and from organizations in this field of work, especially the National Sheriffs' Association and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The last-named organization, in cooperation with the Women’s Bureau, circulated a questionnaire to its 2,200 members in February of 1949. One hundred forty-three cities replied, as well as the four States that had employed policewomen, giving data on policewomen employed in 1940, 1944, 1949, and anticipated employment in 1955.

Information on policewomen employed by cities was secured from two previous studies made by workers in the police field in 1945–46: a 1945 study of 29 selected cities made by a Chicago policewoman, Mrs. Lois Higgins, which covered manner of appointment, method of supervision, types of duties, rank of policewomen and training programs both for recruits and for in-service workers; and a 1945–46 study by Miss Carol Williams of the Detroit Police Department which gave statistical information supplied by 141 cities employing policewomen. More than 1,000 policewomen out of the estimated 3,000 women in law enforcement are employed by city governments, and the major part of the bulletin is devoted to a discussion of the outlook for women in police work in cities.
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Policewoman as Defined in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (18)

Policewoman (government service) 2–66.24. Patrols the streets of a municipality and investigates public places and recreational facilities to protect the morals of female persons and juveniles; investigates cases of juvenile delinquency to determine the reasons underlying their delinquency and submits report to JUVENILE-COURT MAGISTRATE; looks for and takes into custody delinquent or neglected children. In some places takes active part in investigation of major crimes of every description.

Some Other Law Enforcement Occupations as Defined in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (except where otherwise indicated)

“Bailiff; court bailiff; court officer; court sergeant (gov. ser.) 2–67.20. Opens court by announcing entrance of JUDGE; seats all witnesses within area of courtroom provided for that purpose; ushers spectators to seats and preserves order, ejecting and, if necessary, arresting anyone disturbing the peace.” (18)

“Customs Inspectress (gov. ser.) 0–95.02. Examines and searches the person of female passengers arriving from foreign ports to detect any attempts to smuggle dutiable or prohibited goods into the country.” (18)

“Immigration Inspector; immigration agent; immigration investigator; immigration officer (gov. ser.) 0–95.91. Examines persons seeking entry into United States to determine if they are aliens and, if so, to further determine if they are entering the country legally: arrests or detains persons attempting to enter country in violation of immigration laws or who have not complied with the regulations for entry; searches for and takes into custody stowaways in automobiles, ships, and trains; supervises the deportation of aliens.” (18)

Matron (Jail) (as defined by the U. S. Department of Justice). Responsible for the supervision and control of women prisoners in jails. Searches all women prisoners. In large cities, books and fingerprints them. Supervises the serving of food to women prisoners. Attends prisoners in case of illness and sees that adequate medical service is obtained. Is responsible for the
inspection and proper maintenance of their quarters; their discipline. Transports women to court and other institutions. Keeps records; maintains files.

Sheriff (as defined in Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition, Unabridged, 1946). “The chief executive officer of a shire or county, charged with the execution of the laws, the serving of judicial writs and processes, and the preservation of the peace, and in some cases having judicial powers. . . . In the United States sheriffs are elected for varying terms. The office in both England and the United States is now mainly ministerial.”

“Sheriff, Deputy (gov. ser.) 2–67.30. Enforces laws and serves legal processes of courts in rural or unincorporated suburban districts; patrols specified areas to detect infractions of law; escorts prisoners to and from courtroom or from one prison to another, using physical force to subdue unruly prisoners; maintains order in courtrooms.” (19)

U. S. Marshal (as defined by the U. S. Department of Justice). United States Marshals are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate to serve in each of the 93 jurisdictions in the United States and its possessions. They are administrative heads of offices who perform the following duties or supervise deputy marshals in their performance: serve civil and criminal papers, make arrests, transport prisoners, attend court sessions, conduct auction sales, and where necessary perform related duties such as preparation of reports, dockets and correspondence.
THE OUTLOOK FOR WOMEN IN POLICE WORK

Today more than 1,000 women are working in the United States as policewomen, in addition to the approximately 2,000 women in other government law-enforcement work, serving, for example, as deputy sheriffs or as customs or immigration inspectors. Comprising less than 1 percent of all police officers in the United States, policewomen trace the beginning of their occupation under that name to Los Angeles, Calif., where, in 1910, a policewoman was first appointed. As early as 1893, however, the mayor of Chicago appointed a woman who was listed on police rolls as a patrolman for many years (?), and in Portland, Oreg., a woman was assigned to do preventive-protective work with girls and women at the time of the Lewis and Clark Exposition in 1905 (20). By 1915 at least 16 cities had policewomen (25).

But, as with other police officers, their main function until the early thirties was the detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, and the preservation of public peace and safety. Prevention of crime became important in the 1920's and led to the expansion of preventive police facilities and the establishment of special bureaus. In the larger cities these were usually initiated by social agencies or civic groups to deal with women and children. In fact, at the meeting of the newly organized National Association of Policewomen, in 1915, reports showed that most of the women appointed to these bureaus had come from the social agencies of the community (3).

The primary function of policewomen today is social and preventive work involving women and children (22). As early as 1922 the International Association of Police Chiefs made the following recommendation:

The primary function of policewomen is to deal with all cases in which women and children are involved either as offenders or victims of offenses. Crimes by or against females, irrespective of age, and boys up to the age of 12, should be the special responsibility of the policewoman. They should discover, investigate and correct anti-social circumstances and conditions in individual cases, and in the community, deal socially and legally with all delinquent women and children, give or secure social treatment calculated to result in reform, and supplement the work of the policeman in securing evidence and convictions in special cases that will aid in correcting evil conditions (14).

In carrying out these aims the policewoman has law enforcement duties, investigational or patrol work prior to arrest, and the
preparation of cases for court. Investigation of non-court cases and referral of such cases to the proper social agency are also her functions (7).

Her work is preventive in clearing up possible sources of danger, protective to the individual in dealing with those who need "warning and guidance," and protective to the community when necessary arrests are made. The protection of women and children after arrest is also often her responsibility (14).

