

Reducing Sexual Harassment and Gender Discrimination: Recommendations for the Mexico City Police Department

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Foreword

This report is the result of collaboration between students in the Master of International Public Affairs program in the Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Sigrid Arzt and Virgilio Muñoz of Democracia, Derechos Humanos, y Seguridad, a civil-society organization in Mexico City.

This effort provides La Follette School students the opportunity to improve their analytical skills by applying them to an issue with a substantial international component and to contribute useful knowledge and recommendations to their client. To be sure, the opinions and judgments presented in this report do not represent the views, official or unofficial, of either the La Follette School or of the client organization for which the report was prepared.

I am grateful to Wilbur R. Voigt whose generous gift to the La Follette School supports the school's workshop projects in which reports like this one are produced. With his support, we are able to finance the production of the final reports, plus other expenses associated with the projects.

The La Follette School offers a two-year graduate program leading to a Master of Public Affairs or a Master of International Public Affairs degree. Students in both programs develop analytic tools with which to assess policy responses to macroeconomic issues, evaluate implications of policies for efficiency and equity, and interpret and present data relevant to policy considerations.

The authors of this report are enrolled in Public Affairs 860: Public Affairs Workshop, International Issues. It is the capstone course in the international public affairs program. The workshop provides students with practical experience applying the tools of analysis they have acquired in three semesters of coursework to examine real-world problems and (where relevant) to propose feasible solutions to clients in the public, nongovernmental, or private sector. Most of the semester is spent *doing* analysis, in the form of projects that culminate in reports such as this one. While acquiring a set of analytical skills is important, it is no substitute for learning by doing.

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There were several others whose assistance was greatly appreciated. Karen FASTER carefully edited and formatted our presentation for publication. University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School librarian Sue Carter directed us to valuable research that might otherwise have been missed. The National Center for Women and Policing assisted us with their myriad published reports. Emeritus Professor Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School provided valuable insight that allowed us to see the multifaceted legal aspects of our proposals. Officers Stacey Botsford and Mark Van Abel of the San Diego Police Department generously answered many of our questions. Members of the Boston Police Department; Dr. David Shirk of the University of California at San Diego; Rob Varenik; Aili Tripp; and Jane Collins were also extremely helpful at different points throughout the process.

Executive Summary

This report, prepared for Democracia, Derechos Humanos y Seguridad, offers specific policy recommendations on how the Mexico City Police Department can reduce the incidence of sexual discrimination and gender discrimination within its ranks. Using the evaluative criteria of effectiveness at achieving the goal, cost, overall benefits to the force, feasibility, and time horizon, the report identifies six policy measures to address the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination: professionalization, strengthening of existing enforcement mechanisms, external oversight, sexual harassment and gender discrimination training, mentoring and support networks, and greater integration and promotion of female officers. The report's immediate recommendations are to encourage the creation of female support networks, strengthen the basic aspects of the existing enforcement mechanisms, and establish a legitimate external oversight body. Our analysis, summarized in Figure 1, provides medium-term and long-term recommendations to address the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination in the Mexico City Police Department.

Introduction

Democracia, Derechos Humanos, y Seguridad (DDHS) is a nongovernmental organization in Mexico City that serves as a link among government, academic institutions, and civil society. In conjunction with its ongoing efforts to promote judicial sector reform and reduce the incidence of sexual harassment and gender discrimination against female officers within the Mexico City Police Department, DDHS asked that we investigate legal, institutional, and social arrangements that have successfully protected the role of female officers in police departments in the United States and other countries. Our research has been guided by an understanding of the unique situation in Mexico City, where the police department is engaged in a massive reform effort to correct several serious shortcomings and where women often confront gender biases and other forms of discrimination in both the workplace and society as a whole.

Our report begins with the problem definition and policy goals. The next section defines the evaluative criteria by which we assess possible policy measures to reach the policy goals. Most of the report identifies, explains, and evaluates policy measures that address the problem of sexual harassment and gender discrimination within the Mexico City Police Department (MCPD). We conclude by offering a set of specific and prioritized recommendations. This policy report is intended to support the work of DDHS as it continues to advocate for change in ongoing discussions with members of the Mexican government, police department, academic researchers, and other civil-society groups.

Problem Definition

Since first being incorporated into the MCPD in 1956, female police officers, who currently comprise approximately 14 percent of the overall force, have been frequently subjected to sexual harassment and gender discrimination by their male co-workers.¹ In this report, sexual harassment constitutes unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission).

Discrimination is defined as treatment or consideration based on class or category, rather than individual merit. Discrimination against women officers takes several forms, including forced overtime, the assignment of undesirable tasks, wrongful termination of employment, and unequal hiring practices.² Sexual harassment and discrimination inflict large costs on employees and organizations through increased job turnover, lower productivity, and adverse health outcomes (Schneider, Swan, and Fitzgerald 1997). The current mechanisms designed to protect female police officers in the MCPD from this type of abuse, as well as the channels to report and seek punishment when violations do occur, are weak and inadequate. This report seeks to identify short- and medium-term measures to decrease the incidence of sexual harassment and gender discrimination. It also discusses various policy options to address the long-term challenges of creating a more inclusive and professional police department that respects and defends the role of women.

Policy Goals

Obviously, reversion to a completely male-dominated force would avoid the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination within the MCPD; however, such a step would be a highly discriminatory measure that would likely discourage women from entering other male-dominated professions. We consider this option to be neither practical for the MCPD nor desirable for Mexican society. The key challenge for this policy report is to identify measures that will protect female police officers from sexual harassment and gender discrimination. The main policy goal addressed in this report is the reduction in the incidence of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in the MCPD.

¹ This information comes from a series of phone interviews with staff members of Democracia, Derechos Humanos y Seguridad and Fernandez (2005).

² In our interviews with Democracia, Derechos Humanos y Seguridad staff, we were informed that although the MCPD has policies in place to protect female officers' jobs when they become pregnant, in reality they frequently lose their jobs soon after they return from pregnancy leave. In addition, others have complained that the medical tests of the entrance exam for police recruits are often used as a veil to determine if female recruits are pregnant.

In 2003, the MCPD commissioned the assistance of well-respected law enforcement experts and initiated an aggressive and comprehensive reform effort to transform the force into a modern and professional institution. The commission issued a document called the Giuliani Report, which described the pressing need for a new and dynamic approach to law enforcement. This is an encouraging development, but it is clear that a multitude of pressing issues take priority over the specific problem of sexual harassment and discrimination against female officers.³

In developing our evaluative criteria and making policy recommendations, we take into account the low priority assigned to sexual harassment and gender discrimination in the MCPD relative to other problems. We anticipate that addressing the problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination will acquire a higher priority in the medium and long term, as the most urgent police reforms succeed and as women continue to advance throughout Mexican society. At the same time, we recognize that specific policies to address the issues of sexual harassment and discrimination can benefit the force in a number of areas and contribute to the progress of the overall reform effort.

Evaluative Criteria

We identified five criteria for their relevance to the problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination. We list these evaluative measures below in order of importance and use them to assess expected outcomes of the various policy proposals.

Effectiveness at achieving the goal is the probability that proposed policy measures will be successful at reducing the incidence of harassment and discrimination. We specifically address how measures will increase awareness of sexual harassment and discrimination policies, encourage reporting of inappropriate behavior, promote thorough investigations of reported acts, and increase disciplinary action taken against guilty parties.

Cost is the financial resources needed to implement policy measures. It takes into account the opportunity cost (the cost of shifting resources from one area to another) of devoting resources to the issue of sexual harassment and discrimination.

³ In response to the commission's report, the Secretaria de Seguridad Publica, Mexico, D.F., issued the "Reporte Giuliani-SSP" in 2003. This document summarizes the Secretaria de Seguridad Publica's efforts to implement 146 policy recommendations to produce a more modern, professional, and effective police department. Within this document the specific problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination do not receive specific attention.

Overall benefits to the force is the extent to which policy measures produce positive spillovers that benefit not only female officers, but the police department as a whole.

Feasibility is the likelihood that proposed policy measures encounter support or resistance from various stakeholders. Stakeholders can include: decision-makers in the MCPD, male officers, female officers, new officer recruits, local and national political leaders, nongovernmental institutions, and the rest of Mexican society. The feasibility of a given policy proposal is further challenged by the presence of “machismo” in Mexican culture, which has hindered the realization of equality for women.⁴

Time horizon is the length of time before the particular policy measure would be effective at reducing sexual harassment and gender discrimination in the MCPD. For this report, short term is within two years; medium term is two to ten years; and long term is more than ten years.

Together, these criteria represent the standard against which we assess the policy measures presented in the following section. Because of the many urgent challenges facing the MCPD and the need to find inexpensive solutions to issues currently assigned lower priority, we are interested in policies that achieve the goal of reducing sexual harassment and gender discrimination through low-cost measures that also benefit the overall force.

Status Quo

The MCPD has initiated a process of dramatic reform to create a more modern, effective, and respected police department. The reform effort reflects commitment by police leadership and government officials in Mexico City to respond to rising crime levels, citizen complaints about police corruption, and the MCPD’s poor public image (Secretaria de Seguridad Publica 2003). Although the reform process is still in its early stages, the problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination are quite clearly not viewed as among the most pressing issues. Moreover, there is little indication that police leaders or male officers recognize the damaging effects of sexual harassment and gender discrimination or view them as major problems within the force.

