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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate how female officers' body sizes are depicted on the TV show, "Police Women of Broward County." Little literature examines the media's depiction of bodies belonging to women who are involved in traditionally masculine professions. However, feminist and masculinist literature, along with biophysical literature, tends to suggest that women are smaller and weaker than men or are perceived that way in society. It stands to reason that media may portray female officers this way or portray women attempting to overcome this stigma personally and professionally to appeal to viewers or as a reflection of mainstream attitudes or ideas. Using a record-review case study methodology, the researcher examined free snippets and numerous online episodes of the TLC Network show, "Police Women of Broward County." The show, which includes fieldwork and interviews, contained quotations about size, and scenarios in which size appeared to be relevant to policing. Overcoming the stigma was a recurring theme, but it was not the only theme. Some comments were positively associated with female officers' sizes insofar as police seemed tenaciously motivated by their smaller stature. However, some comments that connected size, gender, and professionalism seemed to be negative or to suggest diminution. Some comments discussed size differences within the female police population but the comments were neither negative nor positive because they were merely factual or informational.

Keywords

Case Study, TLC, Broward County, Police Women, Size, Body Composition

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Does Size Matter in the Field?: Female Police Bodies in Online Television

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The purpose of this study is to investigate how female officers' body sizes are depicted on the TV show, "Police Women of Broward County." Little literature examines the media's depiction of bodies belonging to women who are involved in traditionally masculine professions. However, feminist and masculinist literature, along with biophysical literature, tends to suggest that women are smaller and weaker than men or are perceived that way in society. It stands to reason that media may portray female officers this way or portray women attempting to overcome this stigma personally and professionally to appeal to viewers or as a reflection of mainstream attitudes or ideas. Using a record-review case study methodology, the researcher examined free snippets and numerous online episodes of the TLC Network show, "Police Women of Broward County." The show, which includes fieldwork and interviews, contained quotations about size, and scenarios in which size appeared to be relevant to policing. Overcoming the stigma was a recurring theme, but it was not the only theme. Some comments were positively associated with female officers' sizes insofar as police seemed tenaciously motivated by their smaller stature. However, some comments that connected size, gender, and professionalism seemed to be negative or to suggest diminution. Some comments discussed size differences within the female police population but the comments were neither negative nor positive because they were merely factual or informational. Keywords: Case Study, TLC, Broward County, Police Women, Size, Body Composition

Introduction

The central question in this research is whether a television show about female officers depicts body size as an issue for the officers. Viewers may or may not realize that female officers may be differentiated from male officers by their peers and the public. Much of this differentiation relates to power. Inevitably, people correlate power with body size and composition. Depictions of real officers on a television show about female officers may include such perceptions. Viewers, scholars, and members of the field may be interested in how television depicts expressions of differentiation, possible stigmatization, and coping methods. The purpose of this study is to discover how, whether, and why body composition may influence female officers depicted on television. Broward County Sheriffs' professional experience as depicted by the show "Police Women of Broward County" is the basis for this research, yet studies tend to show commonality between female officers throughout the U.S. that may sufficiently support the generalizability of this study. Furthermore, sociological, psychological, and gender research theorize that traditional genders roles are partially based on size, physical dominance, and power. Traditional gender roles and female officers' work within a traditionally masculine profession suggests that the findings in this research may be generalizable to female officers and possibly to other women working in traditionally masculine occupations.

Females are usually smaller than most males, and are typically not as strong (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). This could limit some of the raw physical power that female officers can exercise in the field. However, females may share equal agility, quickness, forcefulness, and other qualities that are relevant to policing but perhaps are irrelevant to size (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). This research identifies whether body size is relevant to policing in this show and how it is depicted by editors, society, and officers to the public. One benefit of this study is that by demonstrating that smaller size does not inhibit effective policing, smaller officers may be given equal respect; on the other hand, officers and editors may pose challenges to notions of equality when some female officers are not physically equal to some male officers, or when people mock female officers because of their size and gender.

Literature Review

It has been well established that women in policing may experience less respect and power over subordinates (Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Though they can excel in police work, they are often discouraged internally from pursuing positions of authority (Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Personal and professional goals of the department may prompt colleagues to discourage women from attempting to guide male police officers, who internalize and uphold a male-driven agenda (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Some officers argue that women are not discouraged from important desk work, undercover positions, investigation, or other passive positions, but that physically demanding police work is better handled by male officers (Baker, 2007; Brown, 1998; Dodge, Starr-Gimeno, & Williams, 2005; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Size can intimidate, command respect, and can generate more physical power, often times (Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Male officers and the public may perceive female officers as being emotionally weak because of their smaller physical sizes (Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Small stature along with perceived weakness and fragility may be believed to affect females' job performance in the field (Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005). Policing may be governed by male logic that supports these rationalizations (Brown, 1998; Martin, 1996; McNulty, 2012; Pogrebin, Dodge, & Chatman, 2000; *U.S. v. Virginia*, 1996; Vojdik, 2005).

For decades, the government maintained that female officers inadequately fulfilled physical demands required by male officers. For example, in the 1980s, women brought legal action against the government to allow them to assume contact positions in prisons (Jurado, 1999). Currently, the government is cautiously testing longstanding exclusion of women from strenuous and frontline positions in the military, including policing positions (McNulty, 2012). Throughout the past 50 years, some pro-woman developments have emerged that set aside prejudices, yet the government continues to point to the fact that women fail to achieve physical feats required for some positions (McNulty, 2012). Women regularly fail to satisfy the most rigorous military tests of strength and endurance; however, the majority of street-level police work does not involve aggressive contact or extreme physicality, and no evidence exists that females fail to interact competently with the public in the field (Mastrofski & Willis, 2010).