In the larger cities, policewomen usually have alternating assignments in which they may serve as: court worker, who submits to court a report of investigations in all cases of women and accompanies to and from court those not on bond; missing persons worker, who makes necessary investigations of women and children reported missing; patrol worker, assigned to inspection of movies and legitimate theaters and to supervision in public parks, dance halls, cabarets and night clubs; patrol worker assigned to investigation and detection of shoplifting; traffic officer, who guards school children at crossings near schools; license officer, who investigates applications for licenses for dance halls, tap rooms, massage establishments, fortune tellers, and public halls;

Figure 1.—Policewomen questioning ages of newsboys.
officer detailed to bus and railway stations during day and night; night desk officer, who takes complaints and assigns night field workers; midnight reserve officer, who takes care of all calls between midnight and 8 a.m. In some places they assist in undercover investigations in major crimes, investigate parental neglect or abuse of children or other complaints involving children, and have escort duties.

For the most part policewomen work in the larger cities and several women are employed on the same staff. Some, however, work in less populated communities where only one woman is employed as a policewoman. In such communities, where the nearest social agency may be miles away, the lone policewoman may carry some of the functions of the health worker, the relief agent, the probation officer, or the family case worker in addition to performing the more usual type of police duties. She may organize and supervise recreation, give occasional probation service to the court, and aid the State health and education boards in local preventive activities under their supervision (12). She may also, if there is an organized woman's bureau, have both executive and administrative duties, or she may serve in the same capacity as any male officer of her rank under a male officer of superior rank (26).

**Prewar Distribution**

The depression in the early thirties slowed up the growing trend to appoint policewomen, but their number continued to increase slowly throughout the country even during these years (2). In 1929, according to a census taken by the International Association of Policewomen, there were 593 policewomen employed in 154 cities and 29 counties in the United States (14). In 1930 the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported approximately 600 policewomen employed in 289 communities (24). The United States Census taken in the same year found 1,534 policewomen and detectives gainfully employed in private as well as public police and detective work (15). By the end of the following decade according to the 1940 Census, the comparable group of policewomen and detectives, public and private, in the experienced labor force totaled 1,713, an increase of 12 percent. (See table 1.) Of this number, more than half were engaged in the type of police work discussed in this bulletin, that carried on by governmental as distinct from private agencies. In addition to the 881 women employed in public police and detective work in 1940, the Census
also showed two other groups of women employed by government agencies in protective service work: 383 sheriffs and bailiffs, and 110 marshals and constables (16). Practically all of the women in the second group were marshals or deputy marshals, for the term constable is seldom used in the United States, though still widely used in Canada. Women marshals and constables more than doubled in number in the decade 1930 to 1940, and the number of women sheriffs and bailiffs increased by more than a third.

Table 1.—Policemen, Marshals, and Sheriffs Employed in 1940 and Those in the Labor Force 1940, Compared with Those Gainfully Employed in 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labor force or employment status</th>
<th>Total policemen, marshals, and sheriffs</th>
<th>Policemen and detectives</th>
<th>Marshals and constables</th>
<th>Sheriffs and bailiffs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed 1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number—Total</td>
<td>171,568</td>
<td>147,137</td>
<td>127,858</td>
<td>19,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>169,502</td>
<td>145,564</td>
<td>126,977</td>
<td>18,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2,066</td>
<td>1,573</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent female</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| In labor force 1940              |                                        |                          |                        |                      |
| Number—Total                     | 176,888                                | 151,837                  | 120,958                | 20,879               |
| Male                             | 174,762                                | 150,124                  | 120,977                | 20,147               |
| Female                           | 2,226                                  | 1,713                    | 981                    | 732                  |
| Percent female                   | 1.3                                    | 1.1                      | .7                     | 1.4                  |

| Gainfully employed, 1930         |                                        |                          |                        |                      |
| Number—Total                     | 169,240                                | 144,552                  |                         | 9,350                |
| Male                             | 167,370                                | 143,018                  |                         | 9,288                |
| Female                           | 1,870                                  | 1,534                    |                         | 62                   |
| Percent female                   | 1.1                                    | 1.1                      |                         | .7                   |

Percent increase or decrease of those in labor force 1940 over gainfully employed 1930

| Total                             | + 4.6                                  | + 5.0                    |                         | + 3.9                |
| Male                              | + 4.4                                  | + 5.0                    |                         | + 6.2                |
| Female                            | + 19.0                                 | + 11.7                   |                         | + 169.7              |


For all policemen, sheriffs and marshals taken together the rate of increase from 1930 to 1940 was greater for women law-enforcement officers than that for men, 19 percent as compared with 4 percent. In spite of this apparent growth, however, less than 3 percent of the Nation’s 6,000 law-enforcement units included qualified policewomen in 1940 (20). Most of these were in large cities (2).
Figure 2.—Policewomen questioning minors outside a tap room they may be legally forbidden to enter.

Wartime Changes

Wartime problems and conditions gave a great impetus to the employment of policewomen, although the average number of police employees of both sexes per 1,000 population decreased steadily during the war, reaching a low of 1.58 in 1945 (13). The National Women’s Advisory Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency was organized, composed of representatives from 30 national voluntary women’s organizations representing some 23,000,000 women. This group, interested in the war effort, unanimously passed a resolution to “aid the local law-enforcement administrators in problems relating to the recruitment, training, effective use, and public support of qualified policewomen” (2) (7). In 1945 the National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency issued a pamphlet on “Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Use of Policewomen with Special Reference to Social Protection” which pointed out the heightened demand for policewomen created during the war by the increased rate of venereal
disease infections brought on, not through the "professional prostitute," but through the "amateur pickup"; by the 44.6 percent increase reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the number of crimes committed by girls and women; and by the increasing rate of juvenile delinquency (20). The problems cited in this pamphlet were, of course, the result of the social upheaval caused by the war; the large number of men in service camps and installations; the great industrial migrations to big cities or to raw new communities; and the dislocation of home life.