Like most police departments, the MCPD has a department of internal affairs that, in principle, is responsible for conducting preliminary investigations of complaints made by and against members of the force. In practice, this mechanism is quite weak. Due to the lack of confidence in the process and the fear of retribution, female

⁴ Machismo is defined as a strong or exaggerated sense of masculinity stressing attributes such as physical courage, virility, domination of women, and aggressiveness, according to *the American Heritage Dictionary*. Also see *Castaneda (2002)*.

officers are extremely hesitant to make claims against fellow officers, particularly when the offender is a superior. Moreover, this process can be highly intimidating for women reporting harassment because the burden of proof falls on the accuser and often requires the supporting testimony of two witnesses who may also face intimidation. As a result, the MCPD's policies against sexual harassment and discrimination are ineffective and rarely enforced. The federal penal code recognizes sexual harassment as a violation of basic rights, and seventeen localities, including the Federal District, have taken legislative measures to criminalize sexual harassment and punish violators (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres 2004). However, the process for reporting and prosecuting sexual harassment and discrimination is very complex and consequently very few women opt to utilize it (Arzt 2005).

Nonetheless, the status quo is not entirely bleak; there are a series of encouraging developments outside the MCPD and at the national level. Created in January 2001, the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (National Institute of Women) has sought to advance the cause of gender equality in virtually every aspect of Mexican society. The institute has urged lawmakers to encourage greater enforcement of sexual harassment and workplace discrimination policies and enact stiffer penalties for violators (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres (2004). In April 2003, as part of the new federal law to prevent and eliminate discrimination, El Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación (CONAPRED, the National Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination) was created to serve as an oversight agency with a limited mandate to combat discrimination. Among its many early accomplishments, CONAPRED established a readily available process by which any Mexican citizen may file an official discrimination complaint, including instances where the complaint is against a public servant. El Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación and the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres are committed to raising the national awareness and understanding of civil rights legislation (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres n.d. and El Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación n.d.). In addition to serving as valuable educational resources, these relatively new institutions could evolve into powerful mechanisms to combat discrimination and sexual harassment. For the time being, however, neither agency has the necessary resources, autonomy, or authority to aggressively tackle the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination within the MCPD.

In the current political and social context the MCPD may choose to leave intact its policies and procedures to deal with sexual harassment and workplace discrimination. Beyond doubt, a continuation of the status quo will fail to affect in any significant way the plight of female officers in the MCPD. If authorities do not address the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination more aggressively and build upon the initial success of institutions such as CONAPRED and the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, then there is little reason to believe that these problems will be reduced to any meaningful degree in the near future.

Alternative Policy Measures

Police departments in the United States and internationally have struggled to combat sexual harassment and gender discrimination. After reviewing numerous procedures of police departments and police associations, we have identified six policy measures that are designed to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment and gender discrimination. Using our criteria defined earlier, we evaluate each policy measure independently. Each of the policy measures analyzed in the following section is an improvement on the status quo. We acknowledge that these policy alternatives are not costless improvements but find that in addition to specifically addressing the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination against female officers, they would generate positive externalities for the benefit of the MCPD overall. Most police departments in the United States and other countries use multiple policy measures simultaneously to reduce harassment and discrimination. We focus on six policy measures that seem appropriate to the current circumstances of the MCPD. They are

- professionalization,
- stronger enforcement mechanisms,
- external oversight,
- gender discrimination and sexual harassment training,
- mentoring and support networks, and
- greater integration and promotion of female officers.

Professionalization

Police professionalism is a transformative and comprehensive process that involves recruiting higher-skilled and higher-educated officers, adopting more stringent hiring standards for rank-and-file officers, encouraging current workers to further their education and acquire new skills, and promoting highly qualified individuals to positions of leadership. Other critical elements of this process are the elimination of political influence and corruption from policing and the establishment of a strict and enforceable code of ethics and professional conduct. The police professionalization movement, which has received considerable attention from scholars, traces its origins back to the early 20th century in the United States but continues to exert significant influence on police reforms around the world (Walker and Katz 2002).

Professionalization explicitly defines policing as a profession, meaning that police officers are recognized as public servants with a professional obligation to serve the community on a nonpartisan and nondiscriminatory basis. Furthermore, police professionalization movements have traditionally improved work environments for women and other minorities in law enforcement.⁵ Professional institutions do

⁵ In fact, the first units of female officers began to appear in cities throughout the United States during 1900-1930 as a direct result of the professionalism movement. For additional information on the origins, goals, and

not tolerate sexual harassment or other forms of workplace discrimination; therefore, professionalization demands that an organization's code of conduct unambiguously states that engagement in such behavior will result in reprimand, punishment, and possibly termination.

In the 1960s and 1970s, several prominent international policing organizations began to argue very strongly for higher education requirements for law enforcement officers.⁶ In the United States, a series of presidential commissions and advisory panels arrived at the same conclusion with respect to the desirability of increased educational requirements and professional standards for police officers. They claimed that college education requirements would foster greater knowledge, expertise, initiative, and integrity within the ranks of police departments, which in turn would lead to more efficient and effective crime control. These panels also warned that police agencies throughout the country had failed to attract high-skilled, quality employees because they had not raised standards, which contributed to the public perception of policing as a second-class occupation.⁷

To this day, the core principles of the professionalization movement continue to exert a major influence on police reform efforts in cities all around the world, including Mexico City. The 2003 Giuliani Report the MCPD commissioned outlined 146 recommendations, all of which the department accepted in principle, to improve law enforcement effectiveness, including several measures intended to enhance professionalism within the force.⁸

accomplishments of the "police professionalism" movement in the United States throughout the 20th century, see Walker and Katz (2002).

⁶ Renewed calls for police reform during the turbulent 1960s brought the agenda of the early reformers into the national spotlight, with emphasis on improving the overall education level of police officers, especially those in major metropolitan areas. Prominent organizations like the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the International Association of Police Reformers (now the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences) began calling for higher education requirements for police officers (Palmiotto 1999).

⁷ The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) recommended that all police officers have at least two years of higher education and that incoming officers be required to first obtain college degrees. The commission's report explained that the average police officer is under-equipped if "he does not understand the legal issues involved in his everyday work, the nature of social problems he constantly encounters, and the psychology of the people whose attitudes towards the law differ substantially from his. ... Such understanding is not easy to acquire without the kind of broad general knowledge that higher education imparts, and without such understanding a policeman's response to many of the situations he meets is likely to be impulsive or doctrinaire. Police candidates must be sought in college." The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) further concluded that "American society is becoming increasingly more complex, sophisticated, better educated, multicultural, and multilingual; its police should do no less."

⁸ The Secretaria de Seguridad Publica (SSP) response indicates that the credibility of the Giuliani Report is based on the successful experience of the New York City police department under the administration of former Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. SSP, along with the mayor of Mexico City and the rest of the municipal government, is responsible for analyzing, accepting, and implementing recommendations put forth in the Giuliani Report. As SSP has acknowledged, the majority of the 146 recommendations centered on the modernization of the police department and its interaction with the justice system and the community as a whole. (Secretaria de Seguridad Publica 2003.)

As indicated by the Giuliani Report, professionalization includes new and effective training techniques, more rigorous and standardized hiring standards, stricter adherence to the system of rules, clearly defined job descriptions and paths to career advancement, a quality control program, and additional incentive systems to encourage excellence in public service. The MCPD initiated professionalization programs in November 2003 that could serve as an important tool in reform efforts of the police department in general and the fight against sexual harassment and discrimination.⁹ Professionalization also requires the establishment of a transparent and progressive pay scale with a system of benefits that provides both opportunities and incentives for career advancement.

There is compelling evidence that female officers can contribute significantly to the professionalization of the police department and the improvement of its public image. A 1975-76 study of the New York City police department found that female officers were as competent as male officers and noted that “civilians rated female officers more competent, pleasant, and respectful” (Sichel, et al. 1978). In 2000, the National Center for Women and Policing released an extensive report in which it said female officers are less likely to use excessive force and less likely to engage in destructive behavior that results in expensive lawsuits and damage awards (Lonsway 2000).¹⁰ In addition, there is good reason to believe that a more professional police department would be more accepting of female officers and more sensitive to minorities in general, and that male officers would be less likely to condone or engage in acts of sexual harassment and discrimination.¹¹

⁹ One of the most important aspects of the COMPSTAT system of the New York City Police Department is the administrative philosophical belief that things can always be improved; therefore, the police department is constantly engaging in a process of reflection, self-criticism, and learning. The COMPSTAT system fosters greater professionalization by embracing strategic planning, the formation of short and long-term objectives, inter-agency information sharing, and a broadly participatory approach to law enforcement. Based on the recommendations in the Giuliani Report, Secretaria de Seguridad Publica has committed itself to a steady but gradual movement toward a COMPSTAT system like the one that has been so successful in New York City. The report also calls for the creation of a new Strategic Planning and Administrative Unit that reports directly to the undersecretary of the SSP. This unit, in addition to determining the long-term direction of the SSP, would be authorized to develop special projects and conduct internal studies. If it so chooses, this unit could focus some of its energy and resources on tackling the glaring problem of sexual harassment and discrimination. Recommendation #39 of the report deals with efforts to improve the personnel evaluation system within the SSP. Evaluation criteria should be standardized, stipulated in official job descriptions, and made public to all employees so that they know how they will be evaluated. SSP could choose to include sexual harassment and other forms of discriminatory behavior as part of the official evaluation process (Secretaria de Seguridad Publica 2003).

¹⁰ Between 1990-1999, male officers in the Los Angeles Police Department cost the city \$63.4 million in damage awards, compared with \$2.8 million for female officers. Though they represented around 18 percent of the total force, women officers in Los Angeles were responsible for 4.2 percent of the overall damage award in the city during the decade.