Research of female and male police officers found that physical differences in size can affect policing (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Smaller size, lung capacity, body and muscle mass, hemoglobin level, heart size, and other factors can make smaller women who are less fit than their male counterparts less effective in the field (Bonneau & Shephard,

2002). Body mass is directly related to standing height and yet females, who are shorter, have higher body fat levels, which also can affect performance (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Physical stature was found to be especially influential on performance (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). It affects inertia and leverage, extension and reaching, jumping and aerobic power, and muscle strength (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002).

Police duties can involve walking, running, and other activities that displace body mass with gravity and require aerobic power (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Women have a 10% disadvantage against men of the same fitness level and age because of their smaller muscle, tissue, and organ sizes (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Among females, dynamic muscular strength of the upper torso, which interacts with the diaphragm and lungs, is approximately half that of males at 56%. Male aerobic capacity is approximately between 25% and 30% greater than females (Donnelly, 2007). If pushing, dragging, or another forceful activity is included in the aerobic performance, then females are at a 30-40% disadvantage (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Carrying guns, heavy belts, armor, and other tools can add to this significantly (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002).

Females' hands and bones tend to be smaller and lighter (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). However, their arms may have better working capacity because of it (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Yet, disadvantages arise when female arms are forced to work against resistance (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Their muscles are smaller and less fibrous and can be about half as weak as males (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Though, the gap in strength closes in comparison of hip strength (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). However, all things being equal, men have superior muscle endurance (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Many women are unable to perform required elements of duties, like wall-climbing, jumping across distances, and pull-ups, which many men can perform (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002).

Presuming that male officers are fit and operating proficiently, then females could engage in rigorous cardio training to become comparable to men (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Some women can be stronger than some men, especially if they train (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Lifestyle, training, and natural agility may significantly influence disparities between men and women in the field (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Furthermore, police fieldwork does not always involve aggression (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Much of policing involves community-level interactions, investigation, traffic regulation, patrolling, and other passive work (Bonneau & Shephard, 2002). Ellaine Donnelly, President of the Center for Military Readiness, somewhat summarizes this debate when discussing military patrols in the Middle East (Donnelly, 2007). She says that "[t]here is no question that female soldiers are brave - this has been proven many times in the current war. But body size, strength, and physical closeness to direct ground combat troops during offensive operations...are factors that are important for survival and mission accomplishment" (Donnelly, 2007, p. 836).

Donnelly reports that fitness standards in military service are constructed to synthesize equality. She points to gender-normed Navy Fitness Standards for sailors in the same age groups. Males must run 1.5-miles in thirteen minutes and fifteen seconds to earn the same score as a woman who may run the same distance in fifteen minutes and fifteen seconds. Males must perform 42 push-ups to score the same as women who perform seventeen. Swimming 500 yards must be completed by men in twelve minutes and 15 seconds, but women receive fourteen minutes to complete the same task. She reports that "[t]he 'curl-up' category in the PRT test is the only one with requirements identical for both sexes. However, the standard really ought to be higher for women because their bodies have more strength in the midsection. The physiology is related to the female potential for pregnancy." Her interpretation suggests a view of women that is traditional or possibly sexist since she does not attribute male strengths, e.g. upper body strength, to evolutionary sexual

roles or procreative tasks. Nevertheless, her point is well-made. Police departments throughout the nation also require less rigorous performance from female officers (Illinois State Police, 2014). The Illinois State Police Merit Board's Physical Fitness Standards is one such example where women are given lower repetition requirements and more time to complete activities (Illinois State Police, 2014). These differences suggest the governments' position that women are less physically powerful than men. Yet, implicitly, gender-norming by police departments suggests that these differences are commensurate with biology but not professional effectiveness.

This study stems from the researcher's interest in the dynamic and potentially multidimensional relationship between depictions available online and societal beliefs. Unlike other studies conducted by the researcher that examined gender, sex roles, actions, expressive utterances, and crime depicted in online pornography films, this study examines law enforcement and considers subjects' explanations about their experiences in addition to the words they utter while working (Cusack, 2013; Cusack & Waranius, 2012). This study is also distinct from the researcher's previous studies about pornographic depictions because pornography is a female dominated industry, whereas policing is male dominated (Cusack, 2013; Cusack & Waranius, 2012). However, in each study, the researcher considers the role that social norms play in formulating depictions and the power of footage producers to shape messages and content (Cusack, 2013; Cusack & Waranius, 2012). The researcher also considers possible effects of material on audiences (Cusack, 2013; Cusack & Waranius, 2012).

Method

Sampling and Data Collection

Observing officers' activities and documenting their analytical reflections was important to this study to examine how policing may be affected by gender-related size differences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Pogrebin, 2003). Editorial decisions to include certain communications and depictions were as important to this research as the public's response and male officers' responses to female officers. A case study was used because it allowed the researcher to focus on a single topic with the purpose of exploring that topic among a small group of people (Chenail, 2012b). The purpose of viewing numerous records, i.e., video clips was to gather the most accurate sense of whether and how size matters in the field, and the purpose of using quotes as the touchstone for inclusion criteria was that direct quotes ensure quality control by presenting objective data (Chenail, 2012a). The sample consisted of the following five officers: Andrea Penoyer, Julie Bower, Erika Huerta, Shelunda Cooper, and Anna Murillo (Project Free TV, 2012; TLC, 2012b; Youtube, 2012a). These officers were included because they were the only officers featured in episodes online. To collect data, the researcher watched clips of the show at the TLC webpage and on Youtube, (TLC, 2012a). At the TLC site, the tab "Meet the Police Women of Broward County" provided information about some of the officers (TLC, 2012b). A Youtube search for each of officer's names, episode titles, and the show title located snippets of the show or interviews with the officers (Youtube, 2012, 2012b).