Many communities which had never used policewomen before added, not one, but in some cases several to their police departments. Other communities increased their staffs to meet the emergency. One State police department employed 36 women for police work during the war only. In the 143 cities and 4 States replying to a questionnaire sent out by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1949, 797 policewomen were reported employed in 1944 as compared with 562 in 1940. One southern city which had no policewomen in 1940 had 8 in 1944. A New England city with 5 policewomen in 1940 reported 13 in 1944. A middle western city increased its number of policewomen from 16 in 1940 to 26 in 1944; another from 11 to 47. The end of the war brought with it a curtailment of policewomen's services in some communities. In others, services continued as they had during the war, and in some instances increased. According to one prominent woman in this field, cities in which policewomen were organized as a separate unit in the police department suffered the fewest reductions in force after the war.

Postwar Distribution

The slow but steady growth of policewomen's services in cities continued after World War II, following reductions from wartime peaks in a few communities. But the four States which had women in their State police departments employed only 15 in 1949, as compared with a total of 52 women in 1944.

States.—Massachusetts has employed two women State police since 1930. Rhode Island had two policewomen on its staff as early as 1940, but only one remained in 1949. Connecticut, which first employed 2 policewomen in 1942, had 12 in 1949, 1 assigned to each barracks region throughout the State. All State policewomen cooperate with women in municipal police departments but have legal police power everywhere in the State. The greater part of their work is usually in unincorporated towns or areas having no women police of their own, but they also serve in cities upon request (23).
OUTLOOK FOR WOMEN IN POLICE WORK

Cities.—Following the war, as before it, by far the greatest number of policewomen in public service were employed by cities. In 1945–46, 769 women police were located in 141 cities with populations over 25,000 according to the questionnaire study made by Carol Williams. An additional number may have been employed in the 121 cities of this size which did not reply to the questionnaire. No policewomen were reported by the remaining 155 cities to which the questionnaire was sent, but 24 of these cities stated that they employed women as “police matrons only” (25). Many communities do not differentiate very clearly between policewomen and matrons. In a few cities, for example, women police alternate in the work of jail matrons.

Eight hundred and ninety-four policewomen were reported employed full time in 1949 by 129 of the 143 cities replying to the 1949 questionnaire sent out by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in cooperation with the United States Women’s Bureau. Four additional cities employed one part-time policewoman each. The cities reporting showed an increase in their 1949 employment of policewomen of 60 percent over 1940. It is probable that cities and States combined employed more than 1,000 policewomen in 1949.

Counties.—Although a few women work for county governments under the name of policewomen, most of the women in county law-enforcement work are deputy sheriffs or sheriffs. In 1947 there were some 3,070 sheriffs in the United States of whom only a few were women, according to the National Sheriffs’ Association. But, of the approximately 18,000 deputy sheriffs in the United States in 1947, about 1,750 were estimated to be women. A woman is rarely elected to serve as sheriff in her own right, but she occasionally is appointed to this post either to complete the unexpired term of a sheriff, usually her husband, who died or was killed in office, or, in States where the sheriff is limited to a 2-year term, to take the office in the 2 years intervening before her husband can be reelected. This latter practice is especially common in Wisconsin and in North and South Dakota. Records show that recently a woman in Michigan was elected to two full terms as sheriff, and that in Texas a woman who had been appointed to fill out a 2-year unexpired term was afterward elected in her own right to one full term but was not subsequently reelected. According to newspaper reports, a woman sheriff was appointed in a Kentucky county in April 1949 to succeed her husband who became police chief; and in December 1948 at least one Florida county had a woman sheriff.
Practically every county in the United States has deputy sheriffs. If the county is large enough to employ, in addition to the sheriff, a woman stenographer or secretary, she is usually commissioned a deputy sheriff so that she can attend women prisoners in jail, in court, or in going between jail, court, and institutions.

In a large number of the counties of the United States the sheriff's wife acts as matron of the county jail and is a deputy sheriff. In some counties, sheriffs' wives plan menus and supervise the serving of meals, and are considered deputy sheriffs. The National Sheriffs' Association could give no estimate of how many of the approximately 1,750 women deputy sheriffs in 1947 were employees in sheriffs' offices and how many were jail matrons who are also usually deputized as sheriffs.

In many localities women are also employed as bailiffs, to take women into and out of courtrooms when their cases are called; to accompany in a similar capacity children who must necessarily appear in court without their parents; and sometimes to transport and care for women jurors held for jury trial.
Federal Government.—Comparatively few women are employed by the Federal Government in a law-enforcement capacity. There are some, however, in the offices of the United States Marshals, in the Immigration and Naturalization Service, in the Bureau of Customs, and in the Federal Works Agency. The Federal Bureau of Investigation does not employ women as investigators because of the arduous nature of the duties of its special agents.

Only under very unusual circumstances are women appointed United States marshals. The only woman serving in this capacity in March 1949 had been appointed, after long service as a deputy marshal, by the senior judge of the court to which she was attached, with the understanding that she would hold this office until a new man could be appointed by the President to replace the regularly appointed marshal who had died in office.

In addition to the 93 United States marshals in March 1949, there were in the United States and its possessions 984 deputy marshals. Of these 86 were chief deputy marshals of whom 8 were women; 285 were office deputies, of whom about 215 were women, and 613 were men field deputies.

Office deputy marshals are appointed from stenographic or clerical civil service lists to serve in the offices of United States marshals. In addition to doing their regular stenographic and clerical work, they may accompany women prisoners while going to and from court and institutions.

In April 1949, 13 women were employed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice as immigrant inspectors. With 27 other women they were recruited from inside the service during the war and promoted or reassigned to this work. Immigrant inspectors traditionally have been men, probably because the duties of the position require "arduous physical exertion involving prolonged walking and standing, and the boarding of land, sea, and air conveyances for the purpose of inspecting or questioning persons arriving in, or departing from, the United States." The civil service examination for this position announced on April 19, 1949, specified that men only were desired.