¹¹ Palmiotto (1999) reports that Hewitt (1964) found that, all other things being equal, college-educated individuals are more likely to be exposed to new ideas, institutions, and people with different cultural

Evaluation

Effectiveness at achieving the goal: low to moderate. Professionalization can only indirectly contribute to the reduction in the incidence of sexual harassment and discrimination by transforming the institutional culture of the police department, improving the public image of police officers, and setting clear standards for behavior. Police professionalization measures are an essential component in improving the operations of a department overall, but certainly are not sufficient on their own to effectively achieve the stated goal of reduced sexual harassment and discrimination.

Cost: high. The successful transformation of the MCPD into a more professional force would require the long-term allocation of significant financial resources away from other projects or agencies. Despite the cost, local officials and police leadership seem committed to professionalization for the time being.

Overall benefits to the force: high. As the response to the Giuliani Report indicates, professionalization measures, some of which have been implemented, should be viewed as a long-term investment in law enforcement that will benefit both the police department and society in several ways.¹²

Feasibility: high. Both the MCPD and local officials concur that these reforms are badly needed; therefore, neither internal nor external political feasibility appear to be points of contention. The long-term external feasibility of professionalization policies is largely dependent upon future budget constraints and shifting priorities of local and national political leaders. Internally, the ultimate success of these policies relies heavily on the degree of leadership from top police officials and the willingness of rank-and-file officers to accept and involve themselves in the process.

Time horizon: long term. While it is true that some of these measures could have an immediate impact, especially on new recruits, it is more realistic to view institutional and cultural changes as long-term goals.

characteristics and racial or ethnic backgrounds. This exposure should lead to the elimination or reduction of prejudice and bias.

¹² See Secretaria de Seguridad Publica (2003) for information on benefits of professionalization. In addition to law enforcement and societal benefits, the World Bank notes that the implementation of a professional, representative, and competent police department is an important measure from the standpoint of economic development and investment. (World Bank n.d.)

Strengthening of Existing Enforcement Mechanisms

Despite the existence of laws in the United States and other countries, sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace are still serious problems. There is an ongoing debate among policymakers, government officials, women's and human rights groups, and other actors about which types or policies are most appropriate and most effective at eliminating sexual harassment and gender discrimination. A vast amount of literature suggests that explicit policies prohibiting discrimination and sexual harassment are an important step in the process to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment and discrimination (Boertien 2002, *Police Chief* 1991, National Center for Women and Policing 2001, U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1995).

During the late 1970s and the 1980s in the United States, sexual harassment became a more prominent issue in the public consciousness through increased media attention and landmark court cases (*Faragher v. City of Boca Raton*, Florida 1998 and *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* 1986). Many private and public organizations implemented sexual harassment policies and became less tolerant of misconduct. In accordance with the federal equal employment opportunity laws, U.S. police forces implemented sexual harassment and anti-discrimination policies in their departments to protect themselves against liability. See Appendix A for a discussion of U.S. laws.

The majority of U.S. police departments have some form of a sexual harassment and anti-discrimination policy;¹³ however, a written policy alone does not reduce sexual harassment or discrimination. Proactively addressing the problem of sexual harassment and discrimination requires clearly communicated policies and channels for reporting and improving investigation, enforcement, and discipline mechanisms.¹⁴ Strong adherence to these policies would be a means to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment and discrimination and to provide other benefits to the overall force.

Communicating policies. Communicating existing policies on sexual harassment and discrimination with police officers is an important step to strengthening enforcement. A written policy should include the following: a clearly defined definition of sexual harassment and discrimination, a mechanism to report misconduct, explanation of the investigative process, and disciplinary procedures and actions. Effectively communicating policies and consequences for violations increases awareness of sexual harassment and sends a message that it is a serious issue that the department will not tolerate.

¹³ According to a 1998 International Association of Chiefs of Police survey, 99 percent of agencies have a sexual harassment policy. For an example of a sexual harassment policy of a U.S. police department, see Appendix B.

¹⁴ For more on what constitutes an effective sexual harassment policy, see Boertien (2002) and Bryxbe and Carlan (2000).

These policies can be communicated through training sessions, handbooks, videos, and posters displayed in public areas.¹⁵ Officers can be tested on their knowledge and understanding of these policies as part of their entrance and ongoing training exams.

Reporting. When harassment occurs in the workplace, victims often avoid further confrontation with the harasser and feel uncomfortable reporting crimes committed against them due to fear of retaliation (*Police Chief* 1991). For reporting to be effective, accusers must know that the reports will not result in retaliation.¹⁶ Retaliation takes many forms: workplace alienation and hostility, assignment of female officers to additional work and more dangerous tasks, and even refusal to send reinforcement or come to the assistance of female officers in dangerous situations.¹⁷ Retaliation can lead to additional stress that compels many female officers to leave the force (National Center for Women and Policing 2001). Furthermore, a decrease in force productivity occurs as levels of stress increase (Boertien (2002). Aggressively addressing sexual harassment and gender discrimination can reduce the associated stress and improve the work environment, thereby benefiting the entire force.

Investigation. Depending on the seriousness of a complaint, investigations are managed through supervisors or directly through an internal affairs division.¹⁸ With sexual harassment, however, alleged misconduct often comes from a supervisor. For this reason, a police department should have a complaint process that bypasses the traditional chain of command (National Center for Women and Policing 2001). Victims must have the opportunity for allegations to be thoroughly investigated in an unbiased and judicious manner. Just as importantly, officers accused of sexual harassment or gender discrimination must have a fair investigative process (Toplitt 1999). Therefore, investigators must be properly trained so that they obtain all relevant facts and are able to conduct the proceedings in a fair and professional manner.¹⁹

¹⁵ Many U.S. police departments have their sexual harassment and discrimination policies posted on their official web sites, such as the New York Police Department. Its policies are posted at <http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/oeeo/sh.pdf>.

¹⁶ Sexual harassment reporting needs to be encouraged. Management needs to make sure there is some incentive for reporting, such as ensuring confidentiality so as to mitigate the likelihood of retaliation. This is important for the victim and for the witnesses. Witnesses and other officers also need to have incentives for reporting. An officer violating the unofficial “code of silence” places her- or himself in peril with other officers by showing her- or himself as disloyal, and in turn can face retaliation. Police participate in the code of silence for fear of alienation. Increasing sexual harassment or discrimination reporting is important to understand what is occurring in the force. It can help reduce the incidence of sexual harassment in the longer term. For further readings, see Litchford (1994), Trautman (2001), and Fuss and Snowden (2000).

¹⁷ A study by Cancino and Enriquez (2004) determines how officers rationalize peer retaliation. The authors define peer retaliation as being influenced by secrecy and solidarity as a means to preserve the police culture.

¹⁸ For an example of departmental internal affairs investigation policy and procedure, see *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Internal Affairs* (2003).

¹⁹ Arnold (1999) suggests that interviews be conducted in a certain order: independent witnesses, witnesses identified by the complainant, and employees who witnessed the incident.

Investigating sexual harassment or discrimination can be difficult and can often escalate into a “she said, he said” situation that inhibits the investigative process. Electronic monitoring devices in police cars, police stations, and on the streets can aid investigations. Surveillance establishes an electronic record of officer behavior that serves as a powerful accountability mechanism. It potentially deters harassers and gives women the reassurance that violations may be caught on tape, which can aid investigations. This can be a useful tool that supports many other areas of law enforcement, such as deterrence against corruption and other forms of police misconduct. Furthermore, surveillance cameras can provide an additional measure of protection in dealings with citizens (Westphal 2004)²⁰.

Enforcement. If policies are not enforced, they will not be followed. Lack of enforcement displays a disregard for the written policy and suggests that misconduct is acceptable (Lober 2002). Strict enforcement legitimizes adherence of the complaint and investigative procedures. It is critical that procedures are followed to instill a sense of discipline and authority in officers. With low tolerance for sexual harassment and discrimination, officers may be less likely to engage in this type of misconduct. More importantly, the force demonstrates to citizens, and to itself, that a force can police itself. A police force that is accountable for its own actions will help change the public’s perception of the force during the long term.

Discipline. If an officer is found guilty of sexual harassment or discrimination after a thorough investigation, then appropriate disciplinary action must be taken. Discipline can take several forms: mandatory workshops or gender education counseling, demotion, fines, suspension without pay, or even forced resignation from the department (Collins 2004). For effective disciplinary action to occur, the consequences of engaging in sexual harassment or discrimination should be clearly and concisely stated in department policies, and the force should have the necessary resources to implement punishments. Discipline can come from supervisors, internal affairs divisions, or human resources departments.

Proactively addressing sexual harassment and discrimination within a police force can reduce the incidence of both types of misconduct. Having a clearly defined policy that encompasses the definition of harassment and discrimination, the reporting process, the investigative procedure, and the discipline process is a necessary step in achieving the goal of reducing sexual harassment.

²⁰ According to an International Association of the Chiefs of Police survey on the affect of in-car cameras, with 3,000 responses, video evidence captured by in-car cameras helped exonerate officers accused of wrongdoing 96.2 percent of the time. See all Schroeder and Rebenstein (2005).

Evaluation

Effectiveness at achieving the goal: moderate. As sexual harassment and discrimination issues are primarily managed by the internal affairs division of the policy force, evaluations of these policies are difficult to access and assess. Some analysts suggest that police departments often fail to collect information and evaluate their own performance (Maguire 2004). Despite this, there is evidence from other organizations that strengthening existing enforcement mechanisms can have an impact on reducing sexual harassment. In a survey of U.S. federal employees, 81 percent of respondents indicated that establishing and publicizing policies were the most effective measures to combat sexual harassment. Furthermore, 72 percent and 70 percent indicated that publicizing penalties and complaint channels were effective steps, respectively. In addition, the survey revealed that 58 percent of women believed that reporting the behavior to a supervisor or other official made the situation better. The survey found that establishing a policy is important in effectively addressing sexual harassment and discrimination.²¹ It is also essential that a database of formal reports be created.²² Continual monitoring and surveying is compulsory in order to determine the effects of this policy measure and to provide a basis on how to address specific policies.