At Free TV Project, several complete episodes from seasons one and six were available (Project Free TV, 2012). The amount of relevant data discovered in the full episodes did not increase proportionally with the amount of time that spent watching episodes (Chenail, 2012a). Approximately nine hours of the show were watched, but only a handful of additional relevant data observed and recorded (Project Free TV, 2012). When clips met the inclusion criteria, it was extremely evident because clips that were excluded only discussed

cases, e.g. drugs possession, not officers. No data was collected for Shelunda Cooper because there were no quotes about size in her scenes (Project Free TV, 2012; Youtube, 2012a).

Inclusion criteria included any conversations or comments about or directly relevant to body composition. Recordings were paused and rewound to the location of the comment as many times as needed to transcribe the comment accurately (Project Free TV, 2012; Youtube, 2012a). Because this was a produced T.V. show, and not an independent case study, recordings were clear and there was no doubt about what was stated by the officers in the show.

Identifying the officers is important because 1) audiences can easily cross-reference subjects' identities and this offers that information up front and 2) there was no expectation of privacy for content included in these episodes among female officers who elected to participate in the TV show. Review of these public records are exempt from IRB review. No information was gathered or used that was not delivered to the public through media approved of and knowingly used by the participants for public consumption and distribution.

Data Management

Time-marks and webpage hyperlinks are woven into the description of storylines and the analysis of TLC editorial decisions (Chenail, 2011, p. 1719; Creswell, 2006, p. 35; TLC, 2012a). The result is a report that integrates TLC's narratives, the officers' ideas, and researcher's observations in a way that can be retraced by future researchers and readers (Project Free TV, 2012; TLC, 2012a).

The researcher recorded observations of officers' fieldwork videos and interviews of the five officers (Project Free TV, 2012; Youtube, 2012a) [Appendix]. The five officers are Andrea Penoyer, Julie Bower, Erika Huerta, Shelunda Cooper, and Anna Murillo (Project Free TV, 2012; TLC, 2012b; Youtube, 2012a). Records of observations were kept according to each officer's name (Project Free TV, 2012; TLC, 2012b; Youtube, 2012a).

Data Analysis

Themes were encoded as positive, negative, and neutral (Chenail, 2012a; Creswell, 2006). The positive category included jokes and language that indicated successful policing in quotes about the body. In negative, comments that indicated disrespect or fear were included. If an officer disrespected a suspect, then the comment is categorized as negative, even if it made the officer feel good to disrespect the suspect or apprehend a large suspect. In the neutral category, comments that did not constitute jokes, success, disrespect or fear were included. Many of these comments were about home-life or personal challenges.

Context of each quote is described (Chenail, 2012a). A bit of plotline is provided for each comment to explain why it was encoded as positive, negative, or neutral comment (Chenail, 2012a; Youtube, 2012a). Whenever laughing accompanied a comment, I considered it to be a joke, even if the comments were derogatory (Chenail, 2012a; Youtube, 2012a). Jokes were identified by laughter, but a well-established and nuanced culture of policing may affect the context of laughter (Chenail, 2011, p. 1720, 2012a; Project Free TV, 2012; Youtube, 2012a). Police may not laugh at all jokes, or may laugh inappropriately at negative comments. This possibility does not seem to pose a huge threat since the TV show is produced for a public audience. Producers and editors likely shape the show so that the public can identify general emotions and subtext between characters.

Subcategories were identified by notes next to each comment. General attitudes, which can be explained and supported by quotes, were described. Descriptions that recurred became a separate subcategory. Subcategories are the following: joke (positive), success

(positive), disrespect (negative), and family life (neutral). Fear (negative) and personal challenge (neutral) were not recurrent themes, but were subcategorized because they were the only remaining themes.

Limitations

This study is limited because it has no inter-rater reliability. However, transcripts of the show may be ordered from the network or located online to verify the accuracy of transcriptions.

Results

Ron Chenail explains that qualitative data research may be generic as long as it is careful (Chenail, 2011). This research divided findings into three generic categories that are then analyzed with greater specificity. Quality control is ensured using the case study method because one female officer's experiences are not generalized to other officers prematurely. This avoids errors and whitewashing of individual details. Data is recorded and analyzed as case studies. Subsequently, classification and discussion of general themes synthesize the findings. The themes are Positive: containing jokes and success; Negative: containing disrespect and fear; and Neutral: containing neutral comments about home-life or personal challenges or comments that do not directly apply to policing.

Positive Connections between Size and Female Police

Officers discussed size positively in two ways. First, they described how they succeeded as professionals due to their sizes. Jokes are positive because they can highlight accomplishment, build camaraderie, and alleviate tension. Second, they used the body as a basis for poking-fun at each other or themselves. Successful policing is personally positive for officers and positive for the community.

On the TLC website, the tab "Meet Andrea Penoyer" included Andrea's answers to friendly personal questions. The link for this record is: <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-andrea-penoyer.htm>. For her "**Favorite television show**", Andrea wrote "*Police Women of Broward County*, of course! (but I think the little blonde one has a really annoying voice ... "HANDS!" LOL)". This is classified as a joke because of her use of "LOL" indicating the humor. Andrea refers to herself as little. Discussed below, Andrea refers to herself as little and blonde in the field as well. She clearly has a perception that she is little or that she is seen as little. When she jokes in this manner, it is positive because it contrasts her small stature with her tremendous authority. This joking alleviates tension and highlights accomplishment.