In March 1949, 19 women were employed as custom inspectoresses in the Bureau of Customs. Six of these women were located in New York City, one in Miami, and one in San Francisco. The remainder were in various customs offices along the Mexican border where they were performing in uniform the same duties as men customs inspectors. The six women in New York City dressed in plain clothes and mingled with the crowds...
going through customs upon arrival in, or departure from, the United States, watched for evasions of customs regulations, and when necessary searched women found violating these regulations. There has been no unusual increase in the number of customs inspectresses since the first 11 women were appointed in 1940. The last civil service examination for customs inspector was given in 1939. A few women took the examination but none were appointed. Generally, women who have held customs inspectresses’ jobs have been promoted to them from office jobs inside the Bureau of Customs. It is not now known whether women will be admitted to future customs inspector civil service examinations when given.

The Federal Works Agency, which operated residence halls for women government workers in Washington after as well as during World War II, in 1949 still had 14 women guards, sometimes called police, patrolling residence halls.

**Future Outlook**

An increasing future use of policewomen’s services seems likely, not only because available statistics indicate steady growth in this field over a number of years, but also because there is increasing recognition of a need for police participation in community preventive and protective programs (20).

The International City Managers Association reported in 1948 that, in 877 cities of over 10,000 population, an average of 1.89 police employees per 1,000 population were employed, the highest average in 7 years, and an average increase of 4.4 percent over 1947 (13).

Every size group of cities but that of cities of 250,000 to 500,000 population reported a higher average in 1948 than in 1947. The largest increase, 6 percent—from 1.29 in 1947 to 1.37 in 1948—occurred in the 10,000 to 25,000 population group (13).

Although the Federal Bureau of Investigation publishes semi-annually in its Uniform Crime Reports bulletin figures on the number of police employees per 1,000 inhabitants for different sections of the country, no method has been devised to show the minimum number of policemen considered necessary for efficient police work, nor has any official formula been worked out for policewomen. No recent estimates are available of the total need for policewomen, but several years ago, before it went out of existence, the National Association of Policewomen had agreed upon a ratio of 1 policewoman per 20,000 population as desirable.
No statistics are available on how many women are needed to replace the women who retire or leave police work each year, but it is probable that at least 50 or 60 per 1,000 would need to be replaced annually.

Although the demand as a whole is small in this field, its growth is likely to continue. Replies to the 1949 International Association of Chiefs of Police questionnaire indicated that in 1955 at least 157 additional policewomen would be employed by the cities reporting. Although 39 cities planned no expansion and 50 made no prediction, 6 cities without policewomen in 1949 planned to employ one each by 1955, and 39 cities estimated that they would employ 151 additional policewomen by 1955, an increase of 46 percent over their 1949 employment. Two additional cities indicated that they would increase their employment of women police by 1955, but gave no estimate of the number.

Vacancies existing on the staffs in many large cities in 1948–49 indicated a current shortage of policewomen. Authorities expected the shortage to continue some years into the future unless more qualified young women became interested in this field.
In one large eastern city visited in the course of this study, 27 women were employed in 1947, 8 additional policewomen’s positions had been allotted in 1948, and 15 more by 1952 were authorized. By March of 1949 seven of the eight newly created jobs were still vacant. The strict physical requirement was given as the main reason for failure to fill these jobs, since women with the other necessary qualifications could find employment in social agencies which required no physical examinations.

In the same city, one woman secretary was authorized late in 1948 for each police captain on the police force, in an attempt to release policemen for patrol duty and to furnish a possible source of supply for the woman’s bureau personnel through advancement. For these secretarial positions the regular police requirements had to be met, in addition to the necessary training and experience in stenography and typing. By March of 1949 only one of these jobs had been filled, again, reportedly, because of the strict physical requirement.

Another large eastern city had 29 women police in February 1949 but needed at least 11 more. A southern city which employed no policewomen in 1940, 4 in 1944, and 12 in 1949, planned to employ 24 in 1955. A midwestern city which employed 53 policewomen in 1940, 61 in 1944, and 85 in 1949, hoped to employ 132 policewomen in 1955.

Although the total number of policewomen in the United States seems to be increasing slowly but steadily, the demand in cities where the work is not provided for by ordinance or charter is not predictable.

None of the three State police departments employing women in 1949 indicated any anticipated increased demand in their departments by 1955, even though policewomen had urged the appointment of more women to State police work, as a means affording policewomen services to rural and smaller communities.

One leader in the policewomen’s field expressed the opinion that if State police work develops along the line of a general type of police service and away from its present emphasis on traffic and highway problems, the demand for women will probably increase.

The strong effort now being made by the National Sheriffs’ Association to eliminate the necessity for a sheriff ever to go into the women’s quarters of the jail indicates a future demand for additional women deputy sheriffs or matrons. The one-third increase in the employment of women sheriffs and bailiffs between 1930 and 1940 and the more than 100 percent increase in the number of women marshals and constables during that
decade may be indicative of a continuing future demand in these fields.

Variations in the Outlook

Opportunities for women in police work vary with geographical location and size of community. Opportunities for individual women also vary with their personal characteristics. The variations described below should be considered in relating information of the type presented in this bulletin to the employment or training plans of the individual.

Geographical Variations.—Although every community in the United States has police services, opportunities for employment are greater in some parts of the country than in others. It is important for those planning to enter this work to know where the opportunities exist because local residence requirements of from 1 to 3 years may limit women interested in police work to opportunities in their own State and even to certain communities, unless they can establish residence elsewhere.

Table 2 shows the localities in which policewomen were employed at the time of the 1940 Census and of the 1945–46 study made by Carol Williams. Both sources indicate that policewomen are found more commonly in the heavily industrialized sections of the country, in the northeastern and north central States.