Cost: moderate. The actual cost of creating written policies and procedures would be inexpensive, and informational flyers or posters are inexpensive. However, administrative costs, training costs, and testing costs could be expensive because this policy measure requires a greater degree of commitment to enforce the policies. Furthermore, it requires the reallocation of resources, in particular from administration, to devote more time to investigations, enforcement, and discipline.

Overall benefits to the force: moderate. If a police department is committed to stronger enforcement mechanisms, benefits can accrue for the entire police department: higher worker morale, increased productivity, and an improved public image. Stronger mechanisms instill greater discipline and respect for authority among officers and may help convince more female officers to stay on the force. For the MCPD, this can be a cost-saving means: the costs of recruiting and training new officers can be averted with the retention of female officers.

²¹ U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (1995), and Firestone and Harris (1999). In a follow-up to studies conducted fifteen years and seven years prior, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board found in 1995 that although there have been programs to reduce sexual harassment, sexual harassment persisted in the federal government. However, more employees and supervisors are aware of the problem. The board made four recommendations: 1) agencies should publicize penalties and encourage assertive actions on the part of employees who are targets for sexual harassment, 2) managers should be firm and consistent in penalizing proven harassment, 3) agencies should diagnose the extent and seriousness within their organizations, and 4) agencies should evaluate the effectiveness of the training it provides to ensure it addresses the targeted problems.

²² Many police forces employ management software to disciplinary problems or to track the number of complaints a police officer has received. See Dees (2003).

Feasibility: low. The successful implementation of anti-discrimination and sexual harassment policies is contingent upon significant political will and advocacy by those in positions of leadership, inside and outside the police department (Goldstein 2005 and Dantzker 2000). Without the political will to strengthen the enforcement policies, the current situation is likely to remain unchanged.

Time horizon: medium to long term. Various aspects of this measure, such as increasing awareness of sexual harassment and discrimination policy in the MCPD, could be implemented in a very short time. Nonetheless, strengthening existing enforcement mechanisms to the extent that is necessary to significantly reduce sexual harassment and discrimination is more likely to occur during the medium to long term.

External Oversight

External oversight mechanisms can help guarantee the consistent enforcement of basic rights and satisfy growing demands by the public for greater accountability. In recent years, police departments, especially those affected by corruption and other scandals, have increasingly turned to external oversight bodies to assist and legitimize their internal review mechanisms. Though initially resistant to the idea of relinquishing any degree of disciplinary authority, police authorities and officers in the United States and other democracies have realized that well-designed external oversight bodies can produce positive outcomes that benefit the police department and society as a whole. External oversight provides an effective means of revealing, investigating, and resolving complaints of police misconduct and can contribute significantly to improving the image of the police within the community (Walker and Katz 2002).

While it may take different forms, the basic model for external oversight consists of a collaborative effort between some type of civilian review panel and the internal affairs division within the police department. External oversight gives people outside the police department access to traditionally confidential internal police affairs to hold law enforcement accountable for its actions, policies, and priorities. In practice however, there is always some division of responsibility and authority between the body of external review and law enforcement's own internal review systems. It is the responsibility of individual police departments to determine the exact nature and the appropriate level of civilian authority and involvement, but there are essentially four basic models of external oversight from which to choose (Walker and Katz 2002):

- Model I creates a completely separate agency with the authority to investigate citizen complaints and make recommendations to the police chief.²³
- Model II relies on police internal affairs to conduct investigations, but grants civilian authorities the power to review complaint files and make recommendations based on the internal findings.²⁴
- Model III allows the police department to retain responsibility for the investigation and disposal of citizen complaints but grants unsatisfied citizens the right to appeal to a citizen review panel.
- In Model IV, the police department retains the complete responsibility for handling citizen complaints, but an independent oversight agency has the authority to audit or investigate various aspects of the internal review process.²⁵

Though the exact nature and mandates of these bodies vary widely across countries, there is clearly a growing trend in democratic societies for police power to be subject to some form of civilian oversight (Phillips and Trone 2002). The overall effectiveness of these bodies depends upon a number of factors, but civilian review is increasingly being recognized as a critical and complementary component of effective law enforcement in police departments around the world.²⁶ One of the most successful cases of effective police oversight is the Office of Independent Review in Los Angeles, California. Created in 2001 in response to mounting public outcries for police reform and greater accountability, the Office of Independent Review was designed to enhance the integrity of the Los Angeles Sheriff Department. A staff of six civil rights lawyers was granted the authority to review all investigations and make both disciplinary and procedural recommendations. According to the Office of Independent Review, its success can be attributed to the following factors: an endowment of significant resources, complete access to the Sheriff Department records and personnel files, the full support of department leadership, and sufficient independence to competently represent the interests of the community at large.²⁷ The experiences of several other cities suggest that external oversight has been most effective (and least controversial) when the chief of police supports it (Ennis 1999).

²³ See Walker and Katz (2002) on the Minneapolis Civilian Review Authority and the San Francisco Office of Citizen Complaints.

²⁴ See Walker and Katz (2002) on the Kansas City Office of Citizen Complaints.

²⁵ See Walker and Katz (2002) on the San Jose independent police auditor.

²⁶ While most cities in the United States have adopted some form of civilian complaint review board, police departments in other countries, such as Brazil and Northern Ireland, have opted to appoint ombuds to deal specifically with the police department, while in South Africa the Independent Complaints Directorate was created to address general citizen complaints on a variety of measures. Stone and Bobb (2002).

²⁷ The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors extended the mandate of the Office of Independent Review for three years, through 2007. For more information on the origin, objective, authority, and performance of the review office, see County of Los Angeles (2002 and 2004).

Certain aspects of the oversight process are better handled by police departments internally. For example, while agencies outside the police department can be capable of investigating lower-level complaints, the review of fatalities and other serious incidents require the greater resources, expertise, and structures of a police agency's internal affairs division. Yet, because internal investigations are often susceptible to bias and distortion, some proponents of external oversight have argued that these investigations in particular should be carefully reviewed and judged for objectivity, thoroughness, and fairness by an agency or group operating outside the police (Phillips and Trone 2002). These difficult decisions regarding the size, composition, jurisdiction, and authority of an oversight agency are normally made on an individual community basis by police leaders and government officials. However, there is compelling evidence that a competent, independent, civil organization working in collaboration with police internal reviewers is capable of contributing positively to the performance and the public legitimacy of a police department.

Evaluation

Effectiveness at achieving the goal: moderate to high. External oversight bodies increase the likelihood that police misconduct will be reported and punished. They send the message that violations of any kind – sexual harassment and discrimination included – will not be tolerated. External oversight is intended to improve investigation transparency and the proper enforcement of discipline. The overall effectiveness of this measure depends on levels of authority, access, and cooperation that a civilian review mechanism receives from the police department. When given the necessary resources, external oversight bodies have been highly effective.

Cost: low. Oversight mechanisms do not rely heavily on significant financial resources, but rather on a sufficient level of authority, access to internal information, and support from police leadership within the force. Civil rights groups, as well as other nongovernmental organizations and individual citizens, have been willing to contribute their time and resources to the implementation and management of these bodies.

Overall benefits to the force: moderate. Oversight increases the accountability and transparency that enhances the public image of the police department and helps legitimize the performance of those officers who are truly dedicated to their profession and the provision of essential public services.

Feasibility: low. Police departments in the United States and other countries have typically been highly reluctant to transfer any degree of authority to external oversight bodies. One could expect this measure to initially meet stiff resistance from within the MCPD, but public pressure for greater accountability and transparency could eventually help persuade police leaders and government

officials to support the creation of some form of external oversight body. The ongoing professionalization process and major reform efforts could indicate, perhaps, a growing recognition of the need for external oversight.

Time horizon: short to medium term. If endowed with sufficient authority and granted complete access to internal police information, an external oversight body could be an effective mechanism to immediately address the issues of sexual harassment and discrimination within the MCPD. There are many issues, perhaps most notably police corruption, that would require the specific attention of an external oversight body, but officials could certainly choose to internally address the problems of sexual harassment and workplace discrimination.

Gender Discrimination and Sexual Harassment Training

Neither federal law nor an internal policy against sexual harassment and gender discrimination will have much effect on the workplace environment if they are not paired with training. Not only do supervisors need to be trained on how to respond to allegations and incidents of sexual harassment, but all employees need to be educated on the dynamics of this workplace issue. Training usually focuses on ways to recognize sexual harassment and gender discrimination, as well as ways to reduce their occurrence (International Association of Chiefs of Police 1998). The National Center of Women and Policing warns that adequate time and resources must be allocated to training, or the agency will waste its time and resources and fail to adequately address the problem.

Many organizations see training as a panacea to the problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination issues (Fitzgerald and Shullman 1993), but evidence to date remains inconclusive.²⁸ Research shows that sexual harassment training increases an employee's sensitivity to the issue of harassment as well as his or her ability to recognize sexual harassment. It does not, however, increase the probability that victims or witnesses will report sexual harassment (Beauvais 1986). Research also shows that training increases the probability, particularly for men, of viewing unwanted sexual behavior as a form of sexual harassment (Antecol and Dobb-Clark 2003). Even though the evidence is inconclusive, the National Center of Women and Policing strongly recommends sexual harassment and discrimination training, claiming that it addresses some of the most fundamental attitudes, perceptions, and misperceptions with which people operate in the workplace (National Center for Women and Policing 2001).