In episode 4 season 1, Andrea addressed someone who ran and was taken down by another officer. The record is found at: <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>. The scene includes a joke about Andrea's size that is made between the officers. Throughout the clip, officers are laughing and smiling. At 40:19, Andrea says "these little legs aren't as fast as we look, huh?" A male officer says to Andrea at 40:24 "Let me ask you a question. I seen a lot of distance between him and you. What happened?" She laughs and says at 40:31, "I got little stubby legs. What can I say?" Another male officer says at 40:35, "What's your excuse, that you have stubby little legs?" She says, "yeah". The second officer says "what are these little legs?" He then measures up to her and at 40:38 she says "I think you got about an inch on me." He finishes by saying "mine are just a little bit faster." This joking between officers demonstrates that

Andrea was likely aware of the perception that she was slow that day. Thus, the officers alleviate the tension by making a joke instead of casting judgment, and they build camaraderie by telling stories and ribbing each other. TLC voiced over her thoughts. Between 41:58 and 42:07 Andrea states, "I know that sometimes people look at me and they go 'Oh, she's just a little blonde girl. She couldn't take me'. But, I'm like a Jack Russell, baby. I ain't afraid. I'll jump in there. I'll get in it." Again, she reemphasizes the construct of being little and blonde. Though in her written statement she did not describe her sex, in her field statements she did. "Little, blonde, girl." She chooses a small, spirited dog as her personal metaphor. She shifts the focus from her failure, i.e. running slowly, to her strength, being little and tenacious. Though she could not take-down the perp due to her "stubby little legs" she gave chase without hesitation, fearlessly or enthusiastically, like a Jack Russell. Despite the fact that others view her size as a drawback to her success as an officer, she believes that it ultimately highlights her strength. She is little, yet just as successful.

In a Youtube video, Andrea Penoyer. (2010, Apr. 20). "Police Women Of Broward County." Youtube. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UV3iiEsX-cA&feature=bf_prev&list=PL3C3BAEBCDF0BE9B9, Andrea jokes with her partner Ronnie Miller. This clip is found in season 1 episode 2 at <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/youtube.php?id=EymjKst0GI4>. Ronnie is much larger than Andrea. He is tall, muscular, and solid. She introduces him as being "like an annoying big brother to me." She uses the word big to describe her partner. She correlates his size with the degree of familiarity that she shares with him. She jokes that he is annoying, states that he is big, and identifies their relationship as being as close as family. This is a joke, and it is also positive because his size is linked to their closeness. Closeness between partners is imperative for unity and trust. Thus, Ronnie's size is not only excellent fodder for a joke, it may also be an important feature of his professional relationship with Andrea.

In a voice-over at 42:15 of season 6 episode 4 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=199FBA8C16C81D26>, Andrea states, "People definitely treat me different because I'm a female in law enforcement. Sometimes it works against me, sometimes it works for me. The greatest gift your enemy can give you is to underestimate you, and I'm definitely underestimated a lot. And I surprise a lot of people. I'm striving. To always be better. Better at everything." The quote is not directly about size, but it is about being underestimated. Andrea claims that she is thought of as being less of an officer or person by others because she is female in law enforcement. Her perception of how others perceive her does not measure up to how she wants to be perceived. This is positive because it explains why she is successful. When people underestimate her, she strives to be better at everything.

Season 6 episode 6 included a voiceover by Andrea. The voiceover was not relevant to the plot of the episode, but she says during the outro at 42:17, "It is a challenge being a law enforcement officer and being my size, but I still love this job, and I wouldn't choose to do anything else in the world." The episode can be retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=787AE19D2097A46D>. Obviously, Andrea acknowledges that she believes that size is an issue in her profession. The word "challenge" indicates that her size does not impede her ability, which makes her successful despite her size.

On "Police Women of Broward County – The Bunny Episode, which can be located at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=F1FvHFRp4bw>, a suspected drug dealer is under arrest. His figure is fuller than Andrea's but he is not tall. Andrea referred to the suspect as "our big fish" at 3:24. We don't know whether he is a big drug dealer or part of a network of drug dealing or whether the fact that he is being put in jail makes him a big-deal for Andrea. The humans' body sizes do not matter, but the metaphor of a large-bodied fish indicates success in this arrest.

Julie mentions size several times in the field. The comments about the sizes of her body parts or her body as a whole are categorized as positive because body size helps her succeed in the field. In Julie's line of work as an undercover prostitute, she believes and demonstrates that for some "Johns", size is very relevant. Many customers inquire about her bust size and measurements, and her large bust lures them to solicit her. Because her size helps her do her job, then these comments are all positive.

In "Police Women: Prostitution," retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?>, at 1:30 she says "You're not going to be sorry when you see me. Trust me. Tall and skinny, big boobs. That's right. Blonde hair, green eyes. Real deal." She baits the customer with her size. She succeeds in conducting undercover work with the help of her bust size and stature.

In season 6 episode 11 at 22:28, retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=13CADFE228A3673D>, another "John" walks into the hotel room during a sting. At 22:46 he says, "you're like, my type. Let me put it that way. I like them curvy, I like them busty. That's what I like." She says "Curvy? I'm not fat, though." He says "You're great. You're beautiful. Curvy, busty. Beautiful bust, what, 36DD? What are you?" she says "You're pretty good." He says "I'm a bust man." Here, Julie reflects on the fact that size matters. This John will make the deal because he likes Julie's sizes. She succeeds in her work because of her sizes.

Episode 6 season 6 can be retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A>. At 15:55, Julie posts an undercover add online. It reads "Hot. Voluptuous, blonde." Soon, she receives a call. The caller's voice cannot be heard, but her reply at 16:25 is "Double D. Double D". Again, size matters. Her reply demonstrates that "Johns" solicit large-breasted prostitutes. In order to make the deal with this "John", Julie must be "voluptuous". Julie's voiceover begins at 16:30. "This guy wants to know my bra size, my waist, and my hips." "Voluptuous" describes other body part sizes, too. Julie is heard answering the next call at 19:22, "Huge. Huge. Double D." The same analysis applies here.