Table 2.—Geographical Distribution of Policewomen in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Policewomen and detectives employed by government agencies</th>
<th>Policewomen employed by cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States..........</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeastern States....</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central States...</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South..................</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West...................</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Older Women.—Many women now in police work are over 40 but it would be difficult for a woman of this age to enter the field (10). The median maximum age of entrance to police work for both sexes is 35, according to the Municipal Yearbook, 1948 (13). Not all cities have age requirements for policewomen, but such requirements existed in nearly three-fourths of the 141 cities employing women covered by the 1945–46 Carol Williams study (25).

Twenty-one is usually the lower age limit for entrance (13). One prominent policewoman expressed the opinion that the view-
point of the younger as well as of the older woman is needed in this work. Some cities prefer younger women not only because of their superior vigor but also because of retirement regulations which apply in many States after 20 years of service.

In some cities policewomen work alternately as jail matrons. In other cities jail matrons are assigned permanently to this work. Older women like these assignments, one policewoman stated, because the hours are regular and there is less moving about. On the other hand, one authority stresses the importance of vigor and alertness in this work and prefers younger women.

**Married Women.**—Married women are eligible for employment on the same basis as single women. However, they may find alternating shifts difficult to fit in with home responsibilities. They are handicapped also by the fact that a change in their husband’s work might require their moving to a new community where residence requirements would hamper them in obtaining a new job.

A few cities use women for school patrol. At least one such city reserves these appointments for married women living within a few blocks of the school street crossings to which they are assigned for the protection of children before and after school and at lunch time.

In addition, in many counties in the United States, as previously stated, the county sheriffs’ wives serve as matrons in county jails and for this purpose are sometimes appointed as deputy sheriffs.

**Physically Handicapped Women.**—Almost three-fourths of the cities reporting on their employment of policewomen in the Carol Williams study stated that they required a physical examination (25). Because the physical requirements are rigid and because a high degree of strength, agility, and endurance is needed, marked physical handicaps are virtually prohibitive in police work. Height and weight requirements are sometimes specified, so that in some cities a woman who is unusually short or stout or obviously out of proportion in height and weight may find it impossible to qualify.

**Negro Women.**—Washington, D.C., so far as can be determined, in 1919 became the first city in the country to employ Negro women police. In March 1949 eight Negro women composed nearly one-third of the Washington policewomen. They are assigned to all cases involving Negro girls and women and have proved especially valuable in all situations where racial tension arises between white and Negro groups.
Only the larger cities employ Negro policewomen. At the time of the 1940 Census, only 1,533 or 0.9 percent of all male policemen, sheriffs, and marshals employed in the United States were Negro. No census statistics on Negro women police are available separately (16).

At least 70 Negro women, however, were known to be employed as policewomen in 1949, in 23 cities where they composed about 12 percent of the total force of policewomen. In these same cities, only 23 Negro women were so employed in 1940 when they comprised an average of 6 percent of all policewomen in these cities. In addition, in 1949 one eastern city reported employing 17 additional Negro women as school guards at crossings near schools for a few hours on school days. A Southern city employs two Negro women for this work.

The heads of women's departments in two of the cities visited in the course of the study here reported said that applications from Negro women in their cities, in proportion to their total number in the population, greatly exceeded those from white women in proportion to their number.
Requirements for Entrance

Although policewomen in some communities are still appointed because of personal or political influence, it is becoming the general custom to select them from registers set up under local civil-service or merit-system examinations. Almost two-thirds of the 141 cities reporting policewomen on their staffs in the Carol Williams study had such an examination (25). Qualifications required of applicants vary widely throughout the country (6). Examinations are given yearly, biennially, or at longer intervals and are usually the same for women as for men. Most cities visited in the course of the present study had available a register of women who had passed such examinations. In New York in 1949, for example, where eligible lists established by examination are active for 4 years women were available from the last examination. Many of the officials visited by the Women’s Bureau representative reported no difficulty in securing women to take the policewomen’s examinations although recruitment is a more serious problem in cities requiring college training or social work experience.

Many thought that the qualifications for admission to local civil-service examinations for policewomen were far too low. In several cities there are no requirements beyond those relating to age and citizenship. In others, size and height are specified and character references are required. Educational qualifications range from none at all to college graduation.

More than half of the cities reported in the Carol Williams study as employing policewomen in 1945–46 required high-school graduation, while approximately one-fifth did not; 10 cities, or 7 percent, required training beyond high-school graduation (25). Additional training or experience in social work, nursing, or teaching, is specified as a requirement in some cities, or is a substitute for educational background.

Many police executives are of the opinion that police work and social work are quite distinct. But most of them encourage the cooperation of the two groups and agree that social-work experience adds to a policewoman’s value. They agree, also, that social-work training or experience is not necessary to success in law enforcement. The policewoman’s job, with a few exceptions, does not include social case-work treatment. It does include a knowledge of community health, welfare, and recreational facilities and should demonstrate the need for additional services in the social case-work field (20).

In order to attract college women, one city lists available
openings for women on the police force with nearby college placement officers and has pertinent articles written for publication in the college papers. Sociology classes are visited by an alumna who is a member of the women's department and personal interviews are arranged with interested students. This city, however, has a serious turn-over problem among policewomen which may be laid in some part to recruitment of young college women. A young group with desirable qualifications is preferable in some respects but is often too immature and too inexperienced to understand fully the serious problems encountered. On the other hand, if older, more mature women available from other agencies are recruited, they are likely to be women who have not advanced in these agencies and therefore are not too likely to be successful in transferring to police work.

The form and nature of the examination for policewomen varies throughout the country as much as qualifications required of applicants. One city, for example, gives a written examination, covering sociology, criminology, and social work, followed by an oral interview. Another city, which requires college gradua-
tion and social-work training and experience, formerly used a junior and senior social-work examination but now uses a Federal civil-service social-worker examination which covers the beginning professional grades. In 1945 some 200 police chiefs and civil-service boards in the United States used an aptitude test, sponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, that included questions on English, civics, government, history, and algebra (10).