²⁸ "There is no clear correlation between any agency's estimates of its training efforts on the issue of sexual harassment and the reported incidence of harassment in that agency. It is unlikely, in any event, that training alone is an adequate answer to the complex problem of sexual harassment but more carefully tailored training may be at least part of the answer" (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1995).

In the United States, police departments have taken steps to educate their officers, employees, and supervisors on the subject. All large U.S. police departments have provided supervisors with training to respond to sexual harassment, and 90 percent of them have provided training to respond to allegations of gender discrimination (International Association of Chiefs of Police 1998).²⁹ In California, all employers with fifty or more employees are legally mandated to provide their managers and supervisors with at least two hours of sexual harassment training.³⁰ Even before the California law went into effect, the San Diego Police Department exalted training as the most effective way to address workplace issues. The department has set up a separate unit that comprises one sergeant and three lieutenants to investigate claims and allegations of sexual harassment within the department. They are also responsible for providing training on sexual harassment and discrimination. The department has found these mandatory training sessions to be beneficial to the work environment overall. See Appendix B for an expansion of the San Diego approach.

Curriculum should address recognition of, response to, and effective resolution of sexual harassment and discrimination incidents. Educating officers on the legal aspects of sexual harassment is important, but if the policy and the consequences of breaking the policy are the only issues discussed, further antagonism among men and women officers may occur. It is more effective to teach the dynamics of sexual harassment, including which types of behavior constitute sexual harassment, why sexual harassment happens, what effect it has on victims, how to handle situations in the workplace, legal ramifications, and liability issues for failing to prevent sexual harassment.³¹ An educated civilian or officer can teach courses to police employees, but it is important that superiors introduce the courses and show their commitment to stopping sexual harassment. Videotapes, role playing, and case studies are also ways to teach the issue. Training should allow a time for discussion and questions so that officers are clear about the policies and the detrimental effects of sexual harassment.

In the United States, despite the fact that all supervisors in large departments have been trained to respond to it, sexual harassment still occurs in many departments. One reason is that the harassers are not always supervisors. Therefore, it is important to train all police department employees about the issues of sexual harassment and gender discrimination. In fact, widespread training within an

²⁹ The International Association of Chiefs of Police surveyed 800 police departments in 1998 on issues of sexual harassment. Large police departments are characterized as having more than fifty-one officers (1998).

³⁰ To learn more about the California Assembly Bill 1825, see <http://www.leginfo.ca.gov>. More explanation of the law can be found on the FindLaw at: <http://library.findlaw.com/2005/Feb/6/133651.html>.

³¹ The National Center for Women and Policing states that, "Blame-based training programs that concentrate on legal issues and penalties are counterproductive to understanding the dynamics of sexual harassment. It is better to educate them on the dynamics of sexual harassment, including why it happens, what effect it has on the victim, and how to handle situations in the workplace" (National Center for Women and Policing 2001).

agency has an effect over and above that which is attributable to individual training itself.³²

Evaluation

Effectiveness at achieving the goal: moderate. Training effectively raises employee sensitivity to the problem of sexual harassment. It increases employee understanding of what behavior is considered sexual harassment. Training is also effective at educating employees on how to report issues of harassment and discrimination, but it does not necessarily lead to increased reporting. Sexual harassment and gender discrimination training will be more effective the more widespread it becomes. Ideally, training, along with a zero-tolerance sexual harassment policy, would create a culture where sexual harassment is no longer tolerated. Training has little effect on investigation or official disciplinary measures.

Cost: moderate. The cost of hiring professionals to speak on this issue, purchasing videotapes, handbooks, and developing a curriculum is considerable. Sexual harassment training videos and packets cost around \$500 to \$1,000, but other costs can be much greater.³³ For example, the San Diego Police Department assigned four officers to an investigation and training team, costing the force the amount equaling four salaries. A nonprofit organization whose mission is to stop sexual harassment might be able to offer a curriculum or training at a lower cost. El Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación may be an organization that could take on some responsibilities to educate the force on these issues. The MCPD must take into account the amount of paid time that officers spend in training.

Overall benefits to the force: moderate. A change in workplace treatment of others will benefit officers because the overall atmosphere would improve. Such training can include issues of diversity and respect for all employees.

Feasibility: low. The introduction of sexual harassment and gender discrimination training is not likely to be widely accepted by officers throughout the male-dominated force. Successful implementation would require the full support of senior police officials, which may prove challenging. It is critical that department leaders take a zero-tolerance stance on the issue. One possible difficulty is that those in leadership positions within the MCPD are typically older male officers who may resist this type of training. A report on police diversity

³² “The proportion of agency staff having received sexual harassment training is positively related to the probability that an employee considers unwanted sexual behavior at work to be a form of sexual harassment” Antecol (2003).

³³ To find price quotes for sexual harassment training programs, including videos and handbooks, visit <http://www.business-marketing.com/store/sexualharassment.html>.

education in the United States concluded that it is easier to educate cadets and young officers on diversity than more experienced officers (Gould 1997).

Time horizon: medium term. Training could start among supervisors immediately. Beginning a program with cadets would be feasible as they are already in training. After these two groups of officers have been trained, training should begin for the entire department. The sooner the force starts to educate itself on sexual harassment, the sooner officers will be able to recognize the occurrence of sexual harassment or discrimination and know how to respond. Training and education should recur annually.

Mentoring and Support Networks

Support networks can be an instrumental part of a comprehensive effort to combat workplace discrimination, harassment, and other forms of hostility directed against minorities. Support groups may take on different forms: they can be internal or external organizations, mandatory or voluntary, formal or informal, and permanent or temporary. Regardless of the specific design of a support group, these organizations assume similar roles within the workplace and provide minority employees with similar types of services. The two most common types of support networks are internal mentoring programs that match new employees with experienced staff and issue-based support networks that are usually organized externally and bring together individuals from different professional fields facing common challenges.

Mentoring. Mentoring programs have become widely accepted components of overall professional development strategies of public and private organizations. In the United States, research has consistently demonstrated a direct relationship between mentoring and employees' success and satisfaction with their careers (Scarborough and Collins 2002). Mentors can fulfill different roles as they facilitate the smooth incorporation of new employees into organizations. When they act as teachers, mentors enhance the new recruit's professional skills and intellectual development, provide important critical feedback on workplace performance, and help the mentee understand the organization's underlying values and norms (Kram and Parker 1993). Mentors can take on the role of sponsor, encouraging career advancement of new employees, supporting them in the event of a conflict or controversy, publicizing their accomplishments, and providing them with valuable resources to improve job performance and earn promotions (Kram 1983).

Most police departments in the United States view mentoring as an important part of the professional development of new recruits. Studies have found that women officers and other minority groups are more likely to participate in mentoring

programs (Scarborough and Collins 2002: 108). Because mentors must generally occupy a position of power or leadership within an organization, finding a sufficient number of capable female mentors is difficult in male-dominated professions such as policing. As a result, female officers frequently end up with male mentors. Although men can be excellent career mentors for women, studies indicate that individuals benefit when their mentor is of the same gender. Since they have not shared similar professional and social experiences as women, men typically cannot offer the same level of insight and support for career advancement to new female employees. Moreover, successful women in senior positions may serve as more powerful role models for young professional women (Duff 1999).

Female police officers have described several benefits of mentoring programs. First, officers benefit by hearing and learning from others' work experiences. Second, officers have experienced personal growth through empowerment and a support system, providing them with the confidence to succeed. Finally, officers increased their professional development career advancement potential while learning how to deal with a male-dominated profession (Scarborough, Collins, and Shain 2000). Other studies have found that mentoring programs can have a significant impact on the retention of female officers, an issue that has been more problematic than the initial recruitment of women. Despite these clearly positive impacts, mentoring programs alone cannot alleviate female alienation. Formal mentoring programs must be part of a holistic and long-term approach to professional development to be effective. Mentoring cannot offset the negative effects of flawed application processes and inadequate training (Krandt 1998).

Support networks. Support networks, whether formal or informal, usually arise to address unmet workplace needs. For women, networks may help alleviate a number of problems, from general behavior and norms that contribute to a hostile work environment to very specific institutional arrangements that lead to the isolation of female employees and inhibit their career advancement. Networks can help overcome these problems by advising management on relevant issues, establishing mentoring and educational programs, and planning special events that raise awareness and bring members and non-members together (*Creating Women's Networks* 1999). Support networks may benefit female officers simply by providing them with opportunities and forums to discuss work-related anxieties and hear how other women are coping with similar problems (Korda 1973).

Support networks can act as agents for policy reform by building solidarity and mobilizing support for change (Gottlieb 1981). They can also help break down destructive norms or stereotypes and improve organizational culture through educational outreach (Backhouse, et al. 1981). In particular, these groups can assist efforts to heighten awareness and strengthen existing enforcement

mechanisms by educating male and female officers about policies on sexual harassment and discrimination.