As episode 6 season 6 continues, an image of Julie's online-add briefly appears on the screen at 19:27. Among other comments, it says in the first line "I'm 5'07 tall, voluptuous breasts." Julie's height and bust will attract solicitors. Attracting and apprehending "Johns" is part of Julie's success as an officer. On season 1 episode 4, retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>, at 8:13, Julie is getting her hair done at a salon. This doesn't directly relate to policing, but it may indirectly since she often goes undercover as a prostitute and often advertises her hair "blonde" as a feature. At the salon, she says "I like long hair. I think guys like it" (8:22-8:24). If guys like her hair, then she can make deals and arrests. At 8:54 the hair dresser asks if she should trim "a little of the length?" Julie wants to know, "Is it getting scraggily?" The hair dresser replies, "yes". Julie believes that longer is better, but the hairdresser disagrees. At 9:08, Julie says, "My hair's kinda wild. It's like my wild side." Perhaps Julie's wild side also relates to undercover prostitution, which is why she identifies her hair in advertisements. At 9:16, the hairdresser says, "You don't need all this long hair." "But that's my trademark. I like it poofy," she replies at 9:19. Julie has big hair. Her bangs are tall and broad. The length and the height of her hair matter to her. "You need to show more of your face, and now what everyone's looking at is just the long hair. And yes, you can have long hair, it just needs to be, you know, styled a little differently. Show off your eyes." At 9:32 Julie says, "I'll consider it." In Julie's undercover work, she sells an image that includes her hair. This hair makes her feel comfortable, and contributes to her success as an undercover officer. Because of how Julie achieves success using her body parts' sizes, these comments indicate that size can positively affect policing.

On TLC's "Meet Erika Huerta" page, Erika describes herself. Her self-descriptions can be retrieved from <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-erika-huerta.htm>. Erika states "Formerly overweight, Erika has lost 70 pounds and is now a fitness model in her spare time." Erika is more fit, and likely more capable of giving chase than she was before she became fit. Since fitness is an important part of successful policing, then this comment is positive.

Episode 6 season 6 can be retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=BF9835424ED215AD>. At 35:08, Erika deals with a heavily intoxicated driver who passes out as he is being placed into the squad car. He is on the ground, and wedged into the opened door crack. Erika says "and I'm thinking, 'great'. Not only was this guy huge, but now I had to sit'em back down into the car." She talks him gently into the car. Her size doesn't impede the process, any. In this instance her awareness does not transform into a fear or difficulty since she can use her mind, demeanor, and training to move him instead of her body. Her size positively affects policing because she is successful despite her smallness.

In episode 4 season 1, <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>, at 28:04 Ana asks "You know why you're going to jail, right?" A crack dealer says "yes sir –yes ma'am." Anna finishes the arrest then says to TLC at 28:19 "Being that everybody lies to us, it was a little unusual that this guy told us the truth...(28:30) a lot of times, they think they can get one over me. They don't respect females because females are weaker than males, and women shouldn't be cops. They talk, you know—like, if I'm asking them questions--they get really rude, or they get very snappy. So that's when I start getting snappy right back at them. Every person has their own little story, once you flip the page, and end their story, start brand new (2:51)." "Weakness" refers to the size of one's muscles. She uses the word to indicate that she believes that the public views her as being psychologically weaker than males, and that this gives the public license to address her in a manner that is beneath her with their "little stories". The man's insult is not about the size of her body, which is why this comment is not classified as negative. Her comments suggest that she believes that her psyche is mighty and capable of overcoming psychological attacks, which indicates her perception of success. Since psychological strength is fundamental to successful policing, then this comment is positive.

Police Women's Size Elicits Negativity

Comments that showed how size negatively affects officers in the field were encoded as disrespectful comments or comments that indicated that an officer feared a suspect's size. Disrespect towards officers or suspects are negative because they demean the profession and because they decrease civility. Disrespect makes policing more difficult and the public less responsive. If a suspect's size intimidates an officer, then this qualifies as a negative because a larger officer may not feel intimidated.

In a Youtube video, Andrea Penoyer. (2010, Apr. 20). "Police Women Of Broward county." Youtube. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UV3iiEsX-cA&feature=bf_prev&list=PL3C3BAEBCDF0BE9B9 Andrea takes an insult about being a "little girl." This clip is found in season 1 episode 2 at <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/youtube.php?id=EymjKst0GI4>. The scene begins with Andrea giving chase and several officers tackling a suspect. The suspect's eye is split open during the tackle. At 3:28, he asks a large officer in the presence of Andrea, who did not make the tackle, "Ya'all gonna call the paramedics?" A large male officer replies, "No, you don't need paramedics, dude, grow up. We're going to take you to the hospital before we take you to jail." The

suspect replies “I might have gotten a concussion ‘cause my head kind woozy.” At 3:37 the officer exclaims, “concussion?!”, this little girl gave you a concussion?” Andrea remains silent, and the man continues to describe feeling ill. The large male officer tells the suspect to “grow-up”. In the officer’s mind, there is something less-than or weak about being childish or childlike. The officer then refers to Andrea as a “little girl”. She does not respond negatively or affirmatively. She is not joking about herself to a suspect. She is being compared to a suspect by an officer who perceives them both as being weak and childlike. The officer’s insistence that she could not have injured the suspect degrades them both, but more so, it degrades Andrea. She does not laugh, which is why this can objectively be labeled as disrespect rather than a joke. This affects her policing since it causes the suspect to disrespect her and fails to build respect between the officers. Here, Andrea’s size is being negativized by her peer.