Applicants who take policewomen’s examinations have various occupational backgrounds. There is no single source of supply of candidates in this field. Policewomen are drawn from the ranks of nurses, reporters, teachers, store-checkers and personnel workers (20). In some cities the widow of an elderly policeman or the wife of one who has been injured or killed in the line of duty is often appointed, even though she may be entirely unqualified for the work (1). During and after the war a number of policewomen came from the WAVES, WAC, SPARS, Red Cross, Travelers Aid, and UNRRA. Although experience in these organizations did not imply automatic qualification, these women were in good physical condition, and had learned to work with men and to work in units under direction. Many of them also had had special preparation in fields useful in police work, such as first aid, personnel work, or social case work (2). During the war, in view of the limited supply of candidates some cities waived residence requirements to obtain experienced policewomen from other communities (20).

**Training**

As police work has grown more complex, both preservice training and training on the job have become increasingly necessary. The earliest specialized short-term courses for policewomen were given as early as 1922 under joint auspices of the American Social Hygiene Association and the New York School of Social Work (7). Courses sponsored by universities are still few in number but have been increasing slowly since the first course in police administration was offered in 1916 at the University of California (9). The State College of Washington offers a 4-year curriculum with majors in delinquency and crime prevention, as well as the master’s degree for research in these fields, in its department of police science and administration. Applicants are selected with considerable care and must have a high scholastic record, robust health, and mental balance, plus the intelligence and aptitude required for success as a police officer. A rigid character investigation is made of each applicant and a letter of recom-
mendation is required from the chief of police of the applicant’s home town (9).

Other colleges and universities offering some training in this field are as follows: Northwestern University, the University of Southern California, the University of Toledo, the University of Wichita; the city colleges of New York and Los Angeles; Michigan State College, and San Jose State College. Sacramento Junior College, East Los Angeles Junior College, El Camino Junior College, and San Francisco Junior College also give police training at the junior college level (9).

Training for policewomen and juvenile officers in the techniques of delinquency control is given at Syracuse University, the University of North Carolina, the University of Texas, the University of Ohio, and at Loyola Universities in Chicago and in Baltimore, as well as at the Bethany State Police Barracks in Connecticut. Wayne University in 1948 had tentative plans for establishing a regional training school for policewomen. No women have as yet been selected to take the 12-week training courses given by the Federal Bureau of Investigation National Academy (2) (7).

Since the work of the policewoman, especially in juvenile bureaus and in separate women’s bureaus, brings her into close touch with probation officers and other social workers, many people believe that her training should be equal to the training these workers should have (4) (6). The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection recommended that workers in juvenile bureaus be college graduates who have specialized in psychology and sociology, and that the executive of these bureaus have experience in social work and limited experience in police work (24). In one large eastern city in 1949 about two-thirds of the policewomen were college graduates and more than half had taken some courses in social work. In another eastern city all but one of the 27 policewomen employed were college graduates. In this city two women had master’s degrees in social work and another had a master’s degree in law. In three or four additional cities college education is the preferred qualification, and many women hold advanced degrees. In two midwestern cities, two experienced policewomen have recently presented theses to fulfill requirements for a Ph.D.

The educational level of workers in the police field generally, however, is not high. Although it is probable that policewomen as a group have higher educational qualifications than men of the same rank, replies to a 1948 questionnaire of the International City Managers Association showed that out of the 823
cities reporting, more than half required only a high-school education or its equivalent for police of both sexes (13). However, educational requirements for State policewomen in Connecticut in 1949 included as one option, graduation from college and 1 year of employment in probation, parole, penological, social, group, or law-enforcement work or as a nurse, teacher, or investigator. Without college graduation, not less than 5 years'
experience in these fields was required, and all recruits had at least 6 weeks training in the police academy before going on active duty (5).

The rookie policewoman usually has a variety of on-the-job training opportunities offered her. Of the 141 cities reporting the employment of policewomen in the Carol Williams 1945-46 study, 42 percent had police training schools and 43 percent had no such schools. Ten percent had police training schools, but policewomen did not attend them. Five percent did not report (25).

The length and time of training given vary. During the probationary period of from 3 to 6 months characteristic of police jobs, new policewomen often attend the regular police recruit school for rookie policemen. Some cities have women rookies train with men. Others train women separately; some even have a separate course of study. Each method has its advocates among prominent policewomen and policemen. One director of a woman's bureau in a large city believes that training the new men and women recruits together makes for mutual acceptance and understanding which may be very profitable in later work. In some cities women recruits would prefer separate in-service training, because of the large amount of time taken up by some of the subjects, such as traffic regulations, required of the men. Training in the police school may be followed by occasional lectures by people prominent in the field, or by speakers from the Federal Bureau of Investigation or local agencies. Continuous in-service training is given through direct supervision on the job.

Courses in police schools cover such subjects as criminal and common law of the State, local ordinances, geography, rules and regulations, traffic rules, first aid, use of firearms, physical education, drill work, report writing, defense, use of equipment, problems of policemen, identification and investigation (10). During the first 3 months new policewomen in New York City go out with a senior policewoman 12 hours a week for patrol and station house duty and on special assignments. On the other 2 days the women have training in the police school in such subjects as revolver technique, "Judu," swimming, first aid, rules and regulations of the department, penal code, laws of the city and State. At the end of 3 months an examination is given. If the rookie policewoman qualifies in this, she is assigned to regular duty and goes out for another 3 months with a senior woman.