Networking can take place within the police force or externally among civil-society organizations, private foundations, nonprofit groups, and public institutions. To be successful, internal female officer support groups, but would depend on the participation and commitment of experienced officers, but would probably require only the tacit support of police leadership. It is important to note that even if the MCPD decided to neglect internally the issues of sexual harassment and discrimination, female police officers may still choose to combat these problems externally through their participation and cooperation with other organizations. External civil-society organizations can operate independently of the police department and outside the reach of other types of political constraints. Autonomous public institutions like El Consejo Nacional para Prevenir la Discriminación and the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres could choose to allocate time and resources to address sexual harassment and gender discrimination within the MCPD. In addition, local, international, and foreign nongovernmental organizations may be willing to contribute resources, offer expertise, or lend support in other ways.³⁴

Evaluation

Effectiveness at achieving the goal: low to moderate. Support networks will have little impact on reducing sexual harassment and gender discrimination unless they are part of a more comprehensive effort to address these problems. Formal mentoring programs can be an effective way to instill organizational values and further the education of new recruits, but they do not address the behavior of current officers. Moreover, the effectiveness of mentoring programs is limited by the lack of officers willing or competent enough to serve in that capacity and by the low number of women in positions of authority. To the extent that support groups can design and provide educational programs to all police officers on the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination, support groups may be able to heighten awareness. In addition, the groups could encourage women officers to increase reporting when violations do occur. External networks may be able

³⁴ Several international organizations and foreign-based nongovernmental organizations may be able to provide resources or to assist efforts to combat sexual harassment and discrimination in the MCPD. Some of the more prominent and applicable organizations are listed below with their web sites:

The National Center for Women and Policing: <http://www.womenandpolicing.org/>

Women Peace Officers Association: <http://www.wpoaca.com/>

The International Association of Chiefs of Police: <http://www.theiacp.org/>

The Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies: <http://www.calea.org/>

Police Executive Research Forum: <http://www.policeforum.org/>

Human Rights Watch: <http://www.hrw.org/>

Human Rights First: <http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/>

University of California-San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies Justice Reform Project:
http://usmex.ucsd.edu/research/research_governance.php

to pool resources and exert political pressure, but their impact is likely to be indirect or only marginally effective.

Cost: low. Mentoring requires some time commitments and modest implementation and training costs, but, overall, mentoring programs are relatively inexpensive. The participation of external organizations in facilitating networks should be even less expensive. Many of the costs associated with external networking and outreach could likely be borne by civil-society organizations and existing government programs.

Overall benefits to the force: low. Support networks for women can be an important part of a comprehensive plan to encourage professional development and protect female officers, but these types of groups are not expected to produce instrumental benefits for the entire police force. Nonetheless, low-cost support groups could be at least marginally beneficial if they contribute to police education programs and enhance the image and performance of women officers. The overall benefits to the force of establishing a mentoring program depend largely on the willingness of police leaders and potential mentors to dedicate time and energy toward the training of new officers. Elaborate mentoring programs that include all new recruits, both male and female, could be more effective, but would be significantly more expensive and time consuming.

Feasibility: neutral. Due to the higher relative cost and the need to amend formal policies, an internal mentoring program will clearly be more controversial than external networks. Police leadership would need to sanction and support mentoring programs; however, external support groups operate under a different set of rules. Though it would be helpful to develop a healthy working relationship with the MCPD, civil-society organizations do not need to rely on the full cooperation of the police force. In general, as long as support groups are dedicated to enhancing the image and performance of the force and do not require the expenditure of significant police resources, there should be little reason for police leaders to oppose these organizations.

Time horizon: short to medium term. A mentoring program could be created in a relatively short period of time, but the benefits would more likely be realized during the medium or even long term. The same is probably true of any type of association or relationship forged between female officers and civil-society organizations. Mentors and group participants can receive training early and often, and, while this would be helpful, support networks should not be expected to produce substantial or immediate results.

Greater Integration and Promotion of Female Officers

Research has shown that sexual harassment is much more likely in male-dominated workplaces, especially in fields that have traditionally been considered masculine (Koss 1994). Therefore, another policy measure is to integrate women further into the force through vigorous recruitment and hiring practices.

Additionally, by offering female officers the same opportunities as their male counterparts for career advancement and the attainment of leadership positions, the police department can begin to dismantle the “male” police culture that perpetuates discrimination and sexual harassment against women (Brown and Heidensohn 2000). In the United States, it has been found that, over time, increased numeric representation of female officers can significantly reduce the prevalence of gender discrimination, under-utilization, and sexual harassment (Kanter 1977). See Appendix C for more on barriers to women in policing.

Research has shown that policewomen face more resistance from male counterparts in departments where they make up a small percentage of the force (Belknap and Shelly 1992). Expanding female participation in the force creates incentives to examine management practices that are less acceptable when applied to both men and women (Bloch and Anderson 1974). Similarly, increasing the number of female officers facilitates a change in attitudes among male officers concerning their female counterparts. As the number of a minority group in an organization increases, discriminatory treatment typically declines (Kanter 1977).

One way to increase recruitment, hiring, and promotion of women is through the use of affirmative action³⁵ hiring policies to increase the proportion of female officers and address discrimination. This would require quotas for the number of women hired at all levels of the force, including those in positions of authority. This not only provides female officers with opportunities for promotion, it fosters greater willingness to report acts of discrimination and harassment. To appropriately implement affirmative action hiring policies, reliable data need to be available to assess the extent of gender discrimination in hiring and promotion. After collecting such data, effective implementation requires the establishment of measurable goals for recruiting, hiring, and promoting women and realistic milestones to assess progress toward achieving those goals (Beckman 1975).

In the early 1970s, numerous police departments in the United States faced similar issues in challenging assumptions that police work is a “man’s job.” Women were vastly underrepresented in police departments nationwide and were typically confined to work dealing with juveniles and female prisoners. Police departments in Washing-

³⁵ The American Heritage Dictionary says affirmative action is a policy or program that seeks to redress past discrimination through active measures to ensure equal opportunity, as in education and employment.

ton, D.C., and Chicago took conscious steps to hire more women and expand the diversity of female officers' assignments by setting specific hiring, training, and placement goals (Knoohuizen and Gutman 1974). Similarly, a 1975 report found that women are capable of competently performing every law enforcement job and proceeded to set hiring targets in all job categories. These targets were monitored with monthly reports on minority and female hiring, which were made available to the public (Beckman 1975).

These measures could be an important step in reducing not only discrimination, but also corruption. Research concludes that corruption decreases when the number of women on staff and in leadership positions increases (Swamy, et al. 1999).

Further integrating women into the police department is potentially problematic. Male officers could initially be resistant to affirmative action policies, thereby compounding stress levels for male and female officers (Milton, et al. 1974).

Evaluation

Effectiveness at achieving the goal: low to moderate. This measure is an integral part of a long-term goal of gender equality, which leads to lower incidence of sexual harassment and discrimination. Female integration into typically male professions has not been shown to have immediate effects on the incidence of sexual harassment or discrimination in the United States and elsewhere. However, as the number of female employees and decision-makers increases, the incidence of sexual harassment and discrimination should decrease dramatically. This policy measure would be most effective when used in conjunction with other measures, especially strengthened enforcement mechanisms and employee training.

Cost: moderate. There would be no increased cost in promoting women into vacant positions. Increased recruitment and training of women could be costly in the short term, however, particularly if there was not a base of women with the proper requirements for the position. The MCPD could choose to develop integration strategies internally or contract with a private firm for assistance. In either instance, outreach, training, and development of new promotional policies could require large investments of time and resources; however, the recruitment and promotion of more women could save the MCPD large amounts of money through higher retention rates in the long term.

Overall benefits to the force: moderate. Although there could be some initial retaliatory behavior that impedes force operations, further integration of women into the force is expected to greatly benefit the overall force. Research in the United States and other countries clearly demonstrates that women officers use less physical force, are better at defusing and de-escalating potentially violent confrontations with citizens, and are less likely to become involved in problems with use of

excessive force. Additionally, women officers often possess better communication skills than their male counterparts, are better able to facilitate cooperation and trust, are more likely to properly respond to crimes that involve violence against women (National Center for Women and Policing 2003) and may be less likely to engage in corrupt activities (Swamy, et al. 1999). See Appendix D on the benefits of women in law enforcement.

Feasibility: low. Greater integration and the promotion of women could face sizable resistance from numerous stakeholders within the force. Male officers may feel threatened by increased competition from women for leadership positions and may resort to retaliatory discrimination and harassment. A commitment from senior officials downward is necessary to drive these structural changes and to ensure that women are hired in appropriate numbers and genuinely integrated in force activities. It is essential that the force does not hire a few “token” women in authority positions simply to prove that it hires women.³⁶ Further integration of women into male-dominated workplaces typically gains stronger support outside the workplace itself. The general public and civil-society groups tend to see integration as a positive change. As the pool of women prepared for law enforcement careers grows, it will become easier to implement this policy.

Time horizon: long term. Increasing the number of women within the ranks of the MCPD and encouraging the promotion of greater numbers of female officers to positions of leadership are viewed as effective long-term strategies to reduce sexual harassment, discrimination, and other gender biases within the force. Although efforts to better integrate and promote female officers in the MCPD could begin immediately, this particular measure is more likely to produce gradual and indirect results. As women rise to senior positions and female officers occupy a larger percentage of the workforce, evidence suggests that sexual harassment and gender discrimination decline. Experiences in other countries have shown that integrating more women into the police department, particularly in decision-making positions, can be a lengthy process.³⁷ Changing the internal police culture to be more accepting and welcoming to women is a slow and arduous process that involves psychological aspects and equalizing the power structure between men and women.³⁸

³⁶ The problem of “tokenism” leads ultimately to worse situations for the few women who are hired rather than facilitating gender acceptance. For an in-depth discussion of tokenism, refer to Chapter 8 in Kanter (1977).

³⁷ In the United States, the integration process is ongoing and it is not realistic to believe that the true effects of an integration measure could be achieved in a matter of months or even in a few years. In the United States today, women comprise around 15 percent of sworn officers and the representation of women in large police agencies has increased slowly from 9 percent in 1990 to 12.7 percent in 2001, a gain of less than 4 percent. This is very small considering that women make-up 46.5 percent of the labor force (National Center for Women and Policing 2002).

³⁸ “The determination of the causes of victimization of females is grounded in the acceptance of gender disparities in power ... the victimization of females is a result and reinforcement of gender-power disparity.