In episode 4 season 1, Andrea addressed someone who ran and was taken down by another officer. The record is found at: <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>. The suspect explains that he saw a car stop and that he was afraid, so he ran. Andrea says “do jump out boys look like this? Afraid of getting robbed by a little blonde girl, wearing a black and a sheriff’s badge?” at 39:25. On the one hand, she is telling him that her appearance, including her size and label as a sheriff should not inspire the same type of fear as gangsters. On the other hand, she clearly wants her label as a sheriff to be respected and intimidating. This comment depicts her size as something to be dismissed as unimposing. If suspects stop fearing Andrea, then it could have a negative effect on policing. Her comment’s insinuation that suspects should have less fear of the Sheriff’s Office elicits disrespect, which could produce additional negative consequences.

Episode 6 season 6 can be retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A>. At mark 4:14 Andrea has a somewhat difficult time lifting a handcuffed suspect to his feet. He is tall, and comes to his feet as he says “I have a cramp in my leg.” She says “A cramp? Come on. You’re a big, bad, dope dealer. Don’t complain about a cramp.” Here, Andrea disrespects the suspect with her tone by undermining his pain with her sexist language. When police disrespect the public, they demonstrate that they lack authority and control. Here, Andrea’s resort to insults and her disrespectful attitude weaken her authority. Her size and her disrespect of the suspect’s large size negatively impacted her police work.

In episode 6 season 6, which can be retrieved from <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A>, Julie says at the 20 minute mark, “My 5 o’clock caller arrives, and I’m thinking to myself, this guys a big dude.” The man is gentle and nothing comes of the fact that he is large, but Julie admits that she notices his size. It may be natural to fear a large person during undercover work if the officer is alone. This situation does not stop her from policing, but she acknowledges that large suspects give her pause, which could affect her policing.

Size Has a Neutral Effect

On Youtube’s TLC station, the video “Police Women: Andrea” Andrea is at home with her family. The video can be retrieved here <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=ZzG0z-o2jGk>. At the 16 second mark she is talking to her son Dominick in her home. Andrea says to Dominick, “he is seven, but you wouldn’t know. He’s about as big as I am.” The child seems to be about the same size as other 7-year-old children. She continues, “hands about the same size. Want to show'em, how big your hands are?” Throughout the show, Andrea yells “Hands! Hands!”

during arrests and takedowns. Though hands are relevant to policing during arrests, her son's hands are neither relevant to policing, nor relevant to how size matters in policing which is why this comment is about home-life and is neutral.

On TLC's "Meet Erika Huerta" page, retrieved from <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-erika-huerta.htm>, Erika states, "I have a greyhound named Teeoh. I rescued him after he retired from racing. He's three years old and weighs 80lbs." Though her dog's weight is irrelevant to her as a police officer, she decided to include it on her TLC bio page, which is why this comment about her home-life is neutral. On the TLC "Meet Erika Huerta" page, Erika also states "I am absolutely petrified of heights, so I want to go skydiving." "Heights" is a form of measuring the amount of distance from the ground. This reference to size is neutral since it refers to a personal challenge and does not interplay with policing.

TLC interviews Ana in her home. The video can be retrieved from Youtube here, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdnKrMPx__c. At 9 seconds Ana says, "This is my condo...and I hate it. I want a house now. This is everything. This is my dining room. This is my office. This is my living room. This is everything. I don't have--It's not enough. It's not enough space for me. This is very very small." The TLC interviewer asks, "Can you afford a bigger house?" "No. I can't afford a bigger house right now. We're working on one salary," she says. Ana has outgrown her condo, but her salary has not grown with her needs. Even though the quote implies that her salary is not enough, the comment is not disrespectful, and it is not about police work, which makes this a neutral comment about her home-life.

Discussion

Long before this research, police women's gender roles and professional roles had been analyzed, but depictions of female officers on TV were lacking. Women's size in policing had been considered recently in the context of military policing, especially during war, but not civilian policing, which tends to be far less risky. Civilian policing may also be slightly less male dominated than military policing. Qualitative analysis about sexism and women's experiences in policing are available, yet, little qualitative analyses about female officers' views of their bodies, the public's view, and media's portrayal of female officers' body composition are absent. This research gathered data from a single source because few shows focus on female police work and interview women about their understandings of women in policing. Thus, comments offered by officers were invaluable to this study.

Certain comments about size seemed relevant to place and time, but others did not. Positively, negatively, or neutrally tinged comments could have resulted from editing that removed them from the speaker's original context. Jokes occurred in context often, and seemed to excuse performance disparities between female police and dominant male officers. These kinds of comments occurred even when female officers out-performed some male officers, but not all officers. They also occurred seemed to occur contemporaneously with sexual contexts. Perhaps jokes were used as tension-relieving devices.

Geographic and cultural context seemed to be relevant. In the U.S., and specifically in South Florida, some bodies or body part shapes and sizes attach to certain stereotypes, like desirability, prowess, or utility. For example, large natural or enhanced breasts are desirable. This is not an objective fact, and it is not believed necessarily by everyone in South Florida, but South Floridian culture tends to celebrate the body and accept surgical breast enhancements. Speakers sometimes referred to these stereotypes in their quotes. Those stereotypes might interplay with policing and the speaker's mentality. It may seem as if sexuality may underlie quotes, especially from a patriarchal perspective, because the comments occurred between men and women. There was no homosexual, bisexual, or

transsexual size commentary or context revealed on the show and the plotline involved male johns soliciting an undercover voluptuous police officer. Comments involved customers, the undercover officer, and fellow officers.

By far, there were more instances of positive comments than negative or neutral comments. The TLC editors and the officers communicated a positive message about the officers' sizes and the effect of their sizes on their police work. Saturation was reached in both positive subcategories. Positive comments were the only category in which both subcategories reached saturation. At least fifteen comments connected size to success. These connections referenced successful arrests, self-esteem in the field, overcoming challenges, and other expressions of success. Three quotes were encoded as jokes. These were positive because comments helped officers to alleviate tension without being disrespectful, and the jokes seemed to be a part of camaraderie.