A 10-week training course for women in a midwestern city includes the following topics:
Rules and regulations in the district
State laws and ordinances
Criminal offenses
Juvenile court law
Child labor, compulsory education and laws concerning children
Juvenile delinquency
Program of institute of juvenile research
Interrogation and approach
Discipline and deportment
Observation in police work
Statements and confessions
Evidence investigations
Scientific crime laboratory
Courtroom behavior
Technique of arrest and searching
Suppression of prostitution
Narcotics
Personal identification (by means of scars, etc.)
First aid
Study of police cases and how handled
Investigation of hypothetical case
Social service
Social services in the courts
Social work in relation to police work
Social agencies in the city
Social investigations
Firearms and service weapons
Psychological factors in personality
Sex cases
Criminology, and
Abnormal behavior problems

It is the opinion of some women prominent in police work that the best in-service training, after training in the police academy is completed, is through cooperative courses worked out by the police department in conjunction with nearby universities and colleges. One middle western city was preparing such a program in 1948.

A closely related type of in-service training is in effect at the Delinquency Control Institute of the University of Southern California which gives a 12-week training course three times yearly to selected young officers. Regular classes are held 4 days a week and the fifth day is devoted to supervised field work in local juvenile bureaus and other related agencies. Attendance is limited to 20 students for each 12-week term; 16 selected from peace officers employed in either police or sheriff’s departments and 4 in parole, probation, or district attorney’s offices, or in attendance work or social work (21).

The purpose of this program, begun in 1946, is to merge the
practical approach of peace officers and allied groups with the academic approach of a university in order to give specialized training in understanding and working with youth (21).

All students are required to have the recommendation of the chief of police, sheriff, or other chief administrator from their place of residence, and their salaries are usually paid by the employing agency during the 12-week course. Full scholarships are available. Courses include social aspects of delinquency control, legal aspects of delinquency prevention, administrative aspects of delinquency control, clinics in delinquency control, conditioning factors in juvenile delinquency, delinquency prevention techniques, special police techniques, techniques of learning and teaching, field work (21).

The entire probationary period is in a sense a training period for the new policewoman, and some authorities think the probationary period should be extended to 1 year in order to eliminate personalities unfit for this type of work.

Organizations

The Fraternal Order of Police with headquarters in Philadelphia is a national organization open for membership to any law-enforcement officer, regardless of race, creed, or sex. It publishes a magazine called "The Peace Officer."

There is at present no national organization of policewomen only. The National Association of Policewomen, organized in 1915 at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (which later became the National Conference of Social Work), was discontinued in 1932 following the death of its president and financial sponsor (7).

A regional association of policewomen exists in New England. California, Connecticut, and Illinois have State associations. In Illinois in March 1949, 58 out of a possible 94 policewomen in the entire State were members of the State association. This group was organized in April 1948 and publishes a mimeographed magazine several times yearly.

In many cities women police belong to a local association of police men and women of the same rank, and share the same benefits as the men. New York City has a Policewoman's Endowment Association.

Earnings, Hours, and Advancement

Often, but not always, policewomen receive the same salaries as policemen. Slightly more than one-half of the 141 cities em-
ploying policewomen in 1945–46, for instance, offered women the same pay as men (25).

In 1945, the median entrance salary for patrolmen, according to the Municipal Yearbook 1948 of the International City Managers Association, ranged from $1,825 in cities with a population of 10,000 to 25,000 to $2,164 in cities of over 500,000 population. The corresponding range in median maximum salary for patrolmen in 1945 was from $2,040 to $2,648 (13). The Carol Williams study reported the average minimum salary for policewomen in 1945–46 as $1,868, and the average maximum as $2,145. Although these figures are not exactly comparable with those from the Municipal Yearbook, indications are that policewomen tend to be at the lower end of the salary scale as compared with patrolmen generally. This is undoubtedly due to the effect on the average of the lower pay of policewomen in the 51 cities, more than a third of the total reporting in the Carol Williams study, that did not have equal pay for men and women (25). That salaries in police work in cities of all sizes have been increasing is shown in detailed tables published in the Municipal Yearbook. In 1948, the median beginning salary for patrolmen ranged from $2,250 in cities with a population of 10,000 to 25,000, to $2,711 in the largest cities of over 500,000 population. The corresponding medians for maximum salaries ranged from $2,460 to $3,210. As compared with the wartime year of 1944, these figures show increases ranging from about $450 to nearly $600 on both minimum and maximum median salaries (13).

In most of the 14 cities visited in the course of the present study, policewomen’s salaries were said to be equivalent to those of so-called white-collar workers generally. Salary increments of approximately $80 to $150 a year for the first 5 to 7 years’ service were common. Many cities now pay a yearly cost-of-living bonus of from $300 to $600, but this may be withdrawn at any time.

Policewomen, like policemen, customarily receive sick leave with pay, annual vacation with pay, and, usually, adequate pensions at retirement (23). Three-fourths of the cities employing policewomen in 1945–46 were found to have pension systems for women as well as for men (25). The Municipal Yearbook 1948 gives the median compulsory retirement age as 65 in the smaller cities, 68 in the 250,000 to 500,000 population group, and 70 in the over 500,000 population group (13). Washington, D.C., has a plan for voluntary retirement after 25 years of service; in New York City retirement is possible after 20 years of service with no age limit specified. Policewomen often receive free medical
services when injury, accident, or illness results from the job. In practically all of the States, workmen’s compensation laws cover State employees in whole or in part (17).

Members of the police force often must provide themselves with all personal equipment needed. However, a study of 26 cities comparable in size to Washington, D. C., made in November 1948 by the Washington Police Association, showed that half the cities provided partial or full first equipment allowance. Uniforms are a large part of the equipment expense for men, but except in one or two cities, uniforms are not required for women. In New York City, however, where uniforms are required, the total cost of equipment to a new policewoman recruit in early 1949 was about $200. Included were summer and winter uniform, overcoat, hat, shirt, shoes, pistol, holster bag, shield, memo book, and handcuffs. Equipment for policewomen in most cities would include a revolver, if required by regulations, holster or hand bag, shield, and possibly handcuffs.