Explanation of the Evaluation Process

Figure 1 offers a succinct and generalized interpretation of our evaluation of the proposed policy measures. It is intended to facilitate rough comparisons among the policy measures according to each of the identified criteria. While some degree of subjectivity is involved, the rankings that we have assigned to each box represent our best estimate, based on the research that we have compiled.

Figure 1
Evaluation of Alternative Policy Measures

Criteria Policy Measures	Effectiveness at Achieving the Policy Goal	Cost	Overall Benefits to the Force	Feasibility	Time Horizon*
External Oversight	Moderate to High	Low	Moderate	Lowest	Short to Medium Term
Mentoring and Support Networks	Low to Moderate	Lowest	Lowest	Neutral	Short to Medium Term
Strengthening Existing Enforcement Mechanisms	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Medium to Long Term
Gender Discrimination and Sexual Harassment Training	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Short to Medium Term
Professionalization	Low to Moderate	Highest	Highest	High	Long Term
Greater Integration and Promotion of Female Officers	Low to Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Long Term

* Short-term: within two years
Medium-term: two to ten years
Long-term: more than ten years

The criteria are listed in columns in order of priority, from left to right. Since it would be pointless to consider any policy measures that failed to address the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination within the MCPD, *effectiveness at achieving the policy goal* is the most important criteria. Nonetheless, we recognize that *cost* and *overall benefits to the force* may in fact be far more important factors in determining the eventual implementation of various policy measures. Therefore, we give these criteria special weight. *Feasibility* gauges the likelihood that the policy will be accepted by the police force whereas *time horizon* is simply a temporal measure that estimates how long it would take

That is, the threat and existence of the victimization of females decreases the power of women and girls; simultaneously, this power disparity encourages victimization” Belknap and Shelly (1992).

before the policy measure produces a noticeable impact on reducing sexual harassment and discrimination in the MCPD.

Each of the proposed policy measures is expected to contribute to at least some degree to the reduction of sexual harassment and gender discrimination within the MCPD. However, we must admit that much of the available research in this area is inconclusive or speculative. There does seem to be a consensus that each of these policy measures, however limited on its own, would be most effective in conjunction with the other measures as part of a much broader effort to combat sexual harassment and discrimination.

External oversight and support networks for women officers are attractive policy measures because they are relatively inexpensive. Professionalization is clearly the most costly of the policy measures, but the MCPD has already committed to a long-term process of building a more professional force. The remaining policy measures are classified as moderately expensive, but, as with the rankings for the other criteria, some degree of variation must be acknowledged. For example, while some existing enforcement mechanisms that could be strengthened quite inexpensively, the overall cost of the policy is classified as moderate. Likewise, some forms of sexual harassment and discrimination training could be implemented easily, but to be effective, these programs would require substantial resources.

For *overall benefits to the force*, professionalization emerges as the best policy option, while support networks for women officers are least beneficial. The other policies are identified as moderately beneficial to the force as a whole. Not surprisingly, many of the policy alternatives fall short when measured against *feasibility*. Only professionalization seems to be a policy approach that police leadership and officers would be readily willing to accept. They may be indifferent to the formation of external support groups or even mentoring programs, but the other policies are likely to be much less acceptable. While many of the policies are primarily expected to produce results during the medium to long term, external oversight, support networks, and gender training could certainly have a measurable impact on police behavior in the short term. There may even be simple and inexpensive ways to strengthen existing enforcement mechanisms that could have an immediate impact.

Policy Recommendations

This section seeks to offer a practical set of policy recommendations to improve the working conditions of female officers in the MCPD. It is our hope that Democracia, Derechos Humanos y Seguridad and other reform-minded organizations find this entire report, and particularly these recommendations, to be informative and useful as they continue to work with police leadership to combat the problems that women officers face on a daily basis. Although we consider each of the policy measures to be an important part of a comprehensive and forward-thinking strategy to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment and gender discrimination within the MCPD, we recognize that there are always a multitude of competing interests. Fiscal constraints, more pressing police priorities, internal resistance, social norms, political pressures, and others complicate the real world of public policy. Though we may ideally prefer a more aggressive approach that would generate immediate results in the fight against harassment and discrimination, our policy recommendations are designed so that they may be practically applied to the present situation in Mexico City. As such, this section outlines a set of responsible, practical, and broadly appealing policy measures that should be able to find support across a wide range of constituencies.

Our research indicates that a major reduction in sexual harassment and gender discrimination in the MCPD will not occur overnight; rather, it will be the result of a long and deliberate process that will require time, financial resources, citizen participation, and the commitment of police leadership and public officials. For this reason, the recommendations are divided into three distinct stages or phases. The first stage identifies some relatively inexpensive and practical measures that could immediately be implemented to address sexual harassment and gender discrimination. The second stage highlights medium-term priorities and measures that could advance the position of female officers during the next decade or so. The final stage focuses on long-term strategies to reduce the occurrence of sexual harassment and discrimination within the force and move closer to a police department in which women officers are accepted and treated as equals.

Initial Stage: Support Networks, Strengthening Existing Enforcement Mechanisms, and External Oversight

The first cluster of recommendations includes the formation of informal female officer support networks, the strengthening of certain aspects of the existing enforcement mechanisms, and the establishment of an external oversight mechanism. These measures are each characterized by their relatively low cost and their ability to have an immediate and concrete, albeit small, impact on the issues of sexual harassment and discrimination in the MCPD. Forming support groups for women and strengthening some aspects of the existing policy are prioritized because they should meet little resistance within the force.

Support networks. Female police officers could be encouraged to meet with one another to address concerns and discuss relevant professional issues. Whether these meetings are informal or more formal depends mostly on whether female officers are interested and willing to participate, recruit other women, and engage in constructive activities. Civil-society organizations can act as a catalyst in the formation of these types of groups. Civil-society nongovernmental organizations and other groups can contribute educational resources, offer advocacy assistance, and welcome female officers into broader women's equality movements.

Strengthening existing enforcement mechanisms. Though we were unable to view the MCPD's official sexual harassment and anti-discrimination mechanisms, it is nonetheless apparent that the current system to protect female officers from sexual harassment and discrimination needs reform. While this issue should be addressed during the next several years, some immediate steps could be taken to improve the current situation. First and foremost, the MCPD should strengthen its current policies regarding sexual harassment and discrimination. They could raise the profile of workplace harassment and discrimination through a basic education program and incorporate these issues into the new-hire training. The MCPD could ensure that copies of the sexual harassment and anti-discrimination policies are distributed to all officers and that official policies and educational posters are clearly visible in MCPD buildings.

External oversight. It is likely that leadership within the MCPD will be initially hostile to the idea of creating an official external oversight mechanism that deals specifically with the police force. Indeed, internal resistance appears to be the most significant barrier of effective civilian oversight. Nonetheless, external oversight remains an important short-term priority for several reasons. First, these mechanisms are not terribly costly to implement or operate. Second, external oversight is quickly becoming a widely accepted component of law enforcement in democratic societies as departments realize their positive contributions to heightened accountability and transparency. Additionally, these bodies can be very effective at improving public perceptions of the police force by legitimizing their performance and raising the status of police officers within the community.

Second Stage: Sexual Harassment and Discrimination Training, Additional Strengthening of Enforcement Mechanisms, and Mentoring

The second cluster of policy recommendations consists of extensive gender discrimination and sexual harassment training for the entire force, additional strengthening of internal enforcement mechanisms, and implementation of a female officer mentoring program. Collectively, these policies are more costly and somewhat more difficult to implement on a large scale, but they are no less deserving of the attention of police leadership and other reform-minded actors. If the MCPD wishes to seriously address the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination within its ranks, then it will be essential to attack the core causes of the problem by moving beyond the surface and implementing medium-term measures.

Sexual harassment and discrimination training. Without the introduction of an extensive sexual harassment and anti-discrimination training program, destructive gender biases and general disrespect will continue to poison the relationships between male and female officers in the MCPD. Supervisors are responsible for upholding the laws and codes within the department. Therefore, they must be trained on how to handle allegations of sexual harassment and learn how to prevent sexual harassment from occurring. Incoming cadets could easily be exposed to problems of harassment and discrimination as part of their formal training, but the entire force is in need of significant education with respect to sexual harassment, discrimination, and a host of issues related to gender. Evidence shows that widespread training is effective above and beyond individual training because it changes the culture of the institution. In this regard, the MCPD could benefit immensely by enlisting the support of human rights groups in civil-society or public institutions like the Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres that are committed to gender equality. Some officers, especially those with negative views toward women and those resistant to change, may oppose these training programs. Therefore, it is critical that sexual harassment and gender education programs receive the full support of police leadership.

Additional strengthening of enforcement mechanisms. The MCPD's internal mechanisms to deal with the problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination have been unable to adequately protect female officers. Careful attention should be devoted to restructuring the internal affairs procedures so that the rights of victims are respected and that unacceptable behavior is not just recognized, but punished. As we have mentioned, one possible and increasingly popular method to improve the effectiveness and increase the legitimacy of police internal affairs procedures is to subject it to some type of external civilian oversight. A zero-tolerance policy with respect to sexual harassment and

discrimination can only come about through education, training, and a dramatic shift in organizational culture. To initiate this shift, the MCPD must strengthen its internal mechanisms to enforce its own code of conduct.

Mentoring. If the planning process were to begin in the immediate future, an active and organized mentoring program could be fully functioning within a few years. Besides the initial start-up costs and other minor expenses, a mentoring program could essentially be self-sustaining as long as senior officers and mentors remain committed to the program. As demonstrated by the successes in other police departments, mentoring programs would not only be a source of strength and support for female officers, and they can enhance female officer performance and contribute to the more efficient and effective provision of law enforcement.

Final Stage: Professionalization, Greater Integration, and Promotion of Female Officers

The final cluster of recommendations details broad policy measures that would combine with other policies to significantly reduce the incidence of sexual harassment and discrimination over time. These measures would transform the MCPD into a more modern, efficient, and inclusive instrument of law enforcement. From a long-term perspective, the key policy measures are the ongoing professionalization process, integrating greater numbers of female officers into the force, and ensuring that women are given every opportunity to be promoted to positions of leadership.

Professionalization. Ongoing professionalization efforts would continue to incorporate the lessons learned by police forces throughout the world. Some of these best practices from the law enforcement profession would undoubtedly address the problems of sexual harassment and discrimination in more concrete and effective ways. It is perhaps worth reiterating that the problems experienced by female officers in the MCPD are similar to those that women officers face on a daily basis in police departments, big and small, throughout the world. This is not a justification for continued abuse; rather, it is an admission that the male-dominated profession of policing has in general lagged behind other industries and the rest of society when it comes to gender equality and respect for women in the workplace.

Greater integration and promotion of female officers. It is clear that female officers have much to contribute to the MCPD's long-term goal of creating a more modern, efficient, effective, and respected police force. However, the force would be able to reap the enormous benefits offered by female officers only if it fosters an overall working environment that fully respects the role of women and appreciates the unique skills that they provide. A multi-faceted approach to

encourage the greater integration of women into the MCPD will include targeted recruiting of qualified female candidates and specific policies to combat low retention rates among female officers. The policies that we have addressed in this report, if implemented, would greatly improve the retention of female officers, but it is just as important that meritorious female officers are given every opportunity to earn promotions and rise to positions of leadership within the force. If police leaders lack the will to address this issue on their own, then it may be necessary to implement some form of affirmative action policies to ensure that capable women officers are not discriminated against in their quest for professional and personal advancement.

Conclusion

The problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination undermine the well-intentioned efforts of hard-working police officers to provide quality law enforcement to the citizens of Mexico City and seriously compromise the integrity and legitimacy of the MCPD. There is a clear need for additional research and a more thorough evaluation of both the policies and the performance of the MCPD with respect to these particular issues. It is our sincere hope that in the years to come the MCPD will have the resources, the vision, and the courage to aggressively tackle these problems within its ranks. We hope that this report proves helpful in those efforts.

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Appendix A: Facts About Sexual Harassment

The following was compiled from *U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's* web site: http://www.eeoc.gov/types/sexual_harassment.html

Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitutes sexual harassment when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment.

Sexual harassment can occur in a variety of circumstances, including but not limited to the following:

- The victim as well as the harasser may be a woman or a man. The victim does not have to be of the opposite sex.
- The harasser can be the victim's supervisor, an agent of the employer, a supervisor in another area, a co-worker, or a non-employee.
- The victim does not have to be the person harassed but could be anyone affected by the offensive conduct.
- Unlawful sexual harassment may occur without economic injury to or discharge of the victim.
- The harasser's conduct must be unwelcome.

It is helpful for the victim to directly inform the harasser that the conduct is unwelcome and must stop. The victim should use any employer complaint mechanism or grievance system available.

When investigating allegations of sexual harassment, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission looks at the whole record: the circumstances, such as the nature of the sexual advances, and the context in which the alleged incidents occurred. A determination on the allegations is made from the facts on a case-by-case basis.

Prevention is the best tool to eliminate sexual harassment in the workplace. Employers are encouraged to take steps necessary to prevent sexual harassment from occurring. They should clearly communicate to employees that sexual harassment would not be tolerated. They can do so by establishing an effective complaint or grievance process and taking immediate and appropriate action when an employee complains.

Appendix B: Example of Sexual Harassment and Discrimination Policies in a U.S. Police Department

When contacted by our group, the San Diego Police Department provided the following information on its policies to deal with the problems of sexual harassment and gender discrimination.

Questions: How has your department confronted the issue of sexual harassment and discrimination? What has been the most effective?

Although the San Diego Police Department has had policies in place for some time to address workplace conduct, the department began a very proactive approach targeting harassment and workplace discrimination in approximately the mid-1980s. At that time, recognizing that discrimination was not only unlawful, but created a negative atmosphere that reduced work productivity and morale, the department established its own equal employment opportunity unit to investigate claims/allegations of sexual harassment and discrimination within the organization. The unit, comprised of a lieutenant and three sergeants, was tasked with providing equal employment opportunity training for all department personnel, informal consultation, counseling, mediation, and the formal investigation of incidents of suspected discrimination or harassment.

Certainly, the most effective means of addressing any workplace issue is training, training, and more training. In that regard, the equal employment opportunity unit provides regular training and update sessions to help keep the topic of sexual harassment and workplace discrimination fresh in every employee's mind. Though varied in its scope, the training typically emphasizes the rights (familiarizing department members with all areas of discrimination law – local, state, and federal), responsibilities (providing the tools for addressing interpersonal problems which can lead to perceptions of discrimination), and resolutions (providing understanding of the formal and informal procedures regarding equal employment opportunity issues) available to and governing the conduct of all members of the department.

In addition to regularly scheduled training, the equal employment opportunity unit also implemented a mediation program to help department employees settle workplace issues before they developed into matters of harassment and or discrimination. This program not only proved highly successful from a management perspective, it has also met with great acceptance from employees who elected to participate in the program. Specifically, the program provided employees the opportunity to speak frankly about workplace issues and/or concerns in a controlled, non-threatening environment.

The San Diego Police Department maintains a zero tolerance policy on harassment and discrimination and is committed to ensuring that the principles of equal treatment in all aspects of employment are understood, respected, and practiced throughout the organization.

For further information, see <http://www.sandiego.gov/police>.

Appendix C: Barriers to Women in Policing

From: "Equality Denied: The Status of Women in Policing," the National Center for Women and Policing, 1997.

1. Biased Entry Exams

- Entry exams with their emphasis on upper body strength favor men and wash out women – despite studies showing physical prowess to be unrelated to job performance.

2. Widespread Discrimination on the Job

- Once on the job, women are frequently intimidated, harassed, and maliciously thwarted, especially as they move up the ranks.

3. Recruitment Policies that Favor Men

- Recruitment departments have not adequately intensified their efforts to attract qualified women candidates or to portray policing as a profession that welcomes women.

4. Outdated Models of Policing

- Law enforcement agencies continue to promote an outdated model of policing by rewarding tough, aggressive, and even violent behavior. This "paramilitary" style of policing results in poor community relations, increased citizen complaints, more violent confrontations, and increased deaths.
- Redefining law enforcement to a community-oriented model of policing would attract more women who reject policing's trademark aggressive, authoritarian image.

Appendix D: Benefits of Women in Law Enforcement

The following is a summary from the National Center for Women and Policing publication *Hiring and Retaining Women: The Advantages to Law Enforcement Agencies*, 2003. For the full report, see:

<http://www.womenandpolicing.org/pdf/NewAdvantagesReport.pdf>

1. Female officers are proven to be as competent as their male counterparts

- Evaluations of U.S. police departments indicate that men and women are equally capable of successful performance as patrol officers and that there are no differences between male and female officers in: their activities or productivity on patrol their response to violent confrontations; and their participation in training and other professional development activities.

2. Female officers are less likely to use excessive force.

- Studies reveal that female officers rely less on physical force, or employ both deadly force, and excessive force; but female officers will use force when necessary.
- Female officers are less likely than male officers to be involved in fights or physical assault on the job.
- A study of seven major U.S. police departments indicates that female officers are named in only 5 percent of citizen complaints for excessive force and 2 percent of the sustained allegations of excessive force.
- Physical strength does not predict general police effectiveness or the ability to successfully handle dangerous situations. Ability to defuse potential violence and maintain composure in situations of conflict might be preferable to physical strength.
- Physical agility tests weed out qualified women (and men) who could potentially implement a model of community-oriented policing.
- Research documents a preference among community members for female officers to respond to potentially dangerous situations.
- Research indicates that female officers exhibit more reasoned caution than their male counterparts, and that females increase this tendency in their male partners.

- 3. Female officers implement community-oriented policing.**
 - Community policing emphasizes communication and cooperation with citizens as well as informal problem-solving. Women officers receive more favorable evaluations and fewer citizen complaints than their male counterparts.
 - Citizens view female officers as having greater support for community policing than male officers. Female officers are also more respectful in their view of citizens. This is associated with a decreased likelihood of using excessive force.
 - Women in law enforcement are less likely to be involved in various forms of misconduct, such as engaging in forms of corruption.

- 4. More female officers will improve law enforcement's response to violence against women.**
 - Ineffective police response has been found to deter victims of domestic violence from reporting future assaults.
 - Effective police response can increase the likelihood that battered women will leave abusive relationships through improving self-esteem. The community and training officers view female officers as more effective than their male counterparts.
 - Increasing women's numbers in the ranks of law enforcement can lessen the chance that crimes of violence against women will be handled by an officer who has perpetrated such a crime.

- 5. Increasing the presence of female officers reduces problems of sex discrimination and harassment within a law enforcement agency.**
 - Increased representation of women can also have the benefit of transforming the climate within a law enforcement agency, and reducing the prevalence of gender discrimination, under-utilization, and sexual harassment.

- 6. The presence of women can bring about beneficial changes in policy for all officers.**
 - The Police Foundation noted in 1974: "The introduction of women will create an incentive ... to examine many management practices which are less acceptable now that they must be applied to men and women alike. This may result in the development of improved selection criteria, performance standards, and supervision for all officers."
 - The expanded supply of police personnel, the reduced cost of recruiting, and better community representation are additional benefits of hiring of more female officers.