Only four comments were encoded as negative. Three were disrespectful and one was fear. Saturation was reached for the subcategory of disrespect. The majority of the disrespect was given by police officers. Twice, disrespect was given to citizens, and once to a fellow officer. Fear of a suspect's size did not negatively impact the officer's performance. It was flagged as negative because the officer noted the suspect's size and likely feared him, meaning that she believed that he could have harmed her, which would be negative.

Neutral comments about home-life reached saturation. Though size in the context of home life, including homeownership, partnership, and children, was portrayed positively and negatively these portrayals were extraneous to actual police work. There were only three neutral comments about size, which highlights the copious amount of comments that demonstrated the positive role that size plays in the field. The show only highlights family life or personal topics to provide a backdrop for police work and female officers' success. It is interesting that home-life was part of the show, when long-running shows like *Cops*, which focuses mainly on male police, do not include officers' home lives. Perhaps producers felt that home-life was more relevant in this show, added dynamism to the show, or was compatible with public expectations for a show about female police officers.

Combined, neutral and negative comments were featured less frequently than positive comments. These results may not be generalizable between all TV shows about police. They may only apply to shows about female police that are designed to praise female police officers, especially by demonstrating their success and triumph in the field. These shows likely lack robustness in that they exclude many negative comments about females' size. There is no reason to believe that negative comments are being made, but if they were being made, then they would not likely be made on camera.

Future research should explore the differences between positive comments made by officers about their own sizes and positive comments made by other officers. Future research could address how or why overcoming challenges is a theme that relates to size. Researchers should analyze whether there is a qualitative difference between positive jokes and positive comments that indicate success. Researchers could also research whether size negatively influences behavior in the field, or whether comments that were categorized as neutral in this study actually had a positive or negative effect on officer's psychological performance in the field.

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Appendix

Positive

1. Meet Andrea Penoyer. Favorite television show: Police Women of Broward County, of course! (but I think the little blonde one has a really annoying voice ... "HANDS!" LOL) <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-andrea-penoyer.htm> [joke]
2. Meet Erika Huerta. Formerly overweight, Erika has lost 70 pounds and is now a fitness model in her spare time. <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-erika-huerta.htm> [success]
3. Erika Huerta. Episode 6 season 6 35:08 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=BF9835424ED215AD> Erika deals with a heavily intoxicated driver who passes out as he is being placed into the squad car. He is on the ground, and wedged into the opened door crack. She says "and I'm thinking, 'great'. Not only was this guy huge, but now I had to sit'em back down into the car." She talks him gently into the car. Her size doesn't impede the process, any.--the offender was about the same size as the other officer on the scene. That officer did not assist the offender into the car. [success]
4. Andrea Penoyer. Episode 4 season 1 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9> Later he explains that because he was in possession of marijuana, he ran because he didn't want to be arrested and lose his bond money. Later she says "these little legs aren't as fast as we look, huh?" 40:19. A male officer says to Penoyer, 4:24 "let me ask you a question., I seen a lot of distance between him and you. What happened?" She laughs and says "I

- got little stubby legs. What can I say?" 4:31. Another male officers says, "what's your excuse, that you have stubby little legs?" 4:35 She says, "yeah". The second officer says "what are these little legs?" he then measures up to her and she says "I think you got about an inch on me?" she says 4:38. He finishes by saying "mine are just a little bit faster." [joke]
5. Andrea Penoyer. Episode 4 season 1 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9> 41:58 "I know that sometimes people look at me and they go 'oh, she's just a little blonde girl. she couldn't take me'. But, I'm like a jack Russell, baby. I ain't afraid. I'll jump in there. I'll get in it." 42:07 [success]
 6. Andrea Penoyer. (2010, Apr. 20). "Police Women Of Broward County." Youtube. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UV3iiEsX-cA&feature=bf_prev&list=PL3C3BAEBCDF0BE9B9 (From free tv project I found out that this is season 1 episode 2 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/youtube.php?id=EymjKst0GI4>) Penoyer is in this video. Ronnie Miller is her partner. He is much larger than her. She introduces him as being "like an annoying big brother to me." She uses the word big to describe her partner. At 1:17 he says "this is the reason not to have a girl partner." [joke]
 7. Season 1 episode 2 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/youtube.php?id=EymjKst0GI4> "People definitely treat me different because I'm a female in law enforcement. Sometimes it works against me, sometimes it works for me. The greatest gift your enemy can give you is to underestimate you, and I'm definitely under estimated a lot. And I surprise a lot of people. I'm striving. To always be better. Better at everything." 42:15 season 6 episode 4 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=199FBA8C16C81D26> [success]
 8. Police Women of Broward County - The Bunny Episode. 3:24 Jan 12, 2011. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=F1FvHFRp4bw> The woman wearing a playboy bunny outfit was taller than Penoyer, but more frail. A drug dealer suspect may have been shorted, but was fuller. The woman had no drugs on her, but the offender was a suspect who was going to jail. Penoyer referred to him as "our big fish." We don't know whether he is a big drug dealer or status in a network of drug dealing, whether she is referring to his size, or relative to the fact that he is being pulled to jail. But the use of a sexist terminology was interesting since the size was indicative of a prize for Penoyer. His bigness amplified the status of her having caught him. [success]
 9. Police Women: Prostitution Sep 11, 2009. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?> "You're not going to be sorry when you see me. Trust me. Tall and skinny, big boobs. That's right. Blonde hair, green eyes. Real deal." [success]
 10. Free tv season 6 episode 11 at 22:28 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=13CADFE228A3673D> A john walks into the hotel room during a sting. As he is getting situated to make the deal, he says "you're like, my type. Let me put it that way. I like them curvy, I like them busty. That's what I like." She says "curvy? I'm not fat, though." He says "you're great. You're beautiful. Curvy, busty. Beautiful bust, what, 36DD. What are you?" she says "you're pretty good." He says "I'm a bust man." 22:46 [success]
 11. Free tv season 1 episode 4 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>. The episode 8:13 with Julie getting her hair done. This doesn't directly relate to policing, but it may since