Women in New York City wear their uniforms at large parades or similar gatherings, on block patrol, park patrol, or for special escort duty. Most of their work in New York City, as in other cities, is done in plain clothes, which must be adapted to the

Figure 8.—Policewomen class marching at graduation exercises.
type of duty and to the neighborhood in which the policewoman is working.

Although a 48-hour workweek with an 8-hour day and rotating shifts is observed generally, policewomen must in emergencies work long, irregular hours, and often at night. When there are several women on the staff, three shifts are worked daily, including Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. In one large eastern city the shifts are 8 to 4, 4 to 12, and 12 to 8. All women in this city have 48 hours off after a 6-day week on one of these shifts. When there are only one or two women on the staff, a day shift only is worked, but the women are on call during the remaining hours (26).

Lack of advancement in rank is a serious drawback to all policewomen except those employed in cities having policewomen’s divisions as a special unit of the police department. Thirty-five percent of the cities reporting in the Carol Williams 1945-46 study had special units of this type (25). In some of the larger cities with this type of organization there is a sizeable woman’s bureau with a woman director, who often has the rank of captain and who reports directly to the chief of police (11) (7). Advancement to corporal, sergeant, and lieutenant is possible, sometimes upon successful completion of promotional examinations. In more than one-half of the cities reporting in the Carol Williams study there were no special units for policewomen; a policewoman worked as a member of the detective bureau, a bureau of missing persons, or in any one of a number of other regular police departments. In addition, some cities reporting in this study employed only one or two women who were not attached to any police department unit but still did not constitute a unit of their own. In neither of the two latter types of organization is advancement likely. Policewomen in these cases have the same rank as policemen or patrolmen. The woman in charge of police activities usually retains the same rank as the policewomen she supervises but often receives pay equivalent to that of a house sergeant, a lieutenant, or a detective. Salary increases within a given rank are usually the same for men and women under local civil service regulations for the first 5 or 7 years of experience, but where there is no special woman’s bureau there is usually no promotion in rank. Lack of rank makes for difficulty in matters of administration and for lessened prestige, according to one prominent policewoman, for women resent taking orders from a superior without rank, even though she is a civil-service or merit-system appointee.

One prominent policewoman believes that advancement for
women beyond patrolman is to some extent hampered by the fact that a definite relationship usually exists between the total number of police in a department and the number permitted to hold rank. To permit women to hold rank accordingly would reduce advancement opportunities for men in the force.

In the United States Marshal’s office of the Department of Justice, office deputy marshals can be advanced one grade to the position of disbursing clerk. One or two such clerks whose chief duty is to make disbursements from funds under the control of the Marshal’s office, are found in each office. Women seldom advance to the position of chief deputy or assistant chief deputy marshal, although 8 chief deputies out of a total of 86 in March 1949 were women. These jobs are usually held by men since the work includes working with men prisoners.

Suggestions to Those Entering the Field

In addition to the usual information needed before an occupation can be chosen wisely there are certain factors about police work that it is especially important to know.

Since qualifications for policewomen’s work vary greatly from place to place, the interested girl or woman should know these requirements in the locality of her choice. She also needs to know the type of departmental organization under which policewomen operate, since her opportunities for advancement and for higher pay will depend on this to some extent. In order to be sure that a change in administration will not eliminate her job, she should check to see that policewomen are provided for by charter regulations, city ordinances, amendments to State laws, or by some legal provision for a minimum number of women in the police force (8). She should learn whether or not a driver's license and a personally owned car are required, and whether uniforms are worn, and, if so, whether they are supplied free by the agency.

The National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency gave the following suggestions in 1945 to prospective policewomen: The woman entering this field must realize that her police duty comes first, no matter where she is assigned. When the law has been violated, arrest and court procedure must logically follow. The policewoman must be ready to follow exact procedure in “getting, preserving and presenting evidence for conviction, no matter what her personal view may be as to the best possible social solution.” As a juvenile officer she must when necessary take young people and adults into protective custody. In the case of children and
adolescents, she must contact the parents and work with them on the problems presented. Her legal right to do this has been upheld by the courts, and she must have no feeling that she is infringing on civil liberties in making arrests (20).

The policewoman is a member of a team and must work in a manner to secure the cooperation of all the team members. She should never succumb to the temptation to withhold essential information nor to broadcast such information needlessly. She

Figure 9.—Policewoman giving directions.
must maintain a balance between extremes in manner, clothes, speech, appearance, according to the same Committee. Her value is lessened if she is too feminine or not feminine enough; too sentimental in handling her cases, or inclined to be callous; too flippant or too grimly serious. She should be neither a "professional joiner nor a recluse." Her value to the department will be enhanced if she is sought after as a speaker at meetings, but it may be lessened if she is a member of too many organizations. She should not take a position of leadership in controversial social or civic issues (20).

Although she need not be an expert on sociology, psychiatry, or psychology, the Committee continued, the policewoman must know enough of the fundamentals of each of these to realize the importance of discovering the reasons for the commission of acts or for the circumstances in which the girl or woman found herself—the circumstances which brought her to the attention of the police. She should not, however, consider herself so expert an analyst of human behavior that she reads into acts or circumstances motivations which may not really be there (20).

The girl or woman interested in becoming a policewoman might profitably check her personal and temperamental characteristics against the following list of qualifications recommended by the Western Personnel Institute in its pamphlet on "Law Enforcement," following a study of both men and women in law enforcement occupations: Maturity, emotional balance, dependability, the ability to work with others; keen powers of observation; a good memory; a sense of humor; a sympathetic understanding of human nature; the ability to listen and to refrain from judgment until both sides of a question are heard; a sense of adventure; a liking for a job which is not routine (23).

Police work for women is well on the way toward acquiring a professional status. Noticeable upgrading of all standards in the past several years has resulted in higher educational requirements, better salaries, and opportunities for wider types of services. There is still much misunderstanding of the social implications of the policewoman's work, and the woman who enters this field may have strong prejudice to overcome before establishing her rightful place in the community.
SOURCES TO WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE TEXT


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