she often goes undercover as a prostitute. She says “I like long hair. I think guys like it.” (8:22-8:24) 8:54 the hair dresser asks “a little of the length?” is it getting scraggly?” she replies. “yes” the hair dresser states. “My hair’s kinda wild. It’s like my wild side.” 9:08. 9:16 “you don’t need all this long hair.” The hairdresser says. “but that’s my trademark. I like it poofy” she replies 9:18. “You need to show more of your face, and now what everyone’s looking at is just the long hair. And yes, you can have long hair, it just needs to be, you know, styled a little differently. Show off your eyes.” 9:32 Julie says, “I’ll consider it.” Doesn’t change her hair in any of the future undercover scenes. [success]

12. Episode 6 season 6. <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A> “hot. Voluptuous, blonde.” 15:55 Julie posts an undercover add online . soon, she receives a call. The caller’s voice cannot be heard, but her reply is “double d. double d” (16:25) Then Julie’s voice over begins 16:30 “This guy wants to know my bra size, my waist, and my hips.” The sting continues. [success]
13. Episode 6 season 6. <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A> The next call comes in. Julie is heard answering the caller “huge. Huge. Double d.” 19:22 episode 6 season 6 as Julie is explaining the sting to TLC, an image of her online add briefly appears on the screen, among other comments, it says in the first line “I’m 5’07 tall, voluptuous breasts.” [success]
14. Season 6 episode 6 not relevant to the episode, Andrea says during the outro 42:17. “it is a challenge being a law enforcement officer and being my size, but I still love this job, and I wouldn’t choose to do anything else in the world.” <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=787AE19D2097A46D> [success]
15. Police Women: Ana. Episode 4 season 1 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>. Ana asks “you know why you’re going to jail, right?” crack dealer says “yes sir –yes ma’am.” Anna finishes the arrest then says in a voice over 28:19 “being that everybody lies to us, t was a little unusual that this guy told us the truth...(28:30) a lot of times, they think they can get one over me. They don’t respect females because females are weaker than males, and women shouldn’t be cops. They talk, you know, like if I’m asking them questions. They get really rude. Or they get very snappy. So that’s when I start getting snappy right back at them. Every person has their own little story, once you flip the page, and end their story, start brand new. (ends 2:51) [success]

Negative

1. Andrea Penoyer. Episode 4 season 1 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9> addressing why someone ran. He explains that he saw a car stop and that he was afraid “do jump out boys look like this? Afraid of getting robbed by a little blonde girl, wearing a black and a sheriff’s badge?” 39:25. [disrespect]
2. Andrea Penoyer. Episode 4 season 1 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>. Penoyer gives chase and several officers tackle a suspect. His eye is split open during the tackle. He asks a large officer in the presence of Penoyer, who did not make the tackle, 3:28 “Ya’all gonna call the paramedics?” The large male officer replies, “No, you don’t need paramedics, dude, grow up. We’re going to take you to the hospital before we take you to jail.” The suspect replies “I might have gotten a concussion ‘cause my head

- kind woozy.” The officer exclaims, “concussion?!” 3:37, this little girl gave you a concussion?” Penoyer remains silent, and the man continues to describe feeling ill. Episode 6 seasons 6 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A> [disrespect]
3. Episode 6 seasons 6 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A> 4:14 Penoyer has a somewhat difficult time lifting a suspect to his feet following a run and an arrest. She orders him to get up. He is tall, and cones to his feet as he says “I have a cramp in my leg.” She says “a cramp? Come on. You’re a big, bad, dope dealer. Don’t complain about a cramp.” [disrespect]
4. Episode 6 season 6. <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=3C981EC623BDE97A> 19:27 “My 5 o’clock caller arrives, and I’m thinking to myself, this guys a big dude.” The man is gentle and nothing comes of the fact that he is large. [fear]

Neutral

1. My pet: I have a greyhound named Teeoh. I rescued him after he retired from racing. He's three years old and weighs 80lbs. [home] <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-erika-huerta.htm>
Police Women: Andrea. [TLC](http://www.tlc.com) on Aug 10, 2009.
2. More interesting facts about me: I am absolutely petrified of heights, so I want to go skydiving. <http://tlc.howstuffworks.com/tv/police-women/about-erika-huerta.htm>
Police Women: Andrea. [TLC](http://www.tlc.com) on Aug 10, 2009. [personal challenge] <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=ZzG0z-o2jGk>. 16 secs
She is talking to her son Dominick. She says that "he is 7, but you wouldn't know. He's about as big as I am." The child seems to be about the same size as other 7-year-old children. "Hands about the same size. Want to show'em, how big your hands are?" [home]
3. Police Women: Ana. Episode 4 season 1 <http://www.free-tv-video-online.me/player/putlocker.php?id=D7F6A3DFAD62E5C9>. [TLC](http://www.tlc.com) on Aug 10, 2009. 9 secs "this is my condo...and I hate it. I want a house now. This is everything. This is my dining room. This is my office. This is my living room. This is everything. I don't have--It's not enough. It's not enough space for me. This is very very small." Can you afford a bigger house? "No. I can't afford a bigger house right now. We're working on one salary." 28:04 [home]

Author Note